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BAPTIST PEACEMAKERS

IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY PEACE SOCIETIES¹

Throughout the world there are millions of Baptists. A growing number have made peace central to their understanding of the nature of God, of Christ and of the Christian life. British Baptists organized a pacifist fellowship in 1932. A similar body was formed in the United States in 1940. Subsequently, worldwide, peace groups have assumed an increasing role within institutional Baptist life, and Baptists have engaged in voluntary organizations concerned with a broad range of issues which contribute to 'positive peace'.² Many leading peacemakers of this century have been Baptists, including British Baptists, John Clifford (1836-1923), James Henry Rushbrooke (1870-1947) and Howard Ingham James (1889-1956), and leading North American Baptists such as Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918), Isabel Crawford (1865-1961), Douglas Clyde Macintosh (1877-1948), Edwin T. Dahlberg (1893-1986), Howard Thurman (1900-1968), Clarence Jordan (1912-1969), Florence Jordan (1912-1987) and Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968). Two British Baptists, Frederick Brotherton Meyer (1847-1929) and Joseph James Doke (1816-1913), exercised a formative influence on Gandhi (1867-1948). These Baptist peace seekers shaped a tradition which helps contemporary Baptists formulate a distinctive Baptist response to the conciliar theme 'peace, justice and the integrity of creation'.

While thinking and action for peace are as old as antiquity, it was during the Reformation period that many Christians recovered the peace teaching of Jesus and the peace witness of Christians during the first four centuries of the common era. As a whole, the Baptist movement did not accept the pacifism of what became known as the historic peace churches. However, such evidence as early Baptist confessions, the refusal of some Baptists to join Cromwell's New Model Army on the basis that 'Christians should not meddle with the sword', and the peace testimony of influential figures like Gerard Winstanley (1609-1676) and Roger Williams (ca. 1603-1684) suggests that those who first were called Baptists would vigorously have discussed peace concerns, influenced, in some instances, by Anabaptists and Quakers. Subsequently, such Baptist distinctives as the primacy of Scripture, soul liberty and separation of church and state, coupled with compassion, outraged Christian conscience and opposition to oppressive governments led some Baptists to become pacifists. Some objected to specific wars, and many more championed such causes as anti-slavery, education, mission, religious liberty and women's rights as means to realize the Biblical idea of the peaceable kingdom. From the origins of the Baptist movement, conscientious objection, nonresistance and pacifism have always been part of the Baptist heritage. This essay reclaims the legacy of nineteenth-century British Baptist forerunners of twentieth-century Baptist peacemakers.³

NINETEENTH-CENTURY PEACE CRUSADE

Peace movements are collective efforts of private citizens to abolish war through means such as conferences, education, political mobilization or civil disobedience. Organization of the modern peace movement may be traced to the early nineteenth century.⁴ During the Napoleonic era many in the western world expressed weariness with war by holding days of prayer for a general peace and reviving earlier projects for 'perpetual peace'.

Two examples from the extensive pamphlet literature of the period illustrate the point. At the turn of the century, Robert Hall (1764-1831), destined to be remembered as the greatest English Baptist preacher of the century before Spurgeon, was successor to Robert Robinson (1735-1790) as pastor of the Baptist meeting house

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in Cambridge. In a sermon preached on 1st June 1802 Hall expressed hope that 'along with peace, the spirit of peace will return. How can we better imitate our heavenly Father, than, when he is pleased to compose the animosities of nations, to open our hearts to every milder influence?' He went on to indicate that, in addition to 'burying in oblivion all national antipathies', the most important benefits from the return of peace would be enhanced security, progress of religion, reduction of poverty and prices for necessities of life and honouring God and Christ. He concluded, '. . . you will then be convinced it is better to be endeared to the cottage, than admired in the palace; when to have wiped away the tears of the afflicted and inherited the prayers of the widow and the fatherless, shall be found a richer patrimony than the favour of princes.'⁵

A second example of redoubled effort to abolish war as a system is provided by the Baptist domestic and foreign missionary enterprise. Missionaries encountered deplorable practices, such as sattee and slavery, and outrageous situations of poverty and unequal access to education. Awareness of these conditions led, in turn, to mobilization of people against the evil state of affairs. In this manner, through involvement in the worldwide Baptist missionary endeavour, Baptists such as William Carey (1761-1834) and William Knibb (1803-1845)⁶ came to oppose militarism and to support the cause of peace. One such missionary leader, Francis Wayland (1796-1865), remembered in the United States as biographer of Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) and President of Brown University from 1826-1855, expressed widely-held sentiments in a sermon on *The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise*. Preaching before the Boston Baptist Foreign Missionary Society on 26th October 1823, Wayland made a linkage, common to nineteenth-century missiology, between mission and Christian peacemaking:

