Unravelling Scottish Evangelicalism (Part Three)

Martin Spence

Cornerstone University, 1001 E Beltline Ave NE, Grand Rapids, MI 49525-5897
martin.spence@cornerstone.edu

REFORM AND RENEWAL C.1920-C.1960[1]

In the early decades of the twentieth century, particularly in the bleak landscape of post- First World War Scotland, there began to emerge a fracture line between those who called themselves 'Evangelical' on the basis of commitment to cultivating heart-felt love and devotion to Jesus, and those who thought that specific dogmatic assertions, particularly on issues that higher critical methodology appeared to be calling into question in regards to scriptural authority and the core miracles of the Bible (e.g., the virgin birth, resurrection of Christ, and second coming), needed to be stated and defended if there was to be any Gospel to which to respond.

Textually-oriented Evangelicalism and a commitment to broadly Reformed theology had never entirely disappeared in late Victorian Scotland, of course. It was perhaps best represented by the influential Free Church leaders Horatius Bonar (1808–1889), Andrew Bonar (1810–1892) and James Begg (1808–1883).[2] In the first decades of the twentieth century this tradition began to regroup into what we might call a 'foundationalist' movement within the revivalist network. This invented term is deliberately chosen to echo the term 'Fundamentalist' while also signalling some distinctions. First, whereas the term 'Fundamentalism' signifies opposition to theological modernism, the foundationalist movement rejected both liberalism *and* emotion-laden revivalism. In fact, although characterized as an anti-intellectual movement, early 'Fundamentalism' in both Britain and America was more about a reassertion of classical orthodoxy than about cultural crusades. This re-engagement with historic Christian

---

1 For previous parts, see M. Spence, 'Unravelling Scottish Evangelicalism (Part One)', *SBET* 30 (2012), 30–50; and 'Unravelling Scottish Evangelicalism (Part Two)', *SBET* 31 (2013), 163–86.

2 D. Bebbington, 'Evangelicalism', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Nigel M. de S. Cameron (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), pp. 306–8 (p. 307).

teaching pervaded the pamphlets, *The Fundamentals*, published in the United States between 1910-1915, from which the name of the Fundamentalist movement derived. A quarter of these pamphlets were by British authors, and four were by Scottish Evangelicals including the United Free Church lecturer James Orr (1844–1913), the United Free Church minister Thomas Whitelaw (1840–1917), and Baptist pastor T.W. Medhurst (1834–1917).[3]

Second, in the British context, the term 'foundationalism' suggests a broader movement of which 'Fundamentalism' precisely termed was only a subset. As David Bebbington has argued, although there was a number of avowedly British Fundamentalist organizations formed in the first three decades of the twentieth century, there were also moderating forces within British Evangelicalism that prevented the kind of wide-scale acrimonious fractures that occurred within the American church. Moreover, high-profile issues, such as the teaching of biological evolution in schools, did not gain the traction that they did in 1920s America.[4] The term 'foundationalism' is thus intended to signify a slow return to the privileging of biblical study, expository preaching, and doctrinal apologetics rather than the controversial polemics of separatist militancy which marked only a small number of British organizations. Foundationalism represented the return to Evangelicalism of thinking over emotion, reason over revivalism. As W. Graham Scroggie (1877–1958), minister of Charlotte Chapel (1916-33), reminded the Keswick movement in the 1920s: 'Faith is open-eyed; faith has a reason as well as emotion.'[5] The foundationalist movement would come to be dubbed by historians as 'conservative Evangelicalism', although this term conceals the fact that, given the hegemony of the late Victorian revivalist culture, the movement innovated as much as it conserved.[6]

In Scotland, the Bible Training Institute (BTI) in Glasgow, under the early twentieth-century guidance of Principal David McIntyre (1859–1938, who was married to Horatius Bonar's daughter, Jane, 1862–1940), exemplified the emerging foundationalist approach within Scottish Evangelicalism.[7] McIntyre stressed that 'faith is eminently reasonable, rigidly

---

3 N. Dickson, 'A Scottish Fundamentalist?', <http://www.eauk.org/_efb/downloads.html>, accessed 11 July, 2013.

4 D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 181–94; 217–23.

5 I. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), pp. 25–6.

6 Ibid., pp. 36–39

7 For more on McIntyre, see: M.E.H. Spence and M. Spence, 'McIntyre, David Martin (1859–1938)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford Uni-

truthful'.[8] The BTI mirrored the parallel Bible Institutes that emerged in the United States, notably the Moody Bible Institute which was headed by Reuben Archer Torrey (1856–1928), a leading 'Fundamentalist' champion who visited Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee in 1903. McIntyre was one of the few British Evangelicals to subscribe to the important American Fundamentalist doctrine of Biblical inerrancy as a way of guarding against higher critical methodology. However, McIntyre also worried about obscurantism. He deliberately avoided sectarian controversies, refusing to endorse a particular scheme of prophetical interpretation, for example, and he warned against narrow dogmatism on issues such as the penal substitution. He also remained a faithful denominational minister, moving with the majority of the Free Church into union with the United Presbyterians in 1900, and then with the Church of Scotland in 1929. Given two opportunities to protest against the broadening of his denomination McIntyre betrayed little hint of the sectarianism that marked the large-scale American or small-scale British Fundamentalist movement.

The example of the BTI, which continued to sponsor evangelism and religious philanthropy, reminds us that the re-engagement with learning and scholarship did not immediately cause a break with the panoply of missions and social services associated with revivalism. The division between the revivalist and foundationalist ages was not absolute or immediate. McIntyre himself was carefully poised between the two epochs, his concern for studious apologetics and careful expositions of scripture matched with his injunction, contained within his best-selling *The Hidden Life of Prayer* (1907) for Christians to seek 'seasons of communion when, as one turns to the unseen glory, the veil of sense becomes translucent, and one seems to behold within the Holiest the very face'.[9]

It was, in fact, from within the strong missionary networks energized by the revivalist culture that a renewed shift toward intellectual re-engagement took place. In the Scottish Universities in the early-twentieth century, the evangelistic spirit of the age, embodied in the Edinburgh 1910 Mission Conference, had been remarkably successful in creating groups of mission-minded young students, eager to join organizations such as the China Inland Mission. Eric Liddell (1902–1945) was but the most famous example. It was the very success of revivalism within this

---

versity Press, Sept 2012), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/101334>, accessed 11 July 2013.

8 D. M. M'Intyre, *The Divine Authority of the Scriptures of the Old Testament* (London: Drummond's Tract Deposit, 1902), p. 23.

9 D.M. McIntyre, *The Hidden Life of Prayer* (Tain: Christian Focus Publications, 1989), p. 79.

academic environment which helped move former revivalist zeal toward a re-engagement with the life of the mind. In the 1920s, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society offered a rallying point for thoughtful student Evangelicals, holding yearly conferences from 1925.[10] The formation of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship in 1928, which established a presence on several Scottish campuses, also aided the growth of an intelligent Evangelical witness. This student Evangelicalism was aided by several high-profile Evangelical professors, including Duncan Blair (1896–1944), Regius Professor of Anatomy at the University of Glasgow, and Daniel Lamont (1869–1950), Chair of Apologetics at New College, Edinburgh and author of the *Christ and the World of Thought* (1934).[11]

Popular revivalism, meanwhile, slowly died. Sometimes it was deliberately euthanized, as happened in the case of the influential Church of Scotland Evangelical minister William Still (1911–1997). Still, who himself had been shaped by Inter-Varsity Fellowship and Evangelical foundationalism, stood at the heart of a new mid-twentieth century Evangelical Calvinist party in the Church of Scotland which included James and George Philip, Eric Alexander, George Duncan, and Sinclair Ferguson, and later solidified around the Crieff Fraternal (founded 1971). At his first parochial charge of Gilcomston South (which he assumed in 1945), William Still symbolically ended the Saturday night youth rallies (run at this time by Youth for Christ), the product of old somewhat *ersatz*, showy revivalism (and which he had, for a while, endorsed) and replaced them with quiet prayer. In tandem with this move, he began systematic expository preaching on a Sunday. Still retold the story himself:

> After eighteen months of aggressive evangelism, during which we drew large crowds, mostly of evangelistic folk from every sort of church, assembly, mission and sect, I turned the Word of God upon the Christians for the sake of the large nursery of babes we then had…and within a week, from one Sunday to another you could not see that mission crowd for dust! And they have maligned me all these years…because I ceased to provide evangelistic entertainment for them when all I was doing was seeking to feed the lambs.[12]

---

10 O.R. Barclay, 'Inter–Varsity Fellowship/Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p. 432.

11 F.F. Bruce, 'Daniel Lamont', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p. 470.

12 N.M. de S. Cameron and S.B. Ferguson (eds), *Pulpit and People: Essays in Honour of William Still on his 75th Birthday* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 1986), p. 19.

