

CHAPTER 12

New Music and the ‘Evangelical Style’ in the Church of England, c. 1958-1991

Peter Webster and Ian Jones

Introduction

George Carey’s election as the 103rd Archbishop of Canterbury in 1990 provided many commentators with a powerful symbol of the rise and rise of the Church of England’s evangelical wing over the preceding three decades. But this ascendancy was not without controversy, and most hotly debated was the change of style that an evangelical archbishop might potentially bring. Nowhere was this noted more than on the question of music: after concerns were raised over Carey’s choice of music for his enthronement service, the Dean of Canterbury (the Very Revd. John Simpson) was even forced to give assurances in the press that ‘evangelical songs and charismatic hand-claps will not prevent the “unique English choral tradition” from shining through’.¹ Though fundamentally this was a controversy about contrasting conceptions of music and holiness, much was assumed in passing about the nature of evangelicalism and the centrality of a popular style of worship music to it. But whilst the use of chorus and popular song by evangelicals has a long and interesting history, the place of this type of music in perceptions of evangelical identity has not always been so straightforward.

This paper is an attempt to begin to explore the notion of an ‘evangelical style’ in late twentieth century Britain, and the degree to which music became a defining part of that style. Much fruitful work has been done in recent years, and for different historical periods, on how historians classify religious

¹ Paraphrased in: ‘Choral Tradition at Canterbury Safe’, *Church Times* 12.04.1991, p. 2. For more on the wider reaction to the inclusion of the All Souls’ [Langham Place] Ensemble in the service, see: Robin L.D. Rees, *Weary and Ill at Ease: A Survey of Clergy and Organists* (Leominster: Gracewing Fowler Wright, 1993), p. 13.

movements and delineate the defining [page 168] features of membership or allegiance. Work on the English seventeenth century, for instance, has fruitfully posited the notions of both a Puritan and a corresponding Laudian 'style'.² Given the difficulty of arriving at an agreed doctrinal definition of evangelicalism in the late twentieth century, it is perhaps particularly fruitful to explore this notion of 'style'. This has particular analytical power in exploring a repertoire of activities, attitudes and taboos which may together characterise the 'evangelical'. At the same time, not all evangelicals would display evidence of each element, and the idea of a stylistic repertoire allows analysis across denominational boundaries, and over time. The notion of 'style tribes' in evangelicalism has already been explored fruitfully by Pete Ward, drawing on wider literature on 'style' from the discipline of cultural studies.³

This paper seeks to explore in historical perspective how new, pop-influenced worship music became a mark of the evangelical 'style' in the late 20th century Church of England. It is part of a process much wider than simply Anglicanism, but the Church of England is considered here as a manageable case study in the space available. We will argue that in many respects, evangelicals in the Church of England took up experimentation with new music comparatively late, in the 1960s and 70s, and that full identification of the new style with evangelicalism was most closely related to the growing influence of the charismatic renewal. We cannot hope to chart every aspect of that emerging relationship here, so the particular focus is on the level of *perception*, and the forging of what we will call an 'imaginative link' between evangelicals and popular music. Whilst the place of music in evangelicals' sense of their own identity is considered, we have been particularly interested to explore how that link was made in the minds of non-evangelicals. If Evangelicalism is in some senses as much a *condition* as a *confession*, it is important to recognise that identity is as much constructed externally – by non-evangelicals – as internally, by evangelicals themselves.⁴

² C. Durston and J. Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700' in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) pp.1-31; P. Lake, 'The Laudian style: order, uniformity and the pursuit of the beauty of holiness' in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp.161-185.

³ Pete Ward, 'The Tribes of Evangelicalism' in Graham Cray *et al.*, *The Post-Evangelical Debate* (SPCK/Triangle, 1997), pp. 19-34.

⁴ For a good general discussion of recent research on religious identity, see: Simon Coleman and Peter Collins, 'Introduction: Ambiguous Attachments: Religion, Identity and Nation' in Simon Coleman and Peter Collins (eds), *Religion, Identity and Change: Perspectives on Global Transformations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1-25.

