

Orange Pips and the Evangelical Churchman's Fellowship, 1945-1972

Stuart Lange

Summary

This article is about the development of a new Anglican evangelical movement in mid-twentieth century New Zealand where such a movement had not previously existed. The key catalyst was the evangelical Christchurch ministry of William Orange (1930-1945). His protégés, widely known by the nickname of 'Orange Pips', were also significantly shaped by the evangelical emphases and identity of the new Evangelical Union and the InterVarsity Fellowship. They emulated his ministry, and led the expansion of evangelical Anglicanism to other parts of New Zealand. From 1950, the Evangelical Churchman's Fellowship gave form and voice to the new evangelical movement. From the mid-1960s, a new generation of ECF leaders, given confidence by the international resurgence of evangelicalism especially within the Church of England, were eager to engage with the wider church on the issues of the day rather than stay aloof; the development of new leadership showed that the movement had put down deep roots.

It was evangelical Anglican missionaries who had first brought Christianity to New Zealand, and among the British settlers who arrived in New Zealand after the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi there were many who had been influenced by evangelicalism within the Church of England.¹ In colonial New Zealand, however, no clear evangelical stream or party developed, and as time went by other Anglican tendencies gradually prevailed. A snapshot of the Anglican Church in New Zealand in 1930 would reveal a range of ways in which Anglicans positioned themselves in theology and practice: some more low church or high church, some Anglo-Catholic; some more conservative, some more liberal. But most Anglicans in New Zealand were simply part of a broad and undifferentiated Anglicanism. Outside of the small and isolated Nelson Diocese, where a low church and evangelical tradition was kept alive by bishops and clergy from Sydney, and apart from a few scattered individuals, there was hardly any presence of overtly evangelical ministers or parishes.

Another snapshot, in 1965, would reveal a network of flourishing parishes in Christchurch led by ministers who emphatically labeled themselves 'Evangelical'. In the Diocese of Nelson, there was a renewed evangelicalism, and in the Diocese of Wellington there were several definitely evangelical ministers. In Dunedin, there was a thriving evangelical student church, and in Auckland there were the beginnings of an evangelical outpost. Clearly, a significant new element had emerged within New Zealand's Anglican Church. So what had happened, between, the two snapshots?

What occurred in New Zealand among Anglicans can be related to the post-war resurgence of conservative evangelicalism in Britain, North America, and Australia, a period when many evangelicals embraced a more confident approach, and when evangelical leadership was being shown by InterVarsity Fellowship and by such individuals as Billy Graham and John Stott. Within New Zealand itself, there were particular individuals and movements who shaped what happened,² as explored in this article. The name 'Orange' in the title refers to the Rev. William Orange,³ a scholarly bachelor vicar whose ministry in Christchurch from 1930-1945 spawned a new Anglican evangelical movement in New Zealand. 'Orange Pip' was the common nickname for the scores of young Orange protégés who entered the Anglican ministry in the decades that followed. 'Evangelical Churchman's Fellowship' is the organisation which, from 1950 onward, gave voice to the new evangelical Anglican stream in New Zealand.⁴

In the 1930 and 40s, William Orange laid the essential foundation for what developed with the Orange Pips in the post-war era. As a young man, he had been influenced by friends in the Open Brethren, and his own style of Anglican ministry was self-consciously spiritual and Biblicist. He placed great emphasis on prayerfulness, godliness and Bible study and had a rare gift in teaching Scripture. Every Sunday up to fifty young men would cycle out from Christchurch to Orange's parish at Sumner for his afternoon Bible Class, which featured hour-long devotional lectures on successive books of the Bible, one chapter per week. His charges would stay for a meal, a prayer meeting, further Bible teaching in the evening service, and supper in the vicarage. Both spiritually and intellectually, Orange's protégés were captivated by his teaching, which was characterised by deep devotion to Christ and an awe of scripture. One Orange Pip recalled that Orange 'made the Bible the most interesting

book you could possibly want to read'.⁵ In teaching Old Testament books such as Leviticus, Orange fascinated his hearers with his typological suggestions.⁶