Still's disarmingly frank admission that he wished to disperse the 'mission crowd' who only wanted 'evangelistic entertainment' is indicative of the shifting tectonics of the Scottish Evangelical movement.

The re-emergence of this brand of measured, non-histrionic, anti-faddish, expositional, broadly Calvinist, and liturgically sober Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland was enabled by the effective ending of the Disruption (and, indeed, of the Secession) in 1929 as most of the United Free Church re-joined the Church of Scotland, thus revalidating the Kirk as a potential venue for Evangelical Presbyterianism. That this opportunity was seized by Still and others as a moment for Evangelical consolidation was due to the broader movement within post-War British Evangelicalism that saw the growth of conservative Evangelical ministry, scholarship, and mission. Galvanized by the visits of American evangelist Billy Graham in the 1950s (who, while clearly standing in the revivalist tradition, also considerably toned-down the emotional elements of the tradition), the movement was associated with Anglican clergyman John Stott (1921–2011), theologians including Scottish-born Brethren Biblical scholar F.F. Bruce (1910–1990), and academically-leaning institutions such as the Inter Varsity Fellowship and London Bible College. The cause of Scottish Evangelical scholarship increased with the foundation of the Scottish Tyndale Fellowship (later the Scottish Evangelical Theological Society) in 1958.[13]

One element of this 'conservative' Evangelical revival was the rediscovery of Puritan divinity in the 1960s, a movement associated in particular with Martyn Lloyd-Jones (1899–1981) and Jim Packer.[14] These 'Reformed' views had particular resonance in Scotland given the Calvinist heritage of Scottish churches. The Scottish Evangelical Council, which had absorbed several nineteenth century revivalist-oriented mission organizations such as the Scottish Colportage Society and the Caravan Mission, sponsored a yearly visit to Scotland of Martyn Lloyd-Jones.[15]

In fact, the pegging of Evangelical identity to Calvinist reformation convictions was already evident in the post-1900 Free Church of Scotland.

---

13 G.W. Grogan 'Scottish Evangelical Theological Society', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p. 757.

14 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 261–3.

15 Although some in Scotland were suspicious of his views on the possibility of a second blessing of the Holy Spirit, others (including Finlayson) thought his Calvinism too elastic and noted that he allowed hymns to be sung at Westminster Chapel, London. John Brencher, *Martyn Lloyd-Jones (1899-1981) and Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), pp. 209–13; A.T.B. McGowan, 'Scottish Evangelical Council', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, pp. 757–8.

This denomination was founded by those individuals who refused to sacrifice the Westminster Confession as the conditions for a merger with the United Presbyterian Church in 1900. This union itself had been prompted in part by the late Victorian revivalist ecumenism and by 'a decline in sectarian animosity [as a result]… of the campaign of Moody and Sankey and its aftermath, and a growing liturgical union, again drawing on the innovations in worship spurred on by revivalism, which culminated in the issue of a new hymnbook in 1898'.[16] Those objecting to the 1900 Union, who continued to use the 'Free Church' moniker, thus signalled the first major resistance of the spirit of revivalistic, dogmatic soft-pedalling that had pervaded the late Victorian age. The Free Church pioneered an attitude that located the essence of 'Evangelicalism' within classical Protestant orthodoxy rather than the Finney-esque revivalist culture of the nineteenth century. Members of the Free Church made significant contributions to the recovery of Evangelical intellect in the twentieth century. Free Church theologians John MacLeod (1872–1948) and John R. MacKay (1865–1939), for example, helped form the *Evangelical Quarterly* in 1929 [17] while Roderick Alexander Finlayson (1895–1989) was one of the founding members of the Scottish Evangelical Theological Society and contributed to the Inter-Varsity Fellowship.[18]

In the Free Church, as also within the 'Still-ites' in the Church of Scotland and a number of Reformed Baptists who emerged from the 1950s, confessional Calvinism has acted as a convenient bulwark against both theological liberalism and pietistic, individualistic emotionalism. While it occasionally breathed the air of nostalgia for an era that was passed, it is important to note that this mobilization of Calvinism was not simply a hangover from a bygone age but was in fact new and in some ways radical. It deliberately challenged the liberalizing drift of Evangelical revivalism and theology in the late nineteenth century. To some extent, it also reversed the populism of the late Victorian movement. It flourished among students and the well-educated, reflecting the decline of industrial Scotland and the increasing accessibility of tertiary education. It also often looked askance at the ecumenical drift of twentieth-century Christianity. It was generally sceptical of the breadth of theological opinions contained within the global ecumenical movement. This attitude com-

16 A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874–1900* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1978), pp. 309–10.

17 J.D. MacMillan, 'Free Church of Scotland, post–1900', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, pp. 338–9

18 J.D. Macmillan, 'Finlayson, R.A.', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p. 321.

plicated relationships between these Christians and other Evangelicals who, while they themselves may have been viewed as 'orthodox', could nonetheless be viewed by Reformed Christians as compromised because of their participation in mixed denominations or pan-Christian movements, a debate which intensified after the infamous controversy between Martyn Lloyd-Jones and John Stott at an Evangelical Alliance meeting in 1966.[19] Such attitudes had an impact on inter-denominational ecumenical dialogue, but with many of these Evangelicals also now reunited the Church of Scotland, intra-denominational strife also became increasingly evident in the late twentieth-century, particularly on issues of Biblical authority, the role of women, and the ordination of practicing homosexual ministers.

Not all late twentieth-century Evangelicals were enamoured of Puritan or dogmatically Calvinist divinity, even if they shared the Reformed suspicion of populist-Arminianism and revivalist- holiness teaching, and desired Evangelicalism to be rooted in solid and careful scholarship. Indeed, the typical conservative centrist Evangelical of the post-1945 era might be described as 'unselfconsciously Reformed'. Geoffrey Grogan, McIntyre's late twentieth-century successor at the Bible Training Institute, captured this spirit well when he described himself as 'a low-key Calvinist' and compared himself to 'somebody like John Stott [who I suspect] is [also] a low-key Calvinist. Nobody would identify him immediately as a Calvinist, but he believes in the sovereignty of God.'[20] This pragmatically Reformed, doctrinally astute, Biblically-learnèd, and temperamentally centrist Evangelicalism held ground in Scotland, as in England, roughly between the 1950s and 1970s. As Grogan suggested, John Stott, whose influence stretched crossed denominational and national divides, was the unofficial figurehead of this movement.[21]

New challenges were emerging in the 1960s that would mean this hegemony of the so-called 'conservative' Evangelicals of all hues was relatively short-lived. In particular, two offspring of the late nineteenth-century Evangelical movement emerged to contest the legitimacy of the 'foundationalist' conservatives claims to the leadership of the Evangelical coalition. A third impulse, the primitivist desire to remake the church with greater fidelity to Biblical models that had pulsed through the movement since its inception, also resurfaced with new energy, thus further

[19] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 267.