Evangelicals and Experimentation with Popular Music for Worship

[Page 169] Although the realm of perception is as important as the reality, identity nevertheless has some basis in events (however subsequently interpreted), and the common association between evangelicals and popular music is no exception. Late 20th century debates about music and 'churchmanship' must acknowledge the long history of the relationship between evangelical religion and popular music; from 18th century revivalist hymn-writers, through the Salvation Army bands and Sankey and Moody hymns of the late 19th century, and the mission and youth chorus books of the early 20th.⁵ For the latter part of the 20th century, Pete Ward's invaluable book *Growing Up Evangelical* provides a sketch of post-war evangelicals' adoption of successive strands of popular musical culture for worship. Three particular phases identified by Ward are taken for granted as the backdrop to this discussion:⁶

First, Ward highlights the significance of the influential collection *Youth Praise* of 1966, compiled by the then London curate (later Bishop of Chester) Michael Baughen, with contributions from some of the brightest young evangelical minds of that new generation. Whilst not actually 'pop', a significant portion of the book employs a light swing style with the explicit intention of reflecting the cultural landscape familiar to a younger audience.

Second, Ward notes the critical importance of the charismatic movement in making extensive use of rock and folk styles: the former most obvious in the 'Jesus rock' of Larry Norman and others; the latter exemplified by the popular worship collections *Sound of Living Waters* (1974) and *Fresh Sounds* (1976). Whilst *Youth Praise* had still been hymnic and strophic in form, the material in *Sound of Living Waters* frequently tends towards a verse-chorus form, with simpler melodic material and greater repetition. Most significantly, whilst *Youth Praise* was originally designed primarily for para-church activities such as youth group meetings, *Sound of Living Waters* was intended for use in the [Page 170] 'normal' course of congregational worship - be that in small week-

⁵ On the Wesleys, see: Erik Routley, *The Musical Wesleys* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1968). On the Salvation Army, see Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England vol IV: From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 166-69. On Moody and Sankey, see Erik Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1964), pp. 196-99; David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989) p.174; John Coffey, 'Democracy and Popular Religion: Moody and Sankey's Mission to Britain, 1873-75' in Eugenio F. Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 93-119.

⁶ Pete Ward, *Growing Up Evangelical: Youth Work and the Making of a Sub-Culture* (London: SPCK, 1996) - see particularly Chapter 5, 'Songs for Each Generation'.

night groups or on Sunday morning.⁷ It thus presented a more direct challenge to the hegemony of traditional hymnody.

Third, Ward identifies the importance of the Restoration Movement and the new House Churches of the 1970s and 1980s for the introduction of new ‘soft rock’ and rock ballad styles to evangelical worship, primarily through the hugely popular *Songs of Fellowship*⁸ and the musical diet of a series of major Christian conferences (notably *Spring Harvest* from 1979), both of which played a crucial part in introducing this new style to worshippers in the historic, ‘mainstream’ denominations.

That evangelicals have widely used these popular musical styles is indisputable (although the precise extent of this usage is part of an ongoing project of research on the part of the authors). However, the strength of the later association between evangelicals and pop has often obscured the degree to which - particularly in the 1950s and 60s - experimentation with church pop was not wholly (or even primarily) an evangelical undertaking.

Breaking the Connection: Perceptions of Pop in Church from the 1950s to the 1970s

At the beginning of our period, the perception of a strong connection between evangelicalism, or at least evangelistic endeavour, and popular worship music was commonly made within what we could loosely term ‘the Anglican musical establishment’.⁹ The strength of the identification is demonstrated by a frequent confusion of the terms “evangelical” and “evangelistic”. Thus it was that the positive reception of the Geoffrey Beaumont Folk Mass could be interpreted as more due to ‘the evangelical possibilities than by the fitness and quality of the music’.¹⁰ [Page 171] David Lumsden, organist of New College, Oxford referred to ‘the overtly evangelical intention and usually crude technique’ of the recent experiments in church pop.

⁷ Although it should also be said that *Youth Praise* also came to be used extensively in Sunday services in some parishes - particularly those with regular Family Services (Ward, *Growing Up Evangelical*, pp. 149-50)

⁸ Which sold 750,000 copies in its first six years (Tony Collins, ‘Blockbuster Tales and Gospel Songs’, *Church Times*, 1 March 1991, p. 8).