Orange consistently identified himself as 'Evangelical'.⁷ By that he appeared to mean that he emphasised conversion, prayer and the Bible (in contrast to merely formal and outward religiosity), and that he was neither a ritualist nor a modernist. Orange instilled a particular flavour into mid-twentieth century Anglican evangelicalism in New Zealand. Orange's style was gentle, not polemical. It was spiritual, not rationalistic. Although placing great emphasis on spiritual conversion, he was very wary of public display, and never gave an evangelistic 'appeal'. Orange's theology was 'reformed', in the sense that he was firmly Protestant in doctrine, but he was not conspicuously Calvinistic. He was theologically conservative, but disavowed being a 'fundamentalist'; the 'label', he noted, had become a 'libel'.⁸ Orange was opposed to Anglo-Catholic practices, but was not especially Low Church: in contrast to staunchly Low Church colleagues such as Bishop Stephenson in Nelson, Orange readily wore a stole and did not preside from the 'North End'. An Australian minister even wrote to Moore College in Sydney warning that Orange was 'an Anglo-Catholic posing as Evangelical'.⁹ Orange was admiring of Sydney Anglicanism, but also critical of it.¹⁰

Orange was privately disdainful about the state of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, but remained loyally Anglican, lauding the Prayer Book and 39 Articles. Orange, disapproving of schism, was not an ecclesiastical separatist, but he nevertheless he maintained a safe distance between himself and both the bishop¹¹ and diocese.¹² To stay out of trouble he avoided controversy and tried to keep a low profile. To his clerical colleagues in the Christchurch Diocese Orange was an aloof figure, perhaps even a crank. Although Orange felt theologically isolated within his own denomination, he developed a very close partnership with the new inter-denominational evangelical movements that had begun in New Zealand in 1930, the university Evangelical Unions (where he was a frequent speaker) and high school Crusader movement.¹³ In Evangelical Union meetings, and at New Zealand's IVF conferences, Orange was regarded as Bible expositor *par excellence*.¹⁴

But in the long run Orange had more influence than any of his clerical colleagues. His ability to inspire people to enter the ordained ministry was

unparalleled by any other New Zealand minister.¹⁵ About fifty Orange Pips became Anglican ministers, mostly in the Christchurch and Nelson dioceses.¹⁶ Many Orange Pips also served as CMS missionaries, two became bishops, and some were prominent in theological education. As the Orange Pips moved into parish ministries of their own, they sought to emulate Orange's ministry. They shared his emphasis on conversion and spiritual growth, embraced his overtly evangelical identity, imitated his expository preaching, and invested much energy in Bible-teaching among youth and young adults.

Orange's admirers became a distinctive new strand within Christchurch Anglicanism, a tightly-knit and increasingly confident group of protégés, almost all university graduates and all self-consciously 'evangelical'. Though they went through ordination studies at College House, the crucial formational influences shaping their theology were Orange and the Evangelical Union.

Two Key Orange Pips and the Growth of Evangelical Anglicanism

1. *Roger Thompson*

When Orange left Sumner parish in 1945,¹⁷ a new parish base for Anglican evangelicalism in Christchurch developed at St. Martin's, Spreydon, under the ministry of an Orange Pip vicar, Revd. Roger Thompson. Spreydon had been a struggling working class parish. Thompson's passionate expository preaching and Bible Class attracted large numbers of young Anglican evangelicals, many of them university or theological students living at College House.¹⁸ Thompson worked off the same template as Orange: biblical exposition morning and evening, an afternoon Bible Class (up to ninety strong), followed by tea, prayer meeting, evening service, and supper at the vicarage. Unlike at Sumner, there were also young women (men and women sat on opposite sides of the church during the BC, but large numbers of them still managed to marry one other).

