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## ‘HAZARDING ALL FOR GOD AT A CLAP’ The Spirituality of Baptism among British Calvinistic Baptists<sup>1</sup>

One of the perennial debates of Baptist historiography is how to describe the churchmanship of the well-known Puritan, John Bunyan (1628-1688). British historian B.R. White, in his superb study *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, describes Bunyan’s Bedford congregation as an Independent, or Congregationalist, church which ‘tolerated the practice of both forms of baptism — of infants and of believers.’<sup>2</sup> Similarly Canadian Baptist historian, David T. Priestley, finds it ‘impossible to view Bunyan or his Bedford congregation as Baptist, given the definition of terms in effect in the early Restoration and Bunyan’s explicit rejection of Baptist membership criteria.’<sup>3</sup> Earlier Baptist authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on the other hand, were wont to regard him as a vital part of their tradition. Well aware that Bunyan’s open membership/open communion principles put him at odds with most of them, they considered him nevertheless to be ‘an open communion Baptist’, to use the words of the Ontario Baptist, Thomas L. Davidson.<sup>4</sup>

Major reasons why Baptists longed to have Bunyan in their pantheon of worthies would include such things as his literary genius, his Christocentric piety — well illustrated, for instance, in the posthumously published *The Saints’ Knowledge of Christ’s Love* — and his radical Nonconformity, which was immortalized in his *Pilgrim’s Progress*. The last of these items was especially appealing to a community that, throughout the eighteenth century and for much of the nineteenth century, was subjected to extensive legal discrimination, which basically rendered them second-class citizens. Consider, for instance, the scene in which Mr By-ends is explaining to Mr Save-all and Mr Hold-the-world how their religious views differ from those of the heroes of the story, Christian and Hopeful.

They after their headstrong manner conclude that it is duty to rush on their journey all weathers, and I am for waiting for wind and tide. They are for hazarding all for God at a clap, and I am for taking all advantages to secure my life and estate. They are for holding their notions, though all other men are against them, but I am for religion in what and so far as the times and safety will bear it. They are for religion, when in rags and contempt, but I am for him when he walks in his golden slippers in the sunshine, and with applause.<sup>5</sup>

Bunyan’s inimitable description of Christian discipleship as ‘hazarding all for God at a clap’ well expresses the core of his radical Nonconformity. But it can also serve as a marvellous portrayal of the heart of the British Calvinistic Baptist movement — though Bunyan probably would not appreciate this statement, given the rough treatment he received at the hands of this community when he sought to defend his

open communion/open membership principles in the 1670s.<sup>6</sup>

This does not mean, of course, that British Calvinistic Baptists always exhibited such an apostolic pattern of discipleship throughout their history. For a considerable part of the eighteenth century, for example, this radical edge was absent from far too many Calvinistic Baptist causes. During the 1740s the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist preacher, Howel Harris (1714-1773), captured the 'settledness' of the Baptists in the following comparison of the Nonconformists and his friend, George Whitefield (1714-1770): 'whilst they are in their warm rooms, he ventures his life for God'.<sup>7</sup> Baptist theologian, Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), used even stronger language. Drawing his imagery from the farmyard, he noted in the mid-1790s that if many of these stagnant Baptist causes had not been shaken out of their lethargy, the Calvinistic Baptist cause would have soon 'been a very dunghill in society'.<sup>8</sup>

In the previous decade Fuller had sought to rectify this situation in a circular letter he drew up for the Northamptonshire Association. Seeking to stir into flame a passion for God and his purposes, he stated:

It is to be feared the old puritanical way of devoting ourselves wholly to be the Lord's, resigning up our bodies, souls, gifts, time, property, with all we have and are to serve him, and frequently renewing these covenants before him, is now awfully neglected. This was to make a *business* of religion, a *life's work*, and not merely an accidental affair, occurring but now and then, and what must be attended to only when we can spare time from other engagements. Few seem to aim, pray, and strive after *eminent* love to God and one another. Many appear to be contented if they can but remember the time when they had such love in exercise, and then, tacking to it the notion of perseverance without the *thing*, they go on and on, satisfied, it seems, if they do but make shift just to get to heaven at last, without much caring how. If we were in a proper spirit, the question with us would not so much be 'What must I do for God?' as 'What can I do for God?'<sup>9</sup>

Here Fuller is recalling his fellow Baptists to what he believed characterized their movement at its inception, for Puritanism was the seedbed of the Calvinistic Baptist community. Fuller may not have the literary flair of Bunyan, but his words breathe the same spirit as the Puritan's 'hazarding all for God at a clap'.