⁹ A loose nexus of individuals and organisations regarding themselves as guardians and producers of the Anglican musical tradition, including salaried organists and choirmasters, concerned clergy, some musicologists and other professional musicians. For a discussion of this nexus and its coherence see: Peter Webster and Ian Jones, ‘Anglican “Establishment” Reactions to “Pop” Church Music in England, c. 1956-1991’ in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Elite and Popular Religion: Studies in Church History* 42, (2006), pp.429-41..

¹⁰ Stephen Rhys and King Palmer, *The ABC of Church Music* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967), p. 64.

This music was 'in effect the Sankey and Moody of our day, with the same attractions and the same limitations'.¹¹

If the connection between popular styles and evangelical religion was well-established, the reality was always more complex, as can be demonstrated by the case of Charles Cleall, organist of the conservative evangelical church of St. Paul, Portman Square, and a well-known church musician and columnist in *Musical Opinion*. Actively opposed to the extension of church pop into public worship, Cleall wrote in 1958 of the damage done by clergy who were 'so keen to give the people just what they wanted... utterly indifferent that it may be rubbish'. 'Thus', he concluded, 'is evangelical music detrimental to musicians, and popular songs degrade the followers of Beethoven'.¹² Indeed, though Cleall himself re-harmonised and republished *Sixty Songs from Sankey*, he limited absolutely their use to extra-liturgical mission services. For the mature believer to continue to desire the milk of these songs, when they should have progressed onto stronger food, was a 'mark of carnality; of self-gratification; of a determination, like that of Peter Pan, not to grow up'.¹³ However, whilst individuals such as Cleall show that a variety of attitudes towards popular music for worship existed amongst Anglicans of evangelical backgrounds, general opinion was more likely to link evangelicals firmly with hymns and songs written in a current or recent popular idiom.

However, a new wave of experimentation with popular music for church was already beginning to leave Anglican evangelicals behind; the most celebrated and indeed notorious example being the publication of Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass* in 1956, subsequently the inspiration for further works over the following decade by the Twentieth Century Church Light Music Group (TCCLMG).¹⁴ The appearance of the *Folk Mass* [Page 172] and a televised performance in 1957 prompted a flood of comment from a range of 'learned' musical publications, with much of the response negative and some of it completely misunderstanding of the genre of the music (it was often -

¹¹ David Lumsden, 'Introduction and Notes' in Gerald Knight and William Reed (General Editors), *The Treasury of English Church Music vol. V: 1900-1965* (London: Blandford 1965), p. xiv.

¹² In the 'Master of the Choir' column, *Musical Opinion* 969 (June 1958), pp. 599, 601.

¹³ *Sixty Songs from Sankey, newly presented for voices by Charles Cleall* (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1960), Preface [no pagination]. On Cleall, see Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music* pp.203-5. See also Cleall's *The Selection and Training of Mixed Choirs in Churches* (London: Independent Press, 1960), especially pp. 13-22.

¹⁴ See (all published by Weinberger of London) Appleford's *Mass of Five Melodies* and John Alldis' *Festival Te Deum*; also: *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes by Members of the Twentieth Century Church Light Music Group* (1960); *More 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1962) and also a collection of reflections: *Pop Goes the Hymn Tune; 20th Century Light Church Music in Schools and Parishes* (Prism Pamphlet 14, London, 1964).

wrongly - described as 'pop' or as a 'jazz mass'¹⁵).

But despite the apparent ease with which its critics could mis-label it, neither Beaumont's *Folk Mass* nor the hymn tunes of the TCCLMG ever seem to have acquired an 'evangelical' tag. This was partly due to the personnel involved: Beaumont in later life became a monk at Mirfield; hymn-writer Patrick Appleford was the product of Chichester Theological College; Sydney Carter - arguably the most celebrated popular hymn-writer of the 1960s - openly professed a much more liberal brand of Christianity.¹⁶ However, this obscuring of the historic link between evangelicalism and popular worship songs also rested upon a much wider shift in initiative towards the liberal wing of the Church of England over the 1960s, from which also came some of the loudest advocacy for experimenting with pop in church. In 1963 John Robinson's *Honest to God* appeared to open up a greater range of styles by insisting that the Church 'let the decor, the music and the architecture seal the language of the world it is meant to be transforming'.¹⁷ The year before, Southwark Cathedral was one of several to host 'pop evensong' events featuring music provided by rhythm and beat groups.¹⁸ Correspondingly, in the minds of church pop's most trenchant critics, the blame for its appearance was to be placed squarely at the door of what Charles Cleall called 'the Tillich-Bonhoeffer-Woolwich group'.¹⁹ Even as late as 1995, former Director of the RSCM Lionel Dakers criticised younger clergy for jumping 'onto the popular bandwagon which dictated the preaching *in excelsis* of a predominantly social gospel with music to match it, in other words the *Honest to God* syndrome'.²⁰

