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TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITISH BAPTIST CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

INTRODUCTION

In Baptist circles and more widely during this century, British Baptist pacifists have witnessed against war and served as a leaven for healing among the nations.¹ It may help to identify three broad periods of developing British Baptist action and thought for peace. First, during the seventeenth century, the concept of non-resistance appeared in Baptist confessions of faith and in the writings of several Baptists. Amidst intermittent persecution and sporadic warfare, some Baptists voiced their commitment to put into practice Jesus' teaching regarding love of enemies. Some declared their willingness to suffer or even die rather than to retaliate. Some refused to bear arms. Among the radical ideas put forward by followers of John Smyth was the conviction that they should follow the unarmed and unweaponed, cross-bearing footsteps of Jesus.

A second stage emerged during the Napoleonic wars. Baptists exhibited a great deal of peace activity. After 1815, more and more British Baptists campaigned for peace by attending meetings, signing petitions, writing and preaching. Many joined the Peace Society. Some believed all wars are contrary to the gospel of Christ or 'mind of Christ'. Others opposed offensive wars or worked for peace through voluntary societies which sought the abolition of slavery, the end of *sati* and other reforms. After the Crimean War of 1854-56, the peace ideal came to be intertwined with growing internationalism. Worldwide, Baptists and other delegates met at over two hundred gatherings to discuss peace. Generally, they communicated belief in the possibility of securing an end of war or, at least, limiting the horrors of war when they occurred.

A third stage emerged between 1899-1902, during the Anglo-Boer War. Baptists became more militant, protesting against the war and giving direction to efforts to prevent future wars. During the First World War, Baptist conscientious objectors and pacifists, such as Muriel Lester,² expressed principled opposition to all war and championed a more visionary peace testimony.

BRITISH BAPTISTS CONFRONT CONSCRIPTION

Decades after other European nations had introduced mandatory military service, the British armed forces remained voluntary. Memory of the press gangs and coercive Militia Acts of the Napoleonic Wars served until this century as a deterrent to introduction of conscription. After the Anglo-Boer War, a powerful aristocratic-military lobby began to campaign for conscription. In 1902 a National Service League formed. In 1904 the Norfolk Royal Commission advocated a year's conscription for home defence. The Territorial and Reserve Forces Act (1907) extended the scope of voluntary training and enabled some patriotic employers to encourage employees to offer their services for defence training. Subsequently, the government introduced virtually every year a bill intending to expand the scope of the act. Each failed until 1916 when conscription came into force.³

Whenever war has broken out, Christians have confronted the need to examine conscience and loyalty. The First World War proved no exception. On 4 August 1914, the outbreak of the First World War shattered the hopes and illusions of Baptists such as John Clifford (1836-1923) and James Henry Rushbrooke (1870-1947), who had opposed the Anglo-Boer War and the military build-up which preceded the Great War. They had worked for international peace, but they were not pacifists. When war erupted, they were swept along by a wave of patriotic fever.

Generally, most Baptists reconciled their consciences to the necessity of war. In some measure, they responded within the framework of traditional just war thinking. Germany's invasion of Belgium warranted a response of self-defence. 'War is anti-Christian', John Clifford told his Westbourne Park congregation, but this was a fight between 'the forces of freedom and those of slavery. . . The progress of humanity in my judgement hinges upon this war. . . We were forced into it'. The words 'Hear, hear' could be heard around the chapel.⁴ Another prominent pastor, Charles Brown, stated to the annual Baptist assembly,

My hope. . . is that out of this unparalleled slaughter and destruction, this good will come, that every nation will be made so sick of war as to determine that war shall be no more, and that those who incite to it shall be regarded as the greatest enemies of their kind.⁵

Many Baptist churches opened their facilities as recruitment centres. Pastors who served as chaplains occupied a place of honour at Baptist assemblies. Support for conscription grew.

