Evangelical Christianity and Modernism

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The first two articles in this series have established that Evangelical Christianity has been loosely intertwined during recent centuries with major trends in western culture, with the Enlightenment and then with Romanticism. In this third article the subject is the relationship of Evangelicalism to the great cultural innovation of the twentieth century, Modernism. Since this third cultural wave is still breaking on our shore, it is hard to discern its exact composition. Nevertheless it is important to distinguish the phenomenon of cultural Modernism from theological Modernism. The subject of this article is not theological Modernism, what Fundamentalists were attacking in the 1920s, the process of attempting to bring Christianity up to date by dropping bits here and there and remodelling doctrine on Enlightenment and on Romantic lines. Rather the subject is cultural Modernism, a movement with origins at the start of the twentieth century among theorists, artists and littérateurs. It represents as great a break in western civilization as the Enlightenment or Romanticism themselves. Virginia Woolf, the novelist, put it in a nutshell by saying that in December 1910 “human nature changed.” Despite a certain element of hyperbole, there is a great deal of truth in the observation. Virginia Woolf’s comment refers to the impact of the first London exhibition of Post-Impressionist art. The onset of Post-Impressionism was symptomatic of a major cultural shift that began to impinge on Western countries shortly before the First World War. It encompassed Berlin, Paris and New York as well as London. Modernism was emerging.

The movement can be traced, more than to any other single individual, to Friedrich Nietzsche. The break of Nietzsche, the German classicist, philosopher and aesthete, with the composer Richard Wagner in 1876 is symbolic. Wagner’s music can properly be seen as the fullest efflorescence of the Romantic. Nietzsche, formerly a good friend of Wagner, became disgusted with the undue floridity of his music. In Nietzsche’s book Human, all too Human (1877-79) he gave himself what he calls a course of anti-Romantic self-treatment. The resulting Nietzschean philosophy is best known for the aphorism ‘God is dead’, but it had elaborate implications for all spheres of cultural activity. Metaphysics was rejected in all senses. There is no such thing, according to Nietzsche, as objective reality. The sky, he says, contains “no eternal reason-spider and spider’s web.” What he means is that if we hold that there is no God, then it follows that there is no order in the universe at all. There is no spider’s web holding together what we perceive around us. Truth is merely “a mobile marching army of metaphors, metonyms and anthropomorphisms.” Language cannot represent reality, for there is ultimately no reality to represent. Certainly there is no correspondence between words and things.

That perception was expressed more systematically in the early twentieth century by the Swiss philologist Ferdinand de Saussure, an authority who has exercised enormous influence on French thought. He held that the value of terms in language is the result solely of the relationship of those terms to other terms. Language derives its force from its relatedness. It has no meaning in itself. The structure of language creates meaning. Hence the French
tradition of thought stemming from Saussure is called Structuralism. It has produced, for example, the writings of the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, and particularly his *La Pensee Sauvage* (1962). Lévi-Strauss applies Saussure's principle to human behaviour. He argues that meaning is dependent on the arrangement of the parts in the object of study. In myth, for instance, the analysis would concentrate not on the story, but on the relationship of the elements such as Old Man/Young Man. The pattern of the appearance of words is what alone is significant. This principle, first seen in Nietzsche, has spread through such trends as Structuralism to a much wider public as the twentieth century has proceeded. Nietzsche is the grandfather of the late twentieth-century intellectual climate.

The second most significant formative influence has been the depth psychology of Freud and Jung. Freud's psychoanalysis was conceived as a form of scientific positivism, but it had a great impact on the cultural world. Depth psychologists see themselves as looking inside the subconscious to discern the mixture of reason, will and emotion that constitutes the normal content of the human being. According to depth psychology, thought and feeling cannot be disentangled. They are mingled in the way human beings express themselves. Human beings according to Modernism, in all its varieties, should give expression to what they feel/think inside them. Self-expression—"letting it all hang out," as a vogue phrase had it in the 1960s—is the fruit of this trend of opinion.