Of course, this was not to say that evangelical experimentation with **[Page 173]** pop was non-existent; evangelicals were amongst the pioneers of coffee-bar evangelism featuring folk and 'beat' groups, the stable of the next generation of leading evangelical musicians, such as Graham Kendrick.²¹ Evangelical parishes were also amongst many in the 1960s to experiment with congregational singing led by 'beat' groups playing traditional hymns as well

¹⁵ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England 3: The Ecumenical Century, 1900 to the Present* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1996 edn), p. 108.

¹⁶ On Sydney Carter, see Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1990* (London, SCM Press, 3rd edn 1991) p.584.

¹⁷ John A.T. Robinson, *Honest to God* (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 89. For a general account of the theological climate of the period, see Hastings, *A History of English Christianity* pp.536-46.

¹⁸ *Church News*, March 1963

¹⁹ Charles Cleall, *Music and Holiness* (Epworth Press, London, 1964), p. 11

²⁰ Lionel Dakers, *Places where they Sing: Memoirs of a Church Musician* (Norwich, Canterbury Press, 1995), p. 207.

²¹ Graham Kendrick, 'Worship in Spirit and Truth' in Stephen Darlington and Alan Kreider (eds), *Composing Music for Worship* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003), pp. 86-103 (p. 90)

as newer material. Nevertheless, such experiments were sporadic, and the dominant trend amongst evangelical congregations of the time was towards the maintenance of tried and trusted forms. As Colin Buchanan has written, 'Before 1962 the trends in liturgy for Evangelicals were nil - everything was static'.²² He might equally have been writing of church music in evangelical parishes for the same period (and in not a few cases, for most of the rest of the decade). Moreover, amidst the heightened religious turmoil of the 1960s, normal expectations of what each church party could be expected to do seem temporarily to have been suspended: a review of the church press for the period up to the early 1970s suggests that experimentation with popular music for worship was not disproportionately sponsored by any particular church tradition. As late as 1970, St. Paul's Cathedral was hosting 'Jazz Praises', with the Dean extolling the virtues of 'the pop approach to religion' to gathered journalists.²³

Re-Forging the Link: Attitudes to Evangelicalism and 'Choruses' since the 1970s

By the mid-1970s, however, the imaginative link between evangelicals and church pop was being re-formed. That this association was becoming increasingly clear in the minds of non-evangelicals can be seen in the gradual shift in the thinking of leading church musician and writer Lionel Dakers. In his 1970 work *Church Music at the Crossroads*, Dakers had much to say about the 'New Look' of Sydney Carter and Malcolm Williamson, and what he described as the 'pop element', but implied no particular evangelical leadership in the latter. By the late 1970s this began to change. In his 1976 *Handbook of Parish Music*, Dakers asked what were the 'implications, and perhaps the threats, of the growth of the charismatic movement?' He diagnosed that much of the upsetting of the balance of formality and informality, spontaneity and order was 'reflected in a background tending more towards the [Page 174] Evangelical approach, where music is questioned and "traditional" music is suspect as an aid to worship'.²⁴ In 1983 Dakers again addressed what he dubbed the 'charismatic question', but in fact seems to elide evangelicalism with renewal, referring to his attendance at 'evangelical and charismatic' worship.²⁵ Over the period of the 1980s this linkage of pop and evangelicalism continued to grow in non-evangelical minds. By 1989, the visible crystallisation of different approaches to music around leading individuals of differing churchmanship

²² Colin Buchanan, 'Liturgy' in John C. King (ed.), *Evangelicals Today: 13 Stock-Taking Essays* (Guildford and London: Lutterworth, 1973), pp. 61-90 (p. 61)

²³ 'Pop at St. Paul's', *Church Times*, 5 June 1970, p. 8

²⁴ Lionel Dakers, *A Handbook of Parish Music* (Oxford: Mowbray, 1976) p.116.