. . . our object is to purify the whole earth from abominations [slavery, sattee]. Our object will not have been accomplished till the tomahawk shall be buried forever, and the tree of peace spread its broad branches from the Atlantick [sic], to the Pacifick [sic]; until a thousand smiling villages shall be reflected from the waves of the Missouri, and the distant valleys of the west echo with the song of the reaper; till the wilderness and the solitary place shall have been glad for us, and the desert has rejoiced and blossomed as a rose.⁷

Historians have generally ignored the important peacemaking aspect of the ministry of distinguished Baptist pastors and theologians such as Hall and Wayland. Although neither was an absolute pacifist, both worked for positive peace. For example, Hall helped organize at Cambridge a benevolent society for the relief of the sick, and at Leicester an aged poor and framework knitters' friendly relief society. For his part, Wayland, who served as Vice President (1839-1859, 1861-1865) and President (1859-1861) of the American Peace Society, championed the abolition of slavery. In addition to supporting varied causes, many prominent Baptist pastors were mainstays of the trans-Atlantic peace movement. In the United Kingdom, this included Benjamin Evans (1803-1871), James Hargreaves (1768-1845), Arthur O'Neill (1819-1896),⁸ William Stokes (1802-1882) and Joseph Foules Winks (1792-1866). In the United States this included George Dana Boardman (1823-1903), Henry Holcolm (1762-1824), Edward Judson (1844-1914), Howard Malcolm (1799-1879) and Asa Messer (1769-1836).

In noting only in passing any Baptist interest, historians have given greater place for the organization of early peace societies to the Society of Friends.⁹ In fact,

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in the United Kingdom Quakers did take the first practical steps to set up a peace society in 1814. This led to the establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace, or Peace Society, in London in 1816. Similarly in the United States and Canada, Quakers joined peace societies. On both sides of the Atlantic, this influence remained and remains strong. But Quakers were not alone. Membership in peace societies was nondenominational. Baptists contributed substantially. The balance of this paper explores the Baptist role.

BAPTISTS IN THE BRITISH PEACE SOCIETY

In the United Kingdom during the first phase of the movement (until the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854) we are able to identify many Baptists active in the Peace Society, chiefly thanks to the indefatigable labours of George Pilkington (b.1785), a former officer of the Corps of Royal Engineers who became caught up in the anti-slavery movement. In 1831 he became convinced that, 'the military profession in which I had been engaged was perfectly unlawful to the disciple of Christ, and that all war, whether offensive or defensive, was altogether anti-Christian.'¹⁰ For two years, the Anti-Slavery Society employed Pilkington, sending him to Brazil, Africa and, in 1812, Canada. He left the Anti-Slavery Society to devote himself entirely to the cause of peace. For the next twelve years, the *Annual Reports* of the Peace Society and its publication, *Herald of Peace*, indicate that Pilkington energetically engaged in the work of the peace movement. In the spring of 1834, Captain Pilkington began the first of a series of tours up and down the British Isles, after which he published some two hundred *Testimonies of Ministers, of Various Denominations, Showing the Unlawfulness to Christians of All Wars, Offensive or Defensive*.¹¹ Congregationalists, or Independents, contributed the most testimonies, eighty-six, followed by fifty Baptists. Biographical data are available for all but a handful of these Baptists. Several served as presidents and secretaries of the various chapters of the Peace Society, while others contributed more generally to a growing campaign for new arrangements to resolve international disputes, reduce arms and promote the Christian ideal of benevolence and goodwill to all.