[20] G. W. Grogan, Interview with Martin Spence, November 2009, International Christian College, Glasgow.

[21] Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, pp. 276–7

dissipating the temporary hegemony of the 'conservative' Evangelical consensus.

RE-EMERGING QUESTIONS, 1960-2013

As the 'foundationalist' movement within early twentieth-century Evangelicalism had solidified in the early twentieth century, stressing reason, textual study, and a return to doctrine, so too there emerged a 'liberal' Evangelical sector, the members of which desired to self-consciously merge Evangelical piety with at least moderately progressive theology.[22] As Brian Stanley notes, the outright bifurcation of 'liberal' and 'conservatives' in Scotland was deferred to about a generation later than in England. 'Believing critics' still owned the 'evangelical' moniker until after the Second World War, while conservative Evangelicals still co-operated with a broad range of other Christians, for example in the *Tell Scotland* campaigns of the 1950s.[23]

Perhaps the main institutional representation of self-consciously liberal Evangelicalism in Scotland was the United Free Church, the product of the merger of the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland in 1900. After this church reunited with the Church of Scotland in 1929 the (Continuing) United Free Church (consisting of those United Free Church members who had rejected the 1929 reunion) carried on this legacy by blending support for evangelical mission with 'believing criticism'.[24] Interestingly, one of the most damning critiques of the mid-twentieth-century conservative Evangelical movement in the late twentieth century was made by James Barr (1924–2006), grandson of the first moderator of the post-1929 United Free Church and a self-identified Evangelical during his student days at the University of Edinburgh. Barr was surprised to find dogmatic conservative Evangelicalism (which he called 'Fundamentalism') resurgent in the 1970s, claiming that Evangelicalism of his youth was a pietistic, relational religion rather than a dogmatic, textually foundationalist one. He was recalling, of course, the liberal-romantic evangelical pietism of early century Scottish Evangelicalism that had marked the United Free Church and, indeed, all denominations in the twilight of the revivalist coalition, and comparing it to the

22 This development is most fully treated in Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*.

23 B. Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Nottingham: Inter–Varsity Press, 2013), pp. 47–8; D.W. Bebbington, 'Evangelicalism in Modern Scotland', *SBET* 9 (1991), pp.14–12 (pp. 10–11); Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 253.

24 N.R. Needham 'United Free Church', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, pp.838–9.

kind of conservative resurgence that marked both Calvinist and centrist Conservative elements of the late twentieth-century Evangelical coalition.[25]

The United Free Church was small, but from the 1970s onward, slowly at first, but later with greater force, the mature fruits of theological liberalism started to be raised as possibilities within the British Evangelical community, with obvious ramifications within Scotland. These critiques came not so much from an avowedly 'liberal' wing of the movement as from a growing revisionist camp within the 'conservative' Evangelical camp itself (Rob Warner defines this as the 'post-conservative' group).[26] Ironically, the emergence of such critiques was in part a consequence of the increased intellectual content of the movement which now encouraged academic study of scripture and thus exposed leaders to a broad range of theological positions from the academic community, including a variety of opinions about key issues such as the nature of scriptural authority, the interpretation of the atonement and issues of gender and sexuality. Perhaps more importantly, but less well appreciated, the constructed nature of the Evangelical coalition itself also came under increasing scrutiny. At a popular level, the sub-cultural shibboleths and taboos that had helped define the identity of the movement began to be questioned.[27]At a scholarly level, the rise of historical accounts of the Evangelical movement, along with the rise of Biblical hermeneutics, led some to question whether 'Evangelicalism' (and even the Reformation itself) was really the appropriate vehicle for expressing the Gospel or whether it was simply a culturally-conditioned discourse that ought to be relativized within the broader drift of church history. The ecumenical movement, with deep roots in Scotland thanks to the legacy of the 1910 World Missionary Conference

---

[25] Barr's observations are telling: 'I know the evangelical world well from my student days, when I was active in an evangelical organisation, the Edinburgh University Christian Union.... Basic to the movement was the primacy of faith and the refusal to adopt an apologetic attitude which could "prove" the reliability of biblical materials; along with this went the emphasis on personal, existential relations… Precisely because of this position, this was a very powerful and effective evangelistic agency with a profound outreach and impact… Evangelicalism … has a choice before it between two leading principles. One is that of a personal religion with the primacy of faith; the other is that of orthodoxy reinforced by rationalist argumentation. To me the heart of evangelical religion lies in the former….' J. Barr, *The Scope and Authority of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980), pp. 81–2.

[26] R. Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism 1966–2001: A Theological and Sociological Study* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), p.34.

[27] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 263–4.

held in Edinburgh, prompted Evangelicals to consider their relationships with Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Christians.[28] The impact of the 1974 Lausanne Conference alerted Evangelicals to the possibility that Western European predilections had unduly shaped some of their theological constructions and that the Gospel needed to register in a social key. Meanwhile non-Evangelical institutions, such as the Iona Community, offered compelling visions of a holistic, radical form of Christianity that was quite distinct in style and substance from the Evangelical sub-culture. The revival of 'Celtic' Christianity made a similar appeal to wisdom drawn from beyond modernity.[29]

Such theological reappraisals occurred within the context of a socially-liberalizing British social milieu in which people were prepared to question anything that seemed overly-serious, censorious, or simply stuck in the past. If these developments occurred at a somewhat slower pace in Scotland than in the south-east of England, they had nonetheless become very evident by the last decade of the twentieth century. By the turn of the twenty-first century some of this theological revisionism was rebranded as part of an Anglo-American movement styled 'generous orthodoxy.'[30] But more generally, a range of theological options were diffused throughout the churches, seminaries, and institutions of the Evangelical coalition, creating a low-grade uncertainty about what it really meant to be an Evangelical. In reaction to this apparent breakdown of Evangelical identity, a certain amount of Evangelical sectarianism and 'tribalism' increased and 'the scope for centrist enterprise declined.'[31]

CHARISMATIC RENEWAL IN THE MIX

Some of these revisionist approaches gained greater traction because they often resonated, although were never exactly coalescent, with the other child of late Victorian romantic revivalism: the charismatic renewal movement. This movement articulated a particular theological point in regard to believing in a second baptism of the Holy Spirit as the right of every believer, but it also spoke more broadly of a desire to let fresh breezes blow into supposedly stale orthodoxy, and of the need to update

---

28 [D.F. Wright], 'Evangelicals and Catholics—Together?', *SBET* 14 (1996), 93–95; Bradley Nassif, 'Eastern Orthodoxy and Evangelicalism: The Status of an Emerging Global Dialogue', *SBET* 18 (2000), 21–55.

29 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 263; D. Meek, 'The Revival of Celtic Christianity', *SBET* 10 (1991), 6–32.

30 The title of an influential book by American 'emerging church' leader, Brian McLaren.

31 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 253; 262; 267–270.

Christianity to meet the new demands of a post-colonial, post-modern age.