Thompson's preaching was intense. To some who heard him, his dark beady eyes seemed to bore straight into their souls—but in reality Thompson was short-sighted and could not see clearly further than the front two pews.¹⁹ His preaching was less typological than that of Orange, more polemical, and more inclined to evidentialism. Like other Orange Pips, Thompson did not identify himself as 'fundamentalist'—but, like other Orange Pips, he strongly endorsed the original intent of fundamentalism, the defence of orthodoxy.

Thompson's parish developed an overtly evangelical identity and character, with obvious new emphases on prayer, conversion and youth work. Like most other Pips, Thompson disallowed fundraising, fairs and raffles, which he saw as worldly, and would countenance only direct congregational giving, which he saw as expressing the faith principle. He likewise banned church dances. Thompson shared the social taboos held by most conservative Christians of his time against smoking, drinking and going to the pictures. Thompson also kept the diocese at arm's length. He believed that it was full of liberals and Anglo-Catholics, and was too busy in hands-on ministry. His extra-parish contacts were almost exclusively with fellow Orange Pips and their youth, with the Evangelical Churchman's Fellowship (ECF) and CMS, and with the inter-denominational evangelical movements (Crusaders, EU, and CSSM).

In Thompson's time the Spreydon parish grew from an average attendance of about fifty adults to about 300, with 400 children in the Sunday School. These were the years not only of the baby boom, but also of the post-war and Cold War yearnings for societal reconstruction and spiritual security. The 1959 Billy Graham Crusade coincided with a period when evangelical parishes (and some others too) were already experiencing significant growth. The Crusade did accentuate that growth, with Spreydon gaining over fifty new members.²⁰ The Crusade also very publicly displayed and authenticated a conservative evangelical approach to faith, and boosted evangelical confidence. Over thirty members of Thompson's Bible Class later became ministers, some 35 became missionaries, and three of them bishops (with those categories overlapping).²¹

Harry Thomson

Another prominent Christchurch Orange Pip was Rev. Harry Thomson at St John's, Woolston (1950-61). Thomson, an exuberant enthusiast, had a similar ministry to that of Thompson but did not have the same following among students. His key contribution to Anglican evangelicalism was to revive the New Zealand CMS, shifting it theologically and rejuvenating it as a missionary-sending movement. He became fulltime secretary of the CMS from 1961. Under his leadership NZCMS sent out eighty-three New Zealand missionaries.²² A high proportion of those came from the Bible Classes of Orange and his Pips. Harry Thomson also initiated the CMS Spring Schools, which fostered not only missions but evangelical Anglicanism in general. Along with the CMS League of Youth, the Spring Schools were a critical factor in

evangelicalism steadily gaining greater influence in Nelson, Wellington and beyond. There was a discernible relationship between support for CMS and the growth of evangelicalism.²³

Wider Evangelical Growth in Christchurch

By the mid-sixties, the number of Christchurch parishes of a definite evangelical stamp—and with an established succession of evangelical vicars—included not only Spreydon and Woolston but also St. Aidan's Bryndwr and St. Stephen's Shirley. They would soon be joined by St. Timothy's (Burnside) and St. John's (Latimer Square). Together, they constituted something of a Christchurch Anglican 'Bible Belt'. A number of other Christchurch parishes also had evangelical ministries, but not consistently.²⁴