### THE SCANDAL OF BELIEVER'S BAPTISM

Now, if there was one event in the Calvinistic Baptist community where this radical commitment, this 'hazarding all for God at a clap', was meant to come to physical expression it was believer's baptism. The various types of Baptists — Calvinistic, General (that is, Arminian), and Seventh-day — were the only major denominations in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain that insisted upon believer's baptism. The Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists all upheld infant baptism, while the Quakers dispensed with the rite altogether. Since few Baptist churches in this era possessed an indoor baptistery, baptism was usually

done outdoors in a pond, stream, or river where all and sundry could come and watch.<sup>10</sup> The Baptists were thus provided with excellent opportunities to bear witness to their distinct convictions and their commitment to Christ. For example, at the formation of a small Calvinistic Baptist congregation in Redruth, Cornwall, in August 1802, four individuals were publicly baptized. According to an account written in the church records by the first pastor, F.H. Rowe, the day

was one of those enchanting days when the sun clears the atmosphere of every cloud, not a leaf appeared to vibrate on the trees, or the smallest undulations be formed on the pool. We had selected a spot well suited for the purpose. It was the vale that lies between the bridge known by the name of 'Blowing House Bridge' and the celebrated Carn Brea Hill. Owing to the excavations occasioned by the searching for ore, a large amphitheatre was formed. On this spot stood an immense concourse of people. The general impression was their number consisted of 15,000. No one but an eye-witness can conceive the pleasure derived from the sight of four believers in Christ taking up the easy yoke of their Master in the presence of so many.<sup>11</sup>

Not surprisingly Andrew Fuller observed that public baptisms had often been a vehicle for impressing upon many individuals 'their first convictions of the reality of religion.'<sup>12</sup>

However, the public nature of the rite also exposed them to ridicule and censure. James Butterworth, who was pastor of the church at Bromsgrove near Birmingham from 1755 to 1794, could state at a baptismal service in 1774: 'Baptism is a thing so universally despised, that few can submit to it, without apparent danger to their temporal interest; either from relations, friends, masters, or others with whom they have worldly connections.'<sup>13</sup> A couple of days after Andrew Fuller had been baptized in the spring of 1770, he met a group of young men while he was riding through the fields near his home in Soham. 'One of them', he later recorded, 'called after me, in very abusive language, and cursed me for having been "dipped".'<sup>14</sup> In 1778 Joseph Jenkins (1743-1819), who served as the pastor of Baptist causes in Wrexham and London, refuted a series of unfounded charges against the Baptists, including the assertions that they conducted baptisms in the nude, that they baptized 'women apparelled in a *single* garment', and that they even immersed women in the final stages of pregnancy.<sup>15</sup> This accusation that the Baptist practice of immersion involved immodesty was one that had been common since the emergence of the Calvinistic Baptists in the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, their first doctrinal standard, the *First London Confession of Faith* (1644), was issued in part to rebut the charge that the Baptists of that time were involved in 'doing acts unseemly in the dispensing the Ordinance of Baptism, not to be named amongst Christians'.<sup>16</sup>

Even some of those who were deeply appreciative of individual Baptists could be critical of their stance on baptism. The story is told of a visit by a Congregationalist minister from Newport Pagnell to Andrew Fuller's good friend, John Sutcliff (1752-1814), pastor of the Baptist church in nearby Olney,

Buckinghamshire. The minister had come to ask Sutcliff's advice on a certain matter. After Sutcliff had given his opinion to the great satisfaction and pleasure of the visiting minister, the latter was on the verge of leaving when he took Sutcliff's hand, shook it heartily, and said, 'I do love you, brother John, but should love you much better if you were not a Baptist.' Sutcliff replied with his customary kindness but also with evident conviction, 'Should you not love Jesus Christ much better if He were not a Baptist?'<sup>17</sup>