The charismatic movement emerged in full flood in the 1960s. However its roots were in the early twentieth century, and perhaps even in the 1860s turn to 'higher life' and holiness teaching. While Victorian revivalism was beginning to be questioned in the early twentieth century, the more precise doctrinal assertions of a 'second blessing' that had done much to generate the temperament of the revivalist movement were institutionalized in a set of churches that extended the wares of the Evangelical market even further. The first of these were the 'holiness' churches that taught a second blessing that was believed to help a believer live a sanctified and Spirit-filled life. I have alluded to these already: the churches included the Salvation Army, the Faith Mission, and the Church of the Nazarene. These churches, moving in a Wesleyan Methodist groove, believed that the second blessing would endow believers with power to overcome sin in their lives and thereby obtain 'holiness.' At the turn of the century, often from within these holiness churches and the revivalist networks, there emerged a further network of churches which interpreted the second blessing as an enduement with spiritual power, focusing particularly on the coming of the gifts of healing, prophecy and speaking in tongues. This 'Pentecostal' movement was given definition a set of global revival events of the early twentieth century, including the Welsh Revival of 1905, the Azusa Street, Los Angeles, revival of 1906 and the Oslo Revival of 1907.

English Anglican minister Alexander Boddy (1854–1930) and English-born, Norwegian pastor, Thomas Barratt (1862–1940), helped disseminate this new expectation of Pentecostal power to the British Isles, although it clearly took flight only because it tapped into the pre-existing revivalist and holiness traditions. The first recorded instances of Pentecostal manifestations following a 'second blessing' in Scotland were in Kilsyth where, in January 1908, twelve people received the second blessing, now described not as 'holiness' but empowerment. Thomas Boddy visited Kilsyth in March of that year and, at one point, lay prostrate on his stomach the front of the hall.[32] The movement spread quickly. Early Pentecostal congregations were established at Dunfermline, Kilsyth, Coatbridge, Clydebank, and Hawick. These Pentecostal congregations later affiliated with national bodies such as the Apostolic Faith Church, the Assemblies of God, and Elim. The Apostolic Faith Church was particularly strong with fifty assemblies across Scotland by the mid-twentieth

[32] T. Lennie, *Glory in the Glen: A History of Evangelical Revivals in Scotland* (Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 2009), p. 423.

century. Its first convention was held in Glasgow, in 1920.[33] Donald Gee (1891–1966), arguably one of the most influential leaders of British Pentecostalism, was pastor at Leith and stimulated large Pentecostal meetings in Scotland in the 1920s.

Pentecostalism continued to grow across northern Europe and beyond in the 1930s and 1940s.[34] During the 1950s Pentecostal emphases began to break free from the relatively insular Pentecostal subculture, not least through the work of South African Pentecostal David du Plessis (1905–1987).[35] From the late 1950s, an emphasis on receiving the second blessing of the Holy Spirit began to appear among non-Pentecostal Evangelicals, a development that is identified as the 'charismatic renewal movement'. The story of the introduction of baptism in the Holy Spirit and a new focus on healing, *glossolalia*, and other 'gifts of the Spirit' into non-Pentecostal churches is an intricate one, traditionally dated to the emergence of speaking in tongues among Californian Episcopalians, and then spreading to networks of ministers and laity across Britain and America.[36]

It is difficult to pin-point the exact beginning of this phenomenon in Scotland; it probably happened in multiple places at once. Early incidents of 'Spirit baptism' were recorded in Aberdeen and Glasgow in 1960. The movement became public in 1961 when Bill McLean, who had been called to Presbyterian ministry through Pentecostal healing in New Zealand, and fellow New College, Edinburgh student, C. Gordon Strachan, began holding charismatic prayer meetings on campus.[37] They encouraged their friend, Brian Casebow, a Church of Scotland minister in Motherwell, to pray for the blessing of the Holy Spirit. Charismatic revival meetings at which participants were slain in the spirit and spoke in tongues increased in frequency from 1962. The *Glasgow Sunday Mail* even reported a 'strange new sect in the Scottish Kirk'.[38] Motherwell became a centre of Charismatic renewal, attracting international interest.[39] It is worth noting in passing that Strachan was inspired by his new experiences to study the nineteenth-century preacher and pastor, Edward Irving (1792–1834).

---

33 R.D. Massey, 'Pentecostalism', *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, pp. 652–3.

34 W. K. Kay, *Apostolic Networks of Britain: New Ways of Being Church* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), pp. 4–6.

35 Ibid., pp. 6–8

36 For a helpful overview, see N. Hudson, 'The Development of British Pentecostalism', in *European Pentecostalism*, ed. by W.W. Kay and A. Dyer (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 41–60.

37 P. Hocken, *Streams of Renewal* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), p. 96.

38 Ibid., p. 88.

39 Ibid., p. 97.

Irving held a high pneumatology and presided over an occurrence of *glossolalia* among members of his Church of Scotland congregation in London in the early 1830s. Irving is often noted as a 'Pentecostal' pioneer, suggesting that the charismatic impulse within Evangelicalism has been disturbing the movement for quite some time and that the intensely romantic longings for spiritual communion unleashed in the nineteenth century were, in a transmuted form, still shaping British Evangelicalism—causing now, as then, both growth and disquiet within the Evangelical coalition.[40]

Charismatic Christianity provided a new tone and energy to Scottish Evangelicalism, perhaps particularly to some Baptist congregations, and, from the late 1980s, through new international church plants such as the American Vineyard movement.[41] One of Britain's leading advocates of charismatic renewal was a minister ordained in the Church of Scotland, Tom Smail (1928–2012).[42]

While the charismatic movement transmitted a particular idea about the second blessing for each individual believer, it also longed for a more general and regular experience of 'spiritual' power throughout the corporate church community. Indeed, the more general ethos of 'renewal' became as important as the precise focus on second blessing. [43] A popular song of the movement captured the ethos of the movement: 'Holy Spirit, we welcome you / Move among us with holy fire / As we lay aside all earthly desire'.[44] In this hankering after regular corporate experiences of the divine, the charismatic renewal movement was clearly the heir of late

40 C. G. Strachan, *The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973). The Banner of Truth issued a book by Arnold Dallimore that concluded more or less the same thing about Irving, but, in keeping with his non-charismatic theology, he saw this as sign that charismatic heresy had been around a very long time! A. Dallimore, *The Life of Edward Irving: Forerunner of the Charismatic Movement* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1983). For a balanced assessment of Irving, see T. Grass, *Edward Irving: The Lord's Watchman* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2011).

41 The full extent of the movement in Scotland is not quantified. There is thus ample scope for further scholarly studies on the history of the Scottish charismatic movement.

42 Smail became an Anglican priest in 1979; <https://wipfandstock.com/author/15794>, accessed 7 August, 2013.

43 Hudson, 'The Development of British Pentecostalism', p.55.

44 Chris Bowater, 'Holy Spirit, We Welcome You', <http://chrisbowater.com/assets/media/documents/Holy_Spirit_We_Welcome_You.pdf>, accessed 12 July 2013.

nineteenth-century revivalist movement and, by extension, also of the experientialist Pietist emphases of the eighteenth century.[45]

Like these revivalist and Pietist movements that preceded it, the charismatic movement helped the cause of Evangelical unity. In particular, it represented a cultural shift towards greater informality in worship styles, including a bounty of new music, a desire for community and authenticity, and a greater role for the laity in the life of the church.[46] Many churches, even those not strictly accepting charismatic theology, absorbed the basic premise that the form and style of church must modernize and adapt to modern culture. The Holy Spirit became implicitly associated with modernization. Charismatic churches, with their emphasis on small groups, lay participation, and contemporary music, often provided a useful template. Thus many Evangelical churches ended up singing 'charismatic' songs led by a 'worship band' even though they did not have a particular theology or experience of a 'second blessing'.[47] Evangelical participation in festivals such as Spring Harvest (which staged one of its conventions at Ayr during the 1990s) and in the early 2000s, Clan Gathering (the Scottish venue of the New Wine network of churches), offered a venue for an encounter with charismatic culture even while not necessarily demanding an explicit allegiance to charismatic theology.[48] The same can be said of the Alpha Course, which despite its climactic emphasis on the recep-

---

45 Indeed, Michael Harper (1931–2010), leader of the Fountain Trust, had been inspired in his commitment to renewal by reading J. Edwin Orr's account of the late nineteenth century revivalist era, *The Second Great Awakening in Britain* (Kay, *Apostolic Networks*, p. 10). In fact, as early as the 1920s, the notion of 'revival' was being redefined to apply to *renewal* in the church for example in the work of the Baptist pastor A. Douglas Brown, who influenced the so–called 'Fisherman's Revival' (1921) among the itinerant Scottish herring fleets docked in Suffolk. 'Revival is not for the drunken man coming to the penitent form', Brown argued, 'it is for the proud church member … [and] unconverted deacon.' (*The Christian*, (27 July 1922)); see also M. Spence, 'Brown, Archibald Geikie (1844–1922)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2012), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/101229>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

46 D. F. Wright, 'The Charismatic Movement: The Laicizing of the Church?' in D. Lovegrove, ed., *The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 253–64.