Expansion to Nelson

From Christchurch, the new Anglican evangelicalism gradually spread to other dioceses. The Orange movement, together with the critical role of the Evangelical Union in sharpening theological awareness and evangelical self-identity, had a revivifying effect on Anglican evangelicalism in the Diocese of Nelson. Students would come to Christchurch for study, attend Roger Thompson's Bible Class at Spreydon and join the EU. They would then take up ministries in the Diocese of Nelson. The historic input into Nelson from clergy from Sydney remained, but it was now being gradually eclipsed by the new Christchurch-based evangelical movement. There remained subtle differences between the two Anglican evangelical streams: the Nelson style was Low Church, the Christchurch movement was less so; a number of Nelson clergy had come from the Diocese of Sydney, and had trained at Moore College, whereas the Christchurch group generally had few direct links with Sydney; Nelson evangelicalism was isolated, uncontested and not particularly self-aware, but the Christchurch Evangelicals had carved out their identity as a minority who resisted the prevailing high church and liberal alternatives; Nelson Evangelicals (including those from Sydney) were often not university graduates, but Christchurch evangelicals were almost all both graduates and shaped by the EU.

Expansion to Wellington, Dunedin and Auckland

The Orange Pips also greatly encouraged the nascent Anglican evangelicalism in the Diocese of Wellington, where there developed a cluster of vicars who had been influenced by Roger Thompson and the EU while at College House, or

subsequently by the CMS and ECF.²⁵ In Dunedin, in the previously Anglo-Catholic inner city parish of St. Matthew's, Orange Pip Maurice Betteridge grew a congregation of 300, many of them university students.²⁶ Like many other Pips, Betteridge consciously emulated his mentor. He recalled: 'I preached four times a Sunday, two morning services, afternoon Bible study, and an evening sermon. You see, I replicated [Orange]. The strength of it was simply an expository preaching ministry.'²⁷ In Auckland, Rev. Guy Nicholson established an evangelical outpost in the Ellerslie parish. But in the upper North Island, evangelical Anglicanism would remain a weak presence²⁸ until the development of the charismatic renewal movement in the 1970s and beyond.

The Evangelical Churchman's Fellowship (1945-)

The ECF was a strategy to perpetuate the Anglican evangelical movement begun by Orange, a vehicle to shift the movement from revolving around the influence of one individual to something constituted nationwide on the basis of a shared evangelical theology and practice. It was something of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, created to nurture and promote the evangelical faith in a way that the denomination as a whole could not do.

The clergy who founded the ECF had come up through the EU and IVF, and naturally hankered for a similar fellowship within their own ecclesiastical setting. The ECF had much the same identity-defining role for evangelical ministers that the EU had had for them when they were students. The ECF also had a crucial role in reinforcing a sense of evangelical identity and belonging among laity; the ECF energetically recruited leading evangelically-minded laymen (and, after a year or two, women were also allowed to join). The formation of the ECF also publicly signalled to the wider church that a conservative evangelical stream now existed within New Zealand Anglicanism.

The ECF was very eager to uphold the authority of Scripture over and against whatever it saw as unscriptural practices and beliefs, whether Anglo-Catholic or liberal. Its stated purpose was unity among all those 'who are loyal to the Reformation settlement, and who desire to maintain the position of Holy Scripture in the Church as the supreme rule of faith and practice'.²⁹

In making much of the historic Thirty Nine Articles, the ECF may have hoped to garner support from traditional Anglicans and to reassure others of its

impeccably Anglican credentials. A few years later, the evangelical arm of the Presbyterian Church would similarly anchor its new movement in adherence to the Westminster Confession. In both cases, the crucial underlying concern was not denominational loyalty but safeguarding and promoting a biblical basis.

The ECF's overwhelming preoccupation was to help people be both 'Evangelical' and Anglican with emphasis on the former. At heart the ECF was a society of Evangelicals who were Anglican, rather than a society where Anglicanism was paramount and evangelicalism secondary. There was no rush by non-evangelical Anglicans to join the ECF on the basis of its loyal Anglicanism. Perhaps unfairly, the ECF may have been perceived more often by non-evangelical Anglicans as a fellowship of 'Evangelicals' rather than of 'Churchmen'.