The combined influence of the schools of thought associated with Nietzsche and Freud is evident in a whole range of fields. The dream world, for example, has become a subject for art. The Surrealist painters such as Salvador Dali expressed on canvas some central themes of Modernism. In literature there was a concern with the jumble of the interior life. The stream of consciousness technique developed in the novel, most notably perhaps in James Joyce. The reader seems to be in the mind of the protagonist, participating in his mixed flow of thought and feeling. In ethics the qualities of the individual or of the community became less important. Both individualism and holism were superseded. What has been central for Modernist moral theorists is interpersonal relationships. G. E. Moore, the philosopher of the Bloomsbury Group, a set of people in the vanguard of Modernist thought in England, stressed the nexus between human beings. Again, sexuality has generally been treated more explicitly than before in Modernist art and thought. Bloomsbury was very philosophical, but equally it was bawdy. There was in Modernism undoubtedly a tendency to downgrade humanity as such. The self was seen as part of the surrounding chaos. "The goal of the human sciences," according to Lévi-Strauss, "is not to constitute man, but to dissolve him." Because human beings are so feeble and flawed, they are irrelevant to their artifacts. Art is a product of social conventions that transcend the individual. Human subjectivity can therefore be eliminated from the study of great art. In music, for example, Anton Webern developed the technique of pre-forming the music from principles of composition determined in advance without any regard to the actual sound. That imposition of structure from pre-determined decisions eliminated human agency. The whole trend was to repudiate the dignity of human beings. For many Modernists "humanism" became a term of abuse.

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Modernism displaying such characteristics emerged at the start of the twentieth century among the avant-garde. Since then it has gradually spread to a wider public through many fields. It has not yet been superseded. Post-Modernism is at present a vogue subject for discussion. In architecture, for instance, it is a distinctive idiom. Post-Modernism, however, is not so called because it has replaced Modernism. Rather its title means that it has supplanted "modernity," the quest for technological progress in Western Society. In fields where the two terms are both used, Post-Modernism shows a strong debt to Modernism. The two, in fact, are continuous. An illustration would be Richard Rogers' monument of Post-Modernist architecture in Paris, the Pompidou Centre, where all the service ducts are prominent on the outside—letting it all hang out. That feature is in continuity with the Bauhaus School of the 1920s, a branch of the so-called "Modern Movement" in architecture that gave function priority over traditional design techniques. Modernism, like the Enlightenment and Romanticism before it, is an enduring cultural movement which has taken many forms, and yet has remained a recognizable
Modernism impinged on Evangelical Christianity in only a minor way before the 1960s. Its impact came chiefly through the Oxford Group in the inter-war period. The Oxford Group was an evangelistic movement specializing in work among the young and successful, especially college graduates. It was labelled “the Salvation Army of the upper classes.” Led by Dr Frank Buchman, a Pennsylvania Lutheran minister, it started as an organization intending to evangelize college students in America. From the late 1920s Buchman possessed a base in Oxford and his followers rapidly became known as the Oxford Group. Teams of life-changers, sometimes Oxford undergraduates, would visit an area urging their hearers to surrender to God. Interested individuals were drawn into groups, from which the organization drew its name. Members would meet regularly, often weekly, for mutual confession of sins. Four ethical absolutes were upheld in the movement: honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. Any declension from those absolute standards was subject for confession. Adherents were encouraged to spend quiet times, as they were called, jotting down thoughts in notebooks and believing that they formed guidance from God. In the early 1930s the movement evoked enormous enthusiasm and was called a new revival by many Christian leaders. After the Second World War, although many Evangelical Christians remained committed members, the movement became much less distinctly Christian. It identified with anti-Communism and tried to influence politics at a high level. The later evolution of the organization into the so-called MRA (Moral Re-Armament) should not obscure the earlier period when it was a much less structured, much more populist revival movement.

Buchman was exceptionally sensitive to cultural variations. As an American, he would naturally use the word “elevator” when at home in America, but in Britain he was scrupulous to use the word “lift.” He wished to remove all cultural obstacles to evangelism, and so urged his agents and supporters to be similarly sensitive to linguistic nuances. He quite consciously discarded theological terminology because he was convinced it was superfluous for life-changing. He deliberately adopted the latest fashion. Thus the name Moral Re-Armament, which the whole body adopted in 1938, was chosen because at that time the re-armament of the western powers against the German threat was a topical theme. The Oxford Group was rather like a chameleon taking colour from its environment. It is not surprising that in this movement, so sensitive to cultural change, the first ripples of Modernism can be observed. Some of the characteristics can be specified.