47 T. Cummings, 'Spring Harvest: Looking at the Annual Bible Week', Cross Rhythms 14 (1993). <http://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/articles/music/Spring_Harvest_Looking_at_the_annual_Bible_week/37008/p1/>, accessed July 12, 2013.

48 Kay, *Apostolic Networks*, p. 233.

tion of the Holy Spirit, was widely used by non-charismatic churches as an evangelism strategy. [49]

The rise of the charismatic renewal movement cohered with a wider burst of pan-evangelical unity, centred on the growing influence of the Evangelical Alliance under the direction of Clive Calver and a renewed commitment for Evangelical activism, focused particularly on engagement with the media, public policy and culture. Institutions with a distinct Evangelical policy agenda, such as CARE, established a presence in Scotland. As Warner points out, the late 1980s and 1990s represented a period of 'vision inflation', leading to expectations of renewal and church growth that did not statistically deliver: a further factor, perhaps, in explaining a current perception of decline which may pivot on the failure to live up to aspirations as much signify an objectively-verifiable malaise.[50]

Suspicion of the charismatic renewal from so-called 'conservative' Evangelicals was largely on the same grounds that this tradition had rejected experiential revivalism just a few decades ago, namely its tendency to value experience as a bond that could dissolve theological difference, and a concern that Scriptural challenge was outweighed by therapeutic celebration. To these was added, in the throes of late capitalism, also a fear about the debasing of the Gospel by consumerist and managerial methodology, particularly in regard to 'selling' worship and achieving high returns on church growth strategies. There was also the inexact symbiosis between charismatic renewal and reappraisals of Evangelical theology, with some parts of the charismatic movement showing the same willingness to downplay dogma in favour of spiritual fervour that had marked the revivalist coalition in the late Victorian era, thus providing a venue for the subtle reconsideration of—or perhaps simply lackadaisical carelessness toward—classical Protestant doctrinal formulations.

FURTHER STRANDS: TOWARDS AN ASSESSMENT

In the context of our own generation, these questions often seem urgent and unprecedented, and yet the same critiques about showmanship, celebrity, experiential corrosion of doctrine, and a certain casualness about confessional distinctives could have been made (and, in fact, were made) about the eighteenth-century revival. Such was the genetic constituency of the movement from the outset. Rather than asking whether the charismatic movement was Evangelical, one might better pause to

[49] Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism*, pp. 115–37; S. Hunt, *The Alpha Enterprise: Evangelism in a Post-Christian Era* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 103.

[50] Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism*, pp. 85–6.

ask whether 'Evangelicalism' itself was evangelical. In other words, was the eighteenth-century revival that had twisted Reformation orthodoxy into its evangelical shape in the eighteenth century, a turn that ought to be preserved and celebrated? Was the modern emphasis on individual choice, inner experience, spiritual empowerment and 'a personal relationship with Jesus' that was often expected to produce regular spiritual, and perhaps physical, manifestations of religious revival actually apostolic, catholic, orthodox Christianity? Could 'Evangelicalism' bear the weight of the Gospel?

This question has been raised, in fact, from two distinct wings of the Evangelical movement in the early twenty first century. First, the Reformed sector of the Evangelical movement has amplified its doubts about whether much of the Evangelical coalition is truly 'evangelical', by which is generally meant whether it is in line with the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant reformers (who believed themselves to be recovering the primitive emphases of the early church).[51] One example of this critique is the debate about the thesis proposed by Professor David Bebbington, arguably the leading historical investigator of the modern British Evangelical movement, that 'Evangelicalism' was essentially a new movement forged in the eighteenth-century. In his seminal *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989), Bebbington argued that it was the cultural temperament of the Enlightenment that transformed Protestant doctrines of a previous age into a new movement of popular, confident, pragmatic, and activist Christianity. In a number of articles and essays, published to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the book's publication, historians and theologians, many from the Reformed wing of transatlantic Evangelicalism, and several of whom with links to Scotland, questioned this thesis.[52] Although there is much useful scholarly debate in such examina-

[51] Much of this critique has come from the United States although I suspect it finds a ready audience among Reformed Evangelicals in Scotland. Examples include the collection of essays in M. Horton, ed., *Power Religion: The Selling Out of the Evangelical Church* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1992). See also D.F. Wells, *No Place for Truth—Or, Whatever Happened to Evangelical Theology?* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1993); C. Trueman, *The Real Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2012).

[52] M.A.G. Haykin and K.J. Stewart, *The Advent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2008), published in the UK as *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2008). Some of the contributors to the volume were not as eager to deconstruct Bebbington's thesis as others. In particular, the essays in this volume by David Ceri-Jones and John Coffey, while admitting continuities, also maintained the novelty of eighteenth-century

tions, the underlying agenda of some of those mounting this argument has been to decouple the essence of 'Evangelical' Christianity from the emphases of eighteenth-century culture and society.

The reason for their critique is two-fold. First, since much of the Reformed wing looks to pre-eighteenth century Protestants for ecclesial and confessional identity, there is a desire to defend the pre-eighteenth-century religionists as friends and allies—a desire to call them fellow 'evangelicals'. Second, if one allows that the essence of the Evangelical movement only came into existence in the eighteenth century, then it is defined equally by Arminianism as Calvinism. Since many Reformed critics deplore the developments of Arminianism, particularly in its post-Finney revivalist form, it becomes an urgent task to assert that the original credentials of Evangelicalism were unsullied by the Arminianist turn.[53] Thus, it becomes necessary to argue that true evangelicalism existed before the Evangelical revivals and that much of what passes as 'Evangelicalism' today is, in fact, inadequate if not dangerous when considered against the original Calvinism (or, at least, non-Arminianism) of the movement. Iain Murray's work, particularly his *Evangelicalism Divided*, is a good exemplar of such presuppositions in action.[54]

The second objection to whether the Evangelical coalition can actually bear the full weight of the *evangel* has been raised from the so-called 'emergent' or 'emerging' church movement. This is a broad transatlantic alliance of churches that have self-consciously sought to refashion Christianity for a post-modern post-Christian society, sometimes using the term 'post-evangelical' to refer to their evolution out of the perceived subcultural ghetto of the Evangelical movement.[55] One of its most dis-

---

Evangelicalism, particularly in regards to the sociological, rather than theological or missiological, distinctives of the Evangelical revival.

53 Joel Beeke argues: 'The position of radical discontinuity in evangelicalism in the 1730s cannot be historically confirmed and is theologically dangerous, for it leaves us with the impression that Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley are the fathers of evangelicalism. The result of this controversial position is that Wesley's Arminianism could then no longer be viewed as aberrational theology within a solidify Reformed movement. Instead, Reformed and Arminian theology would be given equal status in the origins of evangelicalism, as is often done today.' J. R. Beeke, 'Evangelicalism and the Dutch Further Reformation', in *The Advent of Evangelicalism*, ed. by Haykin and Stewart, pp. 146–68, (p.168).

