BRETHREN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editor: Dr Neil T.R. Dickson, 3 Arran Road, Troon, South Ayrshire KA10 6TD, UK (e-mail: ndickson53@yahoo.co.uk).

Reviews Editor: Dr Crawford Gribben, School of English, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland (e-mail: crawford.gribben@tcd.ie).

Consulting editors: Dr Peter Lineham, Dr Harold H. Rowdon, Mr Michael Schneider, Dr Timothy Stunt, Dr Neil Summerton.

Secretary: Dr Alison Muir, 1 Brands Row, Crossgates, Fife KY4 8DE, UK (e-mail: bahnsecretary@hotmail.com).

Treasurer: Mr Euan Menzies, 24 Balcombe Road, Haywards Heath, West Sussex RH16 1PF (e-mail: euanmenzies@hotmail.com)

© Brethren Archivists and Historians Network
http://brethrenhistory.org/
ISSN 1755-9383

Subscriptions (see p.110)
Subscriptions are £15 per year if paying in pounds sterling or £15.50 by credit card, and the equivalent of £21 if paying in any other currency at current rates of exchange (50% discount for registered students), payable with each issue. This also enlists the subscriber in the Brethren Archivists and Historians Network. All monies should be sent to the Secretary.

Submissions Where possible, submissions should be sent as an e-mail attachment to the editor; alternatively they should be typed (double spaced). A style sheet is available on application to the editor.

BRETHREN HISTORICAL REVIEW is the journal of the Brethren Archivists and Historians Network. BAHN’s aims are:

- To support the development of archives of the history of the Christian Brethren, the deposit of material in such archives and to make their resources better known.
- To encourage research into Brethren history world-wide, to assist those writing on such topics and to encourage cooperation, and greater understanding of the development of the movement.
- To support the publication and circulation of historical works on the Brethren, and to increase awareness of them.
Editorial

The *Brethren Historical Review* (*BHR*) is the annual journal of the Brethren Archivists and Historians Network (BAHN). You will find the aims of BAHN set out on the previous page. If this journal is new to you, then you will readily see from this issue that *BHR* carries articles, book reviews and features relating to the history of the Brethren movement, which is widely conceived to encompass all its various branches. You can view most of the contents of previous issues on our website, and again its address is given on the previous page. The articles maintain an academic standard of historical writing, but it is our hope that they will interest anyone who is curious about Brethren history. Most of the current members of BAHN are not professional historians or archivists.

As well as publishing this journal, BAHN has held a series of biennial residential International Brethren History Conferences—the one in 2013 will be our sixth (see p.108 below). The proceedings of the first conference have been published as *The Growth of the Brethren Movement* (2006), and another volume entitled *Witness in Many Lands: Leadership and Outreach among the Brethren* will be issued shortly. This will be given to all members of BAHN, and it will be one of a series of books which will collectively be entitled Studies in Brethren History (for more on this, see p.109 below).

*BHR* has until now been distributed as a printed journal only, but it has been decided that the issue for 2012 should be freely distributed in electronic format too in order to publicise the existence of the journal, and to encourage others to support what is felt to be a worthwhile project. Please feel free to forward this electronic version to anyone whom you think might be interested in it. Current BAHN members will receive in due course a printed copy of BHR in the usual way as well as the first of the Studies in Brethren History as the price of their subscription.

I hope you enjoy the contents of this *BHR*. If you would like to continue to receive it, or to receive *Witness in Many Lands*, then please take out a subscription, using the form on p.110 below.
An Early Account of the Brethren in 1838
With Some Explanation of its Origins and Context

Timothy C. F. Stunt

For those who have found the fissiparous propensities of mid-nineteenth century Brethren a source of embarrassment, the discovery that Strict Baptists had a similar potential has sometimes been a source of relief. The divisions of the Brethren acquire a certain perspective when one finds that J. C. Philpot (1802–69), the editor of the Gospel Standard, was convinced that anyone who denied the eternal Sonship of Jesus, was an Arian heretic who was denying Christ’s deity.¹ It is evident that his strong feelings on the subject had been partly roused by dismissive statements in another Strict Baptist magazine The Earthen Vessel where a writer had apparently referred to the ‘Eternal generation’ of the Son as ‘a piece of twaddle’ and ‘a metaphysical conceit’.²

In contrast to the very dogmatic Philpot, there was the permissive editor of the Earthen Vessel. Although his own convictions on the ‘Eternal Sonship’ question were very similar to those of Philpot, Charles Waters Banks³ (1806–86), the Strict Baptist minister of

Johnson Street Chapel, Notting Hill in London, allowed a variety of points of view to be expressed in the magazine, which he had founded in 1845. He is quoted as saying: “Whether a work be sent us by ‘[Gospel] Standard men’, or ‘[Gospel] Herald men’, or ‘[Earthen] Vessel men’, or any other class of men (terms we would not employ were they not so much in use), if those works are designed for the elucidation of pure Gospel truth, and for the separation of the precious from the vile, they shall always be as faithfully noticed by us as our small abilities will allow.”

This may explain why he felt free, in 1862–3 to publish a series of articles about the Plymouth Brethren. These were written by Dr Thomas George Bell and were supplemented by anonymous extracts of letters that Bell had received from Brethren and other observers of the movement. The idea of the series had apparently come from Bell, as Banks indicated in his magazine: ‘The proposition to give in The Earthen Vessel a consecutive series of papers illustrating the uprising [sic] &c of “Brethren” originated with the worthy doctor himself. We accepted the offer, fully persuaded that Dr. Bell was quite capable of writing such papers in a useful and edifying manner.’

When some of his readers complained of inaccuracies in the series, Banks defended Bell in no uncertain terms: ‘That Dr. Bell is a true Christian—a thorough gentleman—and one who writes from the purest of motives, we have no doubt, and if by his correspondents he has been led into any mistake, he would willingly acknowledge the same.’

---

5. Thomas George Bell, ‘The Plymouth Brethren – their history – their doctrines – their spread – their present condition etc. etc. with biographical sketches of some of their leaders, and most devoted member’: Earthen Vessel (1862–3) passim. I have only had access to ‘Letters vii and viii’ in the June and July issues of 1863, pp.136–8 and 165–8.
7. EV (Oct 1863) p.249.
Thomas George Bell

But who was Thomas George Bell [TGB] (1811–71)? The origins of this elusive figure can be deduced from the International Genealogical Index (IGI) and the ten-yearly English Census Records, which began in 1841. He was one of the eleven sons of Thomas Bell (1785–1860) a respected surveyor and bibliophile in Newcastle, where TGB was born in 1812. He married a Northumberland girl, Dorothy Davidson (1818–68) and as late as 1851 was living in the vicinity of Newcastle (Gateshead) where his children were born. For some twenty years he practiced with his father as a ‘land-agent surveyor’. His father is described as a ‘Tory of the old school, who rarely meddled with politics; a native of the town, who shunned its municipal honours and responsibilities; a Churchman, strong and staunch, who lived on the best of terms with his Nonconformist neighbours.’

We have no information about TGB’s education nor can we say where or in what field of learning he obtained his doctorate. It is apparent from a number of cuttings and pamphlets that were preserved in the Manchester Public Free Library (c.1870) that TGB, while living in Newcastle was active in Sunday school work, an advocate of Sabbath day observance and a supporter of the Missions to Sailors. He was not without means as in 1851 his household included one governess, three female domestic servants, and one gardener.

Some time after 1853 (when his youngest child was born in Gateshead) TGB moved with his family to south-west England, and by 1861 his family was living in Lynton, Barnstaple, North Devon, when his wife was described in the census return as ‘Minister of the

8. The Monthly Chronicle of North-country Lore and Legend, 2 (July 1888) (Newcastle, 1888), p.310. For some details of the Bell family in Newcastle see the introduction to the Bell papers in the Tyne and Wear Archives (DT.BEL) at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=183-dtbel&cid=0#0
Gospel wife.’ Bell’s first open-air preaching was, by his own account, in May 1857 in the market place of Barnstaple and in the years following, he did a good deal of evangelism in the West Country. There are reasons to believe that this was after a financial crisis in his personal affairs when he had thought of emigrating to Canada. In fact Bell’s finances were decidedly shaky, and there are three announcements relating to his bankruptcy in 1862, but he seems to have survived these set-backs and by 1863 he was in London briefly substituting at Beresford Chapel in the minister’s absence during the first year of William Lincoln’s ministry after his secession from the Establishment in the previous year. Within a year or two we find that Bell has moved with his family to London and is living in Hampstead, from where he was engaged in mission work at Shouldham Street Chapel, Marylebone, and with Dr W. G. Habershon in the Trinity Rooms Mission in Crawford Street. In 1862 he had been a contributor to the Gospel Magazine and in 1865 his articles regularly appeared in The Rainbow, but from 1867–9 he published his own magazine, The Voice upon the Mountains, a journal of prophetic testimony and evangelistic effort—a journal which carried reports of his own evangelism and that of others, with expository articles by contributors of various denominational backgrounds, including regular reports from Leonard Strong of the continuing Brethren missionary work in British Guiana. A year after his wife died in 1868, TGB married his children’s governess, Louisa Morrison who had been part of the family since before they left

11. This is deduced from a series of anonymous autobiographical essays entitled ‘A Work of Faith’ later published in Bell’s short-lived magazine The Voice upon the Mountains [hereafter VUM] (April 1869) pp.45–6; (May ’69), pp.51–3; (June ’69), pp.65–6; (July ’69), pp.81–3; (August ’69), p.95 (November ’69), pp.151–2.
Newcastle. A child was born in 1870 but TGB himself died in the following year.

[Postscript: Since writing the above I have tracked down in Sheffield, an 80-year-old descendant of TGB’s brother Thomas Charles Bell who like TGB moved to south-west England and settled in Somerset, joined the Brethren, and followed Darby in the division of the 1840s. My correspondent tells me that at some stage (presumably in the 1850s) TGB did some evangelism in Canada where he may have obtained his doctorate.]

**Clifton Conference of Brethren**

Having established the identity of Thomas George Bell, we may now revert to one of the articles that he contributed to *The Earthen Vessel* on the teaching and history of the Brethren—a movement with which his brother was intimately associated. As indicated earlier, TGB accompanied his articles with anonymous extracts written by Brethren and informed observers of the movement. By far the most instructive of these is a detailed account of the Brethren conference at Clifton in 1838.\(^{14}\) The account in *The Earthen Vessel* (June 1863, pp.137–8) is as follows (inserts in square brackets and the footnotes are mine):

The year 1838 was one of much blessing among the Brethren. There were in that year several events characterized by much of the Lord’s presence and power. In that year, Mr. [John Eliot] Howard, of Tottenham, and several others of the Society of Friends, came out to the unsectarian basis, and began to meet and break bread. They had been baptized by Immersion in 1836, and then left their places among the “friends;” but continued until this year to meet with the

---

Baptists. In June, 1838, a series of meetings took place in the Gloucester Hotel, Clifton, which exercised much influence. There were several of those [conferences] at different periods, which were held in continuation of the “Powerscourt conferences,” wherein the Brethren’s movement first originated. At each of them, brethren and sisters, were assembled from all parts of the United Kingdom, and some from other lands. So it was at the meetings, which began in Clifton, June 3rd, 1838. Many particulars of these meetings (they lasted nearly three weeks), I might give; but, at the present, I would dwell on one important matter arising out of them. It was at one of the evening meetings (Friday, June 8th), that the deepest interest was excited throughout the assembly by a brother named [William H.] Dorman rising up and saying something like this:— ‘Many chords in my heart have been touched, dear brethren, since I came into this room. I have been eleven years a preacher of what is called the Gospel; but I never knew what a full Gospel is until now. I have been in great bondage of soul like many besides; but now that the Spirit has unfolded to me the love of the Father, a flood of light has burst into my mind, and I can rejoice in my standing as a new creature in Christ Jesus. I can only say that, under God, to dear brother [George V.] Wigram I owe the privilege of being with you this day, which has been the happiest of my life.’ The day’s meetings had been most profitable. Mr. B. W. Newton commenced them at nine o’clock A.M. by lecturing on part of Hebrews iii. The things he particularly dwelt upon were the flesh crucified, the world left behind, judgment and death passed, and the believer standing, in Christ, in God’s presence. The key-note of [the] greater part of his address was,— ‘We are brought into the Father’s house, that we may know him. [sic] and be filled with His fulness.’ Other speakers followed, Mr. Robert Maunsell, Mr. Brereton, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Edward Synge, Mr. [Richard] Ball. There was then an interval for refreshment. After this, Mr. Darby spoke at great length with much power. [A] great part of his address was based upon, ‘Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect,’ and ‘Be ye imitators of God as dear children’. Mr. Newton again spoke a few words; then Mr. [J. G.] Bellett spoke.
The words, which the latter spoke were very full of love. He concluded with an expression which seemed at once to call up the dear brother Dorman, as just mentioned, — ‘Truth is precious, but love is still more so.’ The following day (Saturday), the whole company of believers thus assembled for conference and Christian fellowship broke bread together. Mr. J. L. Harris gave an address from Acts ix. 31. Mr. Darby and Mr. Newton each engaged in prayer; then Mr. Mozelle [?Monsell] spoke from Exodus xxix.; and a brother from Paris spoke. [Page 138] After which Mr. Dorman touched many hearts by the feeling manner in which he spoke of the blessing he had received. He expressed his readiness to go forth at the Lord’s call to preach the Gospel in the most distant parts of the earth. Dear brother! the Lord had all His work arranged for him, and though he [Dorman] knew it not then, he had a fierce struggle for truth before him. The next day (Lord’s-day), the Brethren turned their attention to evangelizing. Amongst other efforts, there was preaching in various parts of Bristol and tract distribution. In the evening, Mr. J. N. Darby preached in Bethesda Chapel from John xiv. 20; and Mr. Dorman in the forenoon in Brunswick Independent Chapel, from 1st Cor. ii. 14, and following verses. Mr. Dorman had been invited to preach there, in consequence of the illness of the minister. The extraordinary circumstances which followed, it will be well to state in Mr. Dorman’s own words. (See “Principles of Truth” by W. H. Dorman.)

“I stated briefly, as soon as I reached the vestry, to the deacons, who were my personal friends, that I was not at liberty to wear the gown, or to preach from the pulpit; but, if they pleased, I would speak as God should enable me, from the clerk’s desk or platform. There were objections to this, as contrary to their order, as I, of course, anticipated; but, before the hymn, with which the service commenced, was finished, they gave their consent that I should leave the gown, and occupy the clerk’s desk. I commenced by an exposition of the 1st Cor. ii. 14, and the following verses, and also the next chapter, intending to have preached afterwards from Hebrews iii. 1; but my mind was so led on with the glorious truth presented in the portion for exposition, that, unconsciously to myself,
the clock had reached the hour of twelve, when I received a pencil note from one of the deacons, requesting me to close the service with prayer, which in a few minutes after I did.¹⁵ He then states that the deacons ‘feared the edification of the people had been prevented by the derangement of the usual order;’¹⁶ and that the minister of Brunswick chapel, wrote to the minister of Union chapel, Islington, who sent for one of Mr. Dorman’s deacons and made him acquainted with the fact of Dorman having preached the Lord’s-day before, without a gown, and from the clerk’s desk! He then continues:— ‘This naturally alarmed my deacons. .... I received a letter from them at Bristol, and a duplicate of it at Stafford, informing me of the reports that had reached them, and requesting me to remain another Lord’s-day from home, and allow them to provide a supply for my pulpit.’¹⁷ He did not accede to this request, but arrived in Islington on Friday night with the intention of preaching as usual. However, ‘at the extreme solicitation of the deacons,’ he ‘gave them liberty to provide a supply’ and on the Lord’s-day ‘became a hearer instead of a preacher.’ ‘Little imagining, however’ (says he), ‘until the Monday, when I was kindly visited by the surgeon who attends my family, that insanity was the alleged cause of my absence from the pulpit, and that a friend who was a hearer with me was, to the great grief of my flock, stated to be my keeper.’”¹十八

In any history of the Brethren, it will be well to record the above circumstances, by way of illustrating the spirit with which they had to contend, amongst the various sects, against which their simple meeting in the name of Christ alone was so strong a protest. There is very little to be added to the history of Mr. Dorman’s case. Various conciliatory offers made by him were all rejected; the ‘alarmed’

¹⁵. W. H. Dorman, *Principles of Truth on the Present state of the Church, addressed to Christians of all Denominations, also reasons for retiring from the Independent or Congregational Body, and from Islington Chapel* (London, 1838), p.109. The italics in the text are not in the original pamphlet.
¹⁸. *Ibid*, p.111. The only words in italics in the original text are “my keeper”.

---

11
deacons were not to be pacified. Mr. Dorman came ‘outside.’ He preached the Gospel in another place—Chadwell street—and the Lord greatly blessed his ministry in the conversion of sinners.”
Daniel J. Danielsen (1871–1916):
The Faeroese who Changed History in the Congo

Óli Jacobsen

This paper is a brief biography of Daniel Jacob Danielsen (1871–1916) from the Faeroe Islands, the tiny archipelago between Scotland and Iceland.\(^1\) It has been known in the islands that Danielson, as he is named in English texts, was the first Faeroese missionary outside the islands, and that he was working in the Congo in the beginning of the twentieth century.\(^2\) It has also been known that Danielson was involved in some way investigating the cruelty in the Congo at the time. But as Danielson died in 1916, he has been nearly forgotten. There is some material about his evangelistic work in the Faeroes, but there is nearly nothing about his involvement in the Congo.\(^3\)

On his headstone is written *Virkaði i Congo 1901–1903 / Ein óreiddur hermaður Harrans* [‘Served in the Congo 1901–03 / A fearless soldier of the Lord’] I was interested to know about him, but with no sources it was quite impossible. But eventually I got a clue—Sir Roger Casement.\(^4\) Casement (1864–1916) was the British consul in the Congo and in 1903 undertook, on behalf of the British government, a survey of the alleged atrocities in the Congo.

---

4. Séamas Ó Siocháin, *Roger Casement, Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* (Dublin 2007); Casement was, of course, eventually executed by the British government for his involvement in the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916.
Danielson assisted Casement as the captain and engineer on the mission boat, Casement hired for the purpose.  

I obtained the report from that survey in which a part of Danielson’s role is described. Subsequently I found the rest of the history from different archives in UK, which disclosed a fantastic history—completely unknown until now. The result was a book, *Dollin: Havnarmáðurin, sum broyttiheimssöguna* (2010), the subtitle of which translates into English as the subtitle of this paper.


14
To allow non-Faeroese speakers to access Danielson’s story, the book has a detailed summary in English and all the captions for the illustrations are also in English.\(^7\) In this paper I will summarise this history as comprehensively as possible.

**Who was Danielson?**

Daniel Jacob Danielsen grew up in Tórshavn in the Faeroe Islands. His mother Sigrid went as a young woman to Copenhagen. She was, incidentally, a paternal aunt of Victor Danielsen, a well-known Brethren evangelist in the Faeroes.\(^8\) In 1871 she gave birth to a son without being married. The boy was named Ludvig Daniel Jacob. Ludvig is recorded as the name of his father, but he never knew him or used that name. Dollin was his petname and/or an abbreviation of Daniel Jacob. Fairly soon mother and son returned to the Faeroes and Sigrid married in 1874.

Daniel was a rather wild fellow and at the age of 18 he went to Scotland to be trained as an engineer. After that he became something of a globetrotter; we know for sure that he had been in South Africa,\(^9\) and that he had sailed on ships taking emigrants to America. Although he had a Christian upbringing, he distanced himself from religion of every kind; but in 1897 he became radically converted after an open-air service in Glasgow at which he had heard the witness of a Christian worker. After the service Danielson and another man from the open-air service went to the meeting hall not far away. In an article describing his conversion he states the question he put to his new companion: ‘I asked whether there was a minister there, but he said, that all the children of God were ministers and sons and daughters of God.’ 2–300 people were present in the hall, and here Danielson was converted.\(^{10}\) After his

---

10. As Alexander Galbraith, a prominent leader in revivalist circles in Glasgow, was the principal individual in the Christian meeting through which Danielson was
conversion he worked with the Seamen’s Mission in Glasgow for a while.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Congo missionary}

After some time, Danielson spent a year at Harley College, the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Mission (ELI), to prepare for his work as a missionary in the Congo.\textsuperscript{12} The ELI had been founded in 1873 by Henry and Fanny Grattan Guinness, who had been for a while members of the Brethren in Dublin, and it offered a vocational training and a wide-ranging educational curriculum to teach cross-cultural ministry skills. The students learned to ‘live by faith’.\textsuperscript{13} Subsequently Danielson joined the Congo Balolo Mission (CBM), which had been founded in 1888 by an Irish Baptist missionary, John McKittrick, with the support of the Guinness’s son Harry Grattan Guinness (1861–1915), a doctor, who was by then in charge of the ELI.\textsuperscript{14} The CBM employed Danielson as an engineer and as \textit{de facto} captain on their mission boats on the upper River Congo.