²⁵ Lionel Dakers, *Church Music in a Changing World* (Oxford: Mowbray, 1984) p.12.

was such that a conference to encourage dialogue between them was thought worthwhile. This included Lionel Dakers and Christopher Dearnley (former organist of St Paul's cathedral) as well as the Roman Catholic Stephen Dean and prominent figures in the new style such as Dave Fellingham and Phil Lawson Johnston.²⁶

Nor was the progressive identification of evangelicalism and 'pop' church music confined to those outside the evangelical or charismatic spheres. Amidst a climate of optimism about the strength of Anglican evangelicalism in the 1980s, 1987 found a more pessimistic Michael Saward pondering the 'disturbing legacy' of the 1960s and 1970s. The decade, he felt, had produced a generation of evangelical clergy

brought up on guitars, choruses and home group discussions. Educated... not to use words with precision because the image is dominant, not the word. [...] Excellent when it comes to providing religious music, drama and art. Not so good when asked to preach and teach the Faith or to express it in writing.²⁷

Furthermore, while discussing in the mid 1990s an 'evangelical identity crisis', the conservative commentator Melvin Tinker suggested that the term evangelical itself had shifted from being a noun to an adjective, 'a sociological cypher denoting those who have had a similar past – maybe converted at a Billy Graham meeting, members of the IVF [Inter Varsity Fellowship]... in their university days, folk who are keen on evangelism and having a taste for modern hymnody. This is a far cry for [sic] the theological confessional identification which marked our forbears'.²⁸ It is [Page 175] striking that 'modern hymnody' makes it onto this list of recognizable evangelical traits.

The reasons for this growing identification are manifold and complex, and subject to ongoing research. We can, however, begin to sketch some main themes here. Perhaps the single most important factor was the growth of the charismatic movement within the Church of England. We have already noted, following Pete Ward, the charismatic and restorationist movements' championing of a soft rock style with a verse-chorus format, rather than the folk, swing and light music styles which had previously been the main focus of experimentation. The common use of the new music for mainstream church services, rather than merely for fringe events, also served to strengthen the imaginative link between evangelicals and pop church music: the 1981 report

²⁶ The conference, held at the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity, issued in a published collection of essays; Robin Sheldon (ed.), *In Spirit and in Truth. Exploring Directions in Music and Worship Today* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989).

²⁷ Michael Saward, *The Anglican Church Today: Evangelicals on the Move* (Oxford: Mowbray, 1987) p.92.

²⁸ Melvin Tinker (ed.), *The Anglican Evangelical Crisis* (Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 1995), p. 10.

on *The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England* identified a trend towards the late 70s of the gradual 'charismaticisation' of worship in a second wave of Anglican churches, but this time primarily focused on the style of the service and often without the charismata themselves. This is perhaps the key process by which the new style of music was spread amongst evangelical Anglican parishes.

However, this spread in practice is not sufficient in itself to explain the increasing identification in theory. The process was aided more generally by the increasing visibility of evangelicals, and in particular by their use of new styles of music at major events,²⁹ from the Festivals of Light and *Spree* events in the early 1970s, to the success of Greenbelt and Spring Harvest over the following decades. This heightened profile was also aided by a boom in publishing activity. From the mid-1960s *Buzz* magazine serviced a growing demand amongst young evangelicals for information on popular Christian music, and certainly by the mid-1970s contributors frequently appear to assume that 'chorus-singing' would be a familiar feature of worship for many of their readers, alongside 'hand-clapping', praying 'without using a prayer book to guide you', a preacher who 'doesn't wear his dog collar' and a 'relaxing and informal' atmosphere.³⁰ One 1991 survey estimated that around half of all books produced in the Christian publishing revolution of the 1980s had a strongly evangelical basis.³¹ Among these were a number in [Page 176] the mid 1980s by prominent musicians, such as Graham Kendrick, Chris Bowater and, amongst the Anglicans, Andrew Maries of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.³²