### THE SPIRITUALITY OF BELIEVER'S BAPTISM

Baptist works responding to these attacks on believer's baptism invariably devoted large sections to proving that believers, never infants, are the proper subjects of baptism and that they should be baptized by immersion, and not by any other mode. The equally important subject of the meaning and significance of baptism was consequently often overlooked.<sup>18</sup> A notable exception in this regard was a circular letter written by Andrew Fuller for the Northamptonshire Association in 1802. Entitled *The Practical Uses of Christian Baptism*, it took for granted the standard Baptist position on the right subjects of baptism and the proper mode in which it was to be administered, and concentrated on outlining the meaning and significance of the rite. In Fuller's words, he desired to focus his readers' attention on 'the influence of this ordinance, where it produces its proper effects, in promoting piety in individuals, and purity in the church.'<sup>19</sup>

At the time when Fuller wrote this tract he was the pastor of the Baptist cause in Kettering, Northamptonshire, where he had been since 1782. Raised in a household of farmers, he was a big, broad-shouldered man who had little formal education and appeared, to William Wilberforce (1759-1833) at least, as 'the very picture of a village blacksmith.'<sup>20</sup> Yet, in the words of Benjamin Davies (1814-1875), the Welsh Old Testament scholar who served as the first principal of Canada Baptist College, though Fuller 'began to preach when very unlearned', he 'was so sensible of his disadvantages that he used great diligence to acquire that knowledge, without which he could never be, what he at length became, one of the most valuable men of his time, and decidedly the most useful minister in our religious community.'<sup>21</sup> Not without reason did another Welsh Baptist call him 'the Elephant of Kettering'.<sup>22</sup>

Fuller began *The Practical Uses of Christian Baptism* by maintaining that the principal reason why God instituted this ordinance was that it might serve as a 'solemn and practical profession of the Christian religion'. As an 'open profession' of the name of Christ, baptism is nothing less than an 'oath of allegiance to the King of Zion'. Baptism is a 'sign' to believers that they have 'solemnly surrendered [themselves] up to Christ, taking him to be [their] Prophet, Priest, and King; engaging to receive his doctrine, to rely on his atonement, and to obey his laws.'<sup>23</sup> In a letter that he had written a couple of years earlier to William Ward (1769-1823), the Serampore missionary, Fuller developed this idea of baptism as the place

of openly professing submission to Christ.

The importance of this ordinance [of baptism] ... arises from its being the distinguishing sign of Christianity — that by which they [i.e. Christians] were to be known, acknowledged, and treated as members of Christ's visible kingdom: 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ', Gal. iii.27. It is analogous to a soldier on his enlisting into his Majesty's service putting on the military dress. The Scriptures lay great stress upon 'confessing Christ's name before men' (Matt. x.32); and baptism is one of the most distinguished ways of doing this. When a man becomes a believer in Christ, he confesses it usually in words to other believers: but the appointed way of confessing it openly to the world is by being baptized in his name.<sup>24</sup>

Christianity, Fuller went on to observe in the circular letter, contains both 'truths to be believed' and 'precepts to be obeyed'. And in a marvellous way, the rite of baptism provides encouragement for believers to be faithful in adhering to both. First, since baptism is to be carried out, according to Matthew 28:19, 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit', submission to the ordinance entails an avowal of the fact that God is a triune Being. Well acquainted with the history of the early Church, Fuller rightly stated that this baptismal formula was widely used in that era to argue for the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>25</sup> It is interesting that the very same point had been made a quarter of a century earlier by John Collett Ryland (1723-1792), that eccentric Baptist largely remembered today for his dampening rebuke of William Carey's zeal for overseas missions. Also writing in a circular letter for the Northamptonshire Association, Ryland had observed that 'the true doctrine of the Trinity' had been 'kept up in the christian church' by the ordinance of baptism 'more than by any other means whatsoever'.<sup>26</sup> Thus, Fuller noted, to relinquish the doctrine of the Trinity is tantamount to the virtual renunciation of one's baptism.<sup>27</sup>