Having been approved as a missionary at a meeting of the CBM on 28 February 1901, Danielson left for the Congo on 11 April and

\begin{flushleft}
converted, most probably Danielson was converted through the Seamen’s Bethel in Eaglesham St., Glasgow, which was a member of the Glasgow Evangelistic Association, a federation of mission halls. Mission halls had a similar ethos to the Brethren, but maintained closer links with the institutional church and leaving a denomination was not a prerequisite of membership.


\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Naade og Sandhed}, No. 11, November 1916.


\end{flushleft}
was stationed at Bonginda, roughly a thousand miles up the Congo River.\textsuperscript{15} We know a little about his work as a missionary. In \textit{The Regions Beyond}, the monthly magazine of the mission, can be found the following notes about Danielson written by Revd William Douglas Armstrong, the leader of the mission in Bonginda:

\textit{November 1901}: The last Congo mail, despatched August 6, reports all well and work going on as usual. It tells about the safe arrival of Mr. Danielson at Bonginda in the middle of July. He is a Danish brother from the Faroe \textit{sic} Islands. While for the present his help will be chiefly felt in the steamer work. He looks forward to preaching the Gospel as soon as he shall have acquired the language.\textsuperscript{16}

\textit{June 1902}: Our Danish Brother is proving himself a real acquisition. He makes things most comfortable for his passengers. We are very thankful for him. The \textit{Pioneer} quite outdoes her old self in his hands.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{July 1903}: The Christian men often go down on Sundays and hold meetings, so that they get three services a week. The itinerating work suffers somewhat from the fact that I am the only one able to undertake it. However, when the engineers are here, Mr. Danielson kindly takes the morning service week about, and leaves me free to make excursions. I have in this way been able to go out three times lately.\textsuperscript{18}

According to Faroese sources, Danielson was well known for his sense of humour, and this characteristic of his was a great help in various disputes among the locals.\textsuperscript{19} Obviously he must have been linguistically gifted, as he was quite soon able to speak with the locals, and therefore also was able to act as an interpreter. He also

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} CBMM, 28 February1901.
\item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{The Regions Beyond [hereafter RB]}, (1901), p 309.
\item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.} (1902), p 179.
\item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, (1903), p.207; see also \textquote{A Day on the “Pioneer”}, \textit{RB}, quoted in Jacobsen, \textit{Dolllin}, p.30.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Sloan, \textquote{Danielsen, trúboðari}.
\end{itemize}
had battles with the native shamans, then regarded as ‘witch doctors’, to stop their work.  

Unfortunately Danielson also had a quick temper. It became clear among his fellow missionaries that there were negative feelings towards him. The first concrete evidence of this is that in 1902 the CBM in London recorded charges against Danielson of flogging locals and of putting them in the stocks when they failed to bring sufficient supplies of wood to fuel the steam engines’ boilers. Furthermore he was accused of taking the crews’ relatives as hostages from the same motive.

The headquarters of the Mission in London took this very seriously and decided to investigate the matter fully. It was taken up at a Conference on 4 September 1902 where the members of the Council and missionaries on leave were present, and at a meeting of the CBM council on 28 May 1903, it was decided to call Danielson back to England. What is surprising about Danielson’s recall was that in particular it was based on assertions from a Mr Sawyers who was a carpenter missionary. Around the same time Sawyers was dismissed from the Mission for incompetence. In addition to the assertions of Sawyers, Danielson was accused by Mr Black who was an engineer on the Mission’s ships. He also caused problems to the Mission and at its meeting on the 5 February 1903 the Council persuaded Black to attend Bible college where, in addition to other items, he would be ‘helped by contact with other men to overcome that particular element in his character which has hitherto made it difficult for him to get on with his brethren in the field.’ Black came back later to the Congo, but it is surprising that such a serious decision as the recall of a missionary had been taken based on statements from persons who the mission apparently did not trust.

On his way down the Congo River heading for England, Danielson was informed by the Mission that the recall had been

20. Ibid.
21. CBMM, 5th February 1903.
22. Ibid.
cancelled. It appears that the investigation had come to the conclusion that the accusations were false or, at least, greatly exaggerated.23 It was about that time Danielson met Roger Casement, who needed an engineer for the steamer Henry Reed. Casement wanted to use transport that was independent of the Belgian authorities, and for that reason he hired SS Henry Reed from the American Baptist Missionary Union which had taken over the work in the lower Congo that had been commenced by volunteers from the ELI.24 On Friday 17 July 1903 Danielson was hired as an engineer, which in reality also meant that he was the captain.

In The Eyes of Another Race (2003), which reprints Casement’s report and publishes his diary for 1903, this dramatic journey has

23. CBMM, 24 September 1903: the board of the CBM was informed about the decision at a meeting on this date, but the decision must have been taken when Danielson was hired by Casement 17 July.
been described in such a way that the cruelty towards the locals is fully documented. The most infamous symbol of cruelty was ‘cut hands’. The soldiers of the Force Publique were equipped with cartridges in exchange for an equivalent number of right hands from slaughtered ‘enemies’. If there were not sufficient cartridges, hands were cut off living, and innocent, people. This is the reason for the many photographs from this period showing numerous one-handed people.

There is no doubt that Danielson and Casement got on well with each other. Several times Casement complimented Danielson for his skills in running the ship, but he also occasionally mentioned Danielson’s quick temper, which from time to time was uncomfortable for the crew. It is also evident from Casement’s diaries and report that Danielson assisted him with his survey.

Séamas Ó Síocháin gives the following evaluation of Danielson:

Given the State’s monopoly of river transport and the likelihood of its monitoring or controlling his movements, access to independent transport was a crucial element in Casement’s probings. The Henry Reed allowed him to avoid a degree of surveillance and to go to places which would have been otherwise difficult to reach or even inaccessible (Lake Mantumba, the tributary at Ifomi). A sympathetic and competent engineer (effectively captain) was vital to the enterprise; Danielson provided this expertise.

Danielson performed his role effectively. On a couple of occasions, recorded in his diary, Casement was critical of specific actions of Danielson’s, but these actions did not threaten to undermine the main enterprise. It became clear to me when analysing Casement’s up-river movements how heavy his reliance was on missionary groups; Danielson was one part of this reliance.

25. Ó Síocháin and O’Sullivan (eds), *The Eyes*, pp.49–177.
27. Séamas Ó Síocháin e-mail to the writer. I had regular contact with Séamas Ó Síocháin, a lecturer at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, while writing my biography. The editorial material of *The Eyes of Another Race* confirms this assessment of Danielson’s role.
Starting a campaign in Britain

After the end of his mission with Casement, Danielson returned to England where he arrived about 10 October 1903. It seems likely that Danielson was animated by a desire to do something immediately to raise awareness in the UK of the situation in the Congo. From the material we have in the Faeroes,\textsuperscript{28} we can conclude that he wrote letters from the Congo to the British authorities regarding the situation, and that after returning to England he probably had a meeting with an official of the foreign secretary, Lord Lansdowne, to discuss this matter.

We know that the Foreign Office (FO) was at least aware of Danielson and he was intended by them to play a role in the Congo campaign. As early as 24 November 1903, before the arrival of Casement, the FO considered Casement’s report had better be published first, after which Danielson could follow up with more effect. Henry Fox Bourne, another Congo Reform campaigner who had visited the FO, wrote to Edmund Morel, a crucial figure in the Congo campaign, regarding Danielson: ‘It [i.e the FO] does not object to use being made of his other information—indeed would like it be done by way of keeping up public interest in the movement, which I really believe it is eager to promote’\textsuperscript{29}.

That was also what Danielson did. He was eager to force the CBM to start a Congo campaign immediately and obviously appealed to the mission to do so. At a meeting on the 22 October 1903, the Congo Council of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union (RBMU), the new name of the CBM, concluded: ‘It was

\textsuperscript{28} Sloan, ‘Danielsen, trúboðari’.
\textsuperscript{29} Henry Fox Bourne to E. D. Morel 24 November 1903, quoted in Ruth M. Slade, \textit{English Missionaries and the Beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England (Brussels, 1955)}, p. 69. Cf. E. D. Morel to Herbert Ward, 10 November 1903: ‘Grattan Guinness of the CBM has some terrible information. The Foreign Office seems to desire all the pressure from public opinion they can get. Between ourselves, Farnall—the man in charge of those things at F.O. is rather pessimistic about the amount of information we are getting from Congo—said to me: “If you drop the Congo question, be sure the government will drop it.”’, EDMP, F10, quoted in Slade, \textit{English Missionaries}, p.69.
unanimously decided to await the arrival of Mr. Casement—the British Consul to the Congo—before using the information brought home by Mr. Danielson of recent atrocities and the continued maladministration of the Congo State.

To evaluate the role of Danielson in the establishment of the Congo Reform Campaign (CRC), it is essential to document the position of the CBM in relation to the Belgian authorities. Dr Harry Grattan Guinness, the leader of the CBM, was early aware of the atrocities in the Congo. The question had been raised at a meeting of the Congo Council on 24 June 1896. The minutes from that meeting state:

An important communication from Mr. Sjöblom was received and presented to the Council, and it was decided that a communication should be made to the Congo Secretary in Brussels on the subject, making a clear statement as to the facts of Congo atrocities at all of the varied Mission Stations.

The Revd E. J. Sjöblom from Sweden, and another former ELI student, had been one of the first missionaries to publicly criticise the Congo State. In addition to Danielson he is the only Scandinavian who is known to have publicly opposed the rule of the Congo. Guinness had been so moved with the horror of the situation that he went to Brussels in 1896 where he met King Leopold. He was then able to fully present the ghastly facts of the case to His Majesty. But his argument was more economic than humanitarian. He later wrote:

I further enlarged on the suicidal policy, pursued by so many of the State agents, of “killing the goose that lays the golden egg,” for, as I explained, only the native can work in such a climate. The King seemed greatly interested and pained by what I had to say, and subsequently humanitarian recommendations were sent to the Congo, with the effect that, of recent years, as our missionaries are

30. CBMM, 22 October 1903.
31. CBMM, 24 June 1896.
32. RB, April 1903, p. 134.
concerned, the smoked [i.e. cut] hands are entirely a matter of the past.33

This topic was again on the agenda of the CBM council on the 24 September 1896:

The proposed reforms by the Free State Government were discussed and the Council noted with pleasure that Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Bentley and Dr. Sims together with one of the Roman Catholic missionaries have been appointed to investigate any case of oppression of the natives or cruelty on the part of the State officials that may be reported to them, such investigations to be reported to the Government.34

The editors of The Eyes of Another Race reach the following conclusion on the above-mentioned investigation:

Stung by the mounting criticism, Leopold reacted by setting up, in September 1896, the Commission for the protection of the Natives with six members, three Catholic and three Protestant missionaries (including the prominent British Baptists, George Grenfell and William Bentley). With its members stationed far apart, however, and not given any transport or administrative support, the Commission remained a paper entity. Atrocity stories continued.35

Furthermore, David Lagergren writes in Mission and State in the Congo (1970):

This desire to appease is most clearly exemplified by Guinness. Because of his eagerness to expand his mission, there were times when he maintained a continuous contact with Brussels and Antwerp. On these occasions he did not neglect to point out how

33. Ibid.
34. CBMM, 24 September 1896; in fact there were three RC missionaries investigating.
well the authorities and the missions were now working together in the field.\textsuperscript{36}

In this connection it is of interest to read the following in Kevin Grant’s \textit{A Civilised Savagery} (2005):

Morel and Fox Bourne realized that they needed British missionaries to testify against the Congo Free State in order to persuade the British public and, in turn, the government to take up their case. Morel approached the BMS [i.e. Baptist Missionary Society] in 1901 and was rebuffed in light of its effort to win approval from the Congo Free State for further expansion into the Congo interior.

In 1902, Morel approached Guinness at the Congo Balolo Mission who confirmed that slavery and atrocities were occurring in the Congo; and Guinness explained that the British government was not likely to intervene, so any public protest by his missionaries would only undermine their long term evangelical goals. Within a year however, the Congo Balolo Mission had given up hope that the Congo Free State would permit expansion, and Guinness allied himself with Morel despite their ideological differences.\textsuperscript{37}

What had actually happened is as follows: On 5 February 1903 the Congo Administration had appeared on the agenda at the meeting of the Congo Council of the CBM. There was a request from Edmund Morel, in which he requested that the Council would place at his disposal the information in their hands with reference to the treatment of natives by the State. It was decided that Guinness should conduct interviews with the relevant persons ‘after which the Council will decide whether it will be advisable to place our information in Mr. Morel’s hands.’\textsuperscript{38}

The next meeting of the Council took place on 26 February 1903. It had not been possible for Guinness to meet the persons mentioned, and dealing with Morel’s request was postponed. At the next meeting

\textsuperscript{38} CBMM, 5 February 1903.
on the 26 March 1903 the request was not mentioned at all. Instead it was noted in the minute book:

The matter of Congo Atrocities was again considered and it was felt that the time had arrived for us to make some statement relative to them. Dr. Guinness was therefore, asked to kindly undertake to write an article for publication in the Regions Beyond stating clearly our present position and future policy regarding the above.\footnote{Ibid, 26 February 1903.}

\footnote{Ibid, 26 February 1903.}

Mola and Yuko who Casement and Danielson met in Ikoko on 29 July 1903. It is almost certain that Danielson is the photographer.

Photograph: Anti-Slavery International
It is probable that this step had been an excuse for not giving Morel the material he had asked for. The article, however, was published in *The Regions Beyond* in April 1903.\(^{40}\) It is quite moderate. It admits the atrocities, but places the main responsibility for them on the local sentries and not on the authorities and absolutely not on King Leopold. Up to this point it appears that Guinness had been treading carefully in order to avoid causing offence.\(^{41}\)

**Danielson and Morel**

That was the situation until the arrival of Danielson who had little patience to wait for Casement who was expected to arrive in England at the beginning of December. Danielson started his campaign right away at the beginning of November. Soon afterwards, Danielson and Edmund Morel (1873–1924), another key figure in this history, commenced a correspondence.\(^{42}\) Morel worked for the Elder Dempster Shipping Company, which served the Congo from the UK and Belgium. He had observed that the ships brought home valuables such as ivory and rubber and only carried out weapons and luxury for the whites. He concluded that what went on in the Congo was in the reality slavery. He resigned from his job and in 1900 started campaigning against the rule of King Leopold II in the Congo.

His first step was to gather all the information he could from the Congo and he wrote a large number of articles. In 1903 the weekly magazine *West African Mail* was established, which, for example, in that year alone, consisted of a thousand pages, and in addition he wrote many more relevant materials, including books and thousands of letters.\(^{43}\) Danielson took steps to contact Morel as we can see in the latter’s answer of 17 November 1903. In his letter Morel also had helpful advice:

---

41. Cf. the identical conclusion in the quotation from Grant, *A Civilised Savagery*, and from Conley, *Drumbeats*, at n.37 above.
43. EDMP, CA3225; cf. Conley, *Drumbeats*, p.83.
You mention that on the 7th and 8th inst, you were speaking before 4 or 5,000 people in Edinburgh. I wish it were possible (I speak with all respect) to infuse into your missionaries some notion of how to get at the ear of the public in connection with a matter of this kind. Now who knows what you said to those 4 or 5,000 people? Not a soul outside your immediate audience. But if you had had press representatives there, your words would have been reproduced all over the country. The thing is to get these statements into the paper, and to rouse public opinion. If they are not got into the papers, public opinion will never be roused, and the whole agitation, I assert deliberately, depends for its success upon maintaining unimpaired and connected interest on the part of public opinion; that can only be done through the press, and I don’t think you gentlemen realise the fact sufficiently. Now if you like to give me a short summary of what you said in connection with Congo maladministration before those 4 or 5,000 people, I will publish it in my paper; and do, the next time you are speaking, arrange to have representatives of the press present. What I am writing you now I have said verbally to Dr. Grattan Guinness. This battle must be fought with a continuous systematic attack; not by a short attack and then a retreat to consider the next step, but blow after blow, that is the only way to keep up sustained public interest. Needless to say I shall be grateful and pleased for any information you may give me at any time on this subject, whether you write from Africa or from Europe.44

Danielson followed the advice from Morel immediately as can be seen from articles in the newspapers and journals. The West African Mail had already on 27 November 1903 carried the following article:

44. EDMP, F10/8, Letter Book, f437-439, Edmund Morel to H. [sic] J. Danielson, 17 November 1903; the truth of Morel’s observation can be seen in the absence of reports of Danielson’s meetings of late 1903 in the Edinburgh press; the first note of agitation over the Congo in the Edinburgh newspaper, The Scotsman, was on 2 February 1904, p.4i, by which time the campaign had moved to Glasgow.
Congo State
WILL EUROPE AWAKE TOO LATE?
Mr. D. J. Danielson on the Congo Horror.
“EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN THE RUBBER DISTRICTS—A SLAVE!”
WILL THEY KILL US BEFORE THEY GO AWAY?

Special to the West African Mail
(From a Correspondent)

Mr. D. J. Danielson, who is attached to the Regions Beyond Missionary Society, in the Congo, has in the course of the last few weeks addressed several meetings in Edinburgh on the subject of Congo State misrule. On one occasion three thousand people assembled at the Synod Hall to hear Mr. Danielson speak.

In the course of his speech at the Synod Hall, Mr. Danielson denounced in the strongest language the abominable oppression to which the Congo natives are subjected. The rubber trade—if it should be called trade—declared Mr. Danielson, was rapidly killing off the natives, and would end in the virtual extermination of all the Congo races, whom the Congo State was able to get in the grip. A Free State by name, it was a Slave state in fact. Mr. Danielson explained that he had just come home from the Congo. He had been living for upwards of two years in the Upper Congo, in one of the rubber districts where the Belgian Concessionaires were carrying on their atrocious rubber traffic with the help of the State officers, for concessionaires and State worked hand in hand. Mr Danielson went on to say that he had personally witnessed the commitment of abominable deeds, and had on several occasions prevented the Belgians and their soldiers from perpetrating outrages upon men and women. He had photos in his possession illustrating these atrocities upon the natives, atrocities perpetrated this very year, and arising from the rubber extortion. It had been said, that the

CUTTING OFF OF NATIVES’ HANDS

was done by Congo State soldiers to account for the number of cartridges they expended—one hand for each cartridge. But he thought the chief purpose of these mutilations was to strike terror into the natives to show them what they had to expect if they failed to satisfy the white man’s demands for rubber, rations and other taxes. “It is a daily sight,” said Mr Danielson “to see
WOMEN TIED UP AS HOSTAGES

and kept sometimes for many weeks—tied up with strong rope so that they shall not manage to steal away to their homes.”

Mr Danielson further asserted that every man, woman and child in the rubber districts of Congo State was “kept a slave, and a slave of the lowest order,” and that the natives were far better off before King Leopold had anything to do with the country. “The cry of the natives,” continued Mr Danielson, was “When will the white rubber collectors be satisfied? When will they have enough rubber? When will they leave our country, and leave us in peace?”

“WILL THEY KILL US ALL BEFORE THEY GO AWAY?”

These were questions said Mr Danielson, frequently asked, and how could they be answered?

“Several natives,” declared Mr Danielson, “asked me before I left for home, if I could tell their bad circumstances to the good white men in the far-off country, and ask them to help and to deliver them from their taskmasters.” “With God’s help,” continued the speaker, “I will tell everyone I can of this terrible slavery which is carried out in the Congo State. If this atrocious Administration goes on much longer, in a few years’ time whole districts will have become entirely and absolutely depopulated. Then Europe will awake. But it will be too late.”

“MORAL AND MATERIAL REGENERATION”

Mr Danielson reiterated that the curse of the whole business was the rubber taxes. The natives often told him that in the old days they used to have some happy days, even when actual cannibalism reigned unchecked, but that since the rubber collectors have come in to the country, they had not one happy day. They were living in misery, slavery and poverty, a prey to sickness and disease—a poor, miserable people that once used to be so prosperous.

