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“THE STEADY OBEDIENCE OF HIS CHURCH”:
THE ECCLESIAL SPIRITUALITY OF JOSEPH KINGHORN
AND THE COMMUNION CONTROVERSY, 1814–1827

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“THE STEADY OBEDIENCE OF HIS CHURCH”:
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To

Hallam J. and Hannah L. Willis

amico fideli nulla est comparatio

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BQ</i>	<i>Baptist Quarterly</i>
<i>BM</i>	<i>Baptist Magazine</i>
FUL	D/FUL, Andrew Fuller Letters, Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, Oxford
GA	Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester
KPA	D/KIN, Kinghorn Papers, Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, Oxford
NRO	Norfolk Record Office, Norwich
<i>TBHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society</i>
TWA	Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

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PREFACE

Seven years ago (2016), in a tepid spring night at the Pibworth's dining room in Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, Professor Michael A. G. Haykin and I discussed some possible topics for my doctoral research. With many suggestions, Professor Haykin heartily advised me to become a "Kinghornian." The next day, Nigel drove us to Oxford, and we spent a whole day at the Angus Library and Archive in Regent's Park College. With a glimpse of the Kinghorn Papers, my journey with David and Joseph Kinghorn thus began. A year later, in spring 2017, during our second research trip to England, I began to read C. B. Jewson's *The Baptists in Norfolk* (1957) and Martin Hood Wilkin's biography. After a sleepless flight, reading Jewson, my heart for Kinghorn was strangely warmed. During that same trip, I took photos of some of Kinghorn's letters at Oxford and Norwich. Later in that October, I returned to Oxford and took more photos in the collection. With three substantial trips to Oxford, Norwich, Newcastle, Beverly, Bristol, and Gloucester, in March and June 2018, and spring 2019, I have collected thousands of manuscripts with my little camera. It was through a conversation, Prof. Haykin introduced me to a mine of treasure. Much like a matchmaker, Professor Haykin introduced me to a forgotten, yet precious friend and predecessor.

Besides introducing me to Kinghorn, I am indebted to Professor Haykin's friendship, example, and guidance. Since my first year at Toronto Baptist Seminary in 2010, Professor Haykin became an important person in my life. Our relationship has been developed from teacher and student, to mentor and protégé, to employer and employee, and to father and son. Without exaggeration, Professor Haykin patiently invests his time and energy in someone who once told him that "I don't think I have the gift of becoming a scholar." For all of Professor Haykin's students, his character, friendship, and

craftsmanship are reasons why we give thanks to God. It is fortunate for all Professor Haykin's students that our doktorvater loves us as Christ loved his disciples. Over the course of writing, Professor Haykin sought different ways to encourage me. While I was stuck in the writer's block and failed to produce much over a long period of time, Professor Haykin did not condemn or judge; instead, he helped me with processing my thoughts and the overall direction of arguments. At times, like a shepherd, he warned me to avoid generalisation and indeterminateness. Though I still feel intimidated at times when Professor Haykin reviews my chapters, it is assured that his preciseness and seriousness exemplify to us the meaning of being a better writer and a careful scholar. Equally important, I am also grateful for Mrs. Allison Haykin, who wholeheartedly welcomed me into the Haykin family, by which I had the unique opportunity to witness the love between Professor and Mrs. Haykin, as well as her generosity and sincere care.

I cannot express my gratitude enough to the members of my dissertation committee: Drs. Greg Wills, Dustin Bruce, and Professor John H. Y. Briggs. Since the beginning of this project, they graciously accepted to join the committee and investigate their time to oversee the production of this dissertation. For me, it is a dream to have my favourite authors and leading scholars to join the committee and to have them to provide constructive advice. Thank you so much! I shall also acknowledge Drs. Jonathan W. Arnold, J. Stephen Yuille, and Gregg R. Allison, who have also served in the committee and provided tremendous help and encouragement.

I am grateful for Nigel and Janice Pibworth. Since Professor Haykin first introduced me to this amazing Christian couple and friends in spring 2015, I am astonished by their outstanding Christian hospitality. While the Pibworths provided food to eat, bed to sleep from time to time, medicine for a sick man (as Janice was so worried once that I was dying with a flu), and rides to various locations (including excellent bookstores), there was not the slightest hint of complain or hesitation. Through their unusual hospitality, constant encouragement, and uplifting conversations, Nigel and

Janice exemplify Christian affection to both Professor Haykin and myself.

With my research, I came to know many librarians and archivists, who provided enormous help. They are Rev. Emma Walsh, former college librarian of Regent's Park, Oxford; Emily Burgoyne, the current college librarian of Regent's Park, Oxford; Dr. Julian R. Lock, the archivist; Rebecca Shuttleworth, library assistant; Ian Palfrey and Belinda Kildutt, the archivists of Norfolk County Record Office, Norwich; Emilee Smith, interlibrary loan and distance education coordinator of James P. Boyce Centennial Library, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville; Timothy Reeves of Central Baptist Church, Norwich; the archivists at East Riding County Archive, Beverly, Yorkshire and the Norfolk Heritage Centre, Norfolk and Norwich Millennium Library, Norwich; Michael Brealey, the librarian and archivist of Bristol Baptist College; Dr. Brian Shetler, head of special collections and archives of Princeton Theological Seminary; Jordan Sénécal and Heather Okrafka, librarians of Heritage College and Seminary; and the librarians of the University of Toronto Libraries (particularly those of Robarts Library, John W. Graham Library of Trinity College, Caven Library of Knox College, and Emmanuel College Library).

I wish to thank Drs. Dennis Ngien of Tyndale University, who constantly encourage me through his hospitality and numerous helpful conversations; Ian Vaillancourt, David Barker, Douglas A. Thomson, and Franklin Vander Meulen of Heritage College and Seminary; Kevin Flatt, Amber Bowen, Doug Sikkema, Kyle Spyksma, and Professor Helen Vreugdenhil of Redeemer University; Alexander Chow and Emma Wild-Wood of Edinburgh University; Ian Hugh Clary and Michael Plato of Colorado Christian University; Crawford Gribben of Queen's University Belfast; Larry Kreitzer of Regent's Park College; Stephen R. Holmes of University of St Andrews; Professor Timothy Larsen of Wheaton College; Timothy Whelan of Georgia Southern University; Jonathan Seitz of Taiwan Theological College and Seminary; Clement Tong of Kwantlen Polytechnic University; Karen Swallow Prior; Steve E. Harris of Elim

Church Saskatoon; Lon Graham of the Woods Baptist Church, Tyler, Texas; and Renie Chow Choy of Westcott College, Cambridge.

Friends are tremendous gifts, and I am thankful for their help and encouragement, especially from the late Rev. Terry L. Wolever (1958–2020) of Particular Baptist Press; Dr. C. Ryan Griffith of Southwest Baptist University; Dr. Jesse Owens of Welch College, Gallatin, TN; Rev. Osmond and Cristina Jerome; Rev. Peter and Gracie Mahaffey; Victoria Haykin; Dr. Wyatt and Leanne Graham; Jonathan and Laura Cleland; Michael Anderson; Dr. John Sampson of the Toronto School of Theology; Daniel Johnson of Leicester University; Ryan Turnbull of Birmingham University; Taylor Murray of McMaster University; Angela Platt of St. Mary's University, Twickenham.

Many friends also provided enormous help: Rev. Fang Xie of The Gospel Coalition Chinese; Ivan Y. Cen of Aberdeen University; Rev. Stephen McKay of Sydney, Australia; Graham and Nancy Lowe; David and Deborah Lowe; Chance Faulkner and Rev. Corey Hughes of H&E Publishing; Timothy Stanton of New Zealand; J.P. and Kathy Kang; Philip Alexander; and Kristian Landry of Toronto Baptist Seminary. Many churches also helped me during my research, and I wish to acknowledge them: Christie Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Ontario; St. Ebbe's, Oxford; Norwich Central Baptist Church, Norwich; and St. Thomas, Toronto.

I have decided to dedicate this work to my best friend Hallam J. Willis and his wife Hannah. Since we became acquainted in 2011, Hal and I have developed a friendship through furious debates, dexterous efforts, and life-and-death experiences. Being *au fait* with the continental philosophers, Hal helped to broaden my horizons by introducing me to Paul Ricœur, Martin Heidegger, and Iris Murdoch. He also helped me to challenge the Cartesian and Hegalian frameworks and foundationalism, which I used to take for granted. Being an intellectual partner, Hal and Hannah are precious gifts in my life. Though Hal and Hannah have relocated to England for Hal's doctoral studies at Oxford, it is my consistent prayer for God to protect our friendship. As J. R. R. Tolkien

and C. S. Lewis were bound by a common interest in Norse mythology, Hal and I are bound by love of truth, which is ultimately manifested in and through the incarnated God.

Overall, I acknowledge my family and relatives and thank for their selfless supports. In my life, they have expressed their sincere love by actions. I still remember the scene when my parents, J. C. Song and S. M. Wang, bid me farewell at the Beijing Airport in 2007. Though their tears filled with reluctance, they provided me an opportunity to see beyond my natural horizon. I praise God for my parents, who have provided me a warm and loving family to grow up, through which God has unusually shown his love and providence. I know they are my strongest support, and I sincerely wish peace and joy may fill their retirement years. May they find the Light that shone first to their son, who may also warm their hearts. 父兮生我，母兮鞠我，拊我畜我，長我育我，顧我復我，出入腹我 (“Liao E 蓼莪,” Xiaoya, *Shih-ching*).