54 I.H. Murray, *Evangelicalism Divided* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2000).

55 For an indicative overview, see D. Kimball, *Emerging Church: Vintage Christianity for New Generations* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003). British

tinctive notes is an emphasis on 'missionality', meaning a commitment to promoting evangelism that is lived in and through the everyday circumstances of ordinary Christians rather than embodied in what it sees as overly-modernistic and ultimately self-limiting mission agencies. The movement draws much inspiration from the work of the English-born, Church of Scotland-ordained, missionary to India, Lesslie Newbigin (1909–1998). Other elements of the movement hanker after pre-Reformation ('ancient') forms of wisdom, spirituality, and worship. Like some Evangelicals-turned-Anglo/Scotto-Catholics in the nineteenth century, these desired to go beyond the Reformation (and, for current Evangelicals, also beyond the AD 1053 East-West Schism, and even beyond the AD 476 Council of Chalcedon or AD 325 Council of Nicaea) in search of authority and wisdom.[56] There is also a desire to reassess the allegedly Enlightenment epistemologies that are thought to undergird some of Evangelicalism's propositional truth claims about scripture and the nature of authority and which sustain its often unyieldingly utilitarian and pragmatic approaches to worship and evangelism.

Some of these 'emergent' impulses are simply a continuation of the persistent Evangelical tendency to reform ecclesiastical structures and practices to meet the perceived cultural needs of contemporary society; other trends within the movement embody the drift of progressive theological re-appraisals that have pervaded parts of the Evangelical movement since the late nineteenth century. Steve Chalke's critique of penal substitution (*The Lost Message of Jesus*) and Rob Bell's desire to broaden eschatology (*Love Wins*) were nothing new to anyone who had studied nineteenth-century debates on similar issues. Whatever one thinks of the critiques offered, however, the movement's predominant tone is undeniably one of dissatisfaction with the 'old' Evangelicalism birthed by modernity and thus a desire to restate the Gospel in new, more fluid, provisional and experimental terms. Whether the emergent church has

---

expressions of the need to reimagine church include D. Tomlinson, *The Post–Evangelical* (London: Triangle, 1995) and P. Ward, *Liquid Church* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002). For a critique, see A. Crouch, 'The Emergent Mystique', *Christianity Today* (Nov. 2004), <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2004/november/12.36.html>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

[56] Rob Bell claimed that 'we're rediscovering Christianity as an Eastern religion, as a way of life. Legal metaphors for faith don't deliver a way of life. We grew up in churches where people knew the nine verses why we don't speak in tongues, but had never experienced the overwhelming presence of God.' Quoted in Crouch, 'The Emergent Mystique', *Christianity Today* (Nov. 2004), <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2004/november/12.36.html>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

the capacity to break with the Evangelical subculture which gave it birth is yet to be seen.[57] Nevertheless, the soul-searching that arises from its discourses creates a feeling of considerable flux in the Evangelical world, especially because, somewhat surprisingly, the emergent church actually shares certain aspirations to remould the Evangelical landscape with the Reformed Evangelicals: both stress community over individualism; both deplore pietism and pragmatism; both lament the shallowness of much of Evangelical liturgy and devotion; both look askance at the Enlightenment and all its works.

From the 1980s onward, Scotland, in common with the rest of the United Kingdom, has witnessed a further round of church planting. In what is now a familiar pattern from Scottish Evangelical history, both charismatic renewal and a new concern for en-cultured mission has led to the multiplication of Evangelical institutions. This was particularly embodied in the so-called New Church (originally styled House Church or Restorationist) movement. These institutions attempted to embody the 'power' and 'signs' that the charismatic movement talked of in new ecclesiastical structures, having grown weary of waiting for charismatic renewal to effect wide-scale change in existing denominations. They had a particular concern with energetic, even confrontational, evangelism.[58] Although several studies of this New Church movement exist, most notably those by Andrew Walker and William Kay, most analysis applies to England.[59] This reflects the fact that the weight of the movement was centred in South East England, reflecting, as Rob Warner has argued, that 1980s English Evangelicalism was shaped by an entrepreneurial Thatcherite streak in1980s Evangelicalism that was less popular in Scotland.[60]

---

57 Reflecting on an emerging church conference in 2004, Robert Webber, author of a book that celebrated the emergent movement (*The Younger Evangelicals* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2002)) nevertheless lamented: 'They claim to be rejecting the last 30 years of evangelicalism—and they're repeating the last 30 years of evangelicalism.' Quoted in Crouch, 'The Emergent Mystique', *Christianity Today* (Nov. 2004), <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2004/november/12.36.html>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

58 Kay, *Apostolic Networks*, pp.10–13

59 A. Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985).

60 A full study of the New Church movement in Scotland is still needed. That which to my knowledge is the first study of Scottish New Church movement is being prepared by Alistair MacIndoe, a founding leader of the Rock Community Church, Dumbarton, as part of doctoral research at the University of Edinburgh. A cursory overview is also provided by K. Roxborough, 'Growth Amidst Decline', in *Church Growth in Britain 1980 to the Present*, ed. by D.

However, Scotland was not exempted from the movement, and we await a full-orbed study of Scottish New Churches.

One of the earliest Scottish examples of a New Church impulse was New Frontiers International (NFI), founded by Terry Virgo. Virgo, in what must be grist to the mill of any Scottish nationalist, had a vision of a bow strategically positioned along the Southern English coastline (where the earliest New Frontiers churches had been formed), pointing at the rest of the United Kingdom.[61] His archery skills were successful. Today New Frontiers churches include King's Church, Edinburgh; City of Joy, Aberdeen; City Church, Dundee; Hope Church, Glasgow; and The King's House, Perth.[62]

The NFI church network is interesting because it combines a Charismatic emphasis on the gifts of the spirit with a broadly Reformed theology.[63] This confluence belies any simple 'charismatic' versus 'conservative' dichotomy that we might be tempted to use to define dividing lines in the contemporary Evangelical coalition. Indeed, one of NFI's worship leaders, Stuart Townend (based at the flagship New Frontiers church of Christ the King, Brighton), has been responsible for diffusing new hymns across the transatlantic Evangelical community that deliberately emphasize scripturally-rich doctrines that are broadly acceptable to, and indeed welcomed by, most 'conservative' Evangelicals for their emphasis on the uniqueness of Christ ('In Christ Alone'), divine sovereignty ('from life's first cry, to final breath / Jesus commands my destiny'), substitutionary atonement (''Til on that cross as Jesus died / The wrath of God was satisfied') and even the perseverance of the saints ('no power of hell, no scheme of man / can ever pluck me from his hand').[64] Yet Townend also stands in the Charismatic tradition. He was converted age thirteen and then experienced 'a profound encounter with the Holy Spirit' when he was eighteen

---

Goodhew (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012) pp. 209–20; Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism*, p. 26.

61 Kay, *Apostolic Networks*, pp. 74–75.

62 <http://newfrontierstogether.org/ChDatabase/Newfrontiers_UK_Churches_by_Town.pdf>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

63 It thus has similarities with the so-called 'New Calvinism' associated with American leaders such as John Piper and C.J. Mahaney. The confluence of 'Spirit', 'Word', and a restorationist desire 'to discover what the New Testament church was' was, of course, announced by Martyn Lloyd–Jones in the 1960s. Lloyd–Jones had numerous vital links with early New Church leaders. Kay, *Apostolic Networks*, pp. 13–17.

64 Stuart Townend, 'In Christ Alone', <http://www.stuarttownend.co.uk/song/in–christ–alone/>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

years old.[65] In his earlier songs, charismatic renewalist emphases were very evident: 'My first love is a blazing fire / I feel His powerful love in me / For He has kindled a flame of passion / And I will let it grow in me.'[66] Townend and NFI nicely signal the immense complexity of Evangelical categorization in the early twentieth-first century.