First there was self-expression. “Sharing,” a word that first came into vogue in the Oxford Group, was the chief means of evangelism. Converts were urged to speak frankly of their past sins. On occasion this could approximate to the ridiculous, as for example when one young woman confessed to having allowed herself to think, “Fancy Mavis coming to communion in an orange blouse!” A candid and regretful revelation of a person’s past, however, could have enormous persuasive power. It was typical of the Modernist emphasis on talking freely about how a person really felt.

In the second place there was depth psychology. The groups were concerned with mutual counselling. Indeed they pioneered certain techniques of group therapy subsequently taken up by the American armed forces during the Second World War for those shocked in combat. The object of the exercise was to achieve psychological health, as was made explicit in the literature of the movement. Churchmen of the day who wanted a rapprochement between theology and psychology were attracted by the Oxford Group. Leslie Weatherhead, for example, an English Methodist who was noted for his psychological counselling in the late 1920s and early 1930s, was drawn into its fringe. Depth psychology was a feature of the movement.

Thirdly, personal relations were exalted. The stress on the link between individuals rather than on the individuals themselves or on the community that they formed was characteristic of Modernism. There was intense camaraderie in the Oxford Group. The members freely used the slang of the day: things were “scruptious’” or “rippling” or “awfully jolly.” They habitually used first names. According to a critical commentator, the Groupers “would have addressed the Holy Apostles themselves by their Christian names, or rather they would have abbreviated them and called Saint Peter Pete.” Authentic relations between persons seemed to entail using first names, which is exactly what the Bloomsbury Group did. Close personal relations were given a significant priority.

Fourthly, the Groupers cultivated holy worldliness. There was a rejection in the movement of
traditional Evangelical taboos. Members, for example, would take country rambles on Sunday and young women Groupers would ostentatiously engage in sunbathing, which was not an Evangelical practice in the 1930s. There was no sharp boundary between the sacred and the secular in the thought of the movement. Members were quite prepared to take up drama — indeed to create theatre if it was, as they put it, God-controlled. After the Second World War they actually bought a London theatre in order to put on plays of an edifying kind. The preparedness to be holy in the world, to cultivate a spirituality embodied in everyday life, was very similar to the abolition of boundaries in Modernist art. In the painting of Andy Warhol the Coca-Cola bottle was treated as a legitimate object of art. Why should it simply be relegated to the trash can? Likewise among the Groupers no area was defined as profane.

Fifthly, there was a nebulous tone in the thinking of the Oxford Group. Other Evangelicals were critical that its grasp of doctrine was weak. The Group claimed to uphold, for example, the doctrine of the atonement. But its members refused to formulate any teaching about the atonement in words. They disliked definition. Their reluctance was characteristic of Modernism, with its refusal to pin down words to a single meaning. Nebulosity was to be expected.

Sixthly, there was an anti-institutional thrust in the practice of the Oxford Group. It had an ambiguous relationship with the churches. Buchman and his friends wanted to gain endorsement from ecclesiastical leaders, but church organizations were not their priority. Their own internal activities necessarily came first. To them ecclesiastical structures were of extreme unimportance. Likewise in worship there was little prayer, no intercession, no hymns. Many areas that were important to traditional Christian worship were treated as insignificant. Anglo-Catholics in particular criticized the Group for seeing the institutional church as an irrelevance. The neglect in this area was parallel to the anti-organizational temper amongst the bohemian pioneers of Modernism in the preceding generation. The essence of the Modernist thrust in twentieth century culture has been a critical stance towards existing institutions. The Oxford Group was similarly dismissive.