Initially, the military secured sufficient voluntary resources for the war machine. The threat of conscription increased as the response diminished. The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the No Conscription Fellowship (NCF) formed to meet this threat by attempting to mobilize opposition to conscription. When these efforts failed, and the Military Service Act received royal assent on 27 January 1916, FOR and NCF members turned their attention to the treatment of conscientious objectors (COs).

The FOR emerged from the beginnings of the ecumenical movement and from friendships engendered by contacts between British and European Christians. Despite the deteriorating international situation, important relationships existed. For example, on the eve of the First World War, Henry Theodore Hodgkin (1877-1933), a Quaker and medical missionary doctor, and Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze (1885-1969), pastor at Potsdam and chaplain to the Kaiser, attended a conference at Constance establishing the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the churches. As Hodgkin departed from England, Siegmund-Schultze declared, 'Whatever happens, nothing is changed between us. We are one in Christ and can never be at war'.⁶

Siegmund-Schultze soon faced the death penalty in Germany for his pronouncements on the war. For his part, Hodgkin returned to England and drafted a 'Message to Men and Women of Goodwill'. A Meeting for Sufferings of the Society of Friends accepted this statement with a few modifications and issued it on 7 August 1914. Nine newspapers carried the announcement as a paid advertisement, and copies circulated as a pamphlet in Britain and Germany. The document urged Christians to

examine the basis on which to construct a better order of society.

In late December 1914, 130 persons gathered to discuss how to respond to war. The conference concluded,

1. That Love, as revealed and interpreted in the life and death of Jesus Christ, involves more than we have yet seen, that it is the only power by which evil can be overcome, and the only sufficient basis of human society.
2. That, in order to establish a world-order based on Love, it is incumbent upon those who believe in this principle to accept it fully, both for themselves and in their relation to others, and to take the risks involved in doing so in a world which does not as yet accept it.
3. That, therefore, as Christians, we are forbidden to wage war, and that our loyalty to our country, to humanity, to the Church Universal, and to Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master, calls us instead to a life service for the enthronement of Love in personal, social, commercial and national life.
4. That the Power, Wisdom and Love of God stretch far beyond the limits of our present experience, and that He is ever waiting to break forth into human life in new and larger ways.
5. That since God manifests Himself in the world through men and women, we offer ourselves to His redemptive purpose, to be used by Him in whatever way He may reveal to us.⁷

This declaration became the basis of FOR witness to peace in Britain. As an explicitly Christian statement, it could not serve as the only vehicle of pacifism. In 1914 a second organization, parallel to the FOR, was formed. The No Conscription Fellowship drew support from the socialist Independent Labour Party and from various traditionally libertarian, pacifist and political groups.⁸

The Bill authorizing conscription included provision for COs to do alternative military service or work of national importance under civilian authority. Overall, there were 16,500 COs. The largest number of religious objectors were Christadelphians, Jehovah's Witnesses, Plymouth Brethren and Quakers. The total number of Baptist COs was small. According to one study, tribunals which assessed cases involving civilian service reviewed the cases of seventy-three Baptists.⁹ At least fifteen Baptists served prison terms. In other categories there probably were several hundred Baptist COs and a larger number of pacifists.

One was Edwin Foley (1877-1972).¹⁰ Foley trained at Midland College and entered his first pastorate in Lincolnshire. Over the next twenty-five years he served five churches. When the First World War broke out, he was minister at Shephed, a small town near Loughborough. Preaching against the war, he lost the support of his congregation and had to change pastoral charge. Undaunted, he joined the FOR and sought unsuccessfully to organize a Baptist pacifist chapter of the FOR. For the rest of his life, Foley was a determined campaigner for peace. Called in 1937 to Spurgeon Memorial Church in Guernsey, Foley helped secure demilitarization of the Channel Islands during the Second World War.