Prominent among those whose peace testimony Pilkington recorded was James Hargreaves. An absolute pacifist, Hargreaves denounced all war and affirmed the sanctity of life. Serving a succession of pastorates at Bolton and Ogden in Lancashire, Little Wild Street in London, where he acknowledged the influence of John Howard, the prison reformer, who was a 'hearer' though not a member of his congregation, and Waltham Abbey in Essex, Hargreaves joined the London Peace Society in 1818. A member for twenty-seven years, he served as its secretary for twenty years, during which period he spoke frequently on peace subjects.¹²

Hargreaves believed that war is contrary to the mind of Christ and the spirit of Christianity, a religion of peace, love and goodwill; that war is always unjust (although both sides claim justice); that alleged war texts of the Bible cannot be used to justify war; that our security is in God alone; that means exist to settle disputes without force of arms; and that the great powers of Europe should establish a Holy League of nations based on such Gospel principles as justice, charity and peace. In a sermon preached early in his career as a member of the Peace Society, Hargreaves described war as 'a heathenish and savage custom of the most malignant, most desolating and most horrible character; the greatest curse and resulting from the grossest delusions, that ever affected a guilty world.'¹³ While such language was common to the period, at times Hargreaves was more original, and more Baptist. He believed, for example, that a connection exists between justification and holiness, and that liberty of conscience should inspire Christians to live out the peaceful tenets of

the Gospel.¹⁴

It was appropriate that the immediate successor of Hargreaves as secretary of the Peace Society was another Baptist, William Stokes of Birmingham.¹⁵ Originally from Wales, Stokes served as pastor of two Strict-Communion Baptist congregations, West Bromwich from 1837-1843 and New Hall Street, Birmingham, from 1843-1846. Later, from 1858-1877, he served a succession of pastoral charges in Lancashire (Bury, Ashton-under-Lyne, Oldham, Rochdale). In 1846 he resigned his connection with New Hall Street to promote projects of the Peace Society, which work he combined with writing about Baptist history and polity.¹⁶

From 1846 until his death in 1882, Stokes was engaged primarily on behalf of the Peace Society. He was principal architect of a succession of peace congresses, held at London in 1843, Brussels in 1848, Paris in 1849, Frankfurt in 1850, London in 1851, and Manchester and Edinburgh in 1853. As Great Britain embarked on its Crimean adventure, this phase of the peace crusade collapsed in the face of frenzied support for colonialism, nationalism and imperialism. Stokes denounced the Crimean War. While this did not, and could not have prevented war in 1854, Stokes drew valuable conclusions about what might have been done with the money spent by England in Crimea, conclusions which, in effect, anticipated by a century the findings of such institutes as World Priorities and Stockholm International Peace Research.

The research and writing undertaken by Stokes fuelled prodigious efforts on behalf of the Peace Society. As its secretary, Stokes wrote extensively, sometimes in poetry, and travelled widely, giving up to two hundred speeches and sermons a year on the subject of peace. Adopting a consistent pacifist position, Stokes condemned warfare, warned about the adverse effects of world military expenditures on society and sought to demonstrate the viability of international arbitration. In this way, he helped the peace movement to recover from its mid-century loss of momentum and to shape its post-war agenda around such issues as controlling the production and trade of deadly armaments and formulating alternative mechanisms for the resolution of disputes. Through his constant barrage of anti-war activity, he formulated a peace position which is still found among contemporary peace advocates.¹⁷

A third British Baptist secretary of the Peace Society was Arthur O'Neill. After beginning medical studies in Glasgow, O'Neill turned to theology and philosophy. He adopted Chartist principles and established in Birmingham a Chartist Congregation. In 1842, during a speech to striking coal miners held at the Cradley Heath Baptist Church, O'Neill was arrested and convicted to a year's imprisonment for seditious language. Thus, from the start of his ministry, O'Neill stood in a radical tradition of religious dissent. With these words he justified his time in jail and encouraged his followers:

I believe in the mysterious ways of God little things are of the greatest importance. I see Jesus washing the disciples' feet; I desire to serve the poor, the sick, the mourning, the ignorant, the aged, and the child . . . Of course the man of the world will say 'This is an obscure life'. Be it so; it is true that the names of such who labour there will not be inscribed in the Book of Fame; but when its pages are worm-eaten . . . their names will be seen . . . in the Lamb's Book of Life . . . A few weeks more I am back once more amongst you . . . Now I desire at my coming no vain display of procession or empty parade to be made. Nothing can give me so much true pleasure as to begin my labours by meeting my dear friends at the prayer meeting at 7:00 on Sabbath morning.¹⁸