The initial ECF organiser, until he was shipped off to be vicar of the Chatham Islands, was David Aiken. From 1947 another Orange Pip became the key leader, Roger Thompson. The patron was Canon Orange, and the President was the Bishop of Nelson. The ECF held biennial conferences, alternating with the CMS Spring Schools, and (from 1957) it published its magazine the *ECF Review*. It also eventually established Latimer House, a study centre based on Orange's library of 30,000 titles.

In New Zealand, evangelical Anglicans had long felt isolated and marginalised. With Thompson as Editor, the quarterly *ECF Review* demonstrated a concern to show evangelical Anglicans that in standing for Scripture, the Thirty Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer, they were true sons and daughters of the Church of England—not troublemakers or sectarians but the most authentic Anglicans of all. Thompson quoted Packer's claim that 'theologically...we [Evangelicals] *are* the church of England'.³⁰ Thompson eulogised both the Thirty Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. The Prayer Book, he wrote, was a thing of 'beauty, [and] genius...unsurpassed in its power to awaken the conscience, touch the heart and stir the will', and central to Anglicans' 'priceless and glorious heritage'.³¹ 'The Thirty Nine Articles, Thompson claimed, expressed truths that are 'eternal and unchanging' (but he was quick to add that they 'invariably defer to the eternal and abiding Word of God').³² The ECF's appeal to Anglican heritage was in part an attempt to disarm critics, in part an attempt to reassure its own members that it really was faithfully Anglican.

The ECF was emboldened by evidence of increasing evangelical influence and confidence in Britain and the United States, as demonstrated in the successful Graham campaigns (especially Harringay, 1954), the growing recovery of evangelical scholarship (including many British evangelical academics), and the confident, credible voices of new Church of England evangelical spokesmen particularly Packer and Stott. A key function of the ECF's journal was to review and promote new evangelical titles from overseas. The ECF was also bolstered, from 1961, by the formation of the international 'Evangelical Fellowship in the Anglican Communion' under the leadership of John Stott.

Engagement

The ECF faced the tension known by any evangelical sub-group: to guard its life, it must be distinct; to have influence, its members must also engage with the wider church and society. The ECF's younger leaders were increasingly eager to undertake such engaging. From the late 1960s, in what amounted to something of an inter-generational windshift, key younger ECF leaders such as Graham Lamont, Maurice Goodall and Brian Carrell began to resist what they felt was a more defensive and partisan evangelical outlook and to embrace a more positive, irenic tone. They welcomed constructive interaction with the wider Anglican church, dialogue with other theological positions, and ecumenism. They went to synods, entered debates and joined denominational committees.

One of the causes taken up by the emerging evangelical leaders was inter-communion. The issue had arisen sharply in 1960, when Bishop Warren wrote to Anglican delegates about to attend a National Council of Churches Youth Conference advising them that 'no loyal Anglican' should take communion at a non-Anglican service or encourage a communicant of another denomination to communicate at an Anglican service.³³ Evangelicals, influenced by their positive experience of interdenominational fellowship in EU and IVE, passionately believed communion was 'the Lord's table' not an Anglican one. Lamont argued that a closed communion was at odds with the spirit and practice of the Anglican Reformers and that an exclusive approach was a Tractarian innovation. At the General Synod in 1970 Evangelicals successfully promoted a legislative proposal to accept inter-communion.

Another issue was church union. In the late 1960s the Anglican Church was one of five New Zealand denominations negotiating to merge.³⁴ Thompson

had declared that the ECF was ‘not so happy’ with the proposed union.³⁵ The key reasons he gave were (i) that denominational divisions do not preclude ‘inner fundamental unity’; (ii) that denominations arose out of conviction (and were thus not inherently sinful) and (iii) that union would lead to doctrinal compromise. The younger ECF leaders, however, were open to a positive biblical mandate for organic church union. Believing such union ‘likely’, and not wishing to be ‘ostrich-like’, they decided that the wisest evangelical strategy was to work for the best possible biblical basis for union.³⁶ They wanted a union within which evangelical doctrines (such as the authority and inspiration of scripture and justification by faith) would be ‘recognised’ and evangelical practices (such as biblical exposition, prayer meetings and evangelistic missions) would be freely permitted.³⁷ The new ECF leadership rejected the strongly anti-union stance of their Presbyterian evangelical counterparts.³⁸ They were influenced more by the attitude of some Evangelicals in the Church of England,³⁹ and support for church union became official ECF policy.⁴⁰