By the early 2000s, the establishment of New Churches in Scotland was accelerating. Several of these churches are linked to regional, national or international networks. They represent a diverse range of theological agendas, from the Reformed principles of Re:Hope (founded by the American Christian Resource Ministries to be a 'next generation Bible church' and based in the West End of Glasgow),[67] through the Dispensationalist Fundamentalism of the Calvary Chapel movement (churches in Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Carluke, Stirling, Ayr, Kilmarnock, and Motherwell),[68] the neo-Pentecostal stress on 'healing and life-changing supernatural power' of Destiny Ministries International, the intimate charismatic emphasis of the Vineyard movement (Edinburgh and Glasgow),[69] the celebratory and aspiration-fulfilling ministries of Hillsongs International (known as C7 Church in Edinburgh and Glasgow),[70] to the 'cornucopia' Ancient-Future ('blended') style of the Mosaic Community (founded by the American Christian Associates International and based in Glasgow).[71] Other 'new' churches are, in fact, old churches relaunched. Several Brethren churches, for example, have rebranded themselves as an 'Evangelical Church' or as a 'Fellowship' and have constructed new buildings to symbolize a less sectarian mind-set.[72] As in the nine-

---

65 'Stuart Townend', <http://worshiptogether.com/worship–leaders/?iid=216440>, accessed 12 July 12th, 2013.

66 S. Townend, 'My First Love', <http://www.stuarttownend.co.uk/song/my–first–love/>, accessed 12, 2013.

67 <http://www.rehope.co.uk/>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

68 < http://www.calvarychapelradio.co.uk/churches.asp>, accessed 6 August, 2013.

69 <http://www.gwvineyard.co.uk/drupal6/node/49>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

70 C7 Glasgow wants 'to reach every person in Glasgow and in Edinburgh with the message of Christ. To equip and empower those in Church in order for them to fulfil their God-given dreams.' <http://www.c7church.com/aboutus–glasgow/vision> , accessed July 12, 2013.

71 <http://glasgowmosaic.com/about–us/>, accessed 28th June, 2013. This is not an exhaustive list of New Church networks, and it reflects the author's own knowledge of Glasgow more than some other Scottish towns and cities.

72 T. Grass, *Gathering to His Name: the story of the Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), pp. 425–431; N.T.R. Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838–2000* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), pp. 336–7.

teenth century, there was some scope to flourish for these new Brethren movements during the 1980s and 1990s in towns that have experienced urban growth.[73]

As was the case in the nineteenth century, the underlying principle of all these New Churches has been rooted in an interest in forming new communities in places perceived to lack a church relevant or supple enough to meet the needs of modern society. These are New Churches doing an old thing. Many of these churches have tight internal networks and, like the United Presbyterians of the Victorian age, often plant churches in areas—such as the West End of Glasgow—where there are already a number of other Evangelical churches, sometimes antagonising local ecumenical relations. Despite this multiplication of new churches, the spirit of so-called 'pioneer' ministries is unabated, spurred on by the general decline of church-going across the Scotland which helps convince every new church planter that the time is ripe for a 'new' approach.[74]

However, despite the many claims to novelty and 'fresh expressions' made by these New Churches, it is perhaps an almost entirely hermetically-sealed branch of Evangelical Christianity that possesses the potential to most alter the face of Scottish, and British, Evangelicalism: the Black Majority Churches.[75] Between 2005 and 2010 there was, according to Peter Brierley, a 27% surge in Pentecostal Church membership, the membership of which is 'mostly black, evangelical and charismatic,' with a further 22% increase predicted in this sector between 2010 and 2015.[76] In concrete terms, this meant that in there were six hundred new Pentecostal churches founded between 2005 and 2010, the large majority of them being Black Majority Churches.[77]

Black Majority Churches were originally formed by those Caribbean and West African immigrants who arrived in Britain in great numbers from the 1950s onward. Many were small and located in England, although several founded congregations (often referred to as 'branches') in Scotland. For example, the Nigerian Celestial Church of God (founded in 1967) has congregations across Britain, including one in Glasgow. Since the 1980s, Black New Churches have, in common with the parallel White New Churches, adopted a greater focus on church planting and mission to

---

73 Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland*, p. 341.

74 <http://www.investscotland.org/>, accessed 12 July, 2013.

75 For an overview (albeit one which makes no mention of Scotland), see H. Osgood, 'The Rise of Black Churches', in *Church Growth in Britain*, ed. by D. Goodhew, pp. 107–125.

76 P. Brierley, 'Introduction', *UK Church Statistics 2005–2010*, p. 2. <http://www.brierleyconsultancy.com/images/csintro.pdf>, accessed 9th August, 2013.

77 Ibid., p. 5.

'un-evangelized' parts of the United Kingdom.[78] Many of these Black New Churches consist of West African (often Nigerian) Christians from the 'Aladura' tradition of Yoruba Pentecostalism, which emphasises healing, regular divine interventions and an emphasis on personal holiness. The largest African Church in Britain is the Redeemed Christian Church of God. It has 80,000 members. It founded 190 new churches between 2005 and 2010, which means that it now has a church in two-thirds (64%) of the cities in the UK.[79] It has multiple congregations in Scotland, including communities in Glasgow (seven congregations), Edinburgh (six congregations), Dundee (two congregations), Aberdeen, Stirling, Elgin, Fort William, Fraserborough, Inverness, Montrose, Motherwell, Portlethen, and Banchory.[80] The network aims to found a church within five minutes driving distance of every town and city in Great Britain, and, indeed, of the entire developed world.[81] Other Black New Churches include the Deeper Life Bible Church, which has congregations in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee, and the Church of Pentecost, which has churches in Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, and two in Glasgow.

These Black Majority churches are, of course, not solely defined by ethnicity. They also tap into the international networks of the Pentecostal movement and, at least in London, find alliances with Charismatic and Pentecostal churches such as Holy Trinity, Brompton (Anglican) and Kensington Temple (Elim).[82] However, the broad failure to create or even aim for pan-ethnic Evangelical unity within much of British Evangelicalism might be the most troubling of all polarizations in the early twenty-first century precisely because it is so generally ignored when listing divisions. It was a fitting sign of the need for greater integration that the very room used to host the 2011 SETS conference on 'Evangelical Ecumenicity' was rented two days later by Scottish Black Church leaders for their own conference. It would be interesting to learn the number of individuals who attended both meetings. I suspect it would be low, with the current author himself sharing in this collective failure of Evangelical ecumenicity.

78 Osgood, 'The Rise of Black Churches', p. 109.

79 Brierley, *UK Church Statistics*, pp. 3, 5.

80 <http://www.rccguk.org/parish–finder>, accessed 25 June, 2013; R. Burgess, 'African Pentecostal Growth: The Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain', in *Church Growth in Britain*, ed. by D. Goodhew, pp. 127–43.

81 Burgess, 'African Pentecostal Growth', p. 135.

82 Osgood, 'The Rise of Black Churches', p. 117; Kay, *Apostolic Networks*, pp. 145–6.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this review of the history of Evangelical diversity in Scotland, I can do no better than reference sociologist Derek Tidball's analogy of Evangelicalism as a Rubik's Cube. Evangelicalism is best pictured as possessing a multi-faced set of emphases, practices, and beliefs which can be combined in a staggering number of configurations. In the case of the Rubik's Cube, the exact number of possible arrangements is apparently forty-three quintillion, although Tidball does not quite list this many permutations of Evangelicalism![83]

Tidball's sociological analysis is amply supported by the history of Scottish Evangelicalism. The movement has been prone to divergence and even polarisation because it is, by very definition, a coalition forged within the context of a highly fluid post-enlightenment religious free market. It is inherently pluriform. It has always contained within it a debate about the proper locus of authority because of the twin emphases on reviving an authoritative past (be that Reformation or New Testament Christianity) on the one hand, and a desire to incarnate those truths within contemporary society in a way that stresses personal communion and transformative encounters with God on the other. This emphasis has led both individuals and communities to seek 'fresh expressions' of the Evangelical tradition as they hanker for new ways to experience and express old truths (albeit sometimes 'old' truths as mediated through modern eyes).