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On 3rd May 1846 O'Neill came to Baptist convictions and was baptized by Thomas Swan, another of Pilkington's signatories. O'Neill then baptized his entire congregation in three services at each of three key Birmingham Baptist churches. His Chartist Congregation was reconstituted a Baptist church of sixty members on 28th June 1846. In 1847 it united with the Zion congregation in New Hall Street, where Stokes had served as pastor, and O'Neill remained there as minister until his death in 1896. During this long period of ministry, O'Neill lectured widely. He continued to seek realization of such Chartist principles as universal adult franchise and universal elementary education. He championed other causes: temperance, anti-slavery and diminution of capital punishment. But most especially he devoted himself to the Peace Society as its secretary. Like his Baptist predecessors, this involved lecturing, writing letters and formulating petitions for various bodies. At his death, the *Herald of Peace* remembered O'Neill as an 'heroic figure'.¹⁹

Did the labours of men like Hargreaves, Stokes and O'Neill reflect currents in nineteenth-century British Baptist life, or influence Baptists? Admittedly, this is hard to measure, but the answer seems affirmative. Through sermons, talks, debates and pamphlets, each contributed to the work of the London Peace Society, in part by enlarging its circle of influence among Baptists. Each was recognized as a leader in Baptist life and was received in Baptist circles. For example, the Reverend Benjamin Godwin (1785-1871), known for his support for anti-slavery, Bible, education and mission societies, and the Reverend John Jackson (1792-1856), who served as an agent for the Temperance, Anti-Slavery and Baptist Missionary Societies, acknowledged the impact on them of Hargreaves' preaching for peace. Stokes frequently spoke in Baptist chapels, and O'Neill gave an annual lecture at Cradley Heath Baptist Church until 1892 (paying a small sum to cover heat and lighting).

The Baptist press of the day offers another measure of influence. Baptist periodicals regularly reported Peace Society activities, encouraged dialogue on issues of war and peace, and published peace sermons. At least two Baptist editors championed the cause of peace. The first was Joseph Foulkes Winks,²⁰ From 1839-1860 Winks was unpaid pastor of the Carley Street New Connexion General Baptist Chapel in Leicester and editor of the *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer*. The paper advocated religious and civil liberty and abolition of 'the three great curses: slavery, war and intemperance'. Through editorials, Winks called for the abolition of war and proposed arbitration as the appropriate means to resolve international disputes. However, Winks was not a consistent pacifist. As did many peace advocates in the United States, he ultimately supported war as a necessary evil to achieve the abolition of slavery.

A second editor who supported the Peace Society was a Pilkington signatory, Benjamin Evans, one of the most popular mid-nineteenth-century Baptist journalists.²¹ Like Winks, Evans combined pastoral service with journalism. Through pulpit and press, he supported anti-slavery, anti-poverty, chartism, the rights of women, mission and peace. In his 'pastoral letter', *The Duty of Christians in Relation to War*, written as war clouds in the Crimea threatened to bring a period of forty years' peace to an end, Evans denounced war apologists for pride, ambition and lust for power. He reminded readers that all war exists simply and alone for the destruction of human life. War contradicts the Bible and nature of God. He called upon all Christians to exert every influence they possess to avert the impending calamity and to mitigate the evil when it comes.²² When war did come, he criticized the government for secret diplomacy and called for a speedy return to peace.

Strong statements against war by Baptist leaders suggest that the Peace Society influenced Baptist life. In 1846 the Reverend John Stock (1817-1884) of Chatham published a prize-winning essay, *Is it lawful for a Christian to fight? and What is his*

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duty when called upon so to do by the civil magistrate? From the Bible and Christian history Stock argued that it is the duty of Christians 'when called upon by the civil magistrate to fight . . . firmly and unhesitatingly, to decline obedience, and to persist in this refusal at any sacrifice.'²³

The Reverend Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) opposed the Crimean War and was quoted widely against militarism. In an article, 'War and the Spread of the Gospel', he stated: 'The great crime of war can never promote the religion of peace. The battle and the garment rolled in blood are not a fitting prelude to "peace on earth; goodwill to men." And I do firmly hold that the slaughter of men, that bayonets, and swords, and guns, have never yet been, and never can be promoters of the Gospel.'²⁴ Spurgeon praised the Quaker, George Fox, for his testimony to the abomination of war and urged, 'May the day come when war shall be regarded as the most atrocious of crimes - when for a Christian to take part in it shall be regarded as a most heinous offence! The day may be far distant, but it shall come . . .'²⁵