Another leading Baptist pacifist during the First World War was Herbert Dunnico (1876-1953). Between 1902-1916, Dunnico served pastorates at Golborne Street, Warrington, and Kensington Chapel, Liverpool. From 1916-1953 Dunnico served as secretary of the century-old Peace Society. He used the position to fight conscription and, after the war, to speak on behalf of the cause of peace. Between 1922 and 1931 Dunnico represented Consett as Labour Member of Parliament. While the Peace Society later abandoned pacifism, during the First World War Dunnico encouraged Christian pacifists.¹¹

Even if there were relatively few Baptist COs, stories of ill-treatment of COs elicited memories of persecution of Baptists by the state. A few eminent Baptists courageously supported COs even though they did not share their position. For example, on 25 May 1916, the *Leader* published a letter defending the rights of COs; signatories included Baptist leaders, Frederick Brotherton Meyer and John Clifford.¹² In 1916 Meyer put forward a proposal designed to improve the position of absolutists (those who refused to co-operate in any way with the military) by providing for revision of possible exemptions given objectors, many of whom served harsh prison terms. In 1917 Meyer published a nineteen-page pamphlet, *The Majesty of Conscience*. Meyer eloquently summarized Baptist principles of soul-liberty and separation of church and state:

Conscience is the supreme authority on Right and Wrong. It is the vicegerent of the Eternal Throne. It is a replica, in miniature, of the great white throne. . . It demands from all the court of faculties that stand around its throne, the homage due to a king. Even when it is dethroned, disgraced, mocked, silenced, and consigned to the dungeon, it never abdicates - it never withdraws its claims. Men instinctively recognise them, and do them homage. Joseph's brethren spluttered, but his dreams came true.¹³

Meyer went on to appeal to the government to modify the procedures of tribunals and to free those in prison. According to statistics cited by Meyer from NCF sources, there were 337 men of religious standing in prison. He affirmed their right to hold their views and expressed agreement with their long-term objective, to abolish war by universal accord.

During the war, such arguments had limited appeal. The government and general public reacted strongly against pacifists. To a nation which lost 745,000 servicemen, the plight of the pacifist engendered little pity. Pacifists suffered, notably absolutists who went to prison. At least nine died, due in part to prison conditions. While conscientious objectors could claim few successes, their cause was not without achievement. They stood firm against the hysteria of war. They held to a vision of a better world. Their treatment engendered a reaction which led to more favourable treatment of COs during the Second World War.

BRITISH BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

While an attempt to organize a Baptist pacifist group failed during the First World

War, the idea did not disappear. In 1929 the Revd William Henry Haden inquired about forming a 'Baptist Ministers' Peace Movement'.¹⁴ Receiving more than three hundred encouraging letters, Haden asked to speak to the pastoral sessions of the Baptist Union at its 1930 annual meetings. He received a place on the agenda in the following year. In 1932 the pastoral session resolved to form a Baptist ministers' peace group. A steering committee, including Haden and at least one future Baptist Union President, Frank Colin Bryan,¹⁵ took responsibility to circulate peace literature to pastors. In 1934 a Baptist Ministers' Pacifist Fellowship was formally constituted with 580 members paying a subscription of one shilling.

The British Baptist Pacifist Fellowship (BBPF) emerged from these first steps. In 1935 the pastoral group opened its membership to all Baptists and adopted the present covenant: 'We, members and adherents of Baptist Churches, covenant together to renounce war in all its works and ways; and to do all in our power, God helping us, to make the teaching of Jesus Christ effective in all human relations.'¹⁶

During the 1930s the BBPF regularly met during the annual meetings of the Baptist Union. General assemblies of the Baptist Union adopted anti-war resolutions. For example, in 1936 the assembly agreed to a motion that, 'modern war means the organized killing of men, women and children on a wide scale, and is manifestly contrary to the will of God'. In 1937 another motion called for international friendship.¹⁷ Baptist congregations adopted similar resolutions. For example, at meetings held in March and April 1935, members of Queen's Road Baptist Church, Coventry, approved motions calling on the government to pursue a vigorous policy of disarmament and collective security, and affirming that 'reliance on Armed Force can neither be reconciled with our Master's Law of Love, nor give the world peace'.¹⁸

BBPF membership increased to 700 members by the eve of war. This did not mean that all Baptist pacifists were members of the BBPF. By formal agreement, all members of the BBPF were members of the FOR. But a Baptist could be a member of the FOR without joining the denominational pacifist group. Baptists joined the Peace Pledge Union, League of Nations Union and other groups. Some chose to work primarily through political parties.