This diversity has not occluded the possibility of unity. Indeed, many of the communities surveyed in this paper came into being precisely because they expressed a shared discontent with the existing state of the church or of the temperature of Christian spirituality, and thus a common desire for mission and revival. In particular, the drive to create an authentic, essentialist, New Testament church has pulsed through each generation of Scottish Evangelicalism since 1800. In the late nineteenth century this allowed for a considerable ecumenical unity based around the priorities of simple, direct, mass preaching and revival. The charismatic revival of the late twentieth century duplicated this co-operative affinity based on shared language, worship and spiritual experiences. In between, the hegemony of 'conservative' and 'Reformed' theological statements united Evangelicals around a shared range of Bible studies, apologetical networks, and preachers.

But this greatest strength—the construction of an 'imagined community' of mission and worship—is also the movement's greatest weakness. The sinews of the community are stitched not simply from confes-

[83] D. Tidball, *Who Are the Evangelicals?: Tracing The Roots of the Modern Movement* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1994), pp. 19–24.

sions, nor are they enforced by ecclesiastical discipline, but rather they arise from the willingness of participants to authenticate each other's spiritual, doctrinal and liturgical principles and practices. Everyone, and no-one, gets the final say in determining the boundaries. The movement is congenitally destined to be in a constant state of anxiety about its own identity and to fear for its own existence. This is the by-product of the immense effort needed to keep the coalition alive through the constant imaginative re-assessment of its participants. Indeed, its existence may even be fed and sustained by such angst-ridden debates, because they help to keep alive the idea that there *is* such a thing as Evangelicalism to be debated and contested in the first place.

Feelings of disunity and quiet despair about the movement's future longevity may thus, ironically, be a tribute to the very *success* of its networks, institutions, publications, hymns, vocabularies, shibboleths, festivals, merchandise, celebrity preachers in eliding multiple denominations, theologies, and personalities into something that has, on occasion, been capable of exhibiting considerable unity and missiological activism. When these affective bonds break, when individuals transgress invisible boundaries, and when theological factiousness emerges, it probably often comes as more a surprise than it really should! Thus when the nineteenth-century social reformer Lord Shaftesbury lamented 'I know what constituted an Evangelical in former times. I have no clear notion what constitutes one now', we probably learn more about Lord Shaftesbury's varying alertness to the complexity and ambiguities of the movement than we do about Evangelicalism itself. As John Wolffe notes, all participants in the movement 'have been faced with the tension between a perception of evangelicalism as a broad coherent movement and the tendency for this impression to dissolve as soon as precise questions of definition and detail are faced'.[84]

Evangelicals (and post-Evangelicals) often create myths about golden ages that have passed and set them against the supposed decadence or turmoil of the present. Such myth-making is common in all communities, but in Evangelicalism it is symptomatic of the persistent internal quest to comprehend what is an inherently irreducible and sometimes incoherent set of ideas and beliefs. The idea that in the past everything was tidier is a way of helping to bring a conceptual order to a chaotic present. Many of these myths do not, of course, bear up to historical scrutiny. Thus, despite

[84] J. Wolffe, 'Unity in Diversity? North Atlantic Evangelical Thought in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in *Unity and Diversity in the Church: Studies in Church History*, vol. 32, ed. by R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1996), pp. 363–75 (p. 375).

a dominant narrative, it is simply not true that Scottish Evangelicals always used to be Calvinist. While eighteenth-century Evangelicalism did run in Calvinist grooves, the Arminian and existentialist drift of the movement during the nineteenth century was unmistakable. The narrative of an entrenched Calvinism at most speaks more about a hegemony of broadly-Reformed theology within more recent living memory than it does of a history where John Knox has ruled without rival until he was knocked from his pulpit by a man wielding a copy of *The Lost Message of Jesus* and demanding that we should all be slain in the Spirit. Even then, the gap between William Still symbolically showing the revivalist 'mission crowd' the door and C. Gordon Strachan speaking in tongues was only fifteen years: a very brief interlude between two longer periods of typically pietistic emphasis on affective spiritual experientialism.

Nor is it true that Evangelicals used to be wholly or persistently united—on Calvinism, or anything else for that matter. There have been important moments and movements of unity, and moments and movements of division. In every age, there has been a restless restatement of Evangelical priorities that has broken the bounds of established structures and established new ones, sometimes creating division in the very act of seeking greater evangelical unity. This tendency toward pluralism also means that is it also patently untrue that Scottish Evangelicalism is somehow more 'traditional' and hidebound than other parts of the United Kingdom. In fact, the central lowlands and north-eastern coastal communities were the 'burned over' districts of Victorian and early twentieth-century revivalism; Glasgow was 'Gospel City'.[85] Arguably, Scotland was among the most religiously fissiparous, free market, liberalizing, and democratic region of the British Isles. The prevalence of the obdurate-traditionalist-Scot stereotype may owe more to the sense of socio-economic pessimism triggered by the mid-twentieth century decline of heavy industry and its associated malaise than to a historically verifiable Scottish congenital disposition. Evangelicalism flourished, with increasingly rambunctiousness, in a Scotland marked by the individualistic modernism of the Enlightenment and the wide-eyed optimism of Victorian entrepreneurship. There are even signs it is flourishing again, in new ways, in the socially fluid landscape of post-modern Scottish towns and cities.

Is Evangelicalism unravelling? No, in fact the real problem is probably quite the opposite. It's constantly getting thicker, knottier, and more difficult to unravel. This means it becomes harder to dismiss as pure abstraction, and yet, frustratingly for historian and participant alike,

[85] C.G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 102.

also increasingly harder to describe with anything approaching elegant simplicity. Rob Warner's analysis of late twentieth-century English Evangelicalism might apply to the whole movement in Scotland from the late eighteenth-century onward when he refers to the 'chaotic vibrancy' of the Evangelical movement:

> This generates their persistent capacity for self-reinvention and yet, through lack of reflexivity and unconscious accommodationism, produces an inevitable tendency to self-attenuation. Evangelicals are invariably less homogenous, more capable of diverse, competing and even contradictory initiatives, than their advocates may wish or their opponents may fear.[86]

We should therefore not be surprised when the boundaries of today's Scottish Evangelical community stretch, transmute or, as might well be the case within the next three centuries of the movement, become geographically and ethnically re-centred. Indeed, as the work of scholars examining the phenomenon of Christian globalization, such as Lamin Sanneh,[87] Philip Jenkins,[88] Mark Noll,[89] Andrew Walls,[90] Donald Lewis[91] and Brian Stanley,[92] reminds us, late twentieth-century debates about identity and beliefs among white Evangelicals in a small corner of north-western Europe may well pale in significance the questions starting to be raised about Christian identity, leadership, authority, ethics, politics, and economics in the globalized twenty-first century. As these debates increasingly play out among international alliances of Christians in a world dominated demographically by the church of the global South, twenty-first century discussions of Evangelical identity are going to have to increasingly grapple with the disruption of a Scottish (and British) parochialism of a rather different kind.

---

86 Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism*, p. 142.

87 L. Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003).

88 P. Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

89 M. Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009).

90 A.F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002).

91 D.M. Lewis, *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004).

92 Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism*, op. cit.