In addition to these occasional words of leading Baptists were various resolutions. The annual meeting of the Lincoln and Cambridgeshire General Baptist Sunday School Union, held at Fleet on 9th August 1855, resolved unanimously that, 'it is the duty of all Sunday School teachers to set before their children the inconsistency of war with the precepts of the New Testament.' The Baptist Union assemblies of 1878 and 1886 protested against the waste of war and militarism, and in 1879 several associations adopted resolutions against colonial wars in Asia and South Africa.²⁶ As well there were petitions of individual congregations. In 1860 the Mill Yard Seventh Day Baptist Church petitioned Parliament as follows:

Your petitioners are wholly adverse to the custom and practice of War, believing it to be a combination of the greatest of crimes and on the largest scale; and they consider [the proposal of spending 12,000,000 Pounds sterling for fortifications] as tending to disturb the peace of the world, to provoke the aggression which it propos to prevent, and to increase heavy burdens already borne by the nation for military and naval expenditure. Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray . . . not to make any grant of public money for additional Fortifications, nor to sanction any loans or create any annuities for such an unwise and wicked purpose.²⁷

While such resolutions may have had to do with the political sentiments of Baptists towards specific governments, they reveal widespread pacifist and peace convictions. The Peace Society influenced many Baptists to search both conscience and the Bible and to discover therein the basis for the nineteenth-century peace crusade more generally. While Baptists did not universally join the Peace Society, many did, while others joined more general movements for social reform. In this manner, they came to a conception of peace as the absence, not simply of war, but also of all that contributes to war. The way was prepared for the rise of the nonconformist conscience and the most sustained effort by Baptists anywhere against a specific war, the Anglo-Boer War of 1900-1902.²⁸

The nineteenth-century peace crusade was a trans-Atlantic affair. In the United States and Canada, as well as in the United Kingdom, Baptists participated in peace societies. Baptist periodicals, as well as the publications of North American peace societies, regularly reported peace activities of British Baptists, but sometimes the links were more direct. Pilkington recorded the testimony of at least one North American Baptist peacemaker, Nathaniel Paul (d.1839). Originally a Baptist pastor in Albany, New York, in 1830 Paul moved to Canada as one of twenty-five black

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settlers at Wilberforce community, the first of several black settlements in Canada West (now Ontario). Paul established himself as a leader in the community which, in 1832, commissioned Paul to go to England as its agent to raise funds to build schools and churches. He was successful in this undertaking and persuaded the prominent abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), to join him in England. Together they championed what they called 'the Gospel of Peace'. Again, it was a Baptist who took the lead in connecting peace and other issues. Paul recognized that to work for peace is to work for justice.

CONCLUSION

Nineteenth-century British Baptists who joined the peace crusade provide a crucial link between early and contemporary Baptist peacemakers. This essay helps us to identify key factors in interpreting the Baptist peacemaking tradition. What motivated nineteenth-century Baptists to become active in the Peace Society? Most came to concern for peace out of their reading of the Bible. As Baptists, they argued the case for pacifism or positive peace on the basis of Scripture, as well as other Baptist distinctives: freedom of conscience, the competence of individuals to decide matters of faith and discipleship for themselves, the need to manifest the Christian life through responsible social action. At least one - O'Neill - had conversion experiences which turned him to active peacemaking.

Nineteenth-century Baptist peacemakers manifested a variety of paradigms for peacemaking: conscientious objection to specific wars (for example, the opposition of Spurgeon to the Crimean War) or to all wars; human rights and racial justice (most Baptist peace advocates were abolitionists); protest against military spending (for example, Stokes); transforming initiatives in such areas as mission, education, temperance and women's rights; civil disobedience (at least implicit in John Stock). In language, such as liberation and structural violence, anticipating theological issues prominent today, nineteenth-century Baptist peacemakers advocated the rights of the powerless, challenged the growth of empires, condemned the misdirection of resources by nation-states and called for spiritual renewal rooted in following the peaceful ways of Jesus Christ.