Among my family, I also wish to thank my paternal and maternal grandparents: Y. Z. Song (1935–2010) and Q. Z. Zeng, and H. R. Wang (1932–1995) and F. Q. Li (1936–2007). Thanks to their care, I grew up in a family of benevolence and order. With their sacrifices, they have left us a precious legacy of hardworking and filial responsibility. Last but not least, I wish to thank my sister M.S. Song, brother-in-law W. Qin, and my two nephews Lucas and Albert. They have been tremendous aid in life, and I sincerely pray for God’s blessing to shower upon them daily.

Sicut te glorificet et gratias agat

(*Confessions* 5.4.7).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTOION

When Raymond Brown published *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, he included a copy of an old print (see figure 1).¹ According to Roger Hayden (1936–2016), this print which “used to hang in chapel vestries, was a composite etching of Baptist worthies at the opening of the Victorian period, gathered round a vestry table.”² Based on previous individual portraits, the unknown artist assembled fifteen advocates of Baptist oversea missions in one scene.³ The value of this assemblage is historical, as it represents the legacy of these early directors of the Baptist missions and how the following generation remembered them.

¹ Raymond Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, A History of the English Baptists, vol. 2 (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1986).

² Roger Hayden, *English Baptist History and Heritage*, 2nd ed. (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Union of Great Britain, 2005), 128.

³ Beside the five missionaries—William Carey (1761–1834), Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), William Ward (1769–1823), William Knibb (1803–1845) and Thomas Burchell (1799–1846), seven Particular Baptist ministers (Joseph Kinghorn [1766–1832], John Rippon [1751–1836], John Ryland Jr. [1753–1825], Robert Hall Jr. [1764–1831], Andrew Fuller [1754–1815], William Steadman [1765–1837] and Samuel Pearce [1766–1799]), two General Baptist ministers (Dan Taylor [1738–1816] and J. G. Pike [1784–1854]), and a Baptist essayist (John Foster [1770–1843]) are in the print. Curiously, only four of these men attended the initial meeting of the Society on October 2, 1792, at Mrs. Beeby Wallis’ parlour in Kettering. In addition to Carey, Ryland, Fuller, and Pearce, at the meeting there were Reynold Hogg of Trapstone, John Sutcliff of Olney, Abraham Greenwood of Oakham, Edward Sharman of Cottisbrook, Joseph Timms of Kettering, Joshua Burton of Foxton, Thomas Blundel of Arnsby, William Heighton of Roade, John Ayres of Braybrook, William Staughton of Bristol, and a theological student at Bristol Academy.



Figure 1. Leaders of the Baptist Missionary Society

Artistically, John Ryland Jr. (1753–1825) is positioned in the middle of the print, and the “v” shape created by John Rippon (1751–1836) and Dan Taylor (1738–1816) behind Ryland confirms the significance of Ryland, at least in the artist’s mind. Furthermore, among the five seated figures, Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832) was the only one who has an open book in his hand. Technically, both Kinghorn’s right hand (thus his book) and his right leg direct the viewer’s eyes toward the only standing figure in the front row, Robert Hall Jr. (1764–1831). Similarly, Hall’s right hand also holds an open book, and he directs it toward Kinghorn. It is possible to understand through this arrangement that the decade-long controversy (1815–1827) between Hall and Kinghorn, former tutor and student, second cousins twice removed, and friends, over the terms of communion has been left unsolved among the English Baptists.⁴

Furthermore, if one reflects on the reasons why Joseph Kinghorn has long been forgotten by contemporary Baptists, the close or strict communion position defended by Kinghorn undoubtedly makes readers prejudice him as something of a traditional bigot.⁵

⁴ See Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists: A Study of English Calvinistic Baptists from the Late 1600s to the Early 1800s* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2003) and Kenneth Dix, *Strict and Particular: English Strict and Particular Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society for the Strict Baptist Historical Society, 2001). In the case of Kinghorn’s own church in Norwich, a legal suit was filed over the term of communion in early Victorian era, see William Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich. The Suit—Attorney-General versus Gould and Others, in the Rolls Court: Its Origin, the Proceedings, Pleadings, and Judgment* (London: Houlston and Wright, 1860). On American views on the issue, see Anonymous, “Open Communion Baptists by an American,” *Primitive Church (Or Baptist) Magazine* 242 (February 1864): 46–47; Robert Boyte C. Howell, *The Terms of Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1846).

⁵ This was the case in the nineteenth century, as in an article published in the *General Baptist Magazine* in 1871, where it was said that “Let no one weak in faith and hope heave a sigh of despair over the change. If he *must* look back, let him remember how many crosses, how much ignorance, how many sorrows, how much shame, deface the retrospect. Let him think not only the heroic ardour which would have faced the fires of martyrdom for baptism by immersion, or submitted with manly indifference to the robberies of the sheriff’s officer that he might demonstrate the sincerity of his protest against church rates, *but of the narrowness which refused to eat bread at the Lord’s table with a pædobaptist*” (emphasis are original). In response, William Jarrom (1814–1882), an English Baptist missionary in China, wrote that for the close communionists, “The stand they make in the maintenance of their principles is for the truth’s sake. On this account, it is with pain and with a sense of injustice that they find their views and conduct stigmatized as ‘narrowness.’ They feel that this reflects on some of the founders of the body, whose character for strong intelligence, patience inquiry, caution in forming their opinions, together with firmness in maintaining them, and large-heartedness, stood high while they lived, and is revered in the memory of multitudes now they are dead ... Many thought that Kinghorn had the better of the argument. The present race of Strict Baptists believe that he had, and that he has proved satisfactorily that their views are most in harmony with the teaching and requirements of Christ ... If this be ‘narrowness,’ it is, according to their

However, such a view is contrary to how Kinghorn's contemporaries remembered him. For Baptists, Kinghorn's "ardent piety, eminent talents, extensive learning, and distinguished usefulness, endeared him to a wide circle of friends, both of our own and other denominations."⁶ To extend this statement, Francis Augustus Cox (1783–1853) commented that

he had taken a leading part in the proceedings of the Society [i.e., BMS], having moved the first resolution at the annual [*sic*] meeting in June, as he had through many years zealously co-operated with the committee. His opinion was always expressed with modesty, and listened to with respect. He was quick in perception; his suggestions were judicious; and in general he had little of pertinacity. His method of speaking was very similar on the platform and in the pulpit,—hurried, partaking of the vivacity of his conceptions, but unformed and inelegant. He had, besides, a kind of jumping, dancing movement, which very much diminished the impression; but he failed not to produce sensible and often ingenious remarks, convincing the hearer that he was possessed of great though not preeminent talents, and that he was deeply in earnest to promote the cause which had engaged his heart. He was possessed of considerable learning, keen as a controversialist, and one of the best biblical critic of the denomination.⁷

Members of Kinghorn's congregation, such as Samuel C. Colman (1825–1911)—a nephew of Jeremiah Colman (1777–1851) who founded Colman Mustard company—recalled,

Mr. Kinghorn's ministry was calculated to make stalwart Bible Christians who knew what they believed and why. In his day there were some sturdy Nonconformists in Norwich, united in close fellowship amongst both Baptists and Independents, who held Mr. Kinghorn in high esteem. In Mr. Kinghorn's early ministry, the city was lighted at night by a few comparatively miserable oil lamps, and evening meetings were unheard of. Towards the close of his ministry he commenced a Sunday evening meeting, the first ever regularly held in Norwich, and probably after gas lighting had been partially introduced.⁸

mind, the 'narrowness' of the New Testament, of Christ and His apostles, the authors of the plan on which they act—a 'narrowness' for which they are not responsible" (William Jarrom, "Are Strict Communion Baptists Narrow?," *General Baptist Magazine* [January 1872]: 22–23).

⁶ J. Belcher, "Baptist Denominational Union Meeting," *BM* 25 (August 1833): 370.

⁷ Francis Augustus Cox, *History of the English Baptist Missionary Society, from A.D. 1792 to A.D. 1842* (Boston: Isaac Tompkins, 1844), 172–73.

⁸ Helen Caroline Colman, *Jeremiah James Colman: A Memoir* (London: Chiswick, 1905), 18–19.

Even for the paedobaptists, as a featured article published in the *Evangelical Magazine* indicated, “Though we differed widely from him in his views of strict communion, yet, respecting most highly his Christian virtues and ministerial attainments, we rejoice to testify our love to his memory, by giving publicity to the following particulars.”⁹

It is reasonable to ask why Kinghorn chose to enter this controversy, which humanly speaking, tarnished his reputation and legacy. In order to answer the question of Kinghorn’s decision to enter the communion controversy, this project examines Joseph Kinghorn’s contribution to the decade-long communion controversy through the lens of his ecclesial spirituality within the extensive socio-historical and religious contexts.

Socio-Historical and Religious Contexts

Since the Great Ejection of 1662, the religious situation in England was divided by ecclesial politics—the Church of England and the Dissenting Body existed as two hostile religious entities. Though under the Act of Toleration, limited religious freedom was granted, the Test Act of 1678 was not repealed until 1828, and dissenters were still subject to restrictions on their civil liberties.¹⁰ Politically, the Tory party stood with the Establishment; thus even in 1811, Henry Addington (1757–1844), then Lord President of the Council, presented the Protestant Dissenting Ministers Bill to the House

⁹ “Memoir of the Late Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich,” *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* 10 (December 1832): 509.