ENGLAND’S DUTY

“We preach to the people the Love of God. They ask us, Why does He then allow these men to ill-treat us like this? Why does He not deliver us from these tyrants? I say, how can we answer these reasonable questions? May this country, which God has made so
great, help these outraged natives; The Congo races are fine races, but they are being decimated and destroyed.”

This article gives a very clear impression of the way Danielson was arguing. Furthermore he was a very charismatic speaker. Later in the Faeroes at his evangelistic services both he and his audience would be overcome with sobbing. It is not quite clear how he used the photographs he had brought home from the Congo which included images of mutilated children as well as the peoples of the region, landscapes, and missionary activities. But we know that he had lantern lectures in the Faeroe Islands a few months later, and he used those photographs in his meetings in the UK, undoubtedly also as lantern lectures. And they, of course, also had their effect on the audience.

It is also of interest, that on 7 December 1903 The Daily Mirror, just after the arrival of Casement in England, published an article about his survey. In this article the unidentified ‘An Englishman’, who had been with Casement, was cited as follows: ‘The most terrible slavery exist. The administration is atrocious, and if there is no speedy intervention, it will be too late.’ The ‘Englishman’ can only be Danielson. Danielson and Casement were in touch immediately from Casement’s arrival in England, and in addition the identification can be made from the dates of the letters Danielson sent to Casement.

45. EDMP, CA3225; the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, belonged to the United Presbyterian Church. In Morel’s papers I found a few more articles with the same message. But as Danielson had a number of meetings in different towns there may be something in print about those. There had at least been an interview with Daily Record and Mail of Glasgow. Any additional information is still welcome.
47. See Appendix below.
48 If we compare the message of the ‘Englishman’ with the article in the West African Mail the message is the same and even crucial wording is identical: if nobody interferes ‘it will be too late.’ There can be little doubt that the ‘Englishman’ is Danielson.
Danielson changes Guinness

As has already been seen, on 22 October 1903 the Congo Council refused Danielson’s request for immediate action, as they preferred to wait for Casement’s arrival. As noted above, the CBM was like other missionary societies, very much in doubt whether it should oppose in public the authorities in Congo; but when Danielson had had his first mass meetings in Edinburgh on 7 and 8 November, the attitude of the Mission changed immediately, as can be seen in a letter Morel wrote a few days after these public meetings: ‘I have had a long talk with Guinness. I think the alliance established now between us will be productive of good results to all concerned.’

Already at their board meeting on 26 November 1903 the Congo Council decided on ‘a series of mass meetings to be held in the main cities in the UK. The Council very heartily agreed to this programme being carried out.’ Guinness had already had his first meeting the day before in Bristol; and that was still before the arrival of Casement in England, for which the Council earlier had agreed to wait. This demonstrates a considerable change in the Mission’s position. According to the letters from Morel to Danielson, by now there was no difficulty in Morel getting the material he wanted from the CBM and from Danielson. We can assume, that as Danielson had just arrived from the Congo, and had travelled extensively around the country, his material had been quite up to date. Therefore it was especially relevant. Ruth Slade, in her book *English Missionaries and the Beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England* (1955) has arrived at the same conclusion regarding Danielson’s role:

> Having found that the British consul had been accompanied during a good part of his tour of investigation by the CBM missionary, Danielson, Morel was hoping to anticipate the Casement report by an account of the conditions they had found, to reinforce the

51. CBMM, 26 November 1903.
information from Weeks [i.e. a Baptist missionary] which he had already made public.

Guinness was unsure of the wisdom of publication before the official report from Casement appeared, but after several weeks of persuasion it seemed to Morel that he was ready to cooperate, and Morel himself was convinced of the importance of the public interest which may thus be aroused, in its effect on the government. Morel wrote directly to Danielson, urging him to use his influence with Guinness, and stressing the importance of publicity and speed. The CBM Council had been stirred to action after hearing the story Danielson had to tell them on his return to England, and at its meeting on 26 November decided to publish a booklet of missionary evidence on conditions in the Congo State, and to arrange a series of mass meetings in the leading cities of England.52

This is completely in accordance with the view outlined above that Danielson really achieved the change of the position of the CBM.

The Congo Reform Association

The Congo Reform Association (CRA) was founded on 23 March 1904, giving the Congo Reform Movement a formal platform to work from. The CRA started a campaign throughout the UK and also the USA, where Guinness personally presented its case against the administration of the Congo to President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907.53 It held hundreds of meetings at which photographs of the Congo atrocities were displayed and which had a great effect on their audiences.54 Two very active members in the campaign were the missionary couple Alice and John Harris, also from the CBM. They participated in many of the CRA meetings in Britain, and also in the USA.55 The result of this campaign was increasing pressure on an

53. Conley, Drumbeats, p.87.
54. Hochschild, Leopold’s Ghost, p.216
55. Ibid., pp.241–2.
unwilling King Leopold to give up his sovereignty over the Congo. In 1908 he finally relented, and the Congo became the responsibility of the Belgian state. The situation in the Congo changed gradually and in 1913 the CRA found the improvement sufficient to warrant disbanding the organisation.\textsuperscript{56}

In March 1904, Danielson had paid a visit to the Faeroe Islands where he reported on the situation in the Congo. He had meetings in different places in the Faeroes, where the audiences had the opportunity to see a ‘series of slides showing nature and human life in the Congolese state and most of all the behaviour of the regime of horror that is caused by the capitalistic Belgian interests in the state.’\textsuperscript{57}

**Back to the Congo or not?**

Throughout 1904 Danielson lived with the uncertainty of whether or not he would be allowed to return to the Congo where there was considerable disagreement among his colleagues on this question, of which the Council of the Mission was aware. He was accused, for example, by his missionary colleague W. D. Armstrong of his ‘utter unreliability of statement.’ This assertion seems to contradict earlier reports from Armstrong in *The Regions Beyond* about how useful Danielson was to the mission station where Armstrong was the leader. One example is that Danielson was the only one of the engineers who could replace him in preaching at services at the station.\textsuperscript{58} It should be noted, however, that in the course of my research, I have not found any examples of ‘unreliability’ in Danielson’s statements about the atrocities in Congo. Armstrong’s statement is, it seems to me, an unfair attempt to discredit Danielson.

During a meeting on the 26 January it was noted in the minute book of the Congo Council of the RBMU ‘that the engineers Wallbaum and Steel threaten resignation if Danielson returned. Best

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.273–4.

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Tingakrossur}, 9 mars 1904; this source is a Faeroese newspaper; my translation.

\textsuperscript{58} Cf. the quotation at n.18 above.
therefore to recommend Danielson to resign’.

On 17 May 1904 Danielson was again on the Congo Council’s agenda, and this time he was pressing for a conclusion on his future within the mission, and he also informed the Council ‘of his intention to get married during the coming week.’ After very carefully considering the matter, it was unanimously agreed that the Council could not decide anything further regarding him and his future connection with the Mission until they heard from the Field Committee in answer to the letters that had been sent out asking them for a full report.

The Council did not see its way to agreeing to his immediate marriage. They felt that should the Field Committee express itself as desirous of his return there would then be time enough for them to consider the case of his fiancée. Although they could not prohibit his marriage, they felt that should it take place, it would complicate matters somewhat. The view of the Mission was understandable. Any wife was considered as a member of the staff and had therefore to be accepted by the RBMU. Danielson, however, did not take any notice of the Council’s opinions on the matter, and in May 1904 he married Lina Niclasen, the daughter of Faeroese parents living in Leith, the seaport of Edinburgh.

At a meeting on the 14 June 1904, the Congo Council reached its conclusions on Danielson’s future. Its minutes state:

(i) The majority of the members of the Field Committee are opposed to his return;
(ii) That should he be sent back, friction in the Engineering Department would only be perpetuated and;
(iii) That he was not a persona grata with State; therefore not going back to the Congo.

The Council unanimously agreed that apart from his incompatibility in temperament there was nothing against Mr Danielson and that if desired they would willingly recommend him

59. CBMM, 26 January 1904.
60. Ibid., 17 May 1904.
as a conscientious worker, first-class mechanic and an earnest Christian.61

What seemed to settle the matter once and for all was when Danielson was declared *persona non grata* by the Belgian authorities. He knew too much about what happened in the Congo and he was now known as an opponent to the rule of King Leopold II’s regime. After this the CBM made the decision that they would support Danielson wherever he could find work. The result was his return to his native Faeroe Islands, and the Mission decided to pay his fare of £10.62

Danielson and his wife Lina took up residence in the islands in late 1904 where they started evangelism in different places. They established new assemblies known as the Plymouth Brethren in many villages.63 It was said of Danielson that he was rather harsh in his preaching, at least to begin with. They settled in Tórshavn and their home became a local meeting place for the young people in the assembly. The young people were fascinated by all the African things that decorated the house.64

On the death of Danielson *Echoes of Service* reported:

Mr. Danielsen [sic] was a native of the Faroe Islands, but was for some years employed by the Congo Balolo Mission in an engineering capacity. Dr. and Mrs. Guinness esteemed him highly, but circumstances led to his return to the Faroe Islands in 1904, after his marriage. At that time there were no assemblies of believers except in Tórshavn, although much seed sowing had been long

64. *Echoes of Service* is my main source to describe the evangelistic activity of Danielson in the Faroe Islands. The reports are, of course, in English and are available on my website: <olijacobsen.fo>.
carried by our brother Sloan. Mr. Danielsen henceforth devoted himself to gospel work in his native land.

He had suffered from fever in Africa, and the result of this, together with his experiences in the work, seem to have been the cause of his last illness. His heart became affected, and he went, with his wife, to Denmark for treatment. He almost passed away in the hospital there, but to the surprise of all, revived a little, and the doctors, being unable to do more for him, advised him to return home, as he greatly desired. The voyage occupied eleven days, and the weather was rough, so his condition rapidly deteriorated. The captain and officers did all they could for him, and a brother from Faroe, who was travelling by the same boat attended him night and day throughout the voyage. On arrival at Tórshavn he was carried to his home, and the first afternoon he was able to converse, seeming rather better. In the evening his mind wandered and from then he was only to converse for small moments. Early the second morning he said, “Take me by hand, for now I am ready.” A moment or two later he said, “Behold, He cometh,” lifted up his eyes and passed away.

A large company of friends, both from town and country, followed his body to the grave with twenty-four taking turns in bearing the coffin, while seven brethren bore testimony to his work and faithfulness to God, and the gospel was preached to the hundred present. Mrs. Danielsen is wonderfully sustained by God, but should be remembered in prayer.65

Danielson is buried beside his mother-in-law, who apparently moved back to the Faeroes at the same time as Danielson and his wife. Unfortunately, there is virtually no material left behind by Danielson in the Faeroes. The couple had no children. Lina had been involved in the missionary work of her husband, singing and playing an organ. She left the Faeroes for Scotland around 1920, and she remarried a butcher named John Smith. She died in 1937, 58 years old. There is no-one left to answer questions.

Conclusion

The Congo Reform Movement, according to Adam Hochschild in *King Leopold’s Ghost* (1998), the most comprehensive book about Leopold’s Congo, had two enduring legacies. It left a large amount of archive material and a tradition of ‘a human capacity for outrage at pain inflicted on another human being’. On the whole Grant’s assessment in *A Civilised Savagery* is very much in accordance with the conclusion in my biography about Danielson’s role in the CRM. There were two main partners in the CRM and the later Congo Reform Association. There was one secular partner, primarily represented by Edmund Morel, and there was a missionary/Christian partner represented by the Balolo Mission and Dr Guinness who represented the Mission. These partners were indispensable to each other. The missionaries provided the CRA with information about the atrocities in Congo and Morel was the great communicator. It is, however, evident that it was Danielson who took the initiative and who succeeded in convincing the CBM to become actively involved in the Congo question. When the mission hesitated, Danielson started his campaign of meetings alone that resulted in the change in the Mission’s attitude.

Nevertheless, Danielson has not been even mentioned in the histories of the Congo Reform Campaign. Morel does not mention him in his book *King Leopold’s Rule in Africa*, which was published in 1904, although during its preparation he drew upon photographic and other evidence that Danielson possessed. In the preface he wrote that ‘Dr. Guinness started a series of public lectures early this year [i.e. 1904], drawing large audiences.’ It is puzzling how Morel could have omitted Danielson in his books when the evidence is there in his own correspondence as to who started those lectures ahead of Guinness. In 1906 Morel published his most famous book about the Congo, *Red Rubber*, which has been reprinted several times.

68. Edmund Morel, *King Leopold’s Rule in Africa* (London, 1904), p. xv; in fact it was in 1903 the meetings started.
times. Morel now also omitted to mention Guinness and the Congo Balolo Mission. They had, in fact, had a key role both in the Congo Reform Campaign and as a co-founder of the Congo Reform Association. Morel was a committed moral crusader, but he seldom liked sharing too much of the limelight.\textsuperscript{59}

Neither have I found anything in the publications of the CBM about the role of Danielson. At the beginning of 1904 the RBMU published a booklet \textit{Congo Slavery} by Henry Grattan Guinness. Its aim was to present the role of the CBM in the Congo campaign, but Danielson is not mentioned at all. Later, in 1908, the RBMU published the booklet \textit{The Congo Crises also} by Harry Grattan Guinness. Danielson was again not mentioned. The silence is difficult to understand, especially, as we have seen, \textit{Echoes of Service} stated that ‘Dr. and Mrs. Guinness esteemed him highly.’\textsuperscript{70} Consequently, perhaps, the most recent history of the RBMU, \textit{Drumbeats that Changed the World} (2000) fails to mention Danielson. Furthermore, David Lagergren refers to the charges against Danielson, noted earlier in this paper, and he also mentions that the Mission took up those charges,\textsuperscript{71} but he fails to state that the Mission found Danielson not guilty. Neither does he mention the role of Danielson in the Congo Campaign whereas he mentions others such as John Harris. That seems to be very unfair, especially as Lagergren used Ruth Slade as a source, and she indicates clearly the connection between Danielson and Morel and the Congo campaign. Ruth Slade is the only subsequent historian that has even mentioned the role of Danielson in the Congo Reform Campaign after his return to England.

Espen Waehle, a Norwegian Congo specialist and one of my sources, describes Danielson as an ‘unsung hero.’\textsuperscript{72} That is completely right.

\textsuperscript{69} Hochschild, \textit{Leopold’s Ghost}, p. 274.
\textsuperscript{70} Cf. n.65 above.
\textsuperscript{72} Espen Waehle, e-mail to the writer.
Appendix:
Evangelicals, Atrocity Photographs and Danielson

On 9 March 1904 Tingakrossur, one of the principal Faeroese newspapers, carried an announcement: ‘Tonight, Wednesday, and on Saturday at 8pm the missionary D. J. Danielson will show slides in the Club’s Theatre from the Congolese state, photographs taken by himself’. The same edition of the paper gave a report detailing what the audience might expect: ‘Among these slides—more than 80 in total—there are some taken directly of the locals in the Congo, who have had their right hands cut off by the tyrannical Belgians and their soldiers ….’

There is no doubt that the lantern lectures had an important effect in the Congo Reform Campaign as Kevin Grant writes:

Guinness focused upon the savagery of the Congo Free State, realizing its betrayal of humanity through the display of atrocity photographs. These photographs were contextualized with what missionaries later called “horror narratives”: descriptions of the events that preceded and caused the alleged atrocity, the process through which the atrocity was committed, and the aftermath of the event. As Guinness commented to Morel: “Some of the slides are immensely effective.”

However, Grant notes that he was unable to find a list of the specific images that Guinness used in his lecture series, and assumes they

73. Tingakrossur, 9 mars 1904; Sloan, ‘Danielsen, trúboðari’, p.3: ‘In 1904 Danielson visited the Faeroe Islands. He had lectures about his missionary work in the Congo in connection with slides he had taken there. On those photos could be seen Africans the Belgians had cut the hands off or somehow had mutilated’; my translations.
74. Grant, A Civilised Savagery, p.57.
were by Armstrong who had joined Casement at the very end of his survey. This is probably wrong. From all the information we have it is very likely that those photographs are by Danielson and that he brought them home from Congo about 10 October 1903. It is obvious from the correspondence between Morel and Danielson that there has been a discussion between Morel, Guinness and Danielson how his photographs should be used. Grant writes furthermore that Casement brought the photographs with him to England where they would circulate in books and lantern-slide lectures to be powerful images of the misgovernment in the Congo.

Casement arrived on 1 December and Danielson’s photographs were discussed and probably used in Britain before Casement’s arrival. Grant also writes that Guinness began a series of lectures entitled ‘A Reign of Terror on the Congo’ in November 1903 ‘drawing thousands of people with the promise of lantern slides.’ That was still before Armstrong’s photographs had arrived in Britain according to Grant himself. There are clear indications, however, that the first photographs used in the Congo campaign and also by Guinness, came from Danielson and were taken by him. It is therefore likely that also in this matter he was ahead of others in the campaign.

Sharon Sliwinski, in a paper on the use of photographs in the outrage over the Congo, writes that CRA was the first humanitarian movement to use atrocity photographs as a central tool. But Sliwinski is also uncertain about the origin of the photographs. This is evident from her description of two cases from the Casement Report about the mutilation of two boys. One was named Epondo. In

75. Ibid., p. 187.
76. Jacobsen, Dollin, pp. 185–187; the correspondence is dated 17 and 26 November and 16 December 1903: EDMP, F10/8f437–439; f532; f598; f678.
77. Grant, A Civilised Savagery, p.57.
79. Ibid., p. 60.
Photographs from Mark Twain’s *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* (1905). They have been taken in at least two different places, Ikoko and Bonginda. As Danielson was the only photographer present in both, it is very likely that he has taken at least some of them. Note the use of the white blankets to highlight the maiming.
that case Armstrong is said to have taken the photograph, and this could be correct as this happened close to Bonginda where Armstrong was the leader of the CBM mission station. The other case, however, is Mola Ekulite, whose both hands were mutilated. Lewinski writes:

The photograph, a copy of which Casement included in his original report, shows Mola seated sideways on a modern-style chair. Another child with a similar injury, Yoka, stands next to him ... The author of the photograph is unnamed; however, Casement’s report refers to Reverend W. D. Armstrong as having produced the photograph of Epondo, as well as images of several others victims and it seems plausible that Armstrong also took the photograph of Mola.80

As far as the present writer is aware, Casement does not refer to Armstrong as the photographer, but Morel does in his King Leopold’s Rule,81 the same book where he completely ignores the significant role of Danielson in the Congo Reform Campaign. The photographs Morel attributes to Armstrong are all from Bonginda. But Casement met Mola on 29 July at the mission station of the American Baptist Missionary Union in Ikoko, while Armstrong was the leader of the CBM station in Bonginda quite a distance further up the river. It is very unlikely that Armstrong had been in Ikoko for the reasons stated above, and he is not mentioned in Casement’s diary entries in Ikoko. It was on 24 August on the way up the river that Casement arrived in Bonginda, and where he met Armstrong probably for the first time. But his survey of the atrocities in Bonginda took place on the way down the river on 7 September.

But Danielson was in Ikoko. Therefore it is probable that he took that photograph. One proof, which has been used to identify photographs taken by Armstrong, is that he was known to instruct

each of his subjects to wrap a white cloth around himself to create a ‘backdrop’ for the mutilated limb. But Danielson was probably the first photographer using that ‘trick’ in Ikoko a month earlier. It could therefore be he who took the similar photographs, for which Armstrong has been honoured. Furthermore, Mark Twain in King Leopold’s Soliloquy (1905) has nine photographs, all of them with white cloth wrapped around them. One of them is of Mola. But there are two others sitting apparently in the same chair as Mola. That means that at least three of the photographs have been taken in Ikoko and they cannot have been taken by Armstrong. Danielson, on the other hand, could have taken them all.