Pacifism in general, and Christian pacifism in particular, has never been a unitary phenomenon. Reading minutes, resolutions, sermons and general literature from the period prior to the Second World War, one discerns five features of Baptist peace witness.

First, Baptist peace activists held an optimistic view of the goodness of human beings. This shaped their principal approach to peacemaking, education. By appealing to the teachings of Jesus and to reason, they sought to win co-religionists to the cause.

Second, Baptist peace activists focused on issues of individual conscience. As the world situation worsened, Baptist peace-makers directed attention more to issues such as conscientious objection and military chaplaincy, than to the question of how to prevent the war which loomed on the horizon.

Third, the BBPF had no uniform political programme or set of political objectives. The BBPF gave some attention to the broad political context in its response to a

committee's report examining the denomination's attitude to war.¹⁹ The BBPF warned about the danger of government military spending and advocated a strengthened League of Nations through creation of peacekeeping forces.

Fourth, successive BBPF chairpersons stressed the need for a practical pacifism. For example, in 1937 Howard Ingle James, pastor of Queen's Road Baptist Church, Coventry, from 1931 to 1943, gave an address entitled 'Christian Pacifism, the Only Way Out'. He stressed that Christian pacifism offered the world real salvation and the church a door of hope. He encouraged members of Queen's Road Baptist Church to illustrate the dimension of positive peace through compassionate, progressive service. James helped form a group, Pathfinders of Peace. Among early members were Rene Beasley (1912-1990) and John and Thelma Humphrey. They studied issues of peace and international affairs and, during the Second World War, went before the tribunals as conscientious objectors. Their pacifism never became detached from immediate concerns of people. They assisted labourers, the poor and young people affected by the depression.²⁰

Finally, Baptist peacemakers stressed a spiritual basis of their witness. They emphasized Bible study, prayer and repentance. Through the International Fellowship of Reconciliation they forged a world network of peaceful people. Many supported Gandhi's method of non-violent struggle and developed in Britain by figures such as Muriel Lester and Dick Sheppard (1880-1937), who as vicar of St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, was associated with two developments among pacifists, the peace army and Peace Pledge Union.

Generally during the Second World War, members of the BBPF did not debate whether the war was just. Rather, they had to make a grim choice between two evils, to identify with a nation whose fate hung in the balance, or to live with the wrenching consequences of following their conscience. While some pacifists modified their beliefs or defected from the pacifist position altogether, many leading pacifists remained steadfast. With the encouragement of leading pacifists, such as Vera Brittain, Muriel Lester, Charles Raven and Donald Soper, specifically religious groups such as the BBPF grew during the war. Pacifists bore individual witness but characteristically took care not to appear subversive. When they expressed their faith in public, pacifists appealed for a negotiated peace, attacked Allied bombing practices or urged humanitarian measures, such as controlled food relief for women and children suffering from starvation in Europe.

During the Second World War, 60,000 persons went before tribunals as conscientious objectors. Even though they were not subject to conscription, some were women. In contrast with the First World War, those who objected on religious and ethical grounds received relatively more lenient treatment. When supported by a letter attesting to the honesty of the applicant's beliefs, an objector declaring, 'I conscientiously object to taking up arms because it is contrary to the laws of God. Christ teaches us to love our enemies and I must not disobey his word, cannot take that which I cannot give, namely life', was likely to convince a tribunal of his or her sincerity. Pacifists still had to face the possibility of imprisonment or, as indicated by

the experience of Gladys Portis and her husband-to-be Arthur Portis, abuse in the community:

I registered as a C.O. but was never called, which mystified me, as it was against Government Regulations for any Civil Servant to be reserved. I can only think that as so many Clerical Assistants had been replaced by local temporary staff. . . Clerical Officers were needed to oversee them, and these were scarce. When my registration became known in the office I was shunned for about a month, until they all cooled down.