¹⁰ For a summary of legal acts relate to the Dissenters, see Joseph Beldam, *A Summary of the Laws Peculiarly Affecting Protestant Dissenters. An Appendix, Containing Acts of Parliaments, Trust Deeds, and Legal Forms* (London: Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1827). The Act of Toleration was published on May 24, 1689 by the Parliament, which abandoned the idea of a “comprehensive” Church of England, and it “allowed Nonconformists their own places of worship and their own teachers and preachers, subject to acceptance of certain oaths of allegiance. Social and political disabilities remained, however, and Nonconformists were still denied political office” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Toleration Act,” accessed March 17, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Toleration-Act-Great-Britain-1689>). The Test Act was a law that “made a person’s eligibility for public office depend upon his profession of the established religion ... The form that the test took in England was to make the receiving of Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England a condition precedent to the acceptance of office. It was first embodied in legislation in 1661 as a requisite for membership of a town corporation and was extended to cover all public offices by the Test Act of 1673” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Test Act,” accessed March 17, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/test-act>).

of Lords.¹¹ In response, ministers including Kinghorn brought petitions to protest against it.¹² On the social scale, mobs insulted and attacked dissenting ministers for their Whiggism and attitudes toward the revolutions.¹³ Even among the dissenters, questions were raised regarding their relationship with the puritans, and as Baptist minister Richard Hutchings (d. 1804) pointed out, the rational dissenters were seen as illegitimate since they abandoned “their traditional Calvinism, both as a set of doctrines and as an ascetic moral code.”¹⁴ The influence of rationalism was immense, as by the end of the eighteenth century, English Presbyterians were completely given over to Socinianism.¹⁵ The impact

¹¹ A copy of the bill is made available to access by the British Parliament, and it was summarised as following: “The bill was an attempt to provide exemption from military service only to dissenting ministers who were able to be vouched for by six householders, which meant that ministers were unable to speak for their own status” (UK Parliament, “Copy of Lord Sidmouth’s Bill Relating to Protestant Dissenting Ministers,” HL Deb 09 May 1811 vol 19 cc1133–40, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1811/may/09/copy-of-lord-sidmouths-bill-relating-to>). Also see Anonymous, *Remarks on the Failure of Lord Sidmouth’s Bill, Relating to Protestant Dissenters* (London, 1811); Charles F. Mullett, “The Legal Position of the English Protestant Dissenters, 1767–1812,” *Virginia Law Review* 25, no. 6 (1939): 671–97; Peter Walker, “‘A Free and Protestant People’? The Campaign for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1786–1828” (MA thesis, Oxford University, 2010); Michael A. Rutz, “The Problem of Church and State: Dissenting Politics and the London Missionary Society in 1830s Britain,” *Journal of Church and State* 48, no. 2 (2006): 379–98; James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Non-conformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: Volume II The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 347–452. Also see Antonia Fraser, *The King and the Catholics: England, Ireland, and the Fight for Religious Freedom, 1780–1829* (New York: Doubleday, 2018).

¹² See Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich: A Memoir* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexnader, 1855), 339–41.

¹³ The most infamous attack was the Priestley Riots or the Birmingham Riots of 1791 (July 14 to 17, 1791). As the mob attacked Joseph Priestley and burned down his church and house, the famous Socinian dissenter migrated to the United States. Other instances include the Woodstock Riot (1794), in which Baptist minister James Hinton was attacked (see Michael A. G. Haykin, “*Accounted Worthy to Bear in My Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus*”: James Hinton, the Persecution of English Dissent, and the Woodstock Riot [Louisville: Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies, 2018]; on the account of the riot, see Haykin, “*Accounted Worthy to Bear in My Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus*,” 25n61); and the Aylsham riot (1808), in which on a Sunday evening local mobs “behaved in a very disorderly manner in the chapel, and carried off the minister by force to the Dog Inn” (Charles Mackie, *Norfolk Annals: A Chronological Record of Remarkable Events in the Nineteenth Century 1801–1805*, 2 vols. [Norwich: Office of the Norfolk Chronicle, 1901], 1:74).

¹⁴ John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 131. See Richard Hutchings, *Gospel Truths Displayed, and Gospel Ministers Duty, in a Day of Great Defection Proved, in a Sermon Preached Before the Society of Protestant Dissenters, Meeting at the New-York Coffee-House: Occasioned by the Rejection of the Dissenters Bill. Delivered at the Rev. Mr. Dowars’ Meeting-House, in Little Ayliffe-Street, Goodman’s-Fields, April 13, 1773. With an Address to the Orthodox Party Who Joined in the Late Application* (London, 1773).

¹⁵ On the rational dissent, see George H. Williams, “Socinianism and Deism: From Eschatological Elitism to Universal Immortality?,” *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 2, no. 2

was not merely theological. Existentially, as “communities of memory,” one’s “continuing loyalty to Dissent was a commitment to a founding historical moment—a commitment that needed renewing.”¹⁶

Meanwhile, when the Evangelical Revival led by George Whitefield (1714–1770), John Wesley (1703–1791), and Howell Harris (1714–1773) occurred in the early 1700s, “the British movement and its expression in England, *ab initio*, mainly occurred outside the ranks of Dissent.”¹⁷ Congregationalists like Isaac Watts (1674–1748) and Philip Doddridge (1702–1751) were the first among the dissenters to welcome the revival.¹⁸ Baptists, in general, were not impacted by the revival till the 1770s and 1780s, though they claimed the influence of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) upon their change.¹⁹ Since Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) defined the word “evangelical” as “agreeable to gospel; consonant to the Christian law revealed in the holy gospel; contained in the

(1976): 265–90; R. K. Webb, “The Emergence of Rational Dissent,” in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 12–41; Daniel L. Wykes, “The Contribution of the Dissenting Academy to the Emergence of Rational Dissent,” in *Enlightenment and Religion*, 99–139; A. M. C. Waterman, “The Nexus Between Theology and Political Doctrine in Church and Dissent,” in *Enlightenment and Religion*, 193–218; Alan Tapper, “Priestley on Politics, Progress and Moral Theology,” in *Enlightenment and Religion*, 272–86; R. K. Webb, “Rational Piety,” in *Enlightenment and Religion*, 287–311; Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); John Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion: The Age of Enlightenment in England 1660–1750* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁶ Seed, *Dissenting Histories*, 132.

¹⁷ R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and the Evangelical Revival 1760–1820* (Wheaton, IL: Richard Owen Roberts, 1989), 46. W. R. Ward traced the trans-Atlantic movement to its continental origin, see Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁸ On Watts and evangelicalism, see Graham Beynon, *Isaac Watts: Reason, Passion and the Revival of Religion* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2016); on Doddridge and evangelicalism, Robert Strivens, *Philip Doddridge and the Shaping of Evangelical Dissent* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁹ On how London Baptists welcomed the Evangelical Revival, see Roberts, *Continuity and Change*, 87–162. Also see Anthony Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017). Also see Michael A. G. Haykin, “Great Admirers of the Transatlantic Divinity: Some Chapters in the Story of Baptist Edwardsianism,” in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 197–207; Peter J. Morden, *Offering Christ to the World: Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) and the Revival of Eighteenth Century Particular Baptist Life* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2003).

gospel,” W. R. Ward (1925–2010) pointed out that the word was used synonymously to mean “renewal and improvement.”²⁰ Thus, the Evangelical Revival diminished (or at least weakened) the Conformity-vs-Nonconformity division. Instead, it drew lines between “evangelical” (or ardent) and nominal Christians. Consequently, evangelical-piety-based catholicity can be achieved in a divided religious world.²¹ Baptists once again found themselves in an existential crisis, as debates over the sacraments and church membership were rekindled. At the core, questions were raised over the Baptist identity and their relationship with evangelical paedobaptists. Significantly, the communion controversy took place soon after the formation of the Baptist Union (1813).²²

Status Quaestionis

For many Baptist historians, Joseph Kinghorn is briefly mentioned in relation to his “famous” quarrel or debate with Hall over the terms of communion.²³ Indeed,

²⁰ Samuel Johnson, “Evangelical,” in *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words are Deduced from Their Originals, and Illustrated in Their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers. To Which are Prefixed, a History of the Language and an English Grammar*, 2 vols. (London, 1832), 1:646–47. Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 345.

²¹ See Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795–1830* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1983).

²² See Ernest A. Payne, *The Baptist Union: A Short History* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1958). It is interesting that “in 1832 the Union was re-organized and its objects were redefined. It was then felt sufficient to describe it as a union of Baptist ministers and churches ‘who agree in the sentiments usually denominated evangelical’” (Payne, *Baptist Union*, 3–4).