There is at least uncertainty about photographers. I have seen three photographers mentioned having taken the photograph of Mola and Yuko. For two of them it is nearly impossible according to dates in the diary and report of Casement. For the third it is unlikely. Grant writes:

Although there is no documentary evidence that explains Armstrong’s objectives in taking these photos, it is at least certain that he wanted to publicize them in Britain. Missionary organisations had long since promoted their work in Britain through lantern lectures, so it would have been reasonable for a missionary to convey criticism of an imperial regime through photographs as well. But, one may ask, why did not Armstrong or other missionaries distribute “atrocity photos” earlier? It is possible that this was a new idea proposed by Casement, but it is also likely that Armstrong came

82. Mark Twain, King Leopold’s Soliloquy. A Defence of his Congo Rule (Boston, 1905), pp.40–1. The title, like the ‘soliloquy’, is, of course, ironical.
83. Cf. the website of John Edwin Mason, a lecturer in African history and the history of photography at the University of Virginia. Mason labels the photographs reproduced from Mark Twain’s pamphlet as having been taken c.1905 by Alice Harris and W. D. Armstrong. The truth is that they were taken in 1903 before Harris started taking atrocity photographs, and Armstrong, at least was not alone taking those photographs. <http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/2012/05/belgia n-congo-ale.html>, accessed November 2012.
upon the idea while watching Casement interpret the mutilated bodies of Africans as decisive proof of the state’s brutality.\textsuperscript{84}

Grant confirms that all the speculation about Armstrong and the photographs are based on the ‘non-existence’ of Danielson in the attempt to find the originator of the photographs. If Danielson and his role in this matter had been known the conclusion would probably have been quite another. A further example of this can be found in a lecture in 2007 by T. Jack Thompson, the Director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World at the University of Edinburgh. He states that certain photographs of mutilated children are ‘almost certainly’ taken by Armstrong. At the end of his paper there is a list of sources for the photographs he has reproduced. For two of them he states: ‘unattributed; probably Rev. W. D. Armstrong’.\textsuperscript{85} Thompson’s assumption is clearly based on the lack of knowledge concerning any other photographer in 1903 than Armstrong.\textsuperscript{86}

Adam Hochschild displays in \textit{King Leopold’s Ghost} his lack of knowledge of the Danielson’s photographs when he writes: ‘Starting in 1906, the returned Baptist missionaries the Reverend John Harris and his wife, Alice Seeley Harris—she has taken nearly all the photographs Morel used—began working full time for the mission.’\textsuperscript{87} That was at least not the case in 1903, when the Congo Reform Campaign started. While the Harrises, according to Hochschild, used sixty photos in their lantern lectures we know that Danielson used eighty photographs. However, Hochschild does not

\textsuperscript{84} Grant, \textit{A Civilised Savagery}, p.58.
\textsuperscript{86} Thompson, however, does mention the role in 1899 of the African-American Presbyterian missionary William Henry Sheppard in being probably the earliest of all missionaries to take Congo atrocity photographs, albeit from a different region; Thompson, ‘Capturing the Image’, p.18.
\textsuperscript{87} Hochschild, \textit{Leopold’s Ghost}, p.216.
mention the campaign prior to the foundation of CRA in 23 March 1904, which was started by Danielson and later taken up by Guinness. This is an obvious gap in the known history of the Congo Reform Movement which this paper tries to fill.

Any misattribution of their source might also be due to a misunderstanding. One example is the photograph of Epondo. There are two very different photographs of him, both in the background and clothing. The Regions Beyond states one of them was taken by another CBM missionary, H. M. Whiteside. But this is impossible as he was not present when Casement met Epondo. But Danielson and Armstrong were present. Therefore it is likely that both of them took photographs of Epondo. But as for the photographs in general, it is a question whether photographs ‘taken’ by Armstrong really are by Danielson.

The lantern slides Danielson used have not been identified. But it seems the photographs taken by the CBM missionaries have been given to the Anti-Slavery International in London which now has the copyright to them, and this probably also has happened to any photographs by Danielson. It is likely, therefore, that Danielson, in addition to having started the Congo Campaign, also was a pioneer in lantern lectures in that campaign with the profound effect that had on the audiences. That is what makes him truly historic! 88

88. This paper does not contain the whole history, and while writing it I found a lot of fresh material. Others may know more. If so, I would be happy to be informed by e-mail. Write to: oljjacobsen@olivant.fo.
The Stone in the Water:
Scottish Baptist-Brethren Dialogue, 2004-6

Neil T. R. Dickson

In 2004 Bill Slack, the General Director of the Baptist Union of Scotland, initiated conversations between the Union and the leaders of some evangelical churches in Scotland which had their roots in the Open Brethren movement. This paper examines the context in which the dialogue took place, its aims, the process devised for it and the eventual outcome. As it seemed to peter out, the paper will also examine the reasons for this happening. Through this analysis, obviously some of the potential opportunities and difficulties in ecumenical dialogue will be shown but so too will some light be shed on the conversation partners, and even on aspects of a wider Scottish evangelicalism, as they entered the twenty-first century. To research the conversations, I partly used an oral history approach and during 2011 conducted a series of semi-structured interviews. I interviewed six individuals who had been involved in the conversations, equally divided between the conversation partners, choosing two individuals from each of the three study-groups.

1. As will become clear below, a number of congregations from the Brethren movement have stopped calling their buildings ‘gospel halls’, and the name most commonly used by them is that of ‘evangelical church’. The theology, ecclesiology and church practices of such congregations are rooted in Open Brethrenism. As the movement did not adopt a formal name, terminology has always had a certain fluidity. This paper uses ‘Brethren’ and ‘evangelical churches’ interchangeably (as will become apparent, so do some of my interviewees from this tradition), but it should be understood that in the period during which the dialogue took place the former term in the paper only applies to the latter grouping.

2. The transcripts quoted in this paper have been lightly edited and the resultant texts submitted to the interviewees; cf. Rebecca Jones, ‘Blended voices: crafting a narrative from oral history interviews’, The Oral History Review, 31/1 (2004), pp. 23-42. Phrases in square brackets are my clarifications.
through which the dialogue was conducted (see Figure). I supplemented this series of interviews with two additional ones with evangelical church leaders who had recently become Scottish Baptist pastors, one of whom had also been involved in the dialogue.\(^3\)

**Contexts**

Associations between the Open Brethren and Baptists have always been close since the Brethren emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In Scotland, because of a largely similar brand of conservative evangelicalism and their shared practice of believer’s baptism, which is rare among other Scottish churches, transfers between the two have always been readily made. At the risk of oversimplification, such earlier transfers might be divided into two phases. In the first, which lasted from the later 1860s, when the Brethren began to emerge in substantial numbers in Scotland, until around World War I, the overall direction of the flow was in favour of the Brethren. Some seventeen large-scale transfers in which a substantial percentage of the membership, and even on some occasions the entire membership, of a Baptist cause (not all were churches) switched to the Brethren.\(^4\) By the early 1930s, when the

---

3. I am grateful to the kindness of the following individuals, without whom the paper would not have been possible, for granting me interviews: Jocelyn Anderson, Revd Ken Brown, Revd Noel McCullins, Dr Alastair Noble, Revd Alistair Purss, Revd Andrew Rollinson, Alastair Simmons, and Revd Bill Slack. The assistance of Revd Dr Brian Talbot and Roberta Hope in making contact with a number of the interviewees is also gratefully acknowledged. In the interests of full disclosure, it should be noted that the wife of the present writer was one of the conversation partners, and she preserved a number of the MSS generated. All matters of presentation and analysis are my own and I bear sole responsibility for them.

membership of both bodies peaked, it is probable there were more Brethren in Scotland than there were Baptists. The second phase broadly consisted of the two or three decades before 1990, when serious decline was affecting many assemblies. There was a perception that Baptist churches seemed to be doing rather well, allowing Ian Balfour to begin his survey of them in the twentieth century by noting that in 1984 they were the only denomination in Scotland to have increased in membership. There always had been Brethren individuals who had joined Baptist churches, but anecdotal evidence suggested this movement had markedly increased in these years largely due to dissatisfaction with various aspects of assemblies, mainly their conservatism. The climax of the process was represented by the Holm Evangelical Church in Inverness, which was principally planted by former members of the town’s Brethren assembly in 1982 and was largely Brethren in its practice, but which affiliated to the Baptist Union in 1991.

Of course, as is often the case with relatives, such kinship as had historically existed between Baptists and Brethren did not always make for amicable relations. An element of competition can be seen, for example, in the comparison the Brethren publisher Henry Pickering made in 1894 between the splendour of the Thomas Coats Memorial Church with its congregation of 140, ‘most aged women’, and a nearby assembly in Paisley that met in unadorned surroundings, ‘where some two hundred and fifty born-again, men and women seek to gather unto the worthy Name alone’. The

5. According to David P. Thomson (ed.), The Scottish Churches’ Handbook (Dunfermline, 1933); this is undoubtedly true if all sections of the Brethren movement are included. However Thomson’s figures for the Open Brethren are open to doubt cf. Dickson, Brethren in Scotland, p.196 n.104.
8. Dickson, Brethren in Scotland, p.413.
Brethren were critical of a number of aspects of Baptist churches: their denominationalism, their views of Christian ministry and their conjoining of believer’s baptism and membership.\(^\text{10}\) Those who left an assembly for a Baptist church were liable to be regarded as malcontents. For their part Baptists could regard the Brethren with a jaundiced eye. Although not everyone would go as far as the Aberdeenshire Baptist lay preacher, Alexander Burnett, in maintaining, as he did in the title of a pamphlet, that *Plymouth Brethrenism is Antichrist* (1873), Brethren proselytising left a legacy of bitterness, most notably in the confined community of Westray in Orkney.\(^\text{11}\) There was also perhaps a tendency among some to blame perceived negative features of Baptist churches on the influence of former Brethren. As the Baptist in-joke had it: it’s alright to have a Brethren background as long as it’s in the background.\(^\text{12}\)

These earlier phases of Baptist-Brethren relations in Scotland might be said to form the long historical context for the conversations. There was, however, a more immediate context within both bodies that would have consequences for how they unfolded. The underlying trend of late-twentieth century Scottish Baptist membership was downwards, as Kenneth Stewart showed in the mid-1990s in his comprehensive survey of Baptist numbers. The statistics compiled by Stewart demonstrated that by 1996 there had been an overall percentage decrease of 21.7 since 1950, dropping from 19,755 members to 15,472. Nevertheless his figures showed that Baptist decline had been largely arrested in the twenty years after 1970, with a percentage decrease of only two percent in these years, although between 1990 and 1996 there had a slight swell in the percentage decrease to 5.8. A number of churches had experienced growth that was compensating to a large extent for those churches in

\(^{10}\) Dickson, ‘Brethren and Baptists’, pp.374-8.
\(^{12}\) Quoted by Andrew Rollinson, interview 17.3.2011.
decline, ensuring that in some geographical regions Baptist numbers had an overall increase.\textsuperscript{13} However, despite the apparent arrest in severe decline of the mid-1980s, as they entered the new millennium Scottish Baptists, like any good evangelicals, could be found beating themselves up over the drop in recruitment. Stewart, in his presidential address to the Baptist Union Assembly in 2000, used the more dramatic figure of the decline since 1950 to raise the spectre over the future of Baptist churches of the once-successful Scottish grocery chain, Lipton’s. Its declining sales had led to extinction.\textsuperscript{14} However, Bill Slack, who had been the Baptist Union General Secretary since 1995, reported at the same Assembly that ‘the general impression I receive from my visits to the churches is one which is overwhelmingly positive and optimistic.’\textsuperscript{15} As the new millennium began, Baptists had the youngest membership among Scottish churches, and Slack’s feeling was that decline had “bottomed-out”, and was beginning to be reversed.\textsuperscript{16} Beginning from ‘a prophetic word’ at the 1998 Assembly, the ‘Challenge to Change’ Think Tank, accompanied by a day of prayer and fasting in November 2000, had suggested a number of far-reaching changes, which had as their priority making Baptist churches missionary congregations.\textsuperscript{17} As part of this there was a fundamental re-structuring of the Union, which in 2003 saw the role of President and General Secretary merge into that of a full-time General Director within a collegiate Core Leadership. The new structure was designed to promote a more relational approach, through increasing contact between the churches and the Baptist Union staff, allowing the latter

\textsuperscript{13} Kenneth M Stewart, ‘Towards 2000: A statistical look at Baptist Church life in the latter half of the twentieth century’, photocopied word-processed MS, Baptist Union of Scotland [\textcopyright 2006].
\textsuperscript{15} Bill Slack, ‘131\textsuperscript{st} Annual Report’, \textit{ibid.}, p.126.
\textsuperscript{16} Bill Slack, ‘134\textsuperscript{th} Annual Report compiled by the General Director’, \textit{SBY} 2004 (Glasgow [2004]), p.121.
to serve them more effectively. After a year of operation Slack, who had become the first General Director, was able to report that they were ‘pro-actively moving the denomination’s agenda forward’, addressing ‘issues with a greater sense of immediacy’ thus making ‘our processing of business much more efficient.’ But the restructuring had another significant consequence. As Slack notes:

The restructuring of the Union created greater liberty for the Union’s leadership to pursue “big vision” strategies that would help the development of our corporate life and witness in Scotland… During my period as General Director, it would be fair to say that I sought to give lots of space for the Core Leaders to both initiate and help shape our “blue sky” thinking. It was very much a corporate effort.

There is a constant tension among Scottish Baptist churches between centripetal and centrifugal forces, and this was an effect of the former that possibly corresponded more with the attitudes of younger ministers who usually felt more positively about the Union. They were probably among those whom Slack referred to when he declared that ‘a growing number of churches are also looking towards the Union as an apostolic movement that gives a quality of spiritual leadership’. He felt that Baptists needed to be better organised which meant working more fully with each other and with other Christians. An initiative which implicitly acknowledged the strength of the centrifugal force was ‘The Big Conversation’ during which meetings were held in fourteen centres throughout the country involving over 400 pastors and leaders, and these became fora for sharing best practice. The often moribund Regional Associations were replaced by Regional Mission Partnerships, which were couched in the non-hierarchical language of ‘networks’, in an effort

20. Bill Slack e-mail to the writer, 24 February 2011.
to revive cooperation at the local level. At the same time a theological reflection group ‘Towards 2020’ was established to ‘provide the forum for “blue sky” “out of the box” thinking about future trends and developments that will be necessary to help our churches engage meaningfully with the realities and challenges of our society’. Andrew Rollinson, in 2006 the Baptist Union Ministry Advisor, one of the Core Leaders, summed up the contemporary position of Scottish Baptist churches as he saw it:

I am quite optimistic. But I’m a realist as well. I think we do score quite highly in terms of where we are, in that we have cohesion as a family of churches, but we have a level of flexibility, which saves us from some of the institutional bureaucracy, which just crush folk. So I think that’s where we’re strong in terms of structures. I think the other great strength we have is that compared to the Church of Scotland or the Free Church [of Scotland] we are theologically fairly monochrome… So we can rely on unanimity about the basics even though there’s quite a lot of diversity about women in ministry and ecumenical things that are still our theological hot potatoes… Where I think we’re weak, is that we have a fierce autonomy, still, of the local church, and a built in, “We really don’t like the Baptist Union of Scotland even though they’re Baptists.”

Others might not be as sanguine about the monochromatic nature of Baptist churches, but it is clear that a number of key leaders saw an over-developed autonomy as a weakness, and looked for a greater harmony and cooperation in both Baptist circles and a wider evangelicalism. Slack declared in an address to the Baptist Union Assembly in 2005, ‘We’ve churches in conflict that confirm how fragile our unity with fellow Baptists is, never mind with other churches!’

---

Scottish Open Brethren too had contemporary issues with cohesion. One that had worked in their favour was the almost absolute separation between the sectarian and denominationalising tendencies that had been a characteristic of the movement throughout its history that now became final. The latter sector no longer wanted to continue in separation from the wider evangelical world nor from society and culture. Churches of this complexion felt increasingly free from the watchful eyes of the more traditional assemblies to introduce a number of changes such as a family service in place of the gospel meeting, the NIV for the AV, praise bands, public roles for women and resident full-time workers within congregations. The changes were represented by a shift in vocabulary. They were no longer ‘gospel halls’ or ‘assemblies’, but ‘evangelical churches’, and it was not long before the full-time workers were known as ‘pastors’—though by this something different from Baptist ones was intended. The break from the past also meant a loss of the traditional associational means, such as had been offered by magazines, Saturday conferences and the regular itinerancy of preachers. Brethren were in serious decline. By 1995 it was estimated that there were about 10,530 Open Brethren members throughout Scotland, the number of assemblies falling by one quarter after 1951 and the total membership by perhaps as much as a

28. Ibid., pp.334-43.
29. One of the papers which emerged out of the conversations stated: ‘Baptists have a clear view of the pastor. The title has more meaning and richness than ‘full-time worker’. He/she is set apart to lead and teach the flock of God.’: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Christian Brethren Archive, Neil Dickson collection, GB 133 NDC/17 [hereafter NDC], ‘Independent Evangelical/Baptist Dialogue in Scotland’, [p.3].
30. A calculation done by the present writer for Peter Brierley et al. (eds), UK Christian Handbook 1994/5 Edition (London, 1994), Table 9.4.2; as the Brethren movement has no central mechanism for collecting membership data, all such figures are estimates.
third after 1960. However, a survey of UK assemblies conducted in 1998 showed that the Scottish ones sampled had grown on average by 2.7 members over the previous two years. The growth, however, was not evenly spread, and the majority of congregations in the sample had actually experienced no growth or were in decline. It was generally the larger churches, those which had innovated, which produced an overall increase in membership in the statistics. There were, then, a group of changing churches which comprised about only a fifth of the 226 Scottish assemblies in 1997, and those open to the more radical changes possibly comprised no more than a tenth—in other words between some twenty to forty churches. Nevertheless, despite being a small alignment, they struggled to find cohesion among themselves. A Scottish ginger group, which sought to bring them together was formed in 1989, and in the new millennium it had merged with its English equivalent, Partnership, to create Partnership Scotland. There was, in addition, Gospel Literature Outreach (GLO), which had a centre and training college in Motherwell from which elders’ days or short courses for Christian workers were run. However, there was a distinct lack of enthusiasm among many for such inter-church links, partly because these churches no longer saw themselves as ‘Brethren’, and partly because one of the things they shared, ironically, was a fierce attachment to a very Brethren concept of the autonomy of the local church. Increasingly their congregations drew their membership from a wide variety of ecclesiastical backgrounds. For example, in 1994 at Riverside Evangelical Church, Ayr, one of the largest of such congregations, only a quarter of the new members in the previous five years had a Brethren background while of the rest, one third had no church background at all and the


others were from non-Brethren churches.33 A number of the dissatisfactions of the previous decades had been addressed, and these congregations were highly similar to many Baptists churches, and by the turn of the century this new state of affairs had introduced what might be regarded as a third phase of Baptist-Brethren transfers. There was a two-way traffic with members switching easily from one to the other replacing any earlier sense of denominational rivalry or criticism, and this was especially the case with the small group of just over twenty of the most progressive evangelical churches. Some of their new pastors were recruited from Baptist circles.

Process
The conversations between the Baptist Union and evangelical church leaders began with some personal chemistry. Bill Slack had preached in several evangelical churches in mid-Scotland and it had struck him how similar they were to his own tradition.34 In addition, one evangelical church leader, from Deeside Christian Fellowship, had already served on a Baptist Union task force. Slack had also been brought into contact with one of the key Brethren activists, Alastair Noble, who was at that time a part-time educational field officer, but was also engaged in work for a number of evangelical para-church agencies. In addition Noble had preached at the Baptist church in which Slack was then a member.35 The two men had warmed to each other, and at one of their meetings, probably in 2003 to discuss the Billy Graham School of Evangelism in Scotland, Slack proposed initiating a set of conversations between representatives of their two traditions. Bilateral approaches such as this have been increasingly seen as the way forward in ecumenical relations. Scottish Baptist involvement in ecumenism has stalled due to its repeated failure to win acceptance at the Baptist Union Assembly, while Brethren in

33. William Gilmour, Riverside Evangelical Church. 100 years 1906-2006 (privately printed, 2006), p.31.
34. Bill Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
Scotland had not participated in the earlier British Council of Churches process. Both, however, had congregations, which participated in the later localised Action of Churches Together in Scotland. Bilateral dialogue, however, is seen as allowing for a thorough examination of specific issues of similarity or dissimilarity, and it is expected that its official nature will allow the dialogue to carry a certain amount of authority. As would become apparent, the latter would become a sticking-point for at least one of the partners in the Baptist Union-evangelical churches dialogue. Slack had hoped that evangelicals in Scotland had reached what he calls a ‘kairos moment’. The Greek word had entered ecumenical dialogue through South Africa where a key document had defined it as ‘the moment of grace and opportunity, the favourable time in which God will challenge to decisive action’. Slack’s vision was for evangelicals to become a much more cohesive, dynamic force in Scottish public life, an aspiration that had also long animated Noble. When Slack broke the idea of a closer association between Baptist and evangelical churches to Noble, the latter confesses:

I hadn’t honestly before that conversation thought about that at all, but I was immediately attracted to the idea because I thought that that made a great deal of sense, and perhaps I was attracted to it particularly because the conversation took place in the context of a discussion about a conference on evangelism. So my first thought was in terms of the extension of the Kingdom in Scotland by evangelicals. I thought that does make a lot of sense. So it was one of those ideas that was fortuitous and I was immediately attracted to it.