Some younger ECF leaders were likewise deeply involved in the moves towards liturgical reform which culminated in the New Zealand Prayer Book (1989). Whereas older Evangelicals often remained firmly attached to the 1662 Prayer Book,⁴¹ the new ECF leaders agreed that a modernised liturgy would be more accessible to most people. The crucial issue for them was not the perpetual preservation of the 1662 form but the application of Cranmer’s evangelical principle that there should be nothing in liturgy inconsistent with Scripture.⁴² To help shape new liturgies, Evangelicals had to be constructively involved. ECF leaders thus closely critiqued proposed new liturgies,⁴³ and some of them later became members of the official drafting groups. The ECF was still prepared to contemplate legal action to block proposed changes (such as prayers for the dead) which were inconsistent with biblical and Protestant principles.

The new generation ECF leaders were increasingly interested in issues of social justice. They also became more relaxed about evangelical sub-cultural moral taboos. From June 1963, the change in ECF directions was reflected in the pages of the *ECF Review*, which was renamed the *Latimer Magazine*. Thompson, now isolated in rural Nelson, was replaced as Editor. He continued to write articles under the penname ‘Veritas’, describing himself as ‘a plodding Evangelical of the Old School’.⁴⁴ He probably worried about whether the new

leaders were entirely 'sound'. But the emerging ECF leaders saw themselves as signs that the Anglican evangelical movement was now becoming confident, constructive and mature, while remaining firmly 'evangelical' in both conviction and in identity.

The shifts in emphasis in the ECF in the mid 1960s are evidence that the evangelical Anglican movement in New Zealand, begun in the 1930s by William Orange and nurtured by the EU and the ECF, was not just a fading afterglow of the Orange phenomenon, but had successfully reproduced itself within at least two more generations.⁴⁵ The Anglican evangelical movement was accepting new leadership and was grappling with new intellectual, social and ecclesiastical challenges. The more defensive outlook forged in the 1930s and 40s was giving way to a more confident mindset. That confidence reflected not just a growth in numbers, but also the recovery of evangelical vitality and scholarship in both Britain and the USA.

Evangelicalism remained a minority movement within the Anglican Church in New Zealand, but by the time Orange died in 1966 it had clearly put down significant roots. The movement would undergo further changes in the late twentieth century, not least with the impact of the charismatic movement and the growing fragmentation of both church and society. It remains to be seen how future evangelical Anglicanism in New Zealand will develop, in a denomination which is theologically so diverse, but the story of how Orange and his Pips helped create a national evangelical movement almost *ex nihilo* suggests that new evangelical movements of spiritual and theological renewal may always be possible, even in quite unpromising contexts. The story of Orange and his Pips also illustrates the critical role of evangelical work among students and youth, the perennial capacity of evangelical influences to operate across ecclesiastical boundaries, and the recurring challenges of working out what it means to be both evangelical and loyal to a historic denominational tradition.

Revd. Dr. STUART LANGE is a Senior Lecturer at Laidlaw College, Auckland, where he teaches church history.

ENDNOTES

1. The Church Missionary Society began work among Maori in 1814, under the leadership of the Revd Samuel Marsden. The largest concentration of English (and

Anglican) settlers was in Christchurch and the surrounding Canterbury Province. The Anglican Church remains nominally the largest Protestant denomination in New Zealand, but its percentage of census adherents has gradually declined relative to other denominational affiliations.