In making this link between baptism and the Trinity, Fuller was well aware that he was venturing onto the grounds of a major controversy. Throughout the previous century a tradition of heterodox theology had insisted that the Scriptures be interpreted chiefly through the grid of what was regarded as sound reason. Given such a hermeneutic, it is not surprising that orthodox trinitarianism should come under heavy attack. For Fuller and the majority of the Calvinistic Baptist community, however, the tri-unity of God was ultimately a mystery, fully attested to by divine revelation in the Scriptures but not completely understandable by mere human reason. As Fuller commented elsewhere regarding this vital doctrine: 'It is a subject of pure revelation ... whether we can comprehend it or not, we are required humbly to believe it, and to endeavour to understand so much as God has revealed concerning it.'<sup>28</sup>

Baptism into the triune name also entails a commitment to the belief that salvation is the joint work of all three members of the Godhead: the Father's sovereign election, the Son's 'all-sufficient atonement', and the sanctifying work

wrought by the Spirit. In particular, though, it points to Christ's saving work. In Fuller's words:

The immersion of the body in water, which is a purifying element contains a profession of our faith in Christ, through the shedding of whose blood we are cleansed from all sin. Hence, baptism in the name of Christ is said to be *for the remission of sins*. Not that there is any virtue in the element, whatever be the quantity; nor in the ceremony, though of Divine appointment: but it contains a *sign* of the way in which we must be saved. Sin is washed away in baptism in the same sense as Christ's flesh is eaten, and his blood drank, in the Lord's supper: the sign, when rightly used leads to the thing signified. Remission of sins is ascribed by Peter not properly to baptism, but to the *name* in which the parties were to be baptized. Thus also Saul was directed to wash away his sins, *calling on the name of the Lord*.<sup>29</sup>

Fuller here points out that in itself the act of immersion possesses no salvific value. But it 'contains a sign' or illustration of the way of salvation and 'the sign, when rightly used, leads to the thing signified'. As Stan Fowler argues, the phrase, 'rightly used', appears to mean something like 'used as an outward and formal expression of genuine personal faith'.<sup>30</sup> The statement 'leads to the thing signified' must then mean that when the person being baptized has such a faith, then baptism in some way confirms this faith and the individual's share in the benefits of the gospel. This is significant language, suggesting a richer and more profound understanding of baptism than that argued by many later nineteenth-century Baptists. Fuller does not develop this thought, but if he had, he might well have developed it along the lines of his earlier statement to William Ward cited above: 'When a man becomes a believer in Christ, he confesses it usually in words to other believers: but the appointed way of confessing it openly to the world is by being baptized in his name.' In other words, baptism is the place where conversion to Christ is ratified and, to borrow a phrase from another great Calvinistic Baptist theologian of the eighteenth century, John Gill (1697-1771), 'faith discovers itself'.<sup>31</sup>

Fuller proceeded to explain that Christ experienced 'the deluge of [God's] wrath' due the sins of fallen men and women, but rose 'triumphantly from the dead'. Fallen men and women are saved solely on the basis of his death and resurrection. Baptism, which involves both immersion and emersion, is thus an extremely apt 'sign' or 'outward and formal expression of genuine personal faith' in Christ's saving work.<sup>32</sup>

Not only does baptism speak of cardinal 'truths to be believed', but it also teaches disciples of Christ how to live in a God-honouring way. On the basis of Romans 6:3-4 Fuller argued that baptism is a sign to the baptized disciple that he or she has been baptized into Christ's death and thus united with him in his death. There is, of course, a difference between the death of Christ and that of the disciple: Christ died *for* sin, the disciple is to die *to* sin. When he or she is baptized, therefore, there is a commitment made to die to sin and to the world.<sup>33</sup>

Baptism thus serves as a 'hedge' that God sets around his people, which 'tends more than a little to preserve [them] from temptation'.<sup>34</sup> This comparison of baptism to a hedge brings to mind a favoured image for the church in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Calvinistic Baptist circles, namely, the enclosed garden. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Fuller explicitly employing this image a little further on in this circular letter. He had been arguing that believer's baptism was originally designed to be 'the boundary of visible Christianity', the line of distinction between 'the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of Satan'. Where the original design of this distinguishing ordinance was ignored, and 'persons admitted to baptism without any profession of personal religion, or upon the profession of others on their behalf', then 'the church will be no longer a garden enclosed, but an open wilderness, where every beast of prey can range at large'.<sup>35</sup>