²³ For instance, in A. C. Underwood’s pioneer work, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 1947), Kinghorn’s name was only mentioned twice. With bias, Underwood accused Kinghorn of being conservative in nature (p. 171), and commented that the reason for Kinghorn’s objection to Robert Hall Jr.’s open communion position was that “evidently he was a man who preferred to leave nothing changed in a fast changing world” (p. 171). The last time Underwood mentioned Kinghorn was about the controversy at St. Mary’s chapel over the terms of communion in the mid-nineteenth century (as the church went to the court to settle their disagreements; see Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*). Forty years later, Raymond Brown mentioned three more times in his *magnum opus* (*The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*). With Brown, Kinghorn was presented as a fruit of the Particular Baptist expansion by the end of the eighteenth century. Beside Kinghorn’s controversy with Hall over the terms of communion, Brown also mentioned about Kinghorn’s educational background, which includes the support of Baptist Educational Funds he received, and his studies at Bristol Academy. Regarding the controversy, Brown rightfully points out that Kinghorn and Hall stood in a larger historical and doctrinal background. Before Kinghorn and Hall, there were two generations of debate over the same issue, which are: John Bunyan vs. William Kiffin; Daniel Turner, John Collett Ryland, Robert Robinson and John Ryland Jr. vs. Abraham Booth (and Andrew Fuller, especially see the latter’s involvement in the Serampore controversy; see Ian Hugh Clary, “Throwing Away the Guns: Andrew Fuller, William Ward and the Communion Controversy in the Baptist Missionary Fellowship,” *Foundations* 68 [2015]: 84–101). Within such a historical context, Brown comments, “The future was with

according to nineteenth-century historians, Kinghorn “was almost the last persistent literary opponent of open communion.”²⁴ It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that scholars began to develop interest in this long-been-forgotten Baptist forebear.²⁵ Thanks to the Wilkin family, as well as C. B. Jewson (1909–1981), a significant amount of Kinghorn’s correspondence, especially with his father David Kinghorn (1737–1822), has been preserved in archives at Oxford and Norwich.²⁶ Though

the advocates of Hall’s outlook. Inevitably, in an environment where regular attendance at the Lord’s Supper implied commitment to the local fellowship, ‘open communion’ convictions became the first step to ‘open membership’” (Brown, *English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, 130). Furthermore, Brown also noticed about Kinghorn’s view on freedom and politics, of which served as an example of the English Baptists’ contribution to public affairs toward the end of the century (see Brown, *English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, 134–35). Also see David M. Thompson, “Baptists in the Eighteenth Century: Relations with Other Christians,” in *Challenge and Change: English Baptist Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stephen L. Copson and Peter J. Morden (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2017), 259–80; James Leo Garrett Jr., *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 194–96.

Explicit examinations of the Hall- Kinghorn communion controversy can be found in John H. Y. Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1994); Michael J. Walker, *Baptists at the Table: The Theology of the Lord’s Supper amongst English Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1992); Stanley Keith Fowler, “Baptism as a Sacrament in 20th-Century British Theology” (PhD diss., Wycliffe College and the University of Toronto, 1998); Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists: A Study of English Calvinistic Baptists from the Late 1600s to the Early 1800s* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2003); Geoffrey Ralph Breed, *Particular Baptists in Victorian England and their Strict Communion Organizations* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2003).

²⁴ H. S. Skeats, and C. S. Miall, *History of the Free Churches of England 1688–1891* (London: Alexander & Shephard, 1891), 434, quoted in Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*, 139.

²⁵ This is partly due to the reprint of Martin Hood Wilkin’s biography of Kinghorn, as well as the publication of collections of Kinghorn’s works (Terry Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3 volumes [Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 1995–2010]) Though it took Wolever over fifteen years to collect and publish Kinghorn’s works and works relating to him, this set is tremendously significant for Baptist scholarship. Unfortunately, none of Kinghorn’s communion controversy works have been reprinted. Due to the lack of funding, Wolever could not produce a fourth volume. Other scholars who have spent significant pages examining Kinghorn’s thoughts are Doreen M. Rosman on culture in her *Evangelicals and Culture*, rev. ed. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), and John Robert Parnell on politics in his “Baptists and Britons: Particular Baptist Ministers in England and British Identity in the 1790s” (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2005). Also see Timothy D. Whelan, *Baptist Autographs in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 1741–1845* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 147, 148, 172, 180, 384, 385, 396, 412, 457; Anthony R. Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017); James E. Bradley, “Baptists and National Politics in Late Eighteenth-century England,” in *Challenge and Change: English Baptist Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 149n5, 173; Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘With light, beauty, and power’: Educating English Baptists in the Long Eighteenth Century,” in *Challenge and Change*, 191, 195; Timothy D. Whelan, “‘No sanctuary for philistines’: Baptists and Culture in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Challenge and Change*, 226; David Thompson, “Baptists in the Eighteenth Century: Relations with Other Christians,” in *Challenge and Change*, 276–278; Dallas W. Vandiver, *Who Can Take the Lord’s Supper? A Biblical-Theological Argument for Close Communion* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2021). I have also published a few peer-reviewed articles on Kinghorn’s life and thought. Some of these articles have been incorporated into the current project.

²⁶ At Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford, Kinghorn’s correspondence

we do not have all of Kinghorn's manuscripts, such as his journal and book manuscripts, the available correspondence and short-hand notes are sufficient for any scholar who wishes to understand the Norwich pastor's theological and spiritual formation.

However, besides Jewson's articles in the *Baptist Quarterly* and books on local Norwich history, there are virtually no other published works on Joseph Kinghorn.²⁷ C.

B. Jewson was a successful Norwich businessman, and later served as the Lord Mayor of the city. As Jewson acknowledged in his unpublished manuscripts, his lack of theological

and notes have been catalogued under the title of "Kinghorn Papers." With it, three large boxes of papers and notes are available for researchers. Notably, this collection also contains Jewson's notes and a typed manuscript of a proposed biography of Kinghorn. The "Angus Collection" (if I may give it a nickname here) contains most of David and Joseph's correspondence (except Joseph's Bristol years). After David's removal to Norwich toward the end of 1790s, only a few letters located in this collection. The other place holds Kinghorn's correspondence and notes about Kinghorn is Norfolk County Record Office in Norwich. The main collection is Kinghorn's correspondence with Simon Wilkin. Regarding both collections, C. B. Jewson was instrumental in both their preservation and catalogue.

It seems to be the case that the letters were previously stored at St. Mary's Baptist Church (now Norwich Central Baptist Church). During the WWII, the church building was bombed and a small amount of Kinghorn's correspondence was destroyed. According to Jewson, who began to catalogue the manuscripts before the war, there are ten letters destroyed by fire in 1942. These are: Robert Jacombe, Leicester, to Joseph Kinghorn, Norwich, 17 March 1801; Robert Jacombe to Mary Wilkin, 17 March 1801; Mrs. Wilkin, Cossey, to Joseph Kinghorn; Ebenezer Hollick, Whittlesford, to Joseph Kinghorn, 23 Jan. 1809; Joseph Kinghorn to E. Hollick, an unfinished letter.; H. Perkins, Tofts, to Miss Wilkin, 54 Middle St, St Georges; Thomas Brightwell, Colchester, 27 Nov 1809 to Joseph Kinghorn, Pottergate, Norwich; Thomas Brightwell, Horseheath, to Joseph Kinghorn, 24 Sept 1810; R.M. Bacon, Taverham, to Joseph Kinghorn; S. W., Thorpe, to Joseph Kinghorn at Mrs Stenet's, 60 Paternoster Row, London, 15 Dec, 1810.

²⁷ C. B. Jewson's published works include: *The Baptists in Norfolk* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1957); *The English Church at Rotterdam and Its Norfolk Connections* (Norwich: Jarrold, 1952); *The Jacobin City: A Portrait of Norwich in Its Reaction to the French Revolution, 1788–1802* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975); *St. Mary's, Norwich* (Bedford: Rush & Warwick, 1941); *Simon Wilkin of Norwich* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979). Journal articles include: "Joseph Kinghorn and His Friends," *BQ* 8, no. 8 (1937): 440–43; "Historic Documents of St. Mary's, Norwich," *BQ* 8, no. 6 (1937): 326–31; "Old General Baptist Church, Norwich," *BQ* 9, no. 7 (1939): 430–32; "St. Mary's, Norwich," *BQ* 10, no. 2 (1940): 108–17; "St. Mary's, Norwich, II," *BQ* 10, no. 3 (1940): 168–77; "St. Mary's, Norwich, III," *BQ* 10, no. 4 (1940): 227–36; "St. Mary's, Norwich [IV]," *BQ* 10, no. 5 (1941): 282–87; "St. Mary's, Norwich [V]," *BQ* 10, no. 6 (1941): 340–46; "St. Mary's, Norwich (concluded)," *BQ* 10, no. 7 (1941): 398–406; "Transport and the Churches," *BQ* 10, no. 1 (1940): 40–43; "Two Baptist Books," *BQ* 11, no. 4–7 (1943): 152–55; "The Brewer Family," *BQ* 13, no. 5 (1950): 213–20; "William Watts and William Lindoe," *BQ* 14, no. 8 (1952): 371–74; "Norfolk Baptists Up to 1700," *BQ* 18, no. 7 (1960): 308–15; "Norfolk Baptists Up to 1700 (concluded)," *BQ* 18, no. 8 (1960): 363–69; "St. Mary's, Norwich: Origins," *BQ* 23, no. 4 (1969): 170–76; "Norwich Baptists and the French Revolution," *BQ* 24, no. 5 (1972): 209–15; "William Hawkins, 1790–1853," *BQ* 26, no. 6 (1976): 275–81. Though Jewson was a life-long member of St. Mary's Church, Norwich, he did not have any formal theological education. Thus, Jewson's studies on Kinghorn and St. Mary's Church were based on interests of local history.