Seventhly, there was an authoritarian strand in the movement. This may seem paradoxical because the anti-institutional may not seem to marry with the authoritarian. On the contrary, however, its anti-institutional stance made the Oxford Group so profligate that there was a need for firm authority to hold it together. Thus Frank Buchman insisted on controlling the whole from the top. Parallels with Hitler were drawn by some. Modernist art (as in the music of Webern) often incorporates predetermined patterns in order to eliminate human subjectivity. Significant structure is held not to be intrinsic but is imposed from outside. Likewise an authoritarian note was struck by the Oxford Group.

The seven features illustrate that the Oxford Group adapted closely to the spirit of the age. It made its chief impact on the elite groups of the societies it touched. It drew support from members of legislatures and leaders of business. It also appealed to the young and the educated. It affected those who were most swayed by the incoming cultural influences of that generation. But the movement soon faded. Buchman failed to lay sufficiently firm foundations in any one country. His net was spread too widely. When his authoritarian decisions were called into question, individual groups broke away, and the momentum of the organization slackened. For a while there was a permeation of Evangelical religion by Modernism, but after a short time permeation came to an end. Evangelicalism, as it were, proved resistant to the attempt to inject Modernism into its bloodstream.

For that reason the major impact of Modernism was long delayed. It was not until the 1960s that it began to have a significant effect on the Evangelical movement. Its chief vehicle was charismatic renewal. The movement started at St Mark’s Episcopal Church, Van Nuys, California, in 1959. The rector received a fresh experience of the Holy Spirit as a result of contact with a classic Pentecostalist. Speaking in tongues was heard in his congregation. The movement spread through the American Episcopal Church, and then to other denominations and to other countries. Outside the existing denominations house churches holding charismatic convictions have developed with very similar teaching, stressing the possibilities of renewal in the Christian life through the work of the Holy Spirit. What is striking is that the same characteristics that we have already identified in the Oxford Group as representing Modernist culture can be discerned in charismatic renewal. Let us specify.

The first characteristic, self-expression, is most obvious in worship. The vibrant praise which is a
feature of charismatic renewal represents the spirit of Modernism. It is the same type of music that is common in the culture that surrounds Evangelicalism in our day. The Sound of Living Waters (1974) and other hymn books associated with renewal have a contemporary ring. Likewise, there has been a use of the body in worship, most evident with the raising of hands, which represents an emphasis on the physical expression of feeling that goes right back to Nietzsche. At a eucharist for those touched by the renewal movement on the eve of the 1978 Lambeth Conference, it was reported by the press that twenty-five charismatic bishops led a dance round the communion table of Canterbury Cathedral. Bodily self-expression was not confined to worship. Hugs of greeting, for example, became common. People felt they had to demonstrate how they really felt. Self-expression bore the stamp of Modernism.

Secondly, there was depth psychology. Healing ministries are a feature of charismatic renewal. Inner healing can mean exorcism from demonic sources, but more commonly it means prayer counselling. Michael Harper, the leader of the interdenominal renewal movement in Britain in the 1960s and early 1970s, spoke of the need for a “release from tension and inhibitions.” Harper admitted that preoccupation with psychological healing could sometimes divert the movement from the priority of evangelism. Harper was always eager that nothing should detract from evangelistic responsibility. Renewal was an Evangelical movement, but it embodied a dimension that harks back to the depth psychology of Freud and Jung.

In the third place personal relations were held to be important. It has been common for charismatic people to criticize traditional churches for allowing individual members to be like billiard balls, bouncing off each other and not having significant social relations. For it is those social relations that many people touched by renewal wish to stress. They see the church as an organism where people know each other well. In house churches there is commonly a recommendation that all the members should live within a specified distance. Communities are actually created by renewal. The Church of the Redeemer at Houston in Texas is probably the best known of them. Personal relations have a central place in renewal.

Fourthly, there was holy worldliness. Like the Oxford Group, charismatics generally rejected traditional Evangelical shibboleths. Members of a house church in Wales, for example, scandalized the good Christian people of the town by buying ice cream on Sunday, reading Sunday newspapers and drinking wine at dinner. For them there was no boundary between the sacred and the secular. Hence an enormous surge of creativity has marked charismatic renewal. Craft and coffee shops are common. Drama, mime, banners, sacred dance and Christian clowning are all features of the movement. There is a penchant for the arts that reflects a desire not to shun the world but to explore it in the name of Christ.