This description of the church as 'a garden enclosed' has roots both in Scripture and English horticulture. First of all, the phrase is drawn directly from the Song of Solomon 4:12 (KJV): 'A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.' Enclosed gardens, though, were also a feature common to the landscape of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. While some of these gardens were developed for aesthetic reasons and consisted primarily of flowers and shrubs, many of them were kitchen gardens, designed to produce small fruits, herbs, salad greens and other vegetables. Generally rectangular in shape, they were enclosed by walls, fences or hedges that might reach as high as sixteen feet. These walls provided both protection from the cooling effects of the wind and privacy for the owner.<sup>36</sup> In fact, during the turbulent era of the 1640s, when the British Isles experienced the horrors and ravage of civil war, such gardens came to be increasingly seen as 'places of secure retreat from the dangers of political and religious strife'.<sup>37</sup>

Now, it was in the mid-1640s that the *First London Confession of Faith* was published, in which it was declared that by entering the local church through the doorway of baptism, believers were placing themselves under Christ's 'heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in his walled sheep-fold, and watered garden'.<sup>38</sup> The final term used here for the church, 'watered garden', would appear to be a variant on the phrase 'garden enclosed'. In the 160 years between the publication of this text and that of Fuller's circular letter at the beginning of the nineteenth century the term 'garden enclosed' recurred again and again in Calvinistic Baptist documents that talked about the way the church was to be spiritually separate from the world.

Two examples must suffice to illustrate the way in which this image was employed in the later Calvinistic Baptist tradition. Benjamin Keach (1640-1704), undoubtedly the single most important theologian of the Calvinistic Baptist movement at the end of the seventeenth century and an indefatigable author,<sup>39</sup> used this image to argue that

God hath out of the people of this world, taken his churches and walled them

about, that none of the evil beasts can hurt them: all mankind naturally were alike dry and barren, as a wilderness, and brought forth no good fruit. But God hath separated some of this barren ground, to make lovely gardens for himself to walk and delight in. 'The church of Christ, is a garden inclosed', or a community of christians distinct from the world: 'A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse.' Cant. iv.12.<sup>40</sup>

As an 'enclosed garden' of God's creation, the church was to be a fruitful haven set apart and distinct from the wilderness of the world.

The second example comes from the early years of the Evangelical Revival when many Calvinistic Baptists were anything but receptive to the revival. William Herbert (1697-1745), a Welsh Baptist pastor and a friend of Howel Harris, was critical of the latter's decision to stay in the Church of England. In a letter to Harris early in 1737, a couple of years after the Evangelical Revival had begun in England and Wales, Herbert likened the Church of England to a pub 'which is open to all comers', and to a 'common field where every noisome beast may come'. Surely Harris realized, Herbert continued, that the Scriptures — and he has in mind the Song of Solomon 4:12 — describe God's Church as 'a garden enclosed, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed', in other words, a body of believers 'separate from the profane world'?<sup>41</sup>

Thus, in using this description of the church as 'a garden enclosed' and linking baptism with it, Fuller was re-affirming the fact that at the heart of the Calvinistic Baptist tradition was a radical Nonconformity. And it was a Nonconformity that was much more than a protest with regard to what was perceived as the unscriptural nature of some of the rites of the Church of England. 'Nonconformity to the ceremonies of the church [of England] is of no account', Fuller said on another occasion, 'if it be attended with conformity to the world'.<sup>42</sup> For Fuller, believer's baptism spoke of a fundamental break with the forces that sought to press the heart and mind into the mould of this present age.