2. For extensive treatment of mid-twentieth century evangelicalism in New Zealand see Stuart M. Lange, "A Rising Tide: The Growth of Evangelicalism and Evangelical Identity among Presbyterians, Anglicans and University Students in New Zealand, 1930-1965," PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2009.
3. 'Passing of Canon William Alfred "Willie" Orange', *Challenge Weekly* 24, 28 (23 July 1966), pp. 6-7; "Further tributes to valuable ministry of Canon Orange," *Challenge Weekly* 24, 30 (6 August 1966): 12; Martin Sullivan, *Watch How you Go* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975), pp. 124-25; L. E. Pfankuch, 'The Reverend W. A. Orange, Vicar of Sumner 1930-1945, in All Saints Church, Sumner Centennial. Parish of Sumner/Redcliffs (no publisher: n.d.); David G. S. Rathgen, 'The Church in New Zealand 1890-1920, with Special Reference to W. A. Orange' (Joint Board of Theological Studies Licentiate of Theology Thesis, 1969); R. A. Carson, "Some Reflections on the Life of WA Orange," *Latimer* 111 (Aug. 1992): 19-22; Jeremy J Clark, "Orange, William Alfred, 1869-1966," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* 4, pp. 391-92; Lange, especially ch. 3.
4. The Evangelical Churchman's Fellowship (ECF) was renamed the Latimer Fellowship in 1972.
5. (MB) Interview with the Revd. Maurice Betteridge, 26 November 1999, ¶32.
6. Other Evangelicals were uneasy with this aspect of Orange's approach. For instance T.C. Hammond at an IVF Conference, commented: 'We'll leave the significance of the third fig leaf to Canon Orange' (R. M. Glen recollection, August 2006).
7. Diary (excluding references to the Evangelical Unions): 9, 14, 17, 18, 29 July 1935; 22 April 1938 (twice); 26 April 1938 (4 times); 11 May 1938; 14 July 1938 (twice).
8. Diary: 7 July 1935. The New Zealand IVF similarly identified with British evangelicalism but was uncomfortable with American fundamentalism, preferring the 'sobriety and balance' of the former to the 'extremes and extravagances' of the latter: Max Wiggins, IVFEU TSPU circular, April 1939, Tertiary Student Christian Fellowship I1/035. Wiggins was an early convert and protégé of Orange.
9. Diary, 26 April 1938.
10. Orange made several visits to Sydney and spent time with Archbishop Mowll (who invited Orange to move to Sydney to work with IVF or as Vice-Principal of Moore College) and with T. C. Hammond, R. B. S. Hammond and Marcus Loane (who all visited NZ). Orange saw Sydney as 'the greatest Evangelical Diocese in the world',