Besides my articles on Kinghorn, Jamin Todd Eben has published a brief study of Kinghorn's spirituality (Eben, "Inheritance of Delight: The Spirituality of Joseph Kinghorn," *BQ* 54, no. 1 [2023], 38–48). However, Eben only focused on the published works and failed to engage any primary sources. Ian H. Clary has published an article on the communion controversy (Clary, "Throwing Away the Guns"), in which he briefly examined Kinghorn's contribution in the debate. However, like many scholars, Clary's analysis lacked the support of primary sources.

training limited the depth of his work on Kinghorn. Thus, there is the need of a critical study of Kinghorn's life and spirituality with a phenomenological approach by carefully examining his published and unpublished works. The present project aims to fill in such a significant academic gap and present a contextualised interpretation of a complicated and clamour story.

Thesis

As W. R. Ward and John H. Y. Briggs have recognised, there was a tension between Baptist tradition and evangelicalism.²⁸ Building upon the preliminary works of Martin Hood Wilkin (1832–1904), C. B. Jewson's, Ward, Briggs, and others, this dissertation uses Joseph Kinghorn's ecclesial spirituality as a starting point to reconsider the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy in its socio-historical and theological contexts. In particular, by connecting the published debates with neglected primary sources, this dissertation argues that it was not only inevitable for the Particular Baptists to resume their debate over the terms of communion by the end of the long eighteenth century when the denomination was facing another identity crisis in light of its rising to the global stage, but also necessary for Joseph Kinghorn to represent the close communionists, despite his dislike of squabbles. Furthermore, by tracing back to various German influences, this dissertation looks beyond the British theological traditions and argues that the definition of the church was at the core of the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy. Whereas Hall followed German Lutheran historian and theologian Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755) and understood the church as primarily a society

²⁸ Significantly, this tension is not between tradition and catholicity, as the Oxford Movement and ecumenism understood it in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Kinghorn lived in an age of change, as before 1813, there was not a Baptist denomination in England. However, as the associations worked together and formed the Baptist Union in 1813, it is interesting to wonder if the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy was an inevitable debate for the maturity of Baptist denominationalism in the British Empire. On the Baptist Union, see Ernest A. Payne, *The Baptist Union: A Short History* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1958). See W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790–1850* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1972); John H. Y. Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1994).

joined by voluntary subscriptions, Kinghorn maintained an Augustinian distinction of the visible and invisible church and focused on the community of local congregations.²⁹ As Kinghorn repeatedly pointed out, the disagreement was not over the meaning of the sacraments, but the way to form a church according to the New Testament.³⁰

Methodology

Before explaining the potential contents of each chapter, it is significant to define specific terms, as well as examine the approaches and sources used in this project. As the title suggests, this project is about Joseph Kinghorn's ecclesial spirituality. What then is spirituality? What is ecclesial spirituality?

Terminology

Kees Waaijman in his textbook defined spirituality as "our relation to the Absolute."³¹ He explains, "in our daily life, as a rule, spirituality is latently present as a quiet force in the background, an inspiration and an orientation."³² For him, spirituality displays three fundamental characteristics, which are: "(1) spirituality is a 'project' in which a person seeks to 'integrate' his or her 'life'; (2) the process by which this happens

²⁹ On the distinction of society and community, see Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, translated by Charles P. Loomis (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957). For instance, in Kinghorn's address to students at Bristol Academy, he wrote that "our younger brethren of our own denomination, should particularly consider those questions which relate to ourselves. We have a ground of our own, distinct from that of other dissenters. Our views of Christian baptism, not only present a subject of discussion with our brethren all around, but have a most intimate relation to the question of our separation from the establishment. If, as we firmly believe, we are right, and if our opponents cannot prove that the New Testament has appointed the baptism of *infants*, one principle on which we must separate from the establishment is decided; and the *nature* and *dimensions* of the Christian church are determined at once" (Joseph Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers: Two Sermons, Addressed Principally to the Students of the Two Baptist Academies, at Stepney and at Bristol. The First Preached June 23, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's Meeting, Carter-lane, Southwark; the Second, August 3, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Ryland's, Broad Mead, Bristol* [Norwich, 1814], 30–31).

³⁰ Joseph Kinghorn, *A Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion."* In *Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall's Reply* (Norwich, 1820), 16–17.

³¹ Kees Waaijman, *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods*, translated by John Vriend (Leuven: Peters, 2002), 1.

³² Waaijman, *Spirituality*, 1.

is ‘self-transcendence,’ directed toward ‘the ultimate value,’ as one ‘perceives’ it; (3) the project is intrinsically shaped by the ‘experience’ of ‘being consciously involved in the project.’”³³ Therefore, for Waaijman, human experience lies at the core of “spirituality.” Moreover, the central part of Waaijman’s book is to understand spirituality as “the divine-human relational process as transformation.”³⁴ A similar definition is also found in David B. Perrin’s book, as he states that authentic spirituality is about the “human dimension of life,” and it is “a lived reality that is shaped into a way of life.”³⁵ However, Waaijman’s definition is too broad to include irreligious “spiritualities,” or mere human experiences. Given the fact that early Christians coined the Latin word *spiritualitas*, it is significant for Alister E. McGrath to point out that “spirituality concerns the quest for a fulfilled and authentic religious life, involving for bringing together of the ideas distinctive of that religion and the whole experience of living on the basis of and within the scope of that religion.”³⁶ In other words, spirituality presupposes the existence and involvement of a transcendental being.

Thus, for Christians, spirituality involves two parties—both God and men. In particular, as Michael A. G. Haykin points out, “true spirituality is intimately bound up with the Holy Spirit and his work.”³⁷ Christian spirituality then shall be studied

³³ Waaijman, *Spirituality*, 308.

³⁴ Huub Welzen, *Biblical Spirituality: Contours of a Discipline* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 22. Also see Waaijman, *Spirituality*, 305–591.

³⁵ David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 18, 19.

³⁶ Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 2. On the history of the term “spirituality,” see Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality and History: Questions of Interpretation and Method*, rev. ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995), 42–61; Urban T. Holmes III, *A History of Christian Spirituality: An Analytical Introduction* (New York: Seabury, 1980); C. J. H. Hingley, “Evangelicals and Spirituality,” *Themelios* 15, no. 3 (1990): 86–91; Sandra M. Schneiders, “Scripture and Spirituality,” in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, ed. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 1–20.

³⁷ Michael A. G. Haykin, *The God Who Draws Near: An Introduction to Biblical Spirituality* (Darlington, Durham: Evangelical Press, 2007), xix. Carl F. H. Henry simply states, “The spiritual person is the Spirit-filled person” (Henry, “‘Spiritual? Say It Isn’t So!’,” in *Alive to God: Studies in Spirituality; Presented to James Houston*, ed. J.I. Packer and Loren Wilkinson [Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 1992], 11).

holistically from two angles. First, as Christianity is a revealed religion, spirituality is about how the trinitarian God works in people’s lives in different generations. In this case, history and traditions are tools to understand divine works and providence collectively. Second, Christian spirituality can also be understood as “the internalization of our faith,” which means “allowing our faith to saturate every aspect of our lives, infecting and affecting our thinking, feeling, and living.”³⁸ Therefore, it is not only about how people read and understand the scriptures and pray (i.e. spiritual theology), also it must “touch every area of human experience, the public and social, the painful, negative, even pathological byways of the mind, the moral and relational world.”³⁹ For this reason, spirituality as a discipline is applied in this project to complement classical theological methods.⁴⁰ In other words, as theology and spirituality are applied as “systematic spirituality,” it understands the subject as a holistic person, who is both rational and affective, and concerns how the person knows and experiences God.⁴¹

³⁸ Alister McGrath, “Loving God with Heart and Mind: The Theological Foundations of Spirituality,” in *For All the Saints: Evangelical Theology and Christian Spirituality*, ed. Timothy George and Alister McGrath (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 13–14. Also see Sandra M. Schneiders, “Biblical Spirituality: Life, Literature and Learning,” in *Doors of Understanding: Conversations in Global Spirituality in Honor of Ewert Cousins*, ed. Steven Chase (Quincy, IL: Franciscan Press, 1997), 134; Welzen, *Biblical Spirituality*, 22–25; David Parker, “Evangelical Spirituality Reviewed,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1991): 123–48.

³⁹ Rowan Williams, *The Wound of Knowledge: Christian Spirituality from the New Testament to St. John of the Cross* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1979), 2.

⁴⁰ On the relationship between theology and spirituality, see J. I. Packer, “An Introduction to Systematic Spirituality,” *Crux* 26 (1990): 2–8; McGrath, “Loving God with Heart and Mind: The Theological Foundations of Spirituality,” 11–26; Marva J. Dawn, “Practiced Theology—Lived Spirituality,” in *For All the Saints*, 137–54; John Macquarrie, *Paths in Spirituality*, 2nd ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1992), 53–72; David B. Burrell, “Friends in Conversation: The Language and Practice of Faith,” in *Spirituality and Theology: Essays in Honor of Diogenes Allen*, ed. Eric O. Springsted (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 28–36; Eric O. Springsted, “Theology and Spirituality; or, Why Theology is Not Critical Reflection on Religious Experience,” in *Spirituality and Theology*, 49–62.