Fuller was careful to stress in his circular letter, however, that the 'religion of Jesus does not consist in mere negatives'. Baptism signifies not only death, but also resurrection. The 'emersion of the body from the waters of baptism is a sign' of entrance into 'a new state of being' where the baptized believer should now be 'alive to God'. Consequently, baptism is never to be regarded as 'merely a sign' and nothing more or simply 'an unmeaning ceremony'. It is a meaning-laden ordinance, which bears witness to the most radical transformation a human being can undergo in this world.<sup>43</sup>

As Fuller concluded the letter, he wisely reminded his readers that obedience to this ordinance is never to be regarded as 'a substitute for a life of holiness and universal righteousness'. He referred them to the pointed reminder that the Apostle Paul gave to the church at Corinth in 1 Corinthians. When 'they trifled with idolatry and worldly lusts', they could not look to their participation in the privileges of baptism and the Lord's Supper to secure them from God's anger. Thus, to hope that

believer's baptism can guarantee a life of spiritual fruitfulness is to deceive oneself. 'It is the presence of Christ only that can keep us alive, either as individuals or as churches'.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, the disciple is called to cling to Christ, not to a set of rites or even doctrines.

## CONCLUSION

John Clare (1793-1864), the Northamptonshire Romantic poet who was in his early twenties when Fuller died in 1815, spoke for many in England during this era when he wrote: 'it is with religion as it is with every thing else its extreams [*sic*] are dangerous & its medium is best'.<sup>45</sup> To such a mindset believer's baptism seemed scandalous and *outré*. But for Fuller the radical nature of baptism lay in what the sign signified: a whole-hearted commitment of one's entire being and resources to Christ — a 'hazarding all for God at a clap', to use Bunyan's expressive way of putting it. As Fuller said on another occasion:

If we wish to see the *Baptist* denomination prosper, we must not expend our zeal so much in endeavouring to make men Baptists, as in labouring to make Baptists and other[s] Christians ... But if we be more concerned to make proselytes to a party than converts to Christ, we shall defeat our own end; and however just our sentiments may be with respect to the subjects and mode of baptism, we shall be found symbolizing with the Pharisees, who were employed in tithing mint and cummin, to the neglect of judgment, mercy, and the love of God.<sup>46</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 This paper was originally presented at the Seventh Canadian Baptist Heritage Conference, held at Acadia Divinity College, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, on 13 November 1998.
- 2 *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, revised edn; Didcot, 1996, 10.
- 3 David T. Priestley, 'Bunyan and the Baptists', *Bulletin of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society*, 1, No.1, January 1997, 2-3. For further discussion of this controverted question, see Thomas Armitage, *A History of the Baptists*, New York, 1887), 529-539; John Brown, *John Bunyan (1628-1688): His Life, Times, and Work*, revised Frank Mott Harrison, 1928, 221-225, 236-238; Joseph D. Ban, 'Was John Bunyan a Baptist? A Case-Study in Historiography', *BQ* 30, 1984, 367-376.
- 4 *Lectures on Baptism and Communion: Being a Reply to the Rev. John Wood's Manual on Christian Baptism*, New York 1858, 281.
- 5 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Roger Sharrock, 1987, 151.
- 6 Between 1672-74 Bunyan wrote three treatises defending his open communion/open membership principles: *A Confession of my Faith, and A Reason of my Practice* (1672), *Differences in Judgment About Water-Baptism, No Bar to Communion* (1673), and *Peaceable Principles and True* (1674). A number of Calvinistic Baptists responded, among them the influential London Baptist, William Kiffin (1616-1701), with his *A Sober Discourse of Right to Church-Communion* (1681). T.L. Underwood has described the latter as 'the most articulate presentation of the closed membership position' in this controversy ['Introduction' to his ed., *John Bunyan: A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification, by Faith; A Confession of my Faith, and A Reason of my Practice; Differences in Judgment About Water-Baptism, No Bar to Communion; Peaceable Principles and True; A Case of Conscience Resolved; Questions About the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-Day-Sabbath*, Oxford 1989, xxxv]. For studies of this controversy, see