By contrast with such figures as Richard Cobden (1804-1865), Henry Richard (1812-1888), Noah Worcester (1758-1837), William Lloyd Garrison and Elihu Burritt (1810-1877), and with only one exception, Francis Wayland,²⁹ none of the Baptist figures mentioned in this essay were dominant personalities within the nineteenth-century peace crusade, or society as a whole. Neither as individuals, nor collectively, did they prevent any war from erupting, bring any war to an end, or break the momentum leading the world to the catastrophe of the Great War. Why then should we give them attention? This essay has demonstrated that nineteenth-century Baptist peace advocates shared the ethos of the peace movement and contributed constructively to shaping its agenda and realizing its programme. What began nearly two hundred years ago as the effort of a few individuals and isolated groups in three English-speaking societies grew into an international movement which had specific accomplishments: treaties of arbitration, an international outlook, the World Court, the League of Nations, and a religious perspective known in Britain as the nonconformist conscience. In North America, it generated the social gospel movement. More generally, the nineteenth-century peace crusade generated ideas which now find their way into public debate, moral standards which governments ignore at peril, and institutions which may one day replace the institutions of war. It remains to be seen whether political will exists necessary to solve the problems of war, nationalism, and misdirection of global resources required to halt the cycle of

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poverty, injustice and environmental degradation. These problems threaten both the quality and possible continuance of human life. Nineteenth-century Baptist advocates of the peaceable kingdom were 'prisoners of hope', in Zechariah's arresting phrase, for whom a humble messiah, riding on an ass, banishes weapons and brings freedom. We do well to follow in His and their pathways of peace.

APPENDIX

LIST OF BAPTIST MINISTERS LISTED IN PILKINGTON'S DOCUMENT

J. S. Bunce , Devizes, Wilts, 24 April 1834	John Williams , East Dereham, 26 June 1835
J. O. Mitchell , Tetbury, 12 May 1834	James Galpine , Bishop Stortford, 3 July 1835
William Lush , Calne, 18 May 1834	Godfrey Pike , Stoke Newington, 1 September 1835
Phillip Cater , Bath, 23 May 1834	Nathl. Paul , London, 24 September 1835
John Jackson , Bath, 23 May 1834	Wm. Stephens , Rochdale, 13 November 1835
E. A. Claypole , Ross, 28 June 1834	Wm. Leng , Stockton, 22 December 1835
Thos. Swan , Birmingham, 12 July 1834	Hugh Anderson , Maryport, 15 January 1836
William Catton , Chipping Norton, 15 July 1834	W. G. Lewis , Chatham, 13 February 1836
Joseph Hobbs , Berkhamstead, 29 July 1834	J. S. Thompson , Carlisle, 17 April 1836
R. Stockt , Castle Donnington, 22 August 1834	Thos. Frearson , Tottlebank
W. Hawkins , Derby, 22 August 1834	S. Blyth , Ravenglass, 27 April 1836
W. Brown , Shefford, 12 September 1834	W. Procter , Lancaster, 4 May 1836
John Jenkinson , Kettering, 16 September 1834	John Spooner , Barnoldswick, 15 May 1836
John Howarth , Tarporley, 3 October 1834	William Wilkinson , Earby, 16 May 1836
James Peggs , Late Missionary of Orissa (Baptist), Coventry, 15 October 1834	James Buck , Bedale, 24 August 1836
John Edmund Simmons , Bluntishaw, 24 February 1835	F. Johnston , Boroughbridge, 9 September 1836
J. Jonés , March, 26 February 1835	Peter Scott , Shipley, 22 October 1836
B. Evans , Scarborough, 9 April 1835	B. Godwin , Bradford, 26 October 1836
L. Fordham , Gamlingay, 11 May 1835	I. Moore , J. Harvey, J. Spark, Baptist College, Bradford, 26 October 1836
Enoch Manning , Gamlingay, 12 May 1835	W. Giles , Burton-Hall School, 22 November 1836
S. Marston , Grimsby, 26 May 1835	S. Benham , Rickmansworth, 20 December 1836
D. Jones , Horncastle, 2 June 1835	James Hargreaves , Waltham Abbey, 7 February 1837
J. Brooks , 18 October 1835	
D. Thompson , Foulsham, 24 June 1835	
George Ward , Tittleshall, 24 June 1835	
Wm. Goddard , Houghton, Leicestershire, 25 June 1835	

NOTES

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2. As a Biblical ideal, the phrase suggests wholeness; balance; integrity; harmony between people, the natural world and the Creator. For contemporary Christians, it is a way of living

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justly and non-violently with others and with the natural world.