Fifthly, a certain nebulosity reappeared. In charismatic renewal there is commonly a tendency to downgrade theology in favour of life. Is life the foundation of theology? The movement’s teaching, according to Harper in 1971, is “varied and unsystematic.” The house churches would take this further and often expect ideological change to be normal. God, they often hold, shows fresh truths year by year and so doctrine must actually change. The word is often less central in worship; symbol is correspondingly upgraded. Consequently, there has sometimes been a resurgence of sacramental teaching which has made easier a Catholic/charismatic rapprochement. Teaching, whatever the emphasis, has to be authentic, not rigid.

Sixthly, here was an anti-institutional thrust. According to many charismatics the worst feature of existing churches is bureaucracy. The house churches commonly reject the historic denominations altogether. Gerald Coates, a leader of the house churches in south-eastern England, has put it in a splendid epigram “Denominationalism is sin,” he says. Denominational structures, he believes, are guilty of quenching the Spirit. The idea is part of the drive for spontaneity. Charismatics are sceptical about organizing worship, or even planning conferences. Instead, guidance must be left to the Holy Spirit. Lack of structure is a hallmark.

Yet, seventhly, there is an authoritarian motif that has sometimes emerged in the charismatic renewal movement. This tendency is evident, for example, in worship where it is insisted that the leader has to be prepared to silence false prophets. That entails an exaltation of the role of the worship leader. Leadership has become a vogue theme. Elders have been appointed from lay members even in Episcopal congregations. The authoritarian tendency has been most marked in certain strands of the house church movement. In the 1970s there was a controversy over the so-called shepherding move-
ment. Should local leaders be subject to translocal apostles in a pyramidal structure or not? Some sections of the house churches, in fact, have gained a certain notoriety for directing members to move house or even to marry. Just as in the Oxford Group, authority has been asserted in order to ensure that there is a measure of order when traditional structures have been rejected.

Charismatic renewal showing these various characteristics is a growing force in the world. Its influence is felt in non-charismatic churches. Clapping and counselling are common today in many an Evangelical church where either would have been frowned on twenty years ago. According to some commentators, the charismatic movement is diverting from the Evangelical tradition to create something different. It is certainly true that non-Evangelicals have been drawn into charismatic renewal. Many High Churchmen in the Episcopal communion and many Roman Catholics have joined in the movement. Yet charismatic renewal insists on the Evangelical characteristics specified in the first of these articles: conversion, activity, the Bible and (almost always) the cross. For that reason it is proper to see renewal as a continuation of the Evangelical tradition. A Scottish Roman Catholic bishop, for example, commented that renewed members of his church adopted an Evangelical emphasis on Jesus as their personal Saviour. The movement, then, is Evangelical.

It is Evangelicalism affected once more by its cultural setting. The cultural setting this time is the framework provided by Modernism. By the 1960s, when charismatic renewal was gaining momentum, Modernism was affecting a mass public for the first time. It was Modernism that supplied the chief ideological content of the youth counter-culture of the swinging '60s. Charismatic renewal has often been seen as an Evangelical equivalent of the 1960s youth culture. That is fair, so far as it goes. But the analysis should be taken further, to discern that both the counter-culture and charismatic renewal have their roots in Modernism.

Secondly, however, Evangelical Christianity cannot accept certain features of Modernism. There is a risk of adopting the whole cultural package of our day rather than being selective. As in the cases of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, certain elements in Modernism are subversive of Evangelical Christianity. The teaching derived from Nietzsche that there is no order in the universe, for example, is surely incompatible with Evangelical convictions. If God is there—there is a reason—there is a spider's web, that is structure in the external world. Surely Evangelical Christians cannot accept that the relationship between language and reality is wholly contingent. Evangelical Christians, after all, are believers in the Word that was made flesh. Language and reality were made one. Hence there is an irreducible metaphysical difference between Evangelical Christians and the main thrust of the Modernist movement. There is also an anthropological difference. Christianity cannot dismiss human beings from its worldview, dissolving them in the manner of Levi-Strauss. Christianity certainly holds human beings to be fallen creatures. But it upholds the conviction that nevertheless human beings were created in the image of God. The faith is committed to humanism in that sense. Evangeli-
Evangelical Christianity therefore cannot be translated wholly into Modernist categories.