---

38. Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
40. Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
After this initial contact, a meal and discussion was arranged at the Royal Hotel in the Bridge of Allan in June 2004. An audience of some twenty people composed of equal representation from each body heard Slack and Noble gave presentations on their respective traditions which were followed by ‘a warm and positive exchange of views’. But then the process seemed to fall into abeyance. The difficulty was in arranging a further meeting with Alastair Noble. Although retired from being an educational administrator, Noble was the Field Officer of The Headteachers’ Association of Scotland; an Educational Consultant with CARE in Scotland, the evangelical pressure group for public policy issues; he also worked for Mission Scotland, an affiliate of the Billy Graham Organisation—as well as trying to stimulate interest in Partnership Scotland; being an elder in a large evangelical church; and as an itinerant lay preacher, undoubtedly delivering as many sermons in a year as any church pastor. Slack restarted the process by writing a discussion paper which was published in the briefing documents for the Baptist Union Assembly in October 2005. He was now attempting to broaden the process of inclusion to a number of Scottish Baptist churches which existed outside the Union, some of the new charismatic fellowships and two of the larger independent mission halls, Carrubers Christian Fellowship in Edinburgh and the Findlay Memorial Tabernacle (now Findlay Church) in Glasgow. He would also eventually attend the initial meeting of the network for evangelicals in the Church of

44. Ibid., p.94; Slack, ‘136th report’, p.124.
Scotland, Forward Together, and attempt to engage them in correspondence.\(^{47}\) It would become clear that he also wanted to form a media office for evangelicals in Scotland, which would develop links with the news media and respond to current issues. The Union in association with CARE began actively in 2006 to investigate the possibility of appointing an officer,\(^{48}\) and the person they had in mind was a member of an evangelical church. Slack was a council member of the Evangelical Alliance in Scotland, and possibly he was unconsciously influenced by the greater public role it had staked out in England under Clive Calver, its entrepreneurial General Director.\(^{49}\) He certainly had in mind the thinking of Nigel Wright,

---

the Principal of Spurgeon’s College. The English Baptists had successfully incorporated a number of new charismatic fellowships into their Union and were engaged in a process with the Independent Methodist Connexion, which it was envisaged would end in union.\(^\text{50}\)

In the discussion paper he quoted Wright’s claims that Baptists were ‘well positioned as a bridge-building denomination to provide a home for others. We have institutional resources and can bestow a sense of place, belonging and credibility on others.’ He also cited Wright’s suggestion of the new category of associate membership for churches which do not have ‘all the Baptist bits and pieces in place’, but were ‘baptistic’ in their practice. He went as far as to prepare a paper for the Baptist Union Council, the body composed of representatives from local clusters of churches to which the Core Leadership reported, on forming a category of associate membership.\(^\text{51}\)

He now envisaged the conversation between the Union and evangelical churches as a three-step process (see Figure). After re-engaging Alastair Noble in the process, three joint study-groups, on doctrine, ministry and mission respectively, would be held to research how close the two bodies were in actuality, but they would also provide an environment in which the leaders could ‘grow together in mutual fellowship, understanding and respect.’\(^\text{52}\) Bill Slack anticipated in the discussion paper that some might feel threatened by the process—Baptists because they might feel they were being asked to surrender their principles, and churches in the other streams because they might feel that the Union was concerned with only its own institutional growth. When the discussion paper came before the Assembly, one Baptist layman noted that the intent behind the initiative was good, but was worried that ‘the reality

---

\(^\text{50}\) Slack, ‘Future association’, p.94.
\(^\text{51}\) Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
\(^\text{52}\) Slack, ‘Future association’. p.95.
might be a watering down of our Baptist tradition.’ Seizing on Wright’s phrase, ‘Baptist bits and pieces’, he went on, ‘not to have all the bits and pieces was not to be a denomination.’ But in general, it was felt that the delegates at the Assembly ‘enthusiastically endorsed’ the proposal. Likewise, when Slack’s discussion paper was issued with an invitation to the potential future participants in the study-groups in January 2006, beside the suggestion of the Union as a ‘home’, one evangelical church member noted in the margin ‘this is more than co-operation’. When Alastair Noble explained the initiative to his fellow elders in his own congregation one prominent individual commented, “Oh I don’t think there’s much future in that, for Brethren don’t do that sort of thing!” It was clear that there would be grave doubts in both constituencies. Maybe some of the doubts arose because Slack’s discussion paper threw out several options as the end product of the conversations such as assistance, cooperation, associate membership and union. Slack, however, was clear at the time, as he assured the worried Baptist at the Assembly, ‘The initiative was not about structure, but how to advance the Kingdom in Scotland.’ Alastair Noble, for his part, was sure from the outset that formal union was never a possibility, but felt evangelical churches might make use of Baptist central resources and training. One enthusiastic participant who had been involved since the meeting at the Bridge of Allan was the pastor of Riverside Evangelical Church in Ayr, Alastair Simmons, and he feels of Slack’s initiative that:

I’m not sure if he had a clearly defined principal aim. I think he was very much throwing the stone into the water to see what happened. I think very much, they’d not come—from my understanding—with

54. NDC, Mary Sinclair to Beth Dickson, 17 January 2006.
55. NDC, holograph notes on photocopy of word-processed MS of ‘Future association’.
56. Noble, interview 23.2.11.
57. ‘Baptist churches & Evangelical Churches’, p.208.
58. Noble, interview 23.2.11.
any great preconceptions of where this might lead to. I think it was a case of let’s see...⁵⁹

The details of the initiative were not widely known in the Union,⁶⁰ and Bill Slack was aware how alarmed some Baptists might have been if they had known how important to him was ‘a need for openness’ which he referred to at the Assembly. While in Europe, as one possible way forward, he had taken the opportunity to investigate the Bund which German Baptists and Brethren had been compelled to establish in the Third Reich, and in which many churches from both streams remained after the war.⁶¹ The emergence of a new body was clearly an option for him. He realised that some might find threatening the use of ‘Union’, with its overtones of institutionalism. He states:

...we did toy, we did question whether we should be changing our name and various other things. We went through all kinds of different processes to sort of look at all these things so that we could be in the best place we could to facilitate the development of evangelical life within Scotland... [The creation of associate membership] was certainly a radical suggestion looking at possibilities, but I think that it would have been valuable for us all to have been able to look at a lot of these things and see what we were willing to give up—what was going to be fundamental and the other things that were incidental and where we could actually find areas of common agreement to go forward...⁶²

An openness to the creative and new are clearly very important to Slack. The shift of subject in the first-person plural pronoun in the above quotation shows that this was something he wanted both Baptist churches and the wider Scottish evangelicalism to share. The

---

⁵⁹ Alastair Simmons, interview 9.2.2011.
⁶⁰ The discussion paper when it was printed among the Assembly briefing ones was marked ‘Highly Confidential’.
⁶¹ Slack, ‘Future association’, p.94.
⁶² Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
conversations would test this vision against others’ sense of their identities.

Conversations
The second step was commenced when Alastair Noble identified a number of individuals within evangelical churches who might be willing participants in the study-groups. Nine individuals were appointed from each of the conversation partners, which were equally divided into the joint study-groups, with two women on each side, making eighteen people in total. Two individuals on the Baptist side had served in evangelical churches and one other had grown up in the Brethren. There was, however, some feeling of imbalance on the part of the evangelical church leaders on what they had to offer. Noble says:

I think maybe I thought on balance the Baptists had more to give us than we had to give them. I felt they had structures and approaches that we could have benefited from. I’m not quite sure that I was all that clear what we would have contributed in return—although I guess I felt that we might have quite a bit to say to them about the motivation of the laity and lay members where I felt we had something to give, but I did feel we were probably in terms of input the junior partner.

Alastair Simmons feels there was one other potential disparity in the Baptist participants’ attitudes:

I suspect many of them would still see the Brethren in the historic, traditional gospel hall, ‘everybody gets a shot’ set-up. So difficult for the Baptists too, coming from that background which can, rightly or wrongly induce a feeling of ecclesiastical superiority. I think it can do—again that can be part of Brethren paranoia, not quite sure where they stand in this whole area… I don’t think probably it was an equal partnership. No I don’t think the perception would be it was—I

63. There were eight evangelical churches represented (Alistair Noble selected a fellow elder from his own church).
64. Noble, interview 23.2.11.
mean, right from the start the people that chaired the groups were Baptists.65

However, as this quotation shows, Simmons is not sure whether the Baptist participants did feel superior, or if thinking this was more due to a subjective sense of inferiority on the part of the Brethren. What is clear is that there were some doubts in the minds of those evangelical church leaders participating, which is where the intention of forging ‘mutual fellowship, understanding and respect’ during the conversations would be key.

The joint group on doctrine met twice in March and July 2006. Intriguingly it was not felt necessary to explore two key theological issues ‘because of a commonly shared experience.’66 These were charismatic experience and the ministry of the Spirit and eschatology. Both partners affirmed they had the three common branches of evangelicalism among them: charismatic, mainstream and reformed; and the evangelical church representatives maintained that they now had the same breadth of views on eschatology as were found in Baptist churches. The issues on which papers were presented had a distinctly missional and ecclesiological flavour: ‘The Baptist understanding of the church’; ‘Leadership in evangelical (Brethren) churches’; ‘Church and culture’; and ‘Responding to the challenge’.67 Perhaps this reflected the activist nature of evangelicalism. As Ken Brown, then an evangelical church pastor in the Borders and a theology graduate of London University, who participated in this group, notes of himself:

65. Simmons, interview 9.2.2011; however, Andrew Rollinson had written in one of his introductory letters, ‘In no way do I want to assume the direction we may take as a group, nor presume on who will chair the group’, NDC, Andrew Rollinson to Beth Dickson, 20 March 2006.
67. Ibid.
I’m not a theologian, so for me it wasn’t the neatest of fits for me to be to be in a group on doctrine. You talk about an activist, that’s more who I am, a practitioner. So that’s where I was coming from. I must admit I found some of the papers quite: “Oh right! So that’s where we’ve got to!” So just from memory it was quite strange… But I enjoyed interacting with these guys and meeting with them.68

The topics selected for the papers do suggest that the participants had found a large degree of commonality between both streams represented which had allowed them to eliminate most doctrine as beyond contention, and that by looking at issues of church and culture they were intent on pressing ahead to make evangelicals a dynamic force in Scottish life. However, this group met a serious obstacle when, unknown to the rest of the group, Ruth Noble, Alastair’s wife, was diagnosed with a life-threatening condition, and her hospital appointments coincided with scheduled meetings. As a result, Noble, who was a member of this group, only attended the first meeting,69 and the lack of contact with him meant that the group apparently floundered. It failed to proceed to the final stage of step two of producing a summary report.

The group which was examining ministry met initially at the same time as the doctrine one in the Baptist Union offices in Aytoun Road in Glasgow, and after the discussion both groups had lunch together. The ministry joint study-group met on one subsequent occasion in June and then tidied the discussion up in an e-mail correspondence. The discussions were free and frank and there was a business-like approach, according to several who took part in it, because of the complementary diligence of two of its members, one from each of the conversation partners.70 As well as producing two papers on the distinctives of Christian ministry in each tradition, the group circulated several published papers, which were relevant to the

68. Ken Brown, interview, 1.11.2011.
69. Noble, interview 23.2.11.
70. Simmons, interview 9.2.2011; Rollinson, interview 17.3.2011.
subject of the conversation partners’ conception of ministry. As these latter papers were 4-1 in favour of the Brethren model, it is possible that there was a degree of unconscious compensation in the distribution for the ‘Brethren paranoia’ which Alastair Simmons had hinted at, although more probably it was because Andrew Rollinson’s agenda for the first meeting encouraged the evangelical church representatives to identify secondary texts setting out their position. Simmons was a member of this group, and he found two aspects of Baptist theology, which emerged, rather surprising. One was the primacy, which is given to the Lordship of Christ, in the Baptist theology of authority, and the other was the sacramental conception of ordination that emerged from the paper which was circulated on Baptist ministry by the theologian Stephen Holmes. With the former he was uneasy, as it seemed to him to give supremacy to the Gospels over the epistles and he was concerned that the Baptist formulation could lead to ethical or doctrinal issues explicitly stated, for example, in the Pauline epistles being questioned from their apparent absence in the Gospels. Simmons saw this as being a potential stumbling block for evangelicals from a Brethren background who would hold that all Scripture is revealed, objective truth. However, there was a complete lack of tension in the discussion, and he did find the central resources the Baptist Union had to offer for ministry very attractive. He reflects:

---

72. NDC, ‘Suggested agenda for 28 March 2006’.
73. Baptist Union of Scotland Constitution, III.1.
74. A brief paper on the topic was circulated: NDC, [?Andrew Rollinson], ‘How our understanding of authority shapes our understanding of ministry, church and leadership’.
…one of the real weaknesses of the Brethren scene in terms of full-time ministry which is obvious is the lack of back-up, of resource. Who pastors the pastor? So it seems to be that you probably won’t know if you’re strong enough constitutionally to cope with it until you’re actually in the situation and doing the work of a pastor… The discussions I found very helpful and I found quite insightful because they did identify a sort of different perception in given areas. I suppose the overwhelming observation would be that Baptist pastors have a very real sense of who they are and what they do.75

Rollinson, who chaired the group, was at the time engaged in writing a booklet, *That Journey Called Ministry* (2008), and he was aware of the interest among the evangelical church leaders in the process of continual professional development which he was evolving. “They were saying slightly wistfully,” Rollinson feels, “there are things here that, perhaps, we could benefit from”.76 The group produced a final summary report setting out with great clarity what it saw as the similarities and differences between the two views of ministry. These included the key dissimilarities that ‘Baptists enjoy a model where one pastor teaches and pastors the congregation to which he also gives account’, whilst ‘In E[vangelical] C[hurches] a group of elders/leaders lead the church, where all members are encouraged to use their spiritual gifts (which may include teaching and pastoring), and give an account to fellow-elders/leaders.’77 The document concluded, ‘the suggestion of a forum where pastors and leaders of both traditions could experience peer-support, met with warm approval.’78

The third group was the one on mission, which met in May, separately from the other two groups. It might be expected that hopes would have been highest for this group. The dialogue had been born out of the shared concern for mission of Bill Slack and Alastair Noble, and mission is close to the heart of both denominations. The

75. Simmons, interview 9.2.2011.
76. Rollinson, interview 17.3.2011.
77. NDC, ‘Independent Evangelical/Baptist dialogue in Scotland: distinctives of a Baptist [sic] understanding of ministry’, [p.7].
78. Ibid., [p.8].
most recent historian of the Baptist Union has shown how much it was forged out of a desire for cooperation in evangelism. Likewise mission, whether home or overseas, has been the one concern on which Brethren have happily formed cooperative ventures. But from the outset, it would seem, the group got off to an unpromising start. Jocelyn Anderson, one of the evangelical church representatives, had been involved in ‘The Big Idea’, an inter-church outreach in Edinburgh, in which her church cooperates with some Church of Scotland congregations. She recalls of her first experience at the Baptist Union offices in Glasgow:

> I remember walking in and it all being a weird atmosphere—it wasn’t very relaxed or welcoming. We didn’t know where to go, there was nobody much there, to lead us to where we had to go, it was a bit odd. So in a sense from arriving I didn’t feel this was a very—organised?—or helpful atmosphere? Anyway, then I remember we went upstairs to this room and all sat down and felt it was all slightly awkward, just because I think none of us were quite sure what was going to happen, or who were all these people?

The discussion also failed to excite her, for she felt it concentrated on the theoretical, on which she felt they were all agreed, at the expense of the practical. She was more comfortable with sharing examples of inter-church mission, something that Noel McCullins, who had retired from being the minister of Ayr Baptist Church, also feels he was able to do. He had eagerly anticipated the discussion, for he had a long experience of cooperating with Brethren and evangelical churches in mission over many years in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire. There was broad agreement in the group, he feels, on the necessity of mission and on sharing resources, but he too felt the awkwardness. He thinks that an insurmountable obstacle was encountered during the discussion:

…there was an uneasiness with—and I have to say it wasn’t with all of those representing the evangelical churches—there were some who put, I felt, an over-strong emphasis on the independence of the local church, and of course, autonomy is very much on our hearts as Baptists, but there was, I felt, an over-emphasis on this, and that led on to an inability on their part to communicate, or shall I say, the willingness to even try to communicate and encourage closer participation between the churches… I felt there was a barrier being raised, a very strong barrier.\textsuperscript{81}

This sense that obstacles were being constructed was shared by other participants, including some of the evangelical church representatives. The group had no further meetings and did not produce any joint papers. An on-line correspondence was suggested instead to accommodate the full schedules of the group members, but apparently there was only one response to the initial e-mail, and the activity of the group ceased.

**Conclusions**

There was some embarrassment that only one group had completed the second step in the envisaged process. The final report of the ministry group was quietly buried and only an oral report went to Council.\textsuperscript{82} There were also several urgent issues, which arose in the Union about this time, and Bill Slack’s energy was devoted to them. Alastair Noble, due to the lengthy nature of his wife’s medical care, had lost track of the conversations, and by the time the treatment had finished, the talks had collapsed, and he had moved on to another of his interests by becoming the Director of the UK Centre for Intelligent Design.\textsuperscript{83} Most of the papers, which were produced by the doctrine group were shredded and deleted from hard drives; only the ministry papers survived in their entirety. The dialogue sunk without trace, until it was salvaged for this paper.

\textsuperscript{81} Noel McCullins, interview 3.11.2011.
\textsuperscript{82} Rollinson, interview 17.3.2011.
\textsuperscript{83} Noble, interview 23.2.11.
Writing from his own ecclesiological perspective, the then
Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger made the point about the stalled
ecumenical process that:

A unity negotiated by men and women could logically only be an
affair iuris humani [of human law]. It would not involve at all the
theological unity intended by John 17 and as a result it would not be
able to be a witness for the mystery of Jesus Christ but merely a
token of the diplomatic skill and ability of those conducting the
negotiations.84

The ecclesiology of both Baptists and evangelical churches holds
that the unity of John 17 pre-exists between them, and so possibly
the human unity is not so very significant. But as voluntary bodies
with scarce ecclesiological resources and with an ever-shrinking
place in society, such institutional unity is important. These points
seemed to be grasped by those whom I interviewed for this paper, so
why then did the dialogue between the Baptist Union and evangelical
churches sink?