- Harry L. Poe, 'John Bunyan's Controversy With the Baptists', *Baptist History and Heritage*, 23, No.2, April 1988, 25-35; B.R. White, 'The Fellowship of Believers: Bunyan and Puritanism' in N.H. Keeble, ed., *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus. Tercentenary Essays*, Oxford 1988, 8-11, 17-18; T.L. Underwood, "'It pleased me much to contend": John Bunyan as Controversialist', *Church History*, 57, 1988, 456-469, *passim*; *idem*, 'Introduction', xxv-xxxvi; Christopher Hill, *A Tinker and a Poor Man: John Bunyan and His Church, 1628-1688*, 1988 edn; 292-5.
- 7 Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Howel Harris 1714-1773. The Last Enthusiast*, Cardiff 1965, 46.
- 8 'Discipline of the English and Scottish Baptist Churches' [*The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, ed. Joseph Belcher, reprinted Harrisonburg, Va 1988, III, 478].
- 9 *Causes of Declension in Religion, and Means of Revival (Works, III, 320)*.
- 10 In London there were two specially constructed buildings which served during this era as baptisteries for the numerous Baptist congregations in the capital. According to one account, they were 'splendid structures, with handsome marble fronts, elaborate suites of rooms, and well equipped' [John Stanley, *The Church in the Hop Garden. A Chatty Account of the Longworth-Coate Baptist Meeting: Berks and Oxfordshire (Ante 1481-1935) and its Ministers*, 1935, 138-139].
- 11 'The Harvest of 100 Years. Ebenezer Baptist Chapel 1877-1977' (Typescript, 1977), 1. I am indebted to Chris Curry of St. Catherines, Ontario, for this reference. For a better known account of a public baptism, see that recorded by Robert Robinson, *The History of Baptism*, 1790, 541-543. Detailed accounts of outdoor baptisms like this one by Robinson are rare. See also Roger Hayden, *English Baptist History and Heritage*, Didcot 1990, 98-99; *Church Book, St Andrew's Street Baptist Church, Cambridge 1720-1832*. Didcot 1991, 41f.
- 12 *The Practical Uses of Christian Baptism (Works, III, 343)*.
- 13 *Repentance and Baptism considered*, Coventry 1774), 36. I owe this reference to Olin C. Robison, 'The Particular Baptists in England 1760-1820', unpublished DPhil Thesis, Regent's Park College, Oxford University, 1963, 287.
- 14 John Ryland, *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love, and the Patience of Hope, illustrated; in the Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 2nd edn 1818, 22.
- 15 Robison, 'Particular Baptists', 288. On Jenkins, see R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and The Evangelical Revival 1760-1820*, Wheaton, IL, 1989, 115-116.
- 16 William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, revised edn, Valley Forge, 1969, 154-155. Typical of those who attacked the Baptists in this regard was Daniel Featley (1582-1645), an influential, outspoken minister devoted to the Church of England and critical of Puritanism. Featley penned a scurrilous attack on the Baptists entitled *The Dippers dipt. Or, The Anabaptists duck'd and plunged Over Head and Eares*, 1645. In it he maintained that the Baptists were in the habit of stripping 'stark naked, not only when they flocke in great multitudes, men and women together, to their Jordans to be dipt; but also upon other occasions, when the season permits'! [cited Gordon Kingsley, 'Opposition to Early Baptists (1638-1645)', *Baptist History and Heritage*, 4, No.1, January 1969, 29]. For this charge of sexual immorality, see also J.F. McGregor, 'The Baptists: Fount of All Heresy' in his and B. Reay, eds., *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, Oxford 1984, 41-42; James Barry Vaughn, 'Public Worship and Practical Theology in the Work of Benjamin Keach (1640-1704)', unpublished PhD Thesis, St Andrews University, 1989, 60.
- 17 Thomas Wright, *The Town of Cowper*, 1886, 166-167.
- 18 As William H. Brackney has rightly noted: 'From their intense preoccupation over textual details in the New Testament and a desire to re-create the primitive Church, Baptists have spent their energies on the techniques, styles, and fitness of candidates for participation in the sacraments, rather than the mystery of the divine-human relationships', *The Baptists*, Westport, Conn., 1988, 69-70]. For an earlier judgment along similar lines, see J.M. Ross, 'The Theology of Baptism in Baptist History', *BQ* 15, 1953, 100. For two studies of baptism in the larger Calvinistic Baptist tradition, see J.R.C. Perkin, 'Baptism in Nonconformist Theology, 1820-1920, with special reference to the Baptists', unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1955; Stanley K. Fowler, 'Baptism as a Sacrament in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century British Baptist Theology', unpublished ThD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1998.