Perrin brilliantly summarises the strengths of spirituality as an area of study: (1) “[the study’s] commitment to reinterpreting [Christian spirituality’s] storied past, brought to us frequently, and not always accurately, through theological lenses;” (2) “Its openness to take seriously the various traditions, each with its own contribution, that have emerged from this storied past;” (3) “its commitment to a critical analysis of its contexts, histories, and practices as they influence and construct Christian spiritualities;” (4) “its readiness to grapple with the often enigmatic and sometimes contradictory perspectives on Christian life reflected in the Christian scriptures;” (5) “its acknowledgement of the self-implicating nature of Christian spirituality;” (6) “its commitment to an interdisciplinary approach as a significant method in research” (Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality*, 34–35).

⁴¹ See Packer, “Introduction to Systematic Spirituality,” 7–8.

Furthermore, Christian spirituality is not merely individualistic. John R. W. Stott (1921–2011) rightfully pointed out that “the church lies at the very center of the eternal purpose of God ... the church is God’s new community.”⁴² Though disagreements have existed among Christians regarding the relationship between the New Testament Church and the Old Testament Israel, it is undeniable that the Bible (for instance, Acts 2:42–47; 4:32–37) teaches the quintessential role of the church in Christian formation and life.⁴³ Moreover, as Oliver O’Donovan points out,

An end of action depends on the *idea* of an approving community for its justification, and for its complete vindication it depends on the actual appearing, in concrete objectivity, of an approving community. And so the act of God in restoring moral reason is brought to completion, as the prophet of the Apocalypse sees it, in the disclosure of a community, a city “descending from heaven from God” (Rev. 21:10).⁴⁴

Therefore, in the case of Joseph Kinghorn, an ecclesial spirituality examines both Kinghorn’s understanding of the church and the church’s role in Kinghorn’s life and actions. As it will be examined in this dissertation, the core of Kinghorn’s published and unpublished works is about Kinghorn’s understanding of being a Christian—who is a Christian, and how Christians are to live together as the church.

Regarding the terms of communion, it is necessary to define the terms being used in this dissertation to prevent confusion. Though both parties have used different

⁴² John R. W. Stott, *The Living Church: Convictions of a Lifelong Pastor* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2007), 19.

⁴³ See, for instance, Richard Gaillardetz, “Ecclesiology and Spirituality,” in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Philip Sheldrake (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 259–61; Gregg R. Allison, *Sojourners and Strangers: The Doctrine of the Church* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012); James W. Thompson, *The Church According to Paul: Rediscovering the Community Conformed to Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2014); Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit: A Contribution to Messianic Ecclesiology*, translated by Margaret Kohl (New York: Harper & Row, 1975); John Stott, *One People: Helping Your Church Become a Caring Community*, rev. ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1982); Paul S. Fiddes, *Baptists and the Communion of Saints: A Theology of Covenanted Disciples* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2014); Joseph Ratzinger, *The Meaning of Christian Brotherhood* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1966); Fabio Ciardi, *Koinonia: Spirituality and Theology of the Growth of Religious Community* (New York: New City, 2017); Adrian Thatcher, *Living Together and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁴ Oliver O’Donovan, *Entering into Rest: Ethics as Theology Volume 3* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), 46.

names, this dissertation chooses to use the term “close/strict communion” to address those who “oppose the admission of Pædobaptists to communion, because they consider them to be unbaptised, and believe, that admitting the unbaptised is not according to the direction of Christ, and the practice of his Apostles.”⁴⁵ In other words, the close communionists are those “who restrict their communion to persons who have submitted to adult baptism by immersion.”⁴⁶ It is significant to distinguish “close communion” from “closed communion,” as the latter was a position adopted later in North America when the eucharist and membership became separate issues. On the other hand, instead of using terms like “catholic” or “mixed” communion, this dissertation uses “open communion” to address those who are “willing to admit [the unbaptised],” or simply, those who “admit Pædobaptists also—and, in short, true Christians of all denominations.”⁴⁷

While maintaining the original spellings and punctuations of the primary sources in this dissertation, it is decided to interchangeably use terms such as “ordinance” and “sacrament,” as well as the “eucharist,” “the Lord’s Supper,” and “the Lord’s Table.”⁴⁸ Special attention has been paid when the authors were using “communion” to refer to the eucharist, as meanings can vary in different contexts.

Approaches and sources

Virtuous readers of history understand their limitations, which in particular reflects on their limited access to sources, and their hermeneutical presuppositions. For a historian, it is impossible to read Kinghorn’s inner thoughts, especially given the loss of

⁴⁵ Joseph Kinghorn, *A Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion.” In Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall’s Reply* (Norwich: Wilkin and Youngman, 1820), 20.

⁴⁶ Anonymous, *The Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination, Especially in the Present Period; With Some Notices of the Writings of Messrs. Booth, Fuller, and R. Hall, on This Subject* (London, [1822]), 1.

⁴⁷ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 20; Anonymous, *The Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination*, 1.

⁴⁸ See Stanley K. Fowler, “Some Fallacies of Baptist Anti-Sacramentalism,” in *Baptist Sacramentalism 3*, ed. Anthony R. Cross and Philip E. Thompson (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2020), 33–51.

many of his manuscripts. Nevertheless, by comprehensively examining his and others' correspondence and published works, this project wishes to grant Kinghorn his democratic right to speak for himself in his own historical, socio-political, and theological contexts.

Another problem is the reader's presuppositions. For this writer, he recognises that he stands upon shoulders of men like Marc Bloch (1886–1944), Herbert Butterfield (1900–1979), Andrew F. Walls (1928–2021), David Bebbington (1949–), and Michael A. G. Haykin (1953–). Either by reading or observation, this writer seeks to imitate his models in studying history. At the same time, his understanding of history is also shaped by reading Augustine (354–430), R. G. Collingwood (1889–1943), Jean Daniélou (1905–1974), Paul Ricœur (1913–2005), Rowan Williams (1950–), and Renie Chow Choy. Such hermeneutical issues can also be said regarding Kinghorn's reading of the scriptures, as well as his interpretation of his objectors' opinions. Ricœur then seemed to provide confidence for a project like this, as he pointed out that “phenomenology remains the unsurpassable presupposition of hermeneutics. On the other hand, phenomenology cannot constitute itself without a hermeneutical presupposition. The hermeneutical condition of phenomenology is linked to the role of *Auslegung* [explication] in the fulfilment to its philosophical project.”⁴⁹ Thus, as a reaction against a propositional approach to history, this dissertation explicitly employs a phenomenological approach and engages disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, literature, and the law.

Structure

Besides this introduction, which lays out the contour and direction of the project, there are four chapters. As it is stated in the above sections, context is significant

⁴⁹ Paul Ricœur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, edited and translated by John B. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 62.

for virtuous readers, so chapter two will provide an in-depth study of Joseph Kinghorn's life. Such a biographical sketch introduces Kinghorn as a son, a student, a pastor, and a scholar. The third chapter provides a history of the communion controversy among the Particular Baptists. By examining the foundational principles of the Baptist denomination in England, this chapter considers the arguments in the Bunyan-Kiffen and Ryland/Turner/Robinson-Booth communion controversies. This chapter also explores the expansion and development of the practice of open communion among the Particular Baptist congregations toward the end of the long eighteenth century.

Chapter four returns to Joseph Kinghorn, as it reconstructs his ecclesial spirituality by using his publications and private correspondence. This chapter systematically reviews Kinghorn's theological views on different subjects. Specifically, it is guided by the ecclesiological framework of the invisible and visible church. For the former, it concerns the meaning of being a Christian; for the latter, it concerns the meaning of being a Christian church. Without engaging his works during the communion controversy, this chapter serves as a starting point to understand Kinghorn's involvement in the debate. Furthermore, as it will be observed, Kinghorn differed with Hall over their understandings of the church.

The fifth chapter analyses the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy in detail, by placing it in the zeitgeist of the early nineteenth century. Published works from both sides of the debate will be studied in depth, especially regarding their thesis, arguments, sources, and supporting proofs. Besides summarising and analysing Hall's and Kinghorn's arguments, this chapter will also consider significant contributions from both camps. With the analysis laid out in the previous chapters, the final chapter draws the project to a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

“BE THE CHRISTIAN, THE MAN OF GOD ALSO”¹: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSEPH KINGHORN

There are two areas of studies about buildings—the exterior and the interior. In a like manner, historians can examine a subject’s external life and his or her internal ideas. Nevertheless, as ideas regulate ways of living, and life experiences affect ways of thinking, humans need to be studied holistically. This chapter provides a foundation for theological analysis, an external structure for internal design. As Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) stated, “we are suitors for agreement from everyone else, because we are fortified with a ground common to all.”² Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832) was a Georgian Englishman before he was a Christian. Yet, after conversion, Kinghorn became a Christian who lived in and influenced the English society.

The name Kinghorn was possibly originated in the Scottish barony of Kinghorn, in the parish of Fife.³ It is a Gaelic compound of *cinn* (*ceann*), meaning “head,” and *cùirn*, “a horn,” which together means “the head of the horn or bend.”⁴ Kinghorn as a surname was not common, and it is widespread in Scotland, as well as in Northumberland.⁵ Joseph Kinghorn’s family probably originated in Fife, and migrated to

¹ Joseph Kinghorn to Richard Foster Jr. (February 10, 1829), in Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander, 1855), 426.

² Immanuel Kant, *Kant’s Critique of Aesthetic Judgement. Translated, with Seven Introductory Essays Notes, and Analytical Index*, translated by James Creed Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 82.