One reason is the role of contingency in human affairs. A sudden
illness—traumatic and unanticipated—the exigencies of diaries
isolating a discussion group, the soulless nature of a converted villa
in Glasgow, all played their part; so too, perhaps, that the
considerable strengths of the two principals lay in being visionaries.
These accidental factors, often below the grand historical narrative,
have their effects. But efficient processes should be able to
accommodate the arbitrariness of things. The gap between the initial
ice-breaking event in the Bridge of Allan hotel and the conversations
was significant, as was the fact that very few of the later participants
in the joint study-groups had been at that face-to-face gathering. It
meant that whether the groups bonded or not when they met was left
to chance and goodwill. There is evidence, too, that not all the
participants had been sufficiently briefed in advance, or that all were

84. Joseph Ratzinger, Church Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology,
comfortable with the variety of potential outcomes of the process. It is clear that Bill Slack viewed the range of options on offer as an à la carte menu, but it would seem that not all the participants grasped this, and probably there was some suspicion of the Baptist Union’s motives. Maybe offering only starters—such as participation in the ministry accreditation scheme or membership of a task group or a regional mission partnership—would have been initially more appetizing. There was a feeling of inferiority on the part of some evangelical church participants—although most from among them entered into the process in a spirit of trust. One crucial decision from their side, which backfired, was the one to include individuals from the spectrum of views found among them so that the Union might see with what it was dealing. It is clear that not all were happy with taking cooperation much further than discussion in principle, which had serious consequences for the work of the mission group and the eventual collapse of the entire process. There were those from the evangelical church side who commented to me that they did not feel that all their fellow-participants were equally committed to the conversations which does suggest a residual sectarianism among some evangelical churches. Hindsight, of course, is wonderful, but

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baptist Union of Scotland (BUS)</th>
<th>Evangelical churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BUS core leader</td>
<td>Bible college principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUS core leader</td>
<td>consultant paediatrician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church worker</td>
<td>educational officer &amp; consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>itinerant evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor/ BUS core leader</td>
<td>pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired/BUS mission networker</td>
<td>pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired</td>
<td>secondary teacher (part-time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solicitor</td>
<td>university senior lecturer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table. Employment of participants in the joint study-groups, 2006.
one other factor which my interviewees from both sides identified as significant and over which they had little control, was the busyness of their lives. The Table lists the employment of all the participants, and it can be seen from it the demanding occupations almost all had. Among the evangelical church participants, that pressure was increased for the lay people—over half their cohort—who were additionally heavily involved in leadership or maintaining church activities. These were evangelical activists who were trying to fit the conversations into already over-full lives. As Andrew Rollinson says:

… we are all exhausted. We’re all incredibly busy. We are all so busy maintaining and trying to develop in this post-Christian world a Christian way of being Church, that our agendas are just full, and it’s not that there’s not the will—and I know where there’s a will there’s a way—but it is much more a default mechanism, that we just go back to our ways of being, because we just can’t bear the thought we might spend significant energy doing lateral thinking, and I think that’s a big factor, particularly for busy pastors and Christian leaders… I think that we as evangelicals are not good at saying, “God can do something quite new here—there are new wineskins that we need to discover together,” but for that to happen we really do need to create significant, disciplined time for creative lateral thinking.85

Closer association between churches takes considerable amounts of time and dedication, as can be seen from the formation in the nineteenth century of the Baptist Union of Scotland itself.86 The religious environment of both partners was not conducive to freeing individuals to devote themselves to such a process.

It was not only the conversations between the Union and evangelical churches which failed at this time. None of the other churches, which Bill Slack had sought to engage with, responded to the overtures. The Forward Together group of Church of Scotland

85. Rollinson, interview 17.3.2011.
86. Talbot, Common Identity, pp.191-311.
evangelicals he found more interested in their own institution than pursuing a wider engagement with Scottish evangelicalism. His dearly cherished project of a Scottish media office, to his deep disappointment, found no responsive echo from other churches.\textsuperscript{87} Slack feels that the ethos of Scottish churches was significant in these failures. As he says, “…the spirit of independency amongst evangelicals in Scotland is not only a blessing but it can be a real \textit{blight} on the progress of the witness.” Rollinson, a Yorkshireman who spent a large part of his adult life in England, thinks being in a small country has advantages and disadvantages for closer cooperation:

…in Scotland because we are such a small constituency, the Christian constituency, we do know each other, or of each other, across the board… In Scotland you can rely on the networks. We know Alastair Noble. We don’t need to formally join with Alastair Noble’s groupings, because we know Alastair Noble, and he’ll show up at our events and we’ll show up at his events, we know each other as friends and as trusted colleagues… I think the Scottish independent thing is quite strong. There is a self-preserving thing in Scotland—this is me and you’re there, and we just respect each other.\textsuperscript{88}

This independency is particularly acute for the Open Brethren, and not only from the ethnic context, but because of their ecclesiology. In the joint study-group on mission, congregational autonomy had been presented as an insurmountable obstacle, but others were aware of the potential difficulties it might create. Alastair Noble, for example, had made this clear to Bill Slack from the outset:

I think I said to Bill that [the support agency] Partnership is about the closest we would get to any representation, but even at that, it’s not formal representation. So I think Bill was aware of that, that there wasn’t a mechanism to represent the Brethren, and I did say to him, “You know, that’s the reason why I don’t think we can have a

\textsuperscript{87} Slack, interview 1.2.2011.  
\textsuperscript{88} Rollinson, interview 17.3.2011.
formal association, because there is nobody can speak for the Brethren, and churches would just have to simply opt-in or not.”

This was especially acute for the two lay women from evangelical churches who participated. As none of their congregations in Scotland have ever appointed a woman elder, it was questionable who they were perceived to represent. Quite who is the dialogue partner in any conversation with ‘the Brethren’ is a moot point.

If the Baptist Union initiative was a stone dropped in the water, then its ripples were revelatory of both of the conversation partners as they entered the new millennium. Both bodies were concerned with unity beyond the congregational as a solution to the need for support in contemporary church life. As a supra-congregational body the Baptist Union was interested in widening how it might provide support; the evangelical church members, perhaps especially those in the new role of pastor, were interested in exploring where they might find it. Alistair Purss, who recently left an evangelical church in England to take up a Scottish Baptist pastorate, has no difficulty identifying one central problem:

…one of the attractions for me when this opportunity came up for Baptist ministry was to belong to a denomination that firstly was prepared to acknowledge that it was a denomination, and secondly, although each congregation is autonomous in the sense that it’s self-governing, they’ve not got this fierce independence in the sense of not willing to have an obligation towards others within the Baptist family and to the Baptist Union… we’re living in an increasingly secular world where it seems to me that it’s to be anything other than a Christian… so I feel that the need—if we’re talking about Brethren churches, which I still have a great deal of love and care for—is to be moving away from independence.

This is a vision which closely corresponds to that of the Baptist Union under Slack’s leadership, and Purss would like to see an

89. Noble, interview 23.2.11.
equivalent body to the Union in the Brethren, with a wider sharing of resources and ministry both within the movement and across the denominations.91 Nevertheless, there are those who feel that some evangelical churches have made better progress than many Baptist churches in adapting to the altered conditions and new ways of communicating the gospel in a secular society than have many Baptist churches.92 Alastair Noble also feels that Scottish Brethren are developing networks relevant to their church life. In the course of describing The Joshua Project, a training course for aspiring preachers at the GLO Bible College, he reflected how such emerging networks obviate the need for renewed dialogue with the Union:

I’ve sometimes wondered if it would be worth re-visiting it, but I think the position is now as it was then. In fact I now detect that GLO are emerging as a significantly strong force in Scottish Brethren, much stronger than Partnership Scotland… GLO run full-time workers annual meetings and other events. GLO has suddenly become, I would have thought, the key network in Scottish Brethren and therefore probably works against the need to link with the Baptists.93

Others, however, still wistfully regard what Partnership Scotland and the Baptist Union conversations had offered. But perhaps a more cautious mainstream is beginning to emerge within the evangelical churches that, among other things, looks to consolidate its identity with its strong sense of congregational autonomy, whereas attempts to renew a move towards closer links with the Baptist Union would tend to diminish identity markers. Since 2006 two of the participants in the conversations from the evangelical churches have left the movement, one to become a Baptist minister, and one additional individual, who was a pastor, has demitted his office. It might be felt that this is scarcely a troubling of the waters, but equally it might be a sign of troubling undercurrents in some evangelical churches.

91 Alistair Purss e-mail to the writer, 26 November 2011.  
92 A point made in Simmons, interview 9.2.2011; and Brown, interview, 1.11.2011.  
93 Noble, interview 23.2.11.
Bill Slack, for his part, is still hopeful that the conversations might be revived. The restructuring of the Baptist Union had enabled the creative vision to emerge which could imagine the potential effects of ripples in the waters of Scottish evangelicalism. The Union initiative came in a period when evangelicals were increasingly aware that they were less publicly visible, which was something that fitted ill with their vision of capturing the whole of the nation for their faith. The new structure was a deliberate attempt to avoid bureaucracy and was a move towards a relational approach which would leave local identities intact and which would facilitate mission. The invitation to the evangelical churches articulated with these concerns in that it offered as a possible outcome a network rather than union and would strengthen the place of evangelicalism in Scotland. It also fitted well with the new ecclesiologies, which were emerging in Britain. In 2009 Bill Slack moved back into the Baptist pastorate, ironically at Culduthel Christian Centre, Inverness, the former Holm Evangelical Church, which still retains some Brethren features in its ecclesiology. For him the lapse of the initiative had a spiritual root, which has implications for Baptist churches. The last word must go to him:

…there needs to be a real passionate desire and a recognition that God’s in this and that it’s the moment to move, and I think when it all came together there wasn’t the sense of this being the moment, and we were all perhaps still rather comfortable in where we were, both our own Baptist constituency and the evangelical churches. Other things were the priority, and so it was the lack of the passion to drive this I think being widely felt. If there had been that passion it would have happened, we would have moved forward, things would have come, but I think on both sides there was a lack of passion. If there had been the passion then the problem of the institutional structures would have been able to be overcome. I think it was the lack of passion [laughs ruefully].

94. Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
96. Slack, interview 1.2.2011.
Reviews

Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-century England
Warren Johnston
Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011
290+xxii pp. ISBN 978-1-84383-613-1 £60

Revelation Restored is a compendious account of apocalyptic thought in Restoration England, which draws on a deep reading of a wide variety of sources from across the protestant denominational spectrum. Of course, since the turn of the millennium, a number of accounts of early modern eschatology have been published, and Revelation Restored builds on these contributions to offer fresh insight into a neglected period of apocalyptic commitment. The scholarly consensus (including the writing of the current reviewer) has argued for several decades that the apocalyptic ideas which drove the revolutions of the mid-seventeenth century crisis faded into insignificance until they were re-energised in the early eighteenth century by the emergence of evangelicalism, as millennial theories fed into the development of missionary activities. Revelation Restored effectively overturns this consensus by demonstrating the continued existence of apocalyptic ideas throughout the later decades of the seventeenth century.

Readers of this journal will be most interested in this book’s explanation of the continuity of particular varieties of millennial speculation. Johnston illustrates the paradox that the premillennialism that was so closely associated with the revolution in the mid-century came to be embraced by conforming Anglican clergymen by the century’s end. And equally surprising is his evidence that many of these conforming Anglicans were embracing the ‘futurist’ interpretive scheme, which argued that the events described in Revelation were yet to be fulfilled.

Of course, ‘futurism’ sat rather uneasily with the prevailing interpretive methods of historicism (which argued that the events described in Revelation had been fulfilling throughout church
history) and preterism (which argued that the events described in Revelation were mostly fulfilled in the first century). And readers of this journal will know that there exist substantial differences of opinion as to when, where and among whom the scheme of futurism emerged. Johnston’s book will be important in demonstrating that, contrary to the claims of some, futurism emerged within a strictly protestant context and among clergy of the established church. Readers of this journal should note the relevance of this argument to the emergence of dispensational premillennialism.

Like a number of other studies of early modern eschatology, *Revelation Restored* perhaps assumes the need to explain the detail of too many of its principal ideas, and readers of this journal will most likely not need to avail themselves of the extended ‘Synopsis of apocalyptic scripture’ which prefaces the main narrative, though we may appreciate the prophetic charts that are reproduced. Nevertheless this is a fine and careful work of historical theology which may require us to construct a new narrative for the survival and reformulation of evangelical millennialism within and beyond the Church of England.

Crawford Gribben

**Wilberforce Family and Friends**
Anne Stott

**Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012**


This thoroughly researched study breaks new ground in applying the technique of ‘family study’—which S. G. Checkland pioneered in *The Gladstones* (1971)—to a network of families which played an important role in early nineteenth-century humanitarianism and acquired an iconic status in the history of North-Atlantic evangelicalism. While the book helps readers to understand the personal and human context of the anti-slave trade campaigns, the author is not primarily interested in the public dimension of the Clapham Sect, but in their private and even intimate life: friendship, courtship, marriage, childbearing, keeping in touch over a long and
difficult period of relentless commitment to campaigning for the abolition of the slave trade or to finding alternatives for Sierra Leone’s economic dependence of slave trade income. Stott examines how members of this group brought their Evangelical piety to play in each of the above spheres, and what difference it made to them. The picture, which emerges, is affectionate and quite flattering. As the author concludes, ‘[t]his study of the Clapham Sect has reinforced what has often been noted—that these cultured and cheerful families had nothing in common with the literary stereotypes of gloomy and repressive evangelicalism’ (p.273). The book consists of four parts. The first introduces ‘The abolitionist and his circle’, surveying Wilberforce’s background and conversion and the origins of ‘The Clapham System’. The second considers the making of the key couples in the ‘sect’: Wilberforce and Barbara Spooner, Henry Thornton and Marianne Sykes and Zachary Macaulay and Selina Mills, as well as their families’ background and connections. Part III is about the life of these families in their Clapham Common environment—how they supported each other, the children, life, love and coping with bereavement and death. The domesticity side is further examined in Part IV, ‘The Wilberforces at Home’. Domesticity was important for the families of the Clapham Sect: as the author notes, in this respect they anticipated the moral climate of the Victorian age, and indeed they seem close to our twenty-first century sensitivity about gender and family—for example Henry Thornton ‘was happy to be thought of as “uxorious”’; Wilberforce himself whiled away dull parliamentary debates in writing affectionate letters to his children. These men did not see their preoccupation with their families as a dereliction of duty: marriage was a spiritual partnership, and a family intimacy a school for virtue and true religion’ (p.1). This book is an important contribution to the study of early nineteenth-century cultural and social history, and throws new light on Evangelical attitudes to family, gender and the relationship between the private and public sphere.

Eugenio F. Biagini
Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts
David W. Bebbington
320 pp. (hb) ISBN: 978-0-19-957548-0 £60.00

An important re-appraisal of the historiography of revivals, David Bebbington’s latest book is marked by his usual impressive range of scholarship. Rather than examine the large scale revivals and well-known revivalists of the Victorian era, Bebbington’s book instead provides seven case studies of local awakenings from 1841 until 1880, taking in revivalist episodes in Texas, Cornwall, County Durham, North Carolina, Scotland, Southern Australia and Nova Scotia along the way. Each of the studies provides interesting detail on the economic, social and political backgrounds of the awakenings, often at an impressively micro-historical level: church records, personal accounts, local newspapers and denominational magazines have been used extensively to provide a thorough picture of the community undergoing revival.

Perhaps the book’s greatest achievement is the way in which it succeeds in problematizing our understanding of the historical development of revivals. Historians have often been too quick to adopt polarized explanations for revival—either as spontaneous explosions of religious feeling, or as carefully orchestrated and wholly planned events. Yet as Bebbington shows, in the heat of an awakening the picture is more complex. While they were often marked by spontaneous outbursts of religious enthusiasm, these revivals nonetheless had long term causes in the history of their communities, and at times evolved into a highly organised and regimented series of meetings. Similarly useful is Bebbington’s recognition that revivals were not necessarily dominated by pure emotionalism, but could also reflect contemporary intellectual trends. The book shows the range of scholarly interests of those involved in revivals, and the way in which these influenced the direction of awakenings in different local contexts. Yet Bebbington does not imply that there was uniformity across the locations he
examines. Rather, by adopting such a localised approach, he is able to show the way in which revival movements could reflect broad trends within global evangelicalism while also adapting to very particular local conditions.

While there are no specific examinations of Brethren involvement in revivals, Bebbington does note the importance of Brethren revivalism across the Victorian period, as well as examining the way in which the tension over clerical authority seen in the 1859 Ferryden revival in Forfarshire (now Angus) saw figures such as Gordon Forlong and Donald Ross manifest signs of their drift towards the Brethren. Further exploration of Brethren involvement in local revivals would have proved interesting, especially given its potential to complicate the link Bebbington draws at several points in the book between postmillennial eschatology and revivalism. This omission, however, is easily understandable given the scope and depth of the studies contained here. *Victorian Religious Revivals* is a book that, as with Bebbington’s other works, will prove to be an important resource for scholars of nineteenth-century Evangelicalism and revivals in general over the next decade.

Andrew Crome

**The Communion of Women: Mission and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole**  
Elizabeth E. Prevost  
*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010*  

Grace Hurditch, the daughter of the Brethren evangelist, C. Russell Hurditch, ends the highly diverting, pseudonymous account of her early years among the Brethren, *Peculiar People* (1935), with some snippets of letters from her missionary sister and fellow convert to Anglicanism, whom she calls ‘Deb’. The latter is actually the remarkable Ruth Hurditch, a Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary who evangelised in the remote Toro region in what is now western Uganda. On the morning of her wedding in 1902 to another CMS missionary, the Revd Arthur Fisher, she wrote to her
family, ‘The native king is to act as my father’, and she saw the ceremony as the firstfruits of an anticipated African Christianity. Women native to the region lived in seclusion and therefore could only be reached by other women, and the missionaries were dependant on African female catechists, especially those from an elite background, to take the gospel to them. One such was Hana Kageye, a widow of a senior chief in region, whom Ruth taught to read, thereby reaching her with the gospel. Sent out as a catechist in 1902, Hana then went on to evangelise others, including significant women in the royal court and also her pupils in the school. She taught her pupils to knit, which gave her an opportunity to introduce them to Christianity. Ruth Hurditch also immersed herself in the customs and lore of the region, and by the time she left Uganda in 1915, she had learned five African languages and had written an ethnographical study which incorporated two oral histories. Back in England she would address an audience of over 7,000 in the Albert Hall with the same passion and fluency as her father had possessed. The Hurditch connection with Uganda continued into the next generation with Ruth’s daughter, Geraldine Fisher. The first European baby born in the region, her life had been saved by an African who, when Ruth’s milk dried up, delivered a daily bowl of smoked milk. After studying art and embroidery at Croydon College of Art, Geraldine returned to Uganda in the 1930s, and as a school headmistress she encouraged the development of native art and needlework. Hurditch women were a feisty bunch.

4. Ibid., p.186.
The Communion of Women, by Elizabeth Prevost, an Associate Professor at a respected academic institution, Grinnell College in Iowa, examines the work of female Anglican missionaries, such as Ruth Hurditch (who is mistakenly described as the youngest of six—that privilege belongs to Grace, ‘Septima’, the seventh; Prevost is evidently unaware of the latter’s book nor of Ruth Hurditch’s Brethren roots). It studies the strategies adopted by the missionaries from the 1860s until the 1930s to ‘save souls’, and in the process negotiate patriarchal structures and African indigenous cultures. But the study is also concerned with how the reality of evangelisation in an African context by female British missionaries, particularly the many single and often professional women who were recruited in this period, challenged the premise that their sphere in the mission field was the domestic one and that they should export patriarchal church institutions. Female missionaries established separate spaces for women’s prayer and devotion that created ‘a feminine spiritual space’ which circumvented the ecclesiastical establishment.

These expanded spheres and roles for women in the mission field had consequences for the metropole—the colonizing ‘mother country’ of Britain. Leading the Anglican charge here was the feminist League of the Church Militant, which campaigned for women’s suffrage and ordination. Prevost identifies Dr Helen Hanson, yet another child of Brethren parents, as its ‘most important link between missions and suffrage’. The Hanson parents were, like the Hurditches, ‘broad-minded evangelicals’. Their daughter became convinced of Anglicanism through reading Lux Mundi before leaving for mission work in India, having found the book’s presentation of incarnational Christianity persuasive, and she sought to encompass in her life the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic wings of her Church. She drew a line from the faith of her parents to her own work, writing in 1916 that ‘in the religious revivals of last century desire for personal salvation and holiness were … a necessary prelude to the service of others by the tremendous wave of enthusiasm for social reform that has passed over the country in the last fifty years’ (233).
The women examined in this book challenged various forms of subjugation, including colonization, endured by those with which they worked. 'It is not surprising,' writes Prevost, 'that they felt more affinity with African Christian women than they did with the 'heathen' or colonial presence around them, or with fellow Britons back home' (292). Disillusioned with the working of western civilization in the metropole, they looked to the international Christian universalism of 'sisterhood' and the Christian gospel of spiritual equality. Such Christian impulses from the missionary movement, then, became interlinked with questioning institutional structures, which discriminated against or oppressed women in Britain. The Communion of Women is part of a more positive historiography of mission, and it will spark associations and ideas in its readers, which will take them beyond the Anglican archival resources on which it draws so fruitfully.

Neil Dickson

Godly Ambition: John Stott and the Evangelical Movement
Alister Chapman
Alister Chapman’s new account of the life and ministry of John Stott is sure to raise eyebrows. Like John Brencher’s recent study of Martyn Lloyd-Jones, which moved significantly beyond the hagiographical tone of Iain H. Murray’s two-volume Life, Chapman’s work pushes admirers of Stott far beyond the ‘official’ and largely uncritical two-volume Life by Timothy Dudley-Smith. It remains to be seen whether Chapman’s work will prove as controversial among the admirers of Stott as Brencher’s did among the admirers of Lloyd-Jones.