My fiancé - from my own Church - went before a Tribunal and was given land work. He served for five years. . . although we had a conscience clause in this country, there was no provision for a medical examination. Many fit men helped out their weaker brothers who couldn't possibly cope alone. Arthur's brother, an involved & working pacifist, supported by his non-pacifist vicar, was struck off and imprisoned. My husband-to-be was disliked by my parents because of his views. . . After marriage we were disliked by neighbours, most of them knew about Arthur and his brother John. . . Many lost their jobs or any chance of advancement. Ours was the latter case.²¹

Baptist COs generally opted to do non-combatant military service or alternative service of national importance in coal mining, agriculture, forestry or hospital service. In one report, the South-West tribunal revealed that of 4,056 cases heard in 1942, seventy-one per cent objected on religious grounds; 187 were Baptist. Another survey recorded eleven Baptists serving with the Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units.²² Three examples of service rendered by long-time BBPF members must suffice. Cyril Rusbridge, now a retired Baptist pastor, worked the land and helped to build a sea wall at Lymington in Hampshire. Tom Slade, a retired civil servant, worked on an ambulance unit. Derek Deavin, a retired transit station attendant and lay preacher, served as a hospital porter. Each felt strongly that they could take no part in armed conflict. Each has continued to uphold Christian pacifism through the BBPF, FOR and local congregations.²³

As during the First World War, the precise number of Baptist pacifists was difficult to ascertain. Conscription exempted many categories, such as ministers of religion, women, and those in reserved occupations, with the result that conscientious objectors accounted for only some members of the BBPF. The war engulfed everyone. Because of its location in Coventry, a city of strategic importance, Queen's Road Baptist Church served the nation irrespective of the specific beliefs of members. Part of the building was used for the war cause, and more members served by doing alternative service or working in reserved occupations than those who actually fought overseas.

During the war, the BBPF attempted to assist COs in several ways. Through meetings and correspondence, members provided a support network. On 12 December 1944, members called upon Baptists to set aside a Sunday to pray for peace and to remember the peace witness of the BBPF. At Baptist assemblies and congregational meetings, resolutions kept pacifist issues before the denomination. As the Second World War came to an end, BBPF members faced the terrifying costs of the war and

new moral challenges.

TOWARDS A WIDER VISION - THE BAPTIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

After the war, the BBPF shared in the post-war marches and debates over such issues as Britain's nuclear weapons programme, post-war conscription and arms sales. The Cold War confronted members with a different sort of conflict. Except during the Korean conflict, conscientious objection diminished as an issue, although conscription remained in place until 1960. More pressing than the issue of military service was the ominous threat posed by growing nuclear arsenals. In 1957 and 1958, motions put to the annual Baptist Union assembly calling for Britain to abandon nuclear tests unilaterally were defeated. In 1961 a resolution based on the BBPF covenant was defeated by a substantial vote.²⁴

Despite these discouraging defeats, the BBPF sought to strengthen its witness in three broad areas. One was education. The BBPF produced literature, including a newsletter, and organized information tables and meetings at annual Baptist assemblies. In 1969 Peter Lorkin, a pastor and secretary of the BBPF at the time, published a pamphlet, *Baptist Views on War and Peace*, in a 'Living Issues' series of the denomination. He urged all Baptists, whatever their specific views on the personal issue of pacifism, not to ignore the issue of war. He called on Baptists to 'speak and act, pray and give with far greater urgency, sacrifice and awareness' to build a more peaceful world by adopting methods of non-violent resistance and by bridging the gulf between haves and have-nots.²⁵ As an organization, and as individuals, the BBPF undertook initiatives in a number of areas, including international arms sales, disarmament, Welsh nationalism, and British presence in Northern Ireland. In 1984, after the Falklands-Malvinas Conflict, it helped organize a delegation which went to Argentina on a mission of reconciliation.²⁶