I owe the phrase to Baptist pastor and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Dr Martin Luther King, Jr., 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail', *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings*, ed. James M. Washington, San Francisco: 1986. The concept has wide usage by contemporary peace analysts. For example, Kenneth E. Boulding, *Stable Peace*, Austin, 1979, p.5, sees positive peace as a skill in the management of conflict and the development of a larger order than that which involves warring parties; Ronald J. Glossop, *Confronting War: An Examination of Humanity's Most Pressing Problem*, Jefferson and London, 1983, p.9, uses the phrase to describe a situation in which there is no exploitation of some individuals or groups by others.

3. This essay is part of a larger study, see Paul R. Dekar, 'Baptist Peacemakers', *Seek Peace and Pursue It*, ed. W. Wayne Pipkin, Memphis: Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America, and Ruschlikon: Institute for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies, 1989, and the subsequent series in *Atlantic Baptist*, May 1989-; Dekar, 'Envoys of Peace: Canadian Baptist Women Missionaries as Peacemakers', *Costly Vision: The Baptist Pilgrimage in Canada*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman, Burlington, 1988. Also see Reid D. Trulson, 'Baptist Pacifism', Marquette University doctoral thesis in progress.
4. Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience*, New Brunswick, 1978, p.36; eds. Charles Chatfield and Peter van den Dungen, *Peace Movements and Political Cultures*, Knoxville, 1988; Sandi E. Cooper, 'Peace Movements of the Nineteenth Century', *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, 2:230; Christina Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1930.
5. Robert Hall, 'Reflections on War', *The Works of Robert Hall, A.M.*, ed. Olinthus Gregory, 1832, 1:105-106, 121.
6. '... in all our opposition, we wish it to be understood, that we use no weapons but those of calm reason and of deliberate thought, and the putting out (as men have a right to do) the free expression of our opinions. We wish not to obtain the alteration of anything by physical force; we wish only to establish in all their omnipotence the eternal principles of justice, assured that they will do the work.' J. H. Hinton, *Memoirs of William Knibb*, 1847, p.485.
7. Francis Wayland, *The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise*, Boston, 1824, p.11.
8. Spelling variants: O'Neal, O'Neill.
9. Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914*, Princeton 1972, pp.378,392; A. C. F. Beales, *The History of Peace*, New York, 1971 (orig. 1931), pp.48, 52; Merle Eugene Curti, *The American Peace Crusade 1815-1860*, New York, 1965 (orig. 1928), pp.9, 14.
10. George Pilkington, *The Doctrine of Particular Providence; or the Divine Guardianship over the Most Minute Concerns of Man, Illustrated and Defended in Biographical Reminiscences*, London, 1836, p.68.
11. London, 1837. Appendix A lists Baptist pastors, places of ministry and dates of testimony in George Pilkington's anthology.
12. *Herald of Peace* 4, n.s. (October 1845): 364; *Dictionary of National Biography* 8:1265. Philip J. Saffrey, 'Memoir of the Late Rev. James Hargeaves', *Baptist Magazine*, April, May 1847: 196-201, 273-277, provides biographical detail.
13. James Hargeaves, *Universal and Permanent Peace a Desirable Object*, London, 1818, preface.
14. James Hargeaves, *The Connexion between Free Justification and Holiness of Heart and Life*, Rochdale, 1820; *Hints on the Nature of a Christian Church and on the Principles of Dissent*, London, 1823. For other sermons, *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace*, 1833: 32-35 (hereafter cited as *Annual Report*); *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer* 2, n.s. (1845): 343-346.
15. *Herald of Peace* 4, n.s. (October 1845): 363, announced Hargeaves' death and Stokes' appointment.
16. William Stokes, *History of Baptists; and Their Principles, Century by Century to the Present Time*, Manchester, 1863; id. *The History of the Midland Association of Baptist Churches*, London 1855. He also published pamphlets on Baptist history.
17. William Stokes, 'The Eastern Question', *Herald of Peace* 2, n.s. (September 1853): 270 and 3 (September 1854): 110; id., *British War History during the Present Century*, 1869, and regular reports in *Herald of Peace* and the *Annual Reports of the Peace Society*. cf. Stephen Frick, 'Joseph Sturge, Henry Richard and the *Herald of Peace*: Pacifist Response to the Crimean War', Cornell University Ph.D. thesis, 1971; Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, annual since 1975. For a collection of Stokes' poetry, *The Olive-Branch; or Poems of Peace, Liberty, Friendship*, Manchester 1863.
18. Arthur S. Langley, *Birmingham Baptists Past and Present*, London, 1939, p.152. I am indebted to Alan Betteridge for this reference.
19. *Herald of Peace* 25, n.s. (June 1896): 76.
20. *Obituary, Baptist Handbook* 1867, p.139.
21. *Obituaries, Baptist Handbook* 1872, pp.213-8; *Baptist Magazine* January 1872, pp.24-36. Also see Kenneth R. Short, 'Benjamin Evans, D.D. and the Radical Press, 1826-1871', *BQ* 19, 1962, pp.243-52.
22. Leeds, 1854.
23. Newcastle, 1846. Emphasis in text. *Obituary, Baptist Handbook* 1885, pp.157-159. Like Francis Wayland in the USA and Joseph Foulkes Winks in the UK, Stock supported the Northern cause during the US Civil War as a necessary evil to achieve the abolition of slavery. For his later views, see Michael Ball, 'A North American Journey: The Reverend John Stock and the American Churches, May-June 1867', *BQ* 33, 1989, pp.133-45.
24. *Herald of Peace* 4, n.s. (October 1857): 257. In *Baptist Views on War and Peace*, Baptist Union