Chapman’s work certainly deserves reading, particularly by members of the BAHN. Taking a thematic structure, Godly Ambition traces Stott’s life and ministry from the social and theological conservatism of the 1950s to the much more ambivalent and nuanced emphases of his later ministry. Chapman provides a fascinating and
compelling interpretation of Stott’s relationship with Billy Graham, for example, and notes the tensions felt by Stott as he moved from the orbit of organisations which he formed, led and controlled, into the international ministries that were often bankrolled by Americans who did not share his social, political or theological sympathies. Readers of this journal will be especially interested in Chapman’s comments on the impact on the young Stott of the *Scofield Reference Bible*, and his long and complicated movement away from its expectations as to the future of global Christianity.

*Godly Ambition* is a well-written, thoroughly researched and robustly argued account of the ministry of a man who was recognised in *TIME* as one of the 100 most influential people in the world. But it remains to be seen how his large number of admirers will respond to this controversial narrative of the ministry of the ‘evangelical pope’.

Crawford Gribben

**Paisley: Religion and Politics in Northern Ireland**
Steve Bruce
Steve Bruce’s work on the evangelical religious cultures of Northern Ireland has, over the last three decades, constructed a complex and convincing narrative of isolation, marginality, violence and power. His work has frequently returned to consider the motivating power of religious belief, and has been based on extensive ethnographic research in the churches and mission halls of Ulster.

Bruce’s recent re-writing of his earlier biography of Ian Paisley builds on his framework to offer a more differentiated portrait of its subject. Bruce finds that much of the existing material published on Paisley is nothing more than ‘hysterical’—arguing that the rise of Islamic statecraft and Islamist terror has demonstrated the rather minor, nagging quality of his subject’s rhetoric.

Bruce’s work engages with the cultures of prophecy and community adherence that so dominate evangelical life in Northern Ireland. He does understand the importance of the Brethren
contribution to popular prophecy belief and the mission hall culture out of which the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster partly emerged, but appears to underplay that dimension in this otherwise fine and convincing work.

Crawford Gribben

Mapping the End Times: American Evangelical Geopolitics and Apocalyptic Visions
Jason Dittmer and Tristan Sturm (eds)
Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010
Academic concern about the impact and utility of popular dispensational politics shows no sign of abating. This collection of essays combines material from some very well-known scholars in millennial studies—including Michael Barkun and Paul S. Boyer— with material from some emerging voices. Topics under consideration include Mormonism in rapture novels; conspiratorial thinking about President Obama; and evangelical missionary activity in sub-Saharan Africa, the 10/40 window and the Middle East. The essays call attention to the complexity and gradations of much dispensational thinking, but reflect the specific cultural context out of which they tend to emerge and the reading audience to which they might most obviously appeal—that sector of North American academic life which is concerned by the religious right and its dangers. The book contains a number of references to J. N. Darby, though his influence on the contemporary American right is probably overplayed. He would surely be concerned to see the uses to which developments of his thinking have been put!

Crawford Gribben
Robert Chapman: A Biography
Robert L. Peterson
Littleton, Colorado: Lewis & Roth Publishers, 1995

Agape Leadership: Lessons in Spiritual Leadership from the Life of R. C. Chapman
Robert L. Peterson and Alexander Strauch
Littleton, Colorado: Lewis & Roth Publishers, 1991

In 1998 Roy Coad reviewed the first printing of this book for us. In tribute to Roy, who died last year, and to mark the above reprint, we give his original review. The reprint is issued along with Alexander Strauch’s introductory selection from the larger biography.

Robert Chapman, the St Francis of the Brethren movement, lived from 1803 to 1902 (well over twice the years of the medieval saint). Born into a well-to-do family of Whitby in Yorkshire, though his actual birthplace was Helsingor in Denmark where his parents were then living, he qualified as a lawyer in London and after a spell with a firm that is still one of England’s top law firms set up his own promising practice. He had been converted at the age of 20 under the ministry of the celebrated James Harington Evans of John Street Chapel and Evans was to remain a strong influence and a close friend until his death in 1850. In 1832, responding to an invitation from Barnstaple, where relatives who had been converted under his influence had given themselves to evangelistic and church planting work. Chapman closed his legal practice, gave away his inherited fortune, and settled in that North Devon town which was for the rest of his long life to be the scene of his pastoral and evangelistic ministry except for three evangelistic journeys (largely on foot) to Spain and one to Ireland. But from that obscure situation, the sheer power of his highly disciplined and godly personal life, and of his self-denial and simple trust in God, was to make his home and the guest haven he established a place of pilgrimage and deep spiritual influence throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.
Robert Peterson, who lives in Boulder in Colorado, has made the study of the life of this outstanding man a labour of real love for many years, and he has travelled widely and carefully researched all he could discover. The result he has embodied in this short and beautifully written biography—no small task, as Chapman deliberately destroyed all his personal papers out of modesty (and no doubt, with his lawyer’s professional training, he would have been mindful that he had been a confidant and adviser to countless Christians over a long period and the papers would have contained much of a highly private nature). In so doing he has also unobtrusively corrected a number of errors—particularly over Chapman’s early professional years—that have been commonly accepted in earlier histories. To read this book must be a spiritual challenge and encouragement to any Christian: different though today’s world may be from the nineteenth-century world that Chapman knew, the testimony and lessons of his life are as powerful as ever.

Roy Coad

The Life and Times of Charles Henry Mackintosh 1820–1896: A Biography
Edwin N. Cross
London: Chapter Two, 2011
This book is the last published work of Edwin Cross, whose early death deprived Brethren historians of one who, though not well known outside his own circles, was always ready to assist researchers and who was himself an inveterate sleuth. Given that he was involved with all kinds of evangelistic and teaching work, it is remarkable that he was able to produce several such books, and to research them so fully. We are in his debt as a result, and the tribute to him in an appendix is deserved. His experience as a publisher means that this book is beautifully produced, as are others in this series, and lavishly illustrated (though few of the pictures are credited).
Hitherto Mackintosh (known to thousands as ‘CHM’) has lacked a modern biographer; he needed one. Whilst he was not an original thinker, he did much to popularize the distinctive ideas of J. N. Darby, and his writings were read far beyond Brethren circles. This work is not so much a ‘critical biography’ in the contemporary sense, as a thorough investigation of what can be known about its subject. It does not claim to be objective, and on occasion the writer’s own standpoint as a Kelly brother is evident, but it does give us what so many earlier Brethren memoirs have lacked: a firm base of facts and some clear indication of sources. The author has worked hard to remedy the lack of available information on CHM and to place him in context (especially in chapter 1), although only one work on the Irish background appears in the bibliography. And we are able to follow the paper trail because it is also carefully referenced for the most part, although notes run in one sequence throughout the book rather than starting afresh in each chapter.

The author’s careful research and lucid writing style mean that readers will learn much. For instance, I confess that I had not realized—or had forgotten—that CHM practised believer’s baptism (pp.150–1). Coverage is mainly chronological, but on occasion issues from later periods are introduced without explanation, e.g. the Christological controversy occasioned by CHM’s remarks about Christ’s ‘heavenly humanity’ in the 1870s (p.70). Cross believes the significance of this to have been minimal; in terms of its impact on the development of nineteenth-century Brethren Christology, that is probably so, but I think the way this doctrine has been taught by Brethren calls for fuller investigation. Later controversies, which divided Exclusive Brethren from 1879 onwards, receive very full coverage; this may not be to everyone’s taste, but I can see a value in showing where CHM stood on the issues concerned.

There are a few omissions. For me, it would have been illuminating to have had an outline somewhere of CHM’s typological approach to the Pentateuch, simply because it has been so influential. And the list of CHM’s writings would have been improved by inclusion of all his titles, and of publication dates and details, to assist those wishing to follow them up.
Overall, however, this work is one I am glad to commend, and I wish it a wide sale. In closing, on pp.54–5 the author refers to the ministry of an English brother many years ago in ‘recycling’ books, magazines and pamphlets; many students of the Brethren would bless anyone else choosing to addict themselves, as does Cross’s organization, Chapter Two, to such a neglected ministry today!

Tim Grass

Generations: British Brethren Mission to Spain, 1834–1990
Tim Grass
Ramsey, Isle of Man: Thornhill Media, 2011;
120pp. (pb). £7.00
[available from the author at 1 Thornhill Close, Ramsey, Isle of Man IM8 3LA. Cheques payable to ‘T. G. Grass’]

Brethren missionary work must be among the best-kept secrets in the evangelical world. No one knows the number of Brethren missionaries (though it may have amounted to one per cent of the membership in some countries), nor the number of countries in which Brethren are to be found (though it is certainly well over 100 and may be not far from 150), nor the size of their worshipping community worldwide (though it may well number several millions).

This is not because its history has gone unrecorded. Far from it. Brethren missionary prayer letters exist in wild profusion; missionary magazines have been published in many countries, often on a monthly basis; numerous book-length accounts of work done in particular countries or regions, as well as countless biographies, have been published; and there exist several worldwide surveys, one in ten volumes.

But, with very few exceptions (one being Ken Newton’s perceptive study of Brethren work in Mysore State, India, published by Christian Brethren Research Fellowship) they are academically uncritical, the biographies tend to be hagiographical, and they are read mainly by insiders. A few academic theses have begun to appear (one, a doctoral thesis by Kent Easton on ‘The Implantation of the
It is therefore gratifying that Tim Grass, author of the definitive history of the Brethren in Britain and Ireland, *Gathering to His Name* (2006), has turned his attention to the work of Brethren missionaries in Spain, a country which attracted the attention of Brethren pioneers such as Robert Chapman and George Müller, where there has been a Brethren presence ever since (until recently constituting the largest Protestant community) and where a great-uncle of the author, Edmund Woodford, served as a Brethren missionary for almost half a century.

The slim volume under review grew out of a series of four lectures given under the auspices of Centro Evangélico de Formación Bíblica en Madrid by Tim Grass. In contrast to his magnum opus, this work is essentially exploratory in nature, raising questions rather than providing comprehensive answers. Nevertheless, it probes quite deeply into areas such as the motivation of British Brethren missionaries to Spain; their relationships with other expatriate missionaries in Spain; their activities (which, as so often, included educational, medical and pastoral work, as well as the evangelism and church planting to be expected of Brethren missionaries); their relationship with Spanish converts; the emergence of Spanish leadership; and their relationship with the editors of the British missionary magazine, *Echoes of Service*, who, while not fully comparable with the directors of a missionary society, did more than edit a magazine! Particularly interesting is the advocacy by the editors of speedy handing over of responsibility to nationals.

Its slightly enigmatic title, *Generations . . .*, seems to suggest that the book is a study of four generations of missionaries, commencing with the ‘pioneers’, continuing with those who achieved the status of ‘patriarchs’, who were followed by (mere?) practitioners and those who ‘persevered’! But too much should not be read into a pedagogic artifice suggested by the British missionary, Ken Barrett, whose assistance, especially in translating material is gratefully acknowledged by the author.
Needlessly to say, with this author, the book is well researched, clearly written, and carefully nuanced. Its subject is firmly viewed in its Spanish, British, Brethren and evangelical contexts. Sometimes, one might have wished for a firmer judgment (the lack of which undoubtedly results from the pioneer nature of the research) but one can only be grateful to the author for opening up many avenues for research, and it is greatly to be hoped that his work will stimulate further research into Brethren missionary work, not only in Spain but also in other countries.

Harold Rowdon

Collected Poems: Robert Rendall
John Flett Brown and Brian Murray (eds)
351 pp. (hb) ISBN: 978-1904246-36-7 £25

Interest in the Orkney poet Robert Rendall (1898–1967) refuses to die. The editors of this book, both of whom are involved in the cultural life of the islands, begin by listing his versatility and talents before noting ‘one fact as pointing to his character and achievement: the man who gained honours, popularity and affection for the way he lived his life and what he produced in it, was thirteen years old when his formal education ended’ (13–14). And what a range of accomplishments—not only the poet of this present book, but also antiquarian, businessman, conchologist, crofter, critic and much more. However, for readers of BHR the feature of Rendall with which the editors begin their list is key: he was a lifelong member of the Open Brethren, writing for a number of its journals, producing two theological books and compiling the biography of an editor of The Witness, J. B. Watson.

This Collected Poems brings together Rendall’s four published volumes, which were issued by a local press and until now have been expensive and scarce on the second-hand market. The book also doubles his published output through including early poetry, verse that was published in a range of magazines, material from Rendall’s papers in the Kirkwall archive and even the amusing verse adverts
(he was no dullard) that he placed in local newspapers for his draper’s business. This has been a labour of persistence and love. The notes to each poem, which are, as is proper, in a separate section at the end of the book, give dates of composition to show his poetic development allowing us to see Rendall’s poetry in the round. A full critical introduction places his oeuvre in the context of his faith, the islands and Scottish literature, especially the argument in the early twentieth century over the use of Scots dialect in poetry—a debate (though this is a polite word for some of the invective used) that was dubbed ‘the “Plastics” controversy’, as several critics felt the language which was being used was artificial.

The debate was especially important for Rendall, as by common consent he produced his finest poetry in the Orcadian dialect, although—it being Rendall—his poetry in this mode was deeply influenced by the classical Greek lyric. The editors have given the general public for the first time one example of this (unearthed from the magazine of a Church of Scotland congregation in Kirkwall). Its final verse reads:

Noo ken I that there’s Ane abune
Can wheep away the monarch’s croon
An’ wi’ a gentler hand
Can Mercy’s task command.

The difficulties for the non-Scot are immediately evident, not only in vocabulary, but less evidently in pronunciation. The lines are, in fact, rhyming couplets, and the stressed vowel of ‘abune’ [‘above’] is identical to the vowel in ‘croon’ [‘crown’]. Although the editors do not shy away from stating the centrality of his faith for his life, their comment on the poem alludes to one further difficulty, which is perhaps pertinent for readers of this journal. ‘Not all Rendall’s religious poetry is as accessible and convincing as that’, they write. Sadly, Rendall failed to produce good religious poetry, although his spirituality informed all that he wrote.

That his readers would be mainly in Orkney did not trouble Rendall, for he would have enthusiastically endorsed the title his friend and fellow poet, the more widely known George Mackay Brown, gave to his autobiography, For the Islands I Sing (1997).
However, most of Rendall’s output is in standard English—Philip Larkin included him in his *Oxford Book of Twentieth Century English Verse*. There are good things here, then, of a high poetic standard for readers who want to confine themselves to English. The reader is helped, too, by the editors replicating Rendall’s subheadings which categorise his poetry into themes, and among the newly collected pieces they have followed the same pattern. There are fine devotional poems on Christian themes (‘Without God’, ‘On the Cross’, ‘The Floods Came’), as well as many that celebrate creation (‘In the Ebb’, ‘The Masque’, ‘Orkney Sunset’). Rendall’s talent was essentially a lyric one. This might be seen in the last poem, a haiku, in his final published volume, which brings together his life in Orkney and his faith:

```
Hands on gunwale—to the noust
    haul this weathered yawl:
    there leave her, safely housed.
```

Does the reader need to know that ‘noust’ is Orkney Norn for a landing-place on a beach? Perhaps. But as in all true poetry, the emotion that is conveyed is independent of the intellectual knowledge. It movingly communicates Rendall’s faith that at the end of a life lived there is eternal security. The editors are to be congratulated in bringing to a new public, not only a great Orcadian, but also one of the most remarkable individuals of the Open Brethren. His poetry will endure, and this volume again makes it accessible to a wider public.

Neil Dickson

**Missionary Work among the Waorani People of Ecuador: The Brethren Contribution**

*Kenneth C. Fleming*


The killing of five young American missionaries by a Waorani war band on a river bank in the jungles of eastern Ecuador in 1956 created international interest. The story of their deaths was given literary monumentality in *Through Gates of Splendor* (1957) by
Elisabeth Elliot, the widow of one of the men, which established her husband, Jim Elliot, as a modern day evangelical hero through the quotations the book gave from his journal: ‘He is no fool who gives what he cannot keep to gain what he cannot lose’ became one of the most-quoted aphorisms of the missionary movement in the twentieth century. When the audience at the Billy Graham conference on evangelism in Amsterdam in 2000 was asked how many in it had been impelled towards their ministry by the deaths of the five men, about 4,000 people stood up.

What is perhaps less well-known is the subsequent rapid pacification of the Waorani. In a brief period from 1967 to 1973 more than 500 Waorani—some eighty-five per cent of the then population—settled in a newly-created jungle settlement, Tiwaeno, and three churches have been formed among them. As a result, the cycle of revenge killings, which was an integral part of the people’s culture, and which threatened self-genocide, has come to a halt and they have increased in number from around 600 to some 2,000 at present. As the initial outreach to them was a Brethren one, its missionaries are central to this process.

Ken Fleming, a former missionary to South Africa and the brother of Pete Fleming, one of the murdered men, has now detailed the Brethren involvement in this significant piece of mission history, from its origins under the English missionary, Wilfred Tidmarsh, in the 1940s until the present day when the Waorani have begun to send out their own evangelists. The people that was the target of the outreach was exceptionally hostile, and were then known as ‘Aucas’, a word that means ‘savages’ (their present name is their own word for ‘people’). Unknown to the murdered missionaries, they had made contact with a group involved in one of the frequent inter-tribal quarrels, and its central protagonist represented the missionaries as hostile. The murderous anger, which was an accepted cultural norm, was displaced onto the five Americans. Key to subsequent events was the work of three women: Dayuma, a Waorani convert, Elisabeth Elliot, and Rachel Saint, the sister of one of the murdered men. Within the kinship structure of the Waorani, it was important that the first of these three was a kinswoman of the war party, and
that the other two both had close kin that had been killed by the Waorani. That these two women did not respond in revenge but in love was crucial in commending the new faith to them. The central attraction of Christianity for this people was the ability to say, “On behalf of Jesus, do not spear.”\textsuperscript{1} For Ken Fleming closure was achieved when in Ecuador at the anniversary of the killings in 2006 he embraced his brother’s killer as a brother in Christ.

Of course such conversions of a people are not without their difficulties and critics.\textsuperscript{2} The Waorani are abandoning their ancient semi-nomadic life, are increasingly losing their language and are subject to the governmental and commercial pressures of modernity with all the attendant ethical and behavioural problems which that brings. This paper touches on these issues, and argues that through the Brethren missionary Lloyd Rogers—‘Don Daniel’—to the peoples of the Ecuadorian Oriente—much has been done to ameliorate the inevitable pressures arising from the national government and globalised culture. Sympathetic anthropologists such as James Yost have also argued that the Waorani have willingly embraced Christianity as the path from the revenge culture which was destroying them. In Ecuador at the site of his brother’s killing Fleming finds himself pondering Tertullian’s claim that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. By incarnating non-violence and refusing to defend themselves, these five men made that true for their killers and others of the Waorani in a very concrete manner. This extensive essay with an attendant bibliography is worth pondering on a number of levels for anyone interested in mission history.

Neil Dickson


What was begun by the late James Anderson in 1980 as a continuation of Henry Pickering’s *Chief Men* has now become a decennial volume of which this book is the fourth. The format has evolved to some degree. Whereas in the earlier volumes there was a reasonably brief anonymous biography for each entry, now the contributors of the main entries are identified and the biographies are followed by up to half a dozen briefer ‘recollections’ by additional contributors. The result is that the present book is a fairly hefty tome.

The profiles of thirty-eight Open Brethren (though, as we shall see, perhaps we should invoke Roger Shuff’s terminology of ‘Independent Brethren’) who died in the first decade of the twenty-first century consist mainly of individuals from the United Kingdom. Among them can be found missionaries such as John Anderson of South Korea, Sam Hanlon of Honduras and Fred Kelling of Europe, evangelists such as John Knight and Reg Jordan, and Bible teachers and assembly activists such as Cyril Hocking, the editor of *Precious Seed*, and Will Penfold of Bicester in Oxfordshire. But brethren from other countries are represented, including Hans Bouwman of the Netherlands, although it is really North America which is the beneficiary, with profiles of men such as John E. Abernethy of the USA and J. Boyd Nicholson of Canada.