Finally, the organization sought to broaden its membership base. Conscription, conscientious objection and military chaplaincy remained issues, especially during the Korean conflict, but it sought to recruit more laity, more women and more youth. New, contentious issues emerged. For example, some older members have insisted that the BBPF remain a Christian pacifist organization. One consequence has been a loosening of ties with the British FOR, which has begun to follow the lead of the International FOR by reaching out to non-Christian members. In 1989 the BBPF modified its constitution by creating an associate membership for non-pacifist Baptists who had broad sympathy with the Covenant and shared the concern of the BBPF for issues of peace and justice.²⁷ In 1991 BBPF membership stood at around eight hundred. The generation which struggled against conscription had largely died, but a younger generation, buoyed by the rise of an international Baptist peace movement, is continuing to struggle for peace without resort to weapon or war.

In some respects, the prospects for realizing this dream are not bright. War continues to be a reality, as evidenced by the Persian Gulf conflict. As the crisis unfolded in late 1990, BBPF members attending its annual conference declared, 'Our

prayer is that in the name of God there should be no war in the Gulf.' Many Baptists prayed for peace, and some joined in prayer and protest after war broke out on 16 January 1991. At least one Baptist was a conscientious objector, Michael Cheong, a member of the Eden Baptist Church, Cambridge, a Strict Baptist church not in the Baptist Union of Great Britain. He has become a member of the BBPF administrative committee.²⁸

CONCLUSION

During the 1930s the journal of the British FOR, *Reconciliation*, characterized its mandate as 'looking towards a Christian world'. In 1930 an article by the Congregationalist minister, Cecil Cadoux, elaborated on what this meant as working for the healing among the nations. He depicted FOR members as having embarked upon realization of Christ's healing impulse, removing all obstacles which exist between people and which separate people from the love of God. He recalled the witness of early Christians who sought to follow Jesus by seeking to cure the manifold diseases of the day and concluded by stating that it rests for us to make that dream a reality.²⁹

British Baptist pacifists have been an instrument of healing among the nations. They have protested against war, joined in vigils, candlelight processions, worship, meetings, and myriad other activity. During the Persian Gulf War, many renewed the prophetic witness of earlier generations of pacifists. Consistently, their witness has been that no war is ever acceptable to God, that war is never an option, that war has never brought peace, and that, when wars have ended, in the words of one long-time member, 'now we pray that the more difficult task of winning the Peace might be achieved.'³⁰ In a century of war, British Baptist peacemakers have been a small minority able to claim few victories. Hoping against hope, they have stood for a better way.

NOTES

- 1 I am grateful to the Revd Alan Betteridge, pastor at Queen's Road, Coventry, and Secretary of the Baptist Peace Fellowship, for assistance in preparing this and an earlier article (BQ 34, 1991, 3-12). See his 'Baptist Peace Fellowship of Britain', *Peace Work* no.9, January-February 1987, 4-5, and the general survey by April Carter, *Peace Movements, International Protest and World Politics since 1945*, 1992. This article concentrates on English Baptists. Further research is needed regarding Baptist pacifism in Ireland, Scotland and Wales.
- 2 BQ 34, July 1992, pp.337-45.
- 3 Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe, ed., *Conscription: A World Survey*, 1968, p.54;
- 4 R. J. Q. Adams and Philip P. Poirie, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain 1900-1918*, 1987; Denis Hayes, *Conscription Conflict: The Conflict of Ideas in the Struggle for and against Military Conscription in Britain between 1901 and 1939*, 1949; Caroline Moorehead, *Troublesome People: The Warriors of Pacifism*, 1986.
- 5 *British Weekly* 20 August 1914. See Keith W. Clements, 'Baptists and the Outbreak of the First World War', BQ 26, 1975, 74-92.
- 6 *Baptist Times and Freeman* 30 April 1915, supplement.
- 7 Jill Wallis, *Valiant for Peace: A History of the Fellowship of Reconciliation 1914-1989*, 1991,