The raised profile of evangelical musicians was coupled with a marked loss of impetus amongst those non-evangelical sections of the church which had taken the lead in the 1950s and 60s. The optimism and openness to experimentation and the search for a 'New Reformation' which had characterised the later part of the 1960s had given way by the early 1970s to an exhaustion, and a feeling amongst some that these experiments had not worked.³³ Those with little time for the new music for its own sake perhaps

²⁹ Tony Jasper, *Jesus and the Christian in a Pop Culture* (London: Robert Royce, 1984), pp. 133-156. On the moving of evangelicals 'into a broad place' see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp.249-70.

³⁰ Quotations here taken from Sue Ritter's regular column in *Buzz*, February 1975, p. 25. Here, Ritter exhorted her readers not to become distracted by peripherals when seeking to share their faith with friends.

³¹ Tony Collins, 'Beating the Bookshop Drum', *Church Times* 22 February 1991p. 8

³² Graham Kendrick, *Worship* (Eastbourne, Kingsway, 1984); Andrew Maries, *One Heart, One Voice: The Rich and Varied Resource of Music in Worship* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985); Chris Bowater, *The Believer's Guide to Worship* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1986).

³³ Adrian Hastings, 'All Change: The Presence of the Past in British Christianity' in Haddon Wilmer (ed.), *20/20 Visions: The Futures of Christianity in Britain* (London: SPCK, 1992), pp. 13-29 (p.20)

increasingly felt that the new music had failed to live up to its promise of attracting the young; it was therefore time to ensure that at least the needs of existing church members were satisfied. Moreover, after a decade of hearing that the church 'must move with the times', the early 1970s saw signs of a renewed determination to reassert the church's distinctiveness in a more unapologetic fashion.³⁴ By this time a level of space existed for a plurality of styles of worship, and so it became possible for those who preferred the traditional style of music to concentrate on developing and defending it in the places where it was still used, and in general to cease criticising the newer style (at least in print).³⁵

Nevertheless, despite this process of liturgical fragmentation, new styles rarely remained within the sub-culture which gave them birth. If advocates of traditional church music were generally content to ignore the new music of evangelical and charismatic Anglicans so long as they kept themselves to themselves, the increased prominence of evangelicalism within the Church of England of the 1970s and 80s occasionally meant it was impossible to maintain an indifferent stance. Major events involving a spectrum of churchgoers - such as 1984's *Mission England* - were crucial in introducing the new music to different audiences. Added to this, by the late 1970s perhaps as many as half of the church's ordinands had trained in theological colleges with an evangelical tradition,³⁶ far outstripping the number of evangelical [Page 177] parishes available for them to serve in. Although Paul Welsby reflects that for the most part, these clergy were content to respect the existing traditions of non-evangelical parishes and make only sensitive changes,³⁷ the introduction of a more popular style of music and worship could occasionally create division. The featuring of the more notorious of these cases in both the church and secular press only seems to have cemented the connection between evangelicals and popular music in the minds of observers. Thus, in a letter to *The Times* in November 1990, a Revd. Peter Jones of Beckenham complained of the situation in London where 'too many clergymen are busy disbanding choirs and discarding organists, and introducing banal pop-style groups...'. 'I fear', he continued, 'that the tradition will be lucky to live beyond the turn of the century unless there is some check on the increasing intolerance towards church music being displayed by the evangelical wing of the Church of England'.³⁸

Furthermore, if the wider identification of evangelicalism with pop-influenced worship music was not complete by 1991, the controversy surrounding George Carey's choice of music for his enthronement as

³⁴ Grave Davie, *Religion in Britain Since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 36.

³⁵ Webster and Jones, 'Anglican "Establishment" Reactions to "Pop" Church Music'.