From its inception, the purpose of the series has been unashamedly hagiographical. The publishers in their preface make it clear that ‘[i]t could never be our role to assess or scrutinise these lives’ but that the record will ‘inspire and encourage readers’ (vii). What emerges from these lives is an untiring activism, a commitment to the Assemblies, and the centrality of evangelism. But the records also preserve much valuable historical material that is otherwise hard to access. Sidelights emerge—such as the admiration of the Ayrshire preacher George Waugh for the Italian Renaissance—and a project beckons of constructing a social classification for the subjects of all four volumes. Two exclusions, however, from the present volume are...
disappointing. Unlike James Anderson’s first two volumes, the series has now evolved to exclude those from what is called “open table circles” (343). Perhaps the feeling is they are not worthy of emulation. Another is what might be regarded as a developmental failure. Like the original volumes (and Pickering), women are still not included. This is certainly not Pauline practice. Surely there have been some sisters who finished their course in the last forty years worthy of accompanying a roll of chief men?

Neil Dickson

Learning from the Past, Facing the Future: Essays for ‘Brethren’
Neil Summerton
Cambridge: Partnership, 2011

Neil Summerton’s collection of his essays demonstrates a very thoughtful consideration of the movement of which he is a part. Not all will be comfortable with either his observations or his conclusions, but that is a good thing. His clear, logical presentation of a variety of topics provides yet another opportunity for interested readers to consider anew the practices and goals of the Brethren, especially with an eye toward renewal where needed and staying the course where appropriate. In nine chapters Summerton covers the history, identity, and practices of the Brethren at the beginning of the twenty-first century. His thirty-page first chapter covering the history and character of the Brethren is alone worth the price of the book. Summerton does well to remind the Brethren from all parts of the movement that the Brethren have both influenced and have been influenced by evangelicalism as a whole. Further, he reminds the reader of the historical strengths of the Open Brethren, namely, evangelism, church-planting, and transnational mission. While these emphases are alive and well outside of what Summerton calls the ‘Anglo-Celtic’ countries, one wonders if these critical emphases would characterize the Brethren inside the latter countries.
Summerton’s chapter on Brethren churches in the UK makes for unhappy reading in its analysis of the present situation. Nevertheless, he does not rehearse the shortcomings as one who is content merely to carp. He follows his appraisal with thoughtful, practical, biblical suggestions of how the present pattern of decline might be arrested. In this, he notes the need to revisit the historical form often used to celebrate the Lord’s supper. The reader should note that many Brethren churches worldwide have revisited this central meeting, and then successfully crafted a weekly celebration of the Lord’s supper which is both accessible to twenty-first century believers and true to the biblical command to remember the Lord.

Notably, three or perhaps four of the nine chapters are dedicated to aspects of church leadership. Summerton is spot-on to emphasize this area as one which needs urgent attention. The need for dedicated, biblical leadership and its corollary of the recognition and exercise of gift is a challenge facing the Brethren worldwide. Summerton rightly reminds the reader of the necessity of a plurality of leadership as well as the gifts which should be found among the leadership. His observations in chapter five about the difference between what is the biblical teaching on local church leadership set in contradistinction to the mixture of culture and Bible as the ‘biblical’ way should be read carefully and prayerfully. The chapter which follows, chapter six, is a sterling essay on the development of leadership for the local church. The chapter evidences both Summerton’s passion and tried experience in this vital part of local church ministry. He effectively presents his case that leaders, no matter how gifted, need to be cultivated if effective leadership is expected. He also challenges those lacking the necessary gifts of which the Bible speaks to step down!

This book’s concluding chapter is both a reminder and an encouragement concerning the Brethren’s worldwide growth since their inception at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Summerton, growth as a result of gospel outreach should characterize the Brethren; this need for a gospel outreach in a rapidly secularizing or already secularized Western Europe is quite evident. Summerton’s book of essays is a helpful contribution both in its
appraisal of the present situation and suggested ways in which that challenge can be met. This book should be found on the reading list of those who want a thoughtful read about the status and future of the Brethren.

Thomas J. Marinello

The Brethren Movement Worldwide: Key Information 2011
Ken Newton & Andrew Chan (eds)

Rarely does a book review itself, but the editors make such an excellent job in the introduction of summarising the general thrust of the statistics in their book that it bears quotation at length:

In summary, there are figures connected with the Open Brethren in 130 countries in the world. There were in 2010 some 27,350 such congregations and preaching points, compared with about 25,300 in 2005, a growth in five years of about 8%. Worldwide, regular adult attenders in those congregations amounted to some 2.06 millions, compared with 1.7 millions in 2005. About 70% of these are baptised. If child attenders are included and assumed to be one-fifth of all attenders at the main meetings, the total number of attenders would be likely to be about 2.5 millions. Put another way, 1 in every 2,900 people in the world attends a Brethren fellowship. (p.x)

The Open Brethren, then, is still growing worldwide—although that eight per cent increase needs to be set beside a percentage decrease in Open Brethren in Europe by almost an identical amount (-7.97%), and an increase in global population, according to the United Nations, of thirty per cent between 1990 and 2010. Brethren growth is largely in the developing world, and Africa is now the continent with the largest number of baptized Brethren with some 637,289 members—more than Europe and North America (in which the editors include Central America and the Caribbean) combined.

As might be expected, the growth is uneven across countries. Angola emerges as the country with more Brethren in the population than any other, having experienced an explosion in assembly growth that is attributed to revival after the ending of its civil war. The
percentage increase in Africa during the five years surveyed is forty-seven, but if Angola is excluded, the figure drops to a still encouraging 10.5. Similarly growth in the Americas is due largely to the increases in Argentina, Guatemala and Honduras. Even among the secularised developed nations, there are countries such as Germany and New Zealand which are seeing modest growth. The highest percentage of Brethren per head of population is in another western territory, the Faeroe Isles, where the movement is still growing slightly.

Much of the above is readily perceptible from the fourteen pages of tables of statistics with which the book commences. Thereafter, arranged alphabetically, there are entries on eighty-one countries which for each gives some general national and Brethren statistics, a list of agencies serving the assemblies, some brief interesting features about the national Brethren movement, and bullet points noting items for praise and prayer. Much variety emerges from these country reports. The Nigerian Brethren ask for prayer for Bible translation and note ‘thieves have stolen our computers’, while the Angolans ask for ‘well-grounded Bible teachers and elders’ and a ‘strong new generation of leaders’. The older movements have different characteristics. Germany is notable for the number of agencies which service assemblies; the United Kingdom and the USA have differences in the ethos of assemblies that continue to divide, while the Australian movement is worried about being confused with ‘the Exclusive sect’.

The editors are to be congratulated on their splendid job of collating the information and presenting it attractively, and the book will have multiple uses as, inter alia, a history source book, address book, and prayer guide. As usual, however, with the Open Brethren, all the statistics need to be taken with a measure of trust as can be seen from the number of question marks placed against statistics in the summary section. The editors are well aware of this, and appeal for additional information. The entire text is available as a download at: http://www.ibcm.net/qwicsitePro/php/docsview.php?docid=1411

Neil Dickson
OBITUARY
F. ROY COAD
1925–2011

Frederick Roy Coad was an outstanding example of someone able to excel not only in his chosen profession but in other disciplines. Born of missionary parents in Kalene, in what is now Zambia, he was educated at Peter Symonds School, was articled to accountants in Winchester and qualified as a chartered accountant in 1948. He joined a well-known Brethren firm, Griffin Stone, Moscrop and Co. of Manchester Square (later Welbeck Street) in London, becoming a partner in 1949 and senior partner from 1985 until his retirement in 1990. He was made a Fellow of the Institute of Chartered Accountants and served on the 'main committee' of the London Society of Chartered Accountants from 1985.

Alongside all this, he made huge contributions both to historical research and to the discussion and dissemination of theological and ecclesiastical issues. He found time, much of it in the early hours of the morning before leaving home for the office, to engage in pioneer historical research out of which came a substantial volume, *A History of the Brethren Movement* (1968). The background to the book was in a study group that some young men in fellowship with Open Brethren had formed during the late 1950s, which began to investigate, among other things, the origins and fundamental principles of the Brethren movement. Roy was one of this group, and he became deeply involved in the subsequent Young Men’s Bible Teaching Conferences, held annually at Oxford (1956–69), then at Winchester, with the likes of James Houston, F. F. Bruce, and G. C. D. Howley. At a conference in 1960 he delivered a paper entitled ‘Notes on the Brethren Movement’. This surveyed the movement’s history and raised a whole raft of questions concerning the contemporary application of the teachings of early Brethren. The
result was that he was asked to produce a book on the subject, which duly appeared eight years later.  

He was the chief architect of one other additional very significant by-product of the Oxford Conferences—the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship (CBRF) which commenced in 1963 and morphed into Partnership in 1987. The original purpose of CBRF was threefold: as its name implies, to encourage research into Brethren history; to provide a point of reference for people enquiring into the nature of the Brethren movement; and, most importantly, to provide a forum in which younger people in particular could freely exchange their opinions. A journal and a range of booklets were published (including one by Roy on eschatology), some good historical research was produced and a decennial survey of Brethren churches was regularly undertaken. Conferences were held, some of which were well attended—notably one addressed by Malcolm Muggeridge and another on the role of women in church at which F. F. Bruce gave a powerful paper. CBRF provided a forum for the discussion of fundamental issues being raised within Brethren churches and which were already giving rise to a slow but steady loss of people, particularly younger people.

A key text in this revaluation of the significance of the Brethren movement was Roy’s History, although it does not claim to be a complete history. His focus was primarily on the nineteenth century, during which the movement’s fundamental principles were established and clarified. Described by Timothy Stunt as a ‘tract for the times,’ which sought to recall Brethren to the freedom enjoyed and encouraged by the pioneers, it supplanted Neatby’s A History of the Plymouth Brethren (1901) as the standard general history of the Open wing of the movement. The author’s wish was to provide a

corrective to previous histories, which had demonstrated a preoccupation with the controversies that had racked Exclusivism.\(^6\) This, and the attention given to answering critics of the movement, betoken something of an apologetic motif in his work.

One aspect of Roy’s approach, which deserves notice is his contention that the ecumenical movement needs the kind of radical perspective represented by the Brethren and other such movements. In his view, Brethren were ‘one of the purest examples extant today of a strain in Christianity which has not only been recurrent from the beginning, but will continue to recur as long as the Church exists’\(^7\)—the Bible-based, nonconforming, independent congregation, which presented a necessary corrective to the monolithic institutional bodies; such gatherings faced the challenge of maintaining their freedom while recognising that they existed for the benefit of the whole church and not for themselves alone. Roy thus followed E. H. Broadbent’s *The Pilgrim Church* (1931) in locating Brethren within a tradition of radical dissent, but diverges from him in a more positive conception of the relationship of such movements to the institutional church: ‘such movements are the very stuff of the Church’s continual self-renewal’.\(^8\) A major reason for this divergence may lie in the absence in Roy’s work of the dispensationalist philosophy of history, with its gloomy prognostications concerning the future of organised Christianity, which had marked Broadbent’s work.

The *History* was followed in 1979 by *Laing*, the biography of Sir John Laing, the Brethren builder and benefactor. Roy had found a congenial subject in Laing, not only because of their shared business and ecclesiastical interests, but also as someone who had penetrated ‘beyond the diminishing effect of the sectarian mentality to the enlarging effect of a true relationship with, and experience of, God.’\(^9\)

---

6. Coad, *History*, pp. 7, 231. He gives minimal attention to these.
Roy made several contributions to the one-volume *New Testament Commentary* (1969)—later expanded to the *Bible Commentary for Today* (1979)—including a suggestive study of ‘The Apostolic Church’. For a decade (1973-83) he edited the magazine *The Harvester*, in which he tried to broaden his readers’ horizons and to challenge them to fresh thought, and brought a new emphasis on Christian lifestyle and on Christian thinking about the issues of the day.

For Roy, the most attractive feature of the early Brethren was ‘the strength of their personal devotion to Christ.’

His own Christian commitment was unswerving, though his faith was a questioning one. With his wife, Joy, he was a member, first of West Street Chapel in Carshalton, then of Chiltern Church in Sutton, in both of which he served as an elder. He gave several stimulating addresses at the Swanwick Conferences of Brethren, including two at the seminal 1978 one on the future of Brethren. He also gave the keynote addresses at the conference on Brethren history and heritage held at Regent College, Vancouver, in 1990. As a result of this conference, BAHN was founded two years later. Roy was one of the small group of historians who met in London to establish the new body dedicated to studying Brethren history and supporting the work of relevant archives.

After retiring to Shropshire, where he worshipped in an Anglican church, yet another of his gifts came to light in 2000 with the publication of a slim volume of poems, entitled *Verses from an Incomer: Poems from Shropshire and Elsewhere*. Although those who had considered his prose would have detected a vein of poetry in his temperament, no one could accuse Roy of wearing his heart on his sleeve! But Colin Holmes who was fellow-elder and pastor of Chiltern Church reveals that this is not the whole story. Colin says:

> He spoke little but his words were weighted with wisdom and were not wasted. His laugh was infectious and I suspect not many people heard him laugh, but it was such a warm side to his nature. He was both a compassionate and generous godly man in words and action.


104
Roy was a man of his generation but was in touch with the struggles and problems of younger people. For me he will be remembered as a Barnabas, a good man, very sincere, had the human touch, knowledgeable and an example of Christlikeness.

Dr Timothy Stunt says of him: ‘He was a sort of ersatz father to me after my own father died and I was the beneficiary of a rich correspondence with him.’ Prof. Ward Gasque has acknowledged the ‘profound impact’ that Roy and Joy Coad had upon his life when he was a research student at Manchester under Prof. F. F. Bruce in the late 1960s.

Roy leaves behind a widow who is unwell, two sons and a daughter, and a host of people whose lives have been enriched by his writings, his personal influence and friendship, and memories of his incisive conference addresses. In the final sentence of Laing he wrote: ‘But he would quietly remind us that, beyond the sleep, he looked forward to a glad awakening.’\(^\text{11}\) In this faith Roy, too, fell on sleep.

Harold Rowdon and Tim Grass

---

\(^{11}\) Coad, *Laing*, p.218.
OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Eugenio F. Biagini is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge

Roy Coad was an assembly elder, Brethren statesman, and writer, most notably of *A History of the Brethren Movement* (1968)

Andrew Crome is Lecturer in the History of Christianity, at the University of Manchester, and was formerly IRCSSH Research Fellow in the School of English, Trinity College, Dublin


Tim Grass is an associate lecturer in Church History at Spurgeon’s College, London, and the author of *Gathering to His Name: The Story of Brethren in Britain and Ireland* (2006)

Crawford Gribben is Professor of Early Modern History, Queen’s University, Belfast, and the author of *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–2000* (2010)

Óli Jacobsen was a fisherman in the Faeroe Isles and later chairman of the fishermen’s trade union for 36 years. He now writes on Faeroese history and has published four books. His great-grandmother was a sister of William Sloan’s wife, Elsebeth

Thomas J. Marinello is Associate Professor Associate Professor of Systematic and Historical Theology at the Tyndale Theological Seminary, the Netherlands and has recently completed a PhD on the Brethren in Flanders

Harold Rowdon was until his retirement Church History Lecturer at the London Bible College and is the author of *The Origins of the Brethren* (1967)

Timothy C. F. Stunt is a history teacher in Connecticut and the author of *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815-35* (2000)
## REVIEWS INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warren Johnston</td>
<td>Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-century England (Crawford Gribben)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Stott</td>
<td>Wilberforce Family and Friends (Eugenio F. Biagini)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David W. Bebbington</td>
<td>Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts (Andrew Crome)</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth E. Prevost</td>
<td>The Communion of Women: Mission and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole (Neil Dickson)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alister Chapman</td>
<td>Godly Ambition: John Stott and the Evangelical Movement (Crawford Gribben)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Bruce</td>
<td>Paisley: Religion and Politics in Northern Ireland (Crawford Gribben)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jason Dittmer and Tristan Sturm (eds)</td>
<td>Mapping the End Times: American Evangelical Geopolitics and Apocalyptic Visions (Crawford Gribben)</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert L. Peterson</td>
<td>Robert Chapman: A Biography (Roy Coad)</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin N. Cross</td>
<td>The Life and Times of Charles Henry Mackintosh 1820–1896: A Biography (Tim Grass)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim Grass</td>
<td>Generations: British Brethren Mission to Spain, 1834–1990 (Harold Rowdon)</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Flett Brown and Brian Murray (eds)</td>
<td>Collected Poems: Robert Rendall (Neil Dickson)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth C. Fleming</td>
<td>‘Missionary Work among the Waorani People of Ecuador: The Brethren Contribution’ (Neil Dickson)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Plant (ed.)</td>
<td>They Finished Their Course: Volume 4 (Neil Dickson)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil Summerton</td>
<td>Learning from the Past, Facing the Future: Essays for ‘Brethren’ (Thomas J. Marinello)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken Newton &amp; Andrew Chan (eds)</td>
<td>The Brethren Movement Worldwide: Key Information 2011 (Neil Dickson)</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brethren thought was overwhelmingly Biblicist. In areas such as ecclesiology, eschatology and soteriology the movement sought new light from the scriptures in ways which still mark it profoundly or which have widely influenced evangelicalism. This conference is an opportunity to examine the thought of the movement and the way in which historical contexts operated on it.

- Mark Stevenson, ‘Calvinistic Soteriology: A Nineteenth-Century Brethren Distinctive’
- Neil Summerton, ‘The Theology of George Müller’
- Simone Maghenzani, ‘Between History and Ecclesiology: Count Piero Guicciardini and Brethren Identity’
- Anne-Louise Critchlow, ‘The Mystic Spirituality of William Kelly’
- Troy Lohmeyer, ‘Eschatology in the Thought of F. W. Grant’
- Neil Dickson, “‘Friends of God’: Emma Frances Bevan (1827–1909)”

For more information go to http://brethrenhistory.org/?pageid=783, or contact the convenor of BAHN
Witness in Many Lands: Leadership and Outreach among the Brethren

Table of Contents

Part 1: Thought, Action and Reaction in the Nineteenth Century
1. Stephan Holthaus, Georg Müller (1805–98): His Life and Work
3. Berthold Schwartz, J.N. Darby as Theologian, with Special Reference to his Understanding of the Relation of Law and Grace
6. Crawford Gribben, ‘The worst sect that a Christian man can meet’: Opposition to the Plymouth Brethren in Ireland and Scotland, 1859–1900
7. David J. Macleod, Walter Scott: A Link in Dispensationalism between Darby and Scofield

Part 2: Pillars of Twentieth-Century Consolidation
8. Tim Grass, Edmund Hamer Broadbent (1861–1945): Pilgrim Churchman
12. Horst Afflerbach What can we learn from Erich Sauer (1898–1959)?

Part 3: Brethren in Many Lands: Some Snapshots
14. Stephan Holthaus, A Hundred and Fifty Years of the Brethren Movement in Germany
15. Tim Grass, The Development of a Support Base for Overseas Mission in British Brethren
17. Andreas Liese, The Brethren Movement in Germany during the National Socialist Era
19. Daniele Pasquale, *The History of Three Italian Brethren camps and their Impact on Italian Assemblies*
BAHN SUBSCRIPTION FORM

The subscription per person/institution is payable with each issue of *BHR*. This also enlists the subscriber in the Brethren Archivists and Historians Network (BAHN). There is a 50% discount for registered students.

Irrespective of the payment method chosen, submit your address details to the BAHN secretary: Dr Alison Muir, 1 Brands Row, Crossgates, Fife KY4 8DE, UK (e-mail: bahnsecretary@hotmail.com)

Name  

Address  

Email  

You may pay by one of the following means quoting “BAHN”

1. If paying by bank transfer £15  
   Account name: Partnership (UK) Limited; Bank name: Barclays Bank; Sort Code: 20-03-53; Account no. 80118028

2. If paying by cheque (GBP) addressed to Partnership UK Limited £15  
   Cheque enclosed (please tick)

3. If paying by credit card (see next page) £15.50

4. If paying online: Go to [www.partnershipuk.org/donate.htm](http://www.partnershipuk.org/donate.htm) £15.50

5. If paying by cheque (non GBP) addressed to Partnership UK Limited £21  
   (The charges for 3–5 above reflect bank charges resulting for these methods of payment)
Credit card details:

1. Type of card (VISA etc.) ________________
2. Card number: 
   □□□□□□□□
   □□□□□□□□
3. Three-digit CSC No. ________________
4. Expiry date ________________
5. Name on card ________________
6. Amount of deposit/payment: £ ________________
7. Cardholder’s signature ________________
8. Date: ________________