- but also felt something lacking in the spiritual tone. Lange, pp. 165-68.
11. Orange was conscious that as a young man West-Watson (1926-51) had been in the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union but had become liberal: interview with the Right Rev. Max Wiggins, 2 November 1999, ¶24. Orange knew the bishop disapproved of the establishment of the Evangelical Union as a rival to the SCM and that he regarded Orange as 'the power behind the throne' (diary: 7 July 1935).
 12. Orange went to Synod 'duty-bound' but sat in the back and never spoke: MW, ¶53; he 'stayed a little while for decency's sake' and then left (diary: 20-24 October 1924). 'No one', Orange declared, 'ever got converted at Synod': Anon. ¶50.
 13. Both movements began in New Zealand as a result of the visit of Dr. Howard Guinness, an emissary of the newly-formed Inter-Varsity Fellowship (1928) in Britain. His appropriation of the name 'Crusaders' was not accepted by the British movement of the same name: P. J. Lineham, *No Ordinary Union. The story of the Scripture Union, Children's Special Service Mission and Crusader Movement of New Zealand 1880-1980* (Wellington: Scripture Union in New Zealand, 1980), p. 62.
 14. New Zealand Inter-Varsity News Bulletin 1, 4 (Oct. 1937), p. 11.
 15. Sullivan, p 125.
 16. These included Revds Harry Thomson, Max Wiggins, Roger Thompson, Basil Williams, Bob Nicholson, Dick Carson, David Aiken, Harvey Teulon, Peter Tovey, Maurice Betteridge, Maurice Goodall, Lester Pfankuch, Graham Lamont, Robert Glen, John Meadowcroft, Wallace Marriott.
 17. Orange took up a position as warden of Tyndale House, a new inter-denominational evangelical retreat centre in the Cashmere Hills.
 18. College House was an Anglican university hall of residence and the site of diocesan ministry training.
 19. Neil G Lancaster, *Our Hope for Years to Come: St Martin's Parish Spreydon 1909-1984* [Christchurch: Parish of Spreydon, 1984], p 30.
 20. Lancaster, p. 26.
 21. These included Maurice Betteridge (later Principal of Ridley College, Melbourne), Ian Bourne (from Wellington), John Meadowcroft (from Nelson), Ian Nelson, Brian Carrell, Dick Tripp.
 22. Vera Mott to Andrew Bayley, personal correspondence, 2 June 2003.
 23. In Auckland, where Bishop Simkin (1940-60) would not allow the CMS to operate, Anglican post-war evangelicalism was a relatively late starter.
 24. These included Belfast-Styx, Avonhead, Cashmere, Waikari, Lincoln, Hororata, Methven, Highfield.
 25. Earlier, Revd W. F. Bretton at St James' Lower Hutt (1945-55) had also been a

significant evangelical influence.

26. His immediate predecessor was also evangelical.
27. MB, ¶99.
28. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, there were only three ECF members in the upper North Island, none of them in the city of Auckland.
29. Editorial, Report of the Second Annual Conference, Easter 1947, 3, ECF, Latimer archives.
30. Thompson, Editorial, 'Our Purpose—our Heritage', (ECFR) ECF Review 1 (August 1959): 1.
31. Thompson, Editorial, "Just Between Us," (LM) Latimer Magazine, Quarterly Journal of the ECF (NZ) 16 (June 1963). Thompson's phrase appeared to have been dependent on the work of Dyson Hague.
32. 'Articles or obstacles', ECFR 15 (March 1963).
33. Interview with the Revd. Graham Lamont, December 2001, ¶91.
34. The other four were the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Church of Christ denominations.
35. Roger Thompson, 'Editorial: Church Union or Intercommunion?' LM 17 (September 1963).
36. Editorial Note, LM 19 (April 1964); 'ECF Branch News', LM 21 (Feb. 1965).
37. BRC [Carrell], 'Church Union and a Country Parish', 19 (April 1964); G. S. Lamont, 'Thoughts on the biblical basis of Church Union', LM 25 (June 1966).
38. 'Meeting of the Clerical Members of the Christchurch Branch of the ECF', 11 October 1965. It was Westminster Fellowship policy that if union proceeded it would support the establishment of a Continuing Presbyterian Church, W. F. Executive Minutes, 14 November 1966.
39. See, for instance, review by John Wenham of J. I. Packer (ed.), *All in Each Place. Towards Reunion in England* (Abingdon Berks: Marcham Manor, 1965) and "The Rev. John Stott speaks on Church Union," LM 23 (August 1965).
40. "Executive Committee Statement: Guiding Principles in Church Union," LM 26 (August 1966). The church union movement collapsed after the 1971 plan was narrowly rejected by the Anglican House of Bishops.
41. E.g. Thompson, 'Just Between Us'.
42. [G. S. Lamont], "The Principle of Prayer Book Revision," ECFR 10 (Nov. 1961).
43. E.g. G. S. Lamont, 'The Revised Communion Service', LM 26 (Aug. 1966).
44. LM 39 (Dec. 1970).
45. Other evidence of evangelical regeneration was the large numbers of Evangelicals in the 1960s who were training for ministry and mission work.