- p.4. For biographical information, see H. G. Wood, *Henry T. Hodgkin: A Memoir*, 1937, and John S. Conway, 'Friedrich Wilhelm Siegmund-Schultze', in Harold Josephson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*, Westport, 1985.
- 7 Wallis, pp.7-8. Among those who attended was Leyton Richards. Recently returned from Australia, Richards turned down an invitation to become pastor of a Baptist congregation to serve as FOR General Secretary from 1916-18. See Edith Richards, *Private View of a Public Man: The Life of Leyton Richards*, 1950, p.71.
- 8 Thomas C. Kennedy, *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No Conscription Fellowship 1914-1919*, Fayetteville, 1981; Jo Vellacott, *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War*, Brighton, 1980.
- 9 John Rae, *Conscience and Politics: The British Government and the Conscientious Objector to Military Service, 1916-1919*, 1970, p.178.
- 10 Edwin Foley, 'An Octogenarian Looks Back', *Reconciliation*, 35, 1958, 193-4; obituary, *Baptist Handbook*, 1973, p.288.
- 11 Foley, 'Octogenarian', mentions Dunnico's pacifism. For a sketch, *Baptist Handbook* 1955, p.323; *Who Was Who 1951-1960*, 1961; interview, Clive R. Dunnico, 24 May 1991. Herbert Dunnico's book, *The Church and Social Problems*, took up issues other than war and peace.
- 12 Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War Peace and the English Churches, 1900-1945* 1986, p.37.
- 13 *The Majesty of Conscience*, 1917.
- 14 Minute Book, Baptist Pacifist Fellowship. Haden (1875-1952) trained at Midland College and Oxford and held pastorates at Market Harborough (1906-1914), Union Church, Luton (1914-24), West Bridgford (1924-32) and Salem, Burton-on-Trent (1933-39), *Baptist Handbook* 1953, p.322.
- 15 1891-1972. *Baptist Handbook* 1973, pp.283-4.
- 16 Minute Book; *Reconciliation* 12, August 1934: 220; successive issues of the *Newsletter* of the Baptist Peace Fellowship.
- 17 Minute Book.
- 18 Clyde Binfield, *Pastors and People: The Biography of a Baptist Church*, Coventry 1984, p.217.
- 19 *Attitude of the Baptist Denomination to War*, pamphlet, 1937; *The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship in Relation to the Report of the Special Committee of the Baptist Union on War*, pamphlet 1937.
- 20 Interviews with Rene Beasley and John Humphrey, 23 August 1989; John and Thelma Humphrey, 17 November 1990. Binfield, *op.cit.* pp.202-64, discusses extensively the remarkable ministry of James (1889-1956); obituary, *Baptist Handbook*, 1957.
- 21 Personal correspondence from Gladys Portis, 15 March 1991. Other Baptist pacifists encountered abuse. The minutes of the BBPF for 15 February 1943 mentioned that Walter Abbots, minister of Carrington Baptist Church, Nottingham, received a sentence of three months imprisonment and a fine of £100.
- 22 Wilkinson, *op.cit.* p.291; Lewis MacLachlan, *CPFLU: A Short History of the Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units 1940-1946*, 1952, p.75.
- 23 Personal correspondence, Cyril Rusbridge, 27 February 1991; Tom Slade, 2 May 1991; interview, Derek Deavin, 13 May 1991.
- 24 Betteridge, *op.cit.* p.5.
- 25 H. F. Lorkin, *Baptist Views on War and Peace*, 1969, p.16; personal interview, 27 October 1990.
- 26 *BQ* 31, April 1985, 66-73.
- 27 *Newsletter* 1989.
- 28 Correspondence, Alan Betteridge, 12 February 1992. *Baptist Times*, 22 November 1990.
- 29 *Reconciliation* 7, December 1930, 221-2.
- 30 Muriel Ennals, personal correspondence, 15 March 1991.

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This year the Annual Meeting of the Baptist Historical Society will not take place during the Baptist Assembly but in the course of a Day Conference to be held at Elstow, Bedfordshire, on 10 July 1993. Full details to follow or from the Secretary.