- 19 *Works*, III, 339.
- 20 Cited Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, New York 1961, 505. For a brief statement by Fuller himself about his upbringing and lack of formal education, see 'Discipline of the English and Scottish Baptist Churches' (*Works*, III, 481). For the life of Fuller, the classic study is that of John Ryland, *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love, and the Patience of Hope Illustrated; in the Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller*, 1816. For more recent studies, see Arthur H. Kirkby, *Andrew Fuller (1754-1815)*, 1961; Phil Roberts, 'Andrew Fuller' in Timothy George and David S. Dockery, eds., *Baptist Theologians*, Nashville, Tenn. 1990, 121-139.
- 21 'Ministerial Education', *The Canada Baptist Magazine*, 3, No.9, March 1840, 194-195.
- 22 David Philips, *Memoir of the Life, Labors, and Extensive Usefulness of the Rev. Christmas Evans*, New York 1843, 74.
- 23 *Works*, III, 339-340.
- 24 'Thoughts on Open Communion' (*Works*, III, 504-505). See also *ibid.* (*Works*, III, 512).
- 25 *Works*, III, 340.
- 26 *The Beauty of Social Religion; or, The Nature and Glory of a Gospel Church*, Northampton 1777, 10, footnote.
- 27 *Works*, III, 340.
- 28 *Letters on Systematic Divinity* (*Works*, I, 708).
- 29 *Works*, III, 341.
- 30 'Baptism as a Sacrament', 50.
- 31 *An Exposition of the New Testament*, 1809 edn, reprinted Paris, Ark. 1989, I, 495, commentary on Mark 16:16. I am indebted to Stan Fowler for help in understanding Fuller at this point. On Gill's theology of baptism, see Stanley K. Fowler, 'John Gill's Doctrine of Believer Baptism' in Michael A.G. Haykin, ed., *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697-1771). A Tercentennial Appreciation*, Leiden 1997, 69-91.
- 32 *Works*, III, 341.
- 33 *Ibid.*, III, 341.
- 34 *Ibid.*, III, 342.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 342-343.
- 36 Helen M. Leach, 'Kitchen garden' in Geoffrey Jellicoe et al., eds., *The Oxford Companion to Gardens*, Oxford/New York 1986, 314-315; Geoffrey Jellicoe, 'Walled garden' in *ibid.*, 592-593; David C. Stuart, *Georgian Gardens*, 1979, 142-143.
- 37 Tom Turner, *English Garden Design. History and styles since 1650*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1986, 9.
- 38 *First London Confession of Faith*, Article XXXIV (Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions*, 165-166).
- 39 Murdina D. MacDonald, 'London Calvinistic Baptists 1689-1727: Tensions within a Dissenting Community under Toleration', unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1982, 77. For a good study of Keach and his theology, see James Barry Vaughn, 'Public Worship and Practical Theology in the Work of Benjamin Keach (1640-1704)', unpublished PhD Thesis, St Andrews University 1989. Also J. Barry Vaughn, 'Benjamin Keach' in Timothy George and David S. Dockery, eds., *Baptist Theologians*, Nashville 1990, 49-76.
- 40 *Gospel Mysteries Unveiled*, reprinted 1815, II, 332, 339. See also his *The Glory of a True Church, and its Discipline display'd*, 1697, 50-51.
- 41 Dafydd Densil James Morgan, 'The Development of the Baptist Movement in Wales between 1714 and 1815 with particular reference to the Evangelical Revival', unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford, 1986, 39-40.
- 42 'Evil Things which Pass under Specious Names' (*Works*, III, 800).
- 43 *Works*, III, 343.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 344-345.
- 45 *The Parsh. A Satire*, ed. Eric Robinson, Harmondsworth 1985, 21.
- 46 'The Necessity of Seeking Those Things First which are of the First Importance' (*Works*, III, 796). For similar remarks, see his *Preaching Christ* (*Works*, I, 502) and Letter to James Deakin, March 26, 1805 [cited 'Letters to James Deakin', *BQ* 7 (1934-1935), 361].

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