³ Patrick Hanks, Richard Coates, Peter McClure, et al., “Kinghorn,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 3:1482.

⁴ Henry Harrison, *Surnames of the United Kingdom: A Concise Etymological Dictionary* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, 1969), 1:253.

⁵ Hanks, Coates, McClure, et al., “Kinghorn,” 1482. In 1881, the surname’s frequency in the Great Britain was 858, and today it is 1289 in Britain, and 16 in Ireland.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the early or mid-seventeenth century.⁶ The Kinghorn's new hometown can trace its history to the Roman occupation in the second century, as *Pons Aelius* was built as a Roman fort at the original eastern end of the Hadrian's Wall. In 1530, Newcastle became the centre of English coal industry, through which it prospered and developed into a major English town.⁷ As Newcastle was built along the Tyne River, there were geographical disadvantages for the Geordies, as one nineteenth-century writer complained, "We wonder what blockhead first built Newcastle; for, before you can get into and out of it, you must descend one hill, and ascend another about as steep as the sides of a coal-pit."⁸ Before the Victorian era, Newcastle was a comfortable place to live with clean air, as John Wesley (1703–1791) remarked in 1738, "that were he not journeying towards heaven, he could not wish for a more pleasant abiding-place than Newcastle."⁹

The Kinghorn Parents

In the early Victorian period, an anonymous author penned a short biography in the *Baptist Magazine* to remember David Kinghorn (1737–1822). The author noticed, "There have been many active persons, whose lives were important to their contemporaries, respecting whom, if any thing has been printed at all, nothing has been

⁶ Due to the lack of information, Kinghorn's genealogy was unable to be traced beyond David Kinghorn's parents. Based on the present data, the Kinghorn's family might have migrated to England around or before the Bishops' Wars (1639–1640). On Scottish migration, see Nicholas P. Canny, *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Ian D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550–1830* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 2000); Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, c. 1050–c. 1750* (London: Longman, 1995); Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004).

⁷ See J. J. Anderson, ed., *Newcastle Upon Tyne, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). Due to its coal monopoly, the idiom "coals to Newcastle" emerged, which is similar to "owls to Athens," meaning, "a pointless venture, in the sense of sending something to a place where it is made, or where they already have an abundance."

⁸ As quoted by P. M. Horsley, *Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Oriel, 1971), 53.

⁹ As quoted by R. J. Charleton, *Newcastle Town: An Account of Its Rise and Progress: Its Struggles and Triumphs: And Its Ending* (London: Walter Scott, 1885), 2.

published in a form that was likely to ensure general or permanent attention. Mr. David Kinghorn, was one of these.”¹⁰

Such a comment may be considered as adulation, since David Kinghorn was an unpublished and self-educated village Baptist pastor. Doubtlessly, the Victorian author’s intention was not merely remembrance; rather, it was *le devoir de mémoire*. In this work, the author extensively quoted from Martin Hood Wilkin’s (1832–1904) then newly-published biography of Joseph Kinghorn. By then, the Norwich minister had been dead for twenty-three years. Though during his life time, “no one in Norfolk would have thought of opposing Kinghorn,” beginning in 1840, the terms of communion became a matter of crisis within the Norfolk and Suffolk Association, and Kinghorn’s memory became a target of attack.¹¹ In 1849, George Gould (1818–1882) succeeded William Brock (1807–1875), and began to minister to the congregation at St. Mary’s, Norwich. Ironically, both Brock and Gould were open communionists. Two years after the publication of Wilkin’s biography (1855), St. Mary’s “resolved to receive all believers at the Table of the Lord.”¹² In response, Simon Wilkin (1790–1862) and William Norton Jr. (1812–1890), two trustees of the church, “commenced an action in the Court of Chancery to restrain the minister and members from practising open communion.”¹³ It is compelling that Simon Wilkin also contributed to his son’s biography of his former

¹⁰ “Memoir of the Rev. David Kinghorn, Many Years Pastor of the Baptist Church at Bishop Burton, Yorkshire,” *BM* 47 (May 1855): 265.

¹¹ Charles Boardman Jewson, *The Baptist in Norfolk* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1957), 91.

¹² Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, 92.

¹³ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, 92. On the legal case, see *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich. Free Communion, a Branch of the Trusts on which the Property is Held* (London: Hall, 1847); “April 30, and May 1, 2 and 28. Particular Baptist—Strict Communion—Deed of Trust of Chapel,” *The Law Reporter* 2, no. 36 (June 30, 1860): 494–500; William Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich. The Suit—Attorney-General versus Gould and Others, in the Rolls Court: Its Origin, the Proceedings, Pleadings, and Judgement* (London: Houlston and Wright, 1860); [George Gould, ed.,] *Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich: Report of the Proceedings in Attorney-General v. Gould, Before the Right Honorable the Master of the Rolls, and His Honor’s Judgment Thereon. Revised by Counsel* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1860).

guardian. Overall, both Wilkin's and the anonymous author's biographies were composed to cure a "shameful amnesia" especially among Particular Baptists in East Anglia. With regard to the Victorian author's article, it is perhaps candid to state that David Kinghorn's most important contribution to the English Baptists was his mentorship of Joseph Kinghorn.¹⁴

David Kinghorn's Early Life

Due to the lack of recorded information not much is known about David Kinghorn's early life. In fact, as he confessed later, he "never kept a diary."¹⁵ According to Wilkin, David Kinghorn was born on October 3, 1737, possibly at Hexham, Northumberland, England.¹⁶ His parents George (b. 1705) and Mary (née Traine, b. 1707) Kinghorn had at least two other adult children, John Kinghorn (1731–1813) and Ann Henderson.¹⁷ Five days after his birth on October 8, 1737, David was baptised at Castle Garth Presbyterian Chapel in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.¹⁸ When he grew up, David

¹⁴ On a brief history of mentorship prior to the Georgian era, see Rhys S. Bezzant, *Edwards the Mentor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), esp. 13–41.

¹⁵ David Kinghorn, "A Brief Account of my Call to the [ministry]," Kinghorn Letters, D/KIN2/1765–1769, no. 3, KPA.

In an unpublished manuscript, C.B. Jewson wrote: "Very early in life he had come under the influence of the Methodist Revival: self-taught, he gradually acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but that he could not be called a widely read man was hardly his fault—he would have read if he could, but books were dear and David was never far from absolute poverty. One book he did know to the depths—the Bible. No-one was more religious than he, but at the same time he had his share of eighteenth century "reasonableness," and was never betrayed into the excesses of enthusiasm so common at the time." (Charles Boardman Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, unpublished manuscript, Jewson, JK and his Circle, D/KIN 8/2, KPA, 1:1)

¹⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 7.

¹⁷ The couple was married at the Cathedral Church of St Nicholas in Newcastle-upon-Tyne on March 29, 1730. According to a genealogical database, George and Mary have six children: John (1730–1820; married Elizabeth Garret [b. 1733] in 1753 and had at least a son William [b. 1769]), George (b. 1732), Ann (b. 1734), David (1737–1822), Robert (b. 1740), and Elizabeth (b. 1742). However, according to Wilkin, "the only relations of whom we have any considerable knowledge, are [David's] brother John, and his sister Ann, who married Mr. Henderson" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 6–7). In his footnote, Wilkin indicated that "In a memorandum book of Mr. Joseph Kinghorn, we find the following entry;—'Mary, wife of George Kinghorn, born Oct. 6, 1707,' which, in all probability, refers to David Kinghorn's mother and father, as it is followed by the entry of John Kinghorn's birth, and that of other members of his family" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 7). This memorandum, however, is not found in the archives.

¹⁸ See Eneas Mackenzie, "Protestant Dissent: Chapels and meeting-houses," in *Historical Account of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mackenzie

became a shoemaker in the city. On December 27, 1762, David married Jane Andrew (d. 1763), the daughter of a Bartholomew Andrew, at the Cathedral Church of St Nicholas.¹⁹ Like David Kinghorn’s early years, not much is known about Jane. According to Wilkin, Jane gave birth to George Kinghorn on September 17, 1763, and Jane died a week after with postpartum infections, and George only survived nine months.²⁰ Both the mother and son were possibly buried at the Ballast Hills cemetery, which was the nonconformist burial ground at Newcastle.²¹ In the Angus Archives, there is a notebook that belonged to David Kinghorn, which is dated around 1762. On the front cover, John 16:32 was quoted, and below the text signed the name Jane Andrew.²² Based on the handwriting, it is possible that the text was copied by Jane. Though there was no correspondence between David and Jane, the notebook included a letter from David to a friend on marriage between “a believer and one of another,” a copy of a spiritual recipe, a nine-verse poem, “a curious letter from George Bell [d. 1807]” foretelling the end of the world on February 28, 1763, and several sermon notes.²³ It is apparent that about the time of his marriage

and Dent, 1827), 370–414; Anonymous, *An Abstract of the History of the Castle-Garth Meeting-House* (Newcastle, 1811).