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- 1969, p.11, H. F. Lorkin attributes this statement to Spurgeon's lecture **DE PROPAGANDA FIDEI**.
25. *Herald of Peace* 9, n.s. (January 1867): 155.
26. *Herald of Peace* 4, n.s. (April 1856), p.4; Lorkin, p.11; *Herald of Peace* 16, n.s. (July 1879): 268-269 provides the text of eleven such resolutions and mentions another fifteen.
27. Reprinted from *Peace-Beat*, newsletter of the Seventh Day Baptist Peace Fellowship, vol.5 (nos.1 and 2), 1988, p.3.
28. This is to be the subject of a successor article.
29. The only nineteenth-century Baptist with an entry in Harold Josephson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*, Westport, 1985. King and Rauschenbusch are mentioned among twentieth-century peace leaders.

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SOCIETY NEWS

ANNUAL MEETING This will take place at 4.30 p.m. on Monday, 22nd April 1991 in the Purbeck Lounge of the Bournemouth Conference Centre. The Annual Lecture will be given by Mr J. H. Y. Briggs, MA, FSA, FRHistS, on 'Evangelical Ecumenism: the amalgamation of General and Particular Baptists in 1891'.

SUMMER SCHOOL The Society will hold a Summer School at Regent's Park College, Oxford, from Friday, 28th June, to Sunday, 30th June 1991. Contributors will include Dr W. M. S. West - continuing the story of the Revd M. E. Aubrey, Dr Rosie Chadwick, and Dr Grant Gordon. It is hoped that Dr John Walsh will give a lecture. The resources of the Angus Library will be made available by the archivist, Mrs Sue Mills. Fuller details should already have reached all members.

BOOKS AVAILABLE In addition to the full range of the Society's own publications, the Treasurer still has a few copies of Leon McBeth's *The Baptist Heritage*, price £20, and the accompanying *Source Book for Baptist Heritage*, price £17.50.

THE PAYNE MEMORIAL ESSAY COMPETITION 1991 The Society offers a prize of £75 for an essay on the theme 'Mission: Home and Overseas', chosen with the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society in mind. The essay may be an historical or contemporary study, theological or historical in treatment, and may focus on activities overseas or on home mission or home support. The essay should be an original, unpublished composition, based on personal research, that has not already been awarded another prize. The text, in typescript or clear computer print-out, should not exceed 10,000 words, plus any footnotes and bibliography considered necessary. There is no restriction of academic qualification, place of residence or religious profession on candidates. The winning essay, and any other deemed worthy, will be published in *The Baptist Quarterly*. The Society reserves the right to make no award if an essay of sufficient merit is not submitted. Candidates should send their essays to arrive on or before 31st December 1991. Envelopes should be marked 'Payne Memorial Essay Competition' and addressed to The Secretary, Baptist Historical Society, Bristol Baptist College, Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1UN.

The Payne Memorial Essay Competition commemorates the life and work of the Revd Dr E. A. Payne CH (1902-80), General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, a Vice-President of the World Council of Churches and President of this Society.