Thirdly, Evangelical Christianity answers questions posed by Modernism. The dominant trend in contemporary Western Civilization represents a spiritual quest for it asks questions about ultimate values. Nietzsche himself poses the question of the existence of God. Again and again in the literary forms created by Modernists ultimate questions are raised. The climax of Virginia Woolf’s novel *To the Lighthouse*, one of the greatest literary expressions of Modernism, is a cry, “There is no God.” But the assertion is undermined. Simultaneously, as far as the novelist’s art could achieve it, another character calls out, “It is finished.” The last words of Jesus Christ, dying for the salvation of humanity upon the cross, form a riposte to the profession of atheism, characteristically a Modernist work of art builds self-subversion into its own fabric. Theological questions are being raised. Modernists do not operate in a void untouched by Christian issues, but engage with them. Evangelical Christianity must speak to the need voiced in Modernist cultural expressions. If we are Christian people seeking to communicate with the age in which we live, then we must discover what Modernist preoccupations are and address them. If we are not Christian by conviction ourselves but have Modernist concerns, then Evangelical Christianity undoubtedly has a message for us.

In this series of three articles there has been an attempt to illustrate the engagement of Evangelical Christianity with recent Western culture. What conclusions may we draw overall? *Firstly, culture is not an avoidable snare for the Christian.* An antithesis is commonly drawn between the gospel as a good thing and culture as a bad thing. Culture, it is supposed, corrupts the gospel, distorting the message. The gospel, however, is necessarily embodied in culture. When Jesus Christ announced the good news of the kingdom in the idiom of first-century Palestine, then the gospel was embodied in a person, his words and his whole cultural nexus. It should not surprise us that the gospel has also been embodied in its setting in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Now it is true that culture does have snares. It may detract from the power of the gospel. The Enlightenment exaltation of free enquiry did precisely that in the long term. So did the misty religiosity of the Romantic age. Many Modernist features could similarly weaken the deposit of faith. But in his mercy God does use culture for his purposes. So the debasement of the Christian faith by its host culture is not a necessary thing. The optimism of the Enlightenment gave birth to the modern missionary movement. Romantic sensibility stimulated a laudable quest for personal holiness. Elements of Modernism are advancing the gospel in our day in ways as yet impossible to discern. There is no ultimate opposition between gospel and culture. The issue can be approached through Richard Baxter, that late seventeenth-century Puritan divine, who in his autobiography explains that he was troubled at one stage about the tension between gospel and nurture. He was dismayed that he had come to Christian faith through education rather than in a more dramatic way. On reflection, however, he became much more contented. He perceived that education had been a means used in his life by the Holy Spirit in the same way that the preaching of the word is commonly used to bring people to God.

Education was therefore an agency of the divine purpose. Similarly the whole cultural nexus that we inhabit is God’s servant, fulfilling his will. Our taste, varying though it may be, can point us to Christ.

The second overall conclusion is this. *Despite the cultural changes that we have looked at, there has been an unchanging core to Evangelicalism ever since the eighteenth century.* It is not simply that the content of the historic Christian creeds has been upheld by Evangelicals, although that is true. Evangelicals after all have been orthodox Christians. Beyond that, Evangelicals have consistently upheld certain distinctive beliefs over time. There has been an Evangelical quadrilateral of conversionism, activism, biblicism and crucicentricity. These four elements have been preserved because Evangelicals have recognized their centrality to faith. None can be dropped without damage. Each is a part of the kernel of the Christian faith. People need to be changed by Christ if they are to qualify as Christians at all. There is conversionism. It is the responsibility of Christians to communicate the gospel in word and to live it out in deed. There is the activism. The Bible is to be read, marked, learned and inwardly digested. There is the biblicism. And the cross of Christ is to be the mainspring of Christian existence. There is the crucicentricity. “We preach Christ crucified” should be the motto for Evangelicals in any age.
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Endnotes

5. The Record, 27 January 1933, p. 55.

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