³⁶ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1990* p. 615

³⁷ Paul Welsby, *A History of the Church of England, 1945-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 212

³⁸ *The Times*, 30 November 1990, p. 15

Archbishop of Canterbury guaranteed to make it so. Against a backdrop of expectation that a 'charismatic Archbishop' would do things differently, the inclusion of the All Souls' Ensemble playing renewal-inspired songs at the exchange of the peace caused outrage in some quarters, despite the fact that most of the music for the service drew unflinchingly on the English choral tradition. Writing just before the enthronement, *The Times*' Clifford Longley reported 'the purist fear that a showcase of Anglican choral music at its best – boys' treble voices soaring to the medieval vaults – will be spoilt by the catchy holiday camp songs favoured by the "charismatic" movement of the Church, to which Dr. Carey inclines'.³⁹ Even the satirical TV show *Spitting Image* joined in, with a sketch of the new Archbishop proposing to change the symbol of the Church from the cross to a tambourine. Such now was the regularity of the identification between evangelicalism and the new style of worship that one Debra-Lyn Powell wrote to *The Times* after the enthronement service saying 'I feel it is necessary to rescue the term "evangelical" before it becomes completely debased by both Christians and the secular media. An evangelical', she continued, 'believes in the full inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures and their authority and sufficiency concerning salvation, doctrine and holy living. [Page 178] Evangelicalism has nothing to do with a "freer" form of worship, but everything to do with true, holy, joyful, reverent and sacrificial worship of God'.⁴⁰ Unfortunately for the writer, not many people seemed to be listening.

Conclusion

To conclude, the connection between evangelicalism and new 'pop' styles of worship music became a stronger one in the minds of both evangelicals and non-evangelicals over the post-Second World War period. In so doing, this displayed striking continuities with long-standing perceptions of evangelical religion through the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even so, the connection between the new worship music and evangelical identity has not been a straightforward one. Indeed, the more inward-looking evangelicalism of the fifties and early sixties was comparatively slow to take up the new music, with little in the way of a discernible pattern to the experimentation (at least in terms of churchmanship). Even with the charismatic movement's crucial championing of more overtly 'pop' styles in the 1970s, these new songs did not become (or re-establish themselves as) a defining feature of evangelical identity until the 1980s. However, from the mid-seventies to the late eighties, the rejection of experiments with pop by the broader church, the spread of the new music into Sunday worship rather than

³⁹ Clifford Longley, 'Why the Church is Wary of Carey', *The Times*, 8 April 1991, p. 14

⁴⁰ *The Times*, 19 April 1991, p. 15

just in mission and youth events, and the wider buoyancy of evangelicalism within the Church of England, served to ensure that by the time of George Carey's enthronement in 1991, that imaginative link was firmly established.

As a postscript, it is worth adding that ironically, at the very time of the enthronement service debate, the association between evangelicalism and the new music *in practice* was already beginning to fragment. First, evangelical worship leaders and song-writers were beginning to re-discover the richness of other, older musical traditions.⁴¹ Second, a new generation of 'conservative evangelicals' were expressing growing reservations about the desirability and moral pedigree of the [Page 179] pop style.⁴² At the other end of the spectrum some evangelical parishes and individuals were beginning to experiment with dance music and reflective 'alternative worship' services, both of which (in their different ways) stood out directly against the light pop and rock of the charismatic chorus.⁴³ Last, through events such as Mission England, and through a less perceptible process of gradual osmosis, so-called 'happy-clappy' choruses were beginning to find their way into services in non-evangelical parishes (albeit often without the guitar and the clapping). The final irony of this paper is that - despite these developments in reality - little had changed in the realm of perception. The commonplace imaginative link between evangelical identity and 'pop' church music appears to have remained firmly intact - at least amongst non-evangelicals.

⁴¹ Stuart Townend for example has drawn on Celtic rhythms in some of his more recent song-writing, whilst Graham Kendrick is one of several song-writers to have made new arrangements of popular English hymns (See the contributions of both writers to: *Songs of Fellowship* Vol. III (Eastbourne: Kingsway Music, 2003).

⁴² An account of this disquiet is given in: Michael J. Iliff, 'Worship Wars within Reformed Evangelicalism' (unpublished paper presented to the British Evangelical Identities Conference, Kings College, London, 30 July 2004).

⁴³ For an ethnographic study of 'alternative worship', see: Matthew Guest, '“Alternative” Worship: Challenging the Boundaries of the Christian Faith' in Elizabeth Arweck and Martin D. Stringer (eds), *Theorising Faith: The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Ritual* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2002), pp. 35-56.