The congregation is possibly originated from Thomas Bradbury’s dispute with his former church, the Close (now Hanover Square) meeting-house. In 1705, a piece of land at Castle Garth was granted for the purpose of building a chapel. The church’s register of baptisms was commenced by a Mr. Dawson in 1708, and he was the minister of the church for twenty-five years. In 1736, Edward Aitkin (1695–1771) succeeded in the pastorate, in conjunction with William Robertson, linen-drafter of Dr. James Ellis. During Aitkin’s thirty-nine years of ministry, he “founded the first charity-school amongst dissenters” in Newcastle, and “under his care and protection, was a relief to many poor families, and of great public benefit” (Moses Aaron Richardson, *The Borderer’s Table Book; Or, Gatherings of the Local History and Romance of the English and Scottish Border*, 8 vols [Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1846], 1:198–99). In 1759, James Burn became Aitkin’s assistant, and he returned to Scotland in 1761. On November 10, 1762, William Davidson became the assistant to Aitkin, and later succeeded him.

¹⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 7.

²⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 7.

²¹ On the burial ground, see Arthur Maule Oliver, ed., *A Volume of Miscellanea*, Newcastle upon Tyne Records Series Vol 9 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, 1930).

²² David Kinghorn’s Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1, KPA.

²³ David Kinghorn’s Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

John Wesley had a hard time with David Bell, especially after the latter prophesied that the end of the world would happen near St Luke’s Hospital, on February 28, 1763. He was however arrested. Wesley saw Bell’s imprison as the latter’s leave from Methodism. Robert Southey (1774–1843) called Bell “an ‘arrogant enthusiast’ who became an ‘ignorant infidel’” (Robert Leonard Tucker, *The Separation of the*

with Jane Andrew, David Kinghorn was an evangelical Christian, and had reflected on the matter of Christian marriage.

Significantly, Kinghorn's religious affections can be found in this poem, which begins with his condition before conversion: "While thro this wilderness I staid/ Through tiresome rough and thorny roads/ I sought for peace and often said/ There's none will ease me of my loads."²⁴ Reflecting on man's total depravity and their need of divine deliverance, Kinghorn wrote in the second stanza, "Of sins and guilt which me opprest/ Till a light in my soul did shine/ Which led me straight to Christ my rest/ and God did say all things are thine."²⁵ From stanza two and onward, every stanza ends with the fulfilment of God's promise, which is Christ and all of his are mine. Stanzas five and six begin with similar lines: "O may I never turn again," and "O may I never turn to sin."²⁶ These negative pleas then turned to positive petitions: "But keep me close to Christ that's mine," and "To slay my soul's peace Lord bring in/ the Righteousness of Christ that's mine."²⁷ Theologically, these verses turned Kinghorn's belief of perseverance of saints and sanctification into prayers. The most evangelical verses are the seventh and eighth stanzas.²⁸ In stanza seven, David asks God to allow "us all who feel his grace" to bear

Methodists from the Church of England [Reprint, Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008], 33). On David Bell, see Kenneth G.C. Newport, "George Bell, Prophet and Enthusiast," *Methodist History* 35, no. 2 (1997): 95–105; Newport, and Gareth Lloyd, "George Bell and Early Methodist Enthusiasm: A New Manuscript Source from the Manchester Archives," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 80, no. 1 (1998): 89–102; Llyod, "'A Cloud of Perfect Witnesses': John Wesley and the London Disturbances 1760–1763," *Asbury Theological Journal* 57, no. 1 (2002): 117–36.

²⁴ David Kinghorn's Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

²⁵ David Kinghorn's Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

²⁶ David Kinghorn's Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

²⁷ David Kinghorn's Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

²⁸ Isabel Rivers observes that among the eighteenth-century dissenters, "the evangelical tendency emphasizes the traditional Reformation doctrines of grace, atonement, justification by faith . . . , the importance of experimental knowledge, meaning both the believer's own experience of religion, and acquaintance with the variety of the experience of others, and the central function of the heart and affections in religion to the will and understanding" (Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethic in England, 1660–1780. Volume I Whichcote to Wesley* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 167). D. Bruce Hindmarsh states, "the regenerating work of the Spirit in evangelical conversion introduced a qualitatively new experience of perception, and this extended to

faithful witness in life.²⁹ In the following stanza, he pleads for the unity of “us who feel his grace”—the church, so that they may “striving who shall have most delight/ To praise the Lamb’s that’s theirs and mine.”³⁰ For Kinghorn, faith was not individualistic; moreover, the church was not only local, but also catholic. This poem then ended with an eschatological hope and vision, as all “who feel his grace” will “praise the God that’s mine.”³¹ Thus around 1762, the paedo-baptised David Kinghorn had experienced an evangelical conversion, as he both knew the orthodox doctrines and felt God’s grace.³²

David Kinghorn Became a Baptist

In 1765, the again-single David met Elizabeth Jopling (1737/8–1810), who

both the spiritual and the natural world” (Hindmarsh, *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism: True Religion in a Modern World* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018], 126). Such an emphasis on the human senses is based on the Lockean conception that the two main sources of ideas are sensation and reflection, or the external and internal senses (see Carolyn Purnell, *The Sensational Past: How the Enlightenment Changed the Way We Use Our Senses* [New York; London: W.W. Norton, 2017]). Other examples on evangelical understanding of the senses, see Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* [1746], ed., John E. Smith, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 2 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959). Later, Andrew Fuller stated it plainly, “the gospel must be held in faith and love. The union of genuine orthodoxy and affection constitutes true religion” (Fuller, “Sermon 89 Holding Fast the Gospel,” in *The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life, by Andrew Gunton Fuller* [Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle, 1988], 1:549). Later, Joseph Kinghorn reminded the students at the Northern Academy: “Cultivate that Christian character which was the first great reason why you were encouraged to turn your attention to the ministry. You well know, that had not your friends believed that you were really partakers of the grace of God, you would not have been sent here. Take heed, lest you lose that feeling, which is preserved by nothing but a strong, lively sense of the excellency of the gospel of Christ” (Joseph Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers. The Substance of a Sermon Preached at Bradford, in the County of York; at the Annual Meeting of the Northern Baptist Education Society, August 27, 1817* [Norwich, 1817], 8–9).

²⁹ David Kinghorn’s Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

³⁰ David Kinghorn’s Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

³¹ David Kinghorn’s Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1.

³² It is difficult to know what influenced Kinghorn to experience an evangelical conversion. The possible sources are from the pulpit at his church, his reading of evangelical writers (such as William Romaine, and puritans), and the evangelical revival. For John Wesley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne was a significant centre for the revival and later for his Methodism. It is recorded in his journal that John Wesley first visited and preached at Newcastle in 1742. In the same year, Wesley opened an orphan house there. Along with London and Bristol, Newcastle became a part of the “triangle of early Methodism” (D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 65). On early Methodism in Newcastle, also see John Wesley, *The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the Methodist Societies* (London, 1798); Simon Ross Valentine, *John Bennet and the Origins of Methodism and the Evangelical Revival in England* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1997); William W. Stamp, *The Orphan-House of Wesley: With Notices of Early Methodism in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Its Vicinity* (London, 1863).

was the second daughter of Joseph Jopling (1696–1758) and Elizabeth Rippon (1696–1742) of Satley.³³ Though David was fond of Elizabeth, he did not express his feelings until the Jopling family was about to move “to so great a distance from Newcastle.”³⁴ In his letter of proposal, Kinghorn wrote with anxiety, fearing that Elizabeth “will not thereby be offended, nor blame me for being too shy, or on the other hand, think I have had little value for my former wife, (which my conscience upbraids me for the contrary) as to think so soon of another.”³⁵ Kinghorn then continued:

I being pretty well acquainted with you formerly am not at a loss to believe you will be an agreeable help meet for me. As for your part, you cannot be altogether ignorant of me but may know as much as to determine you (through the direction of him who rules over all his creatures and their actions) how to give an answer to my question, which whether you would choose me for a partner or not ... may Jehovah ... direct you to speak and me to hear with a holy submission to his holy will.³⁶

Betty—as how David addressed her—accepted the proposal. Though the letter’s date was lost, it was probably in early January 1765 that David and Elizabeth were engaged. In a letter dated January 28, 1765, David addressed Elizabeth as “my dear love.” In this letter, Kinghorn encouraged his fiancée to meditate on Christ and his gospel for comfort and joy, and to seek communion through prayers, as he stated:

he who was the Brightness of his father’s glory, the express image of his person that he by whom the world was made that he who is worshipped by angels, before whom the Devils Tremble, that he the self-existent God should stoop so Low as to Take

³³ On the Jopling family (as well as their relationship to Henry Angus), see David Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England, from 1648 to 1845* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1846), 13–29; Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 7–9; Angus Watson, *The Angus Clan, Years 1588 to 1950* (Gateshead on Tyne, 1955).

C.B. Jewson mentions that Kinghorn “claimed descent through his grandmother Mary Parker from Thomas [c. 1510–1570], brother of Archbishop Matthew Parker [1504–1575], who had been Mayor of Norwich in 1568” (Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, unpublished manuscripts, D/KIN 8/2, KPA, 193).

³⁴ David Kinghorn to Elizabeth Jopling (1765), David/Joseph Kinghorn Letters, D/KIN 2/1765–1832, no. 1, KPA.

³⁵ David Kinghorn to Elizabeth Jopling (1765), David/Joseph Kinghorn Letters, D/KIN 2/1765–1832, no. 1; also in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 10.

³⁶ David Kinghorn to Elizabeth Jopling (1765), David/Joseph Kinghorn Letters, D/KIN 2/1765–1832, no. 1.

notes of us and we loves to sin and Rebels against God should be Brought into ... Friendship with God into union with the father through the son by the spirit ... Blessed be his name, he is to be seen in his word and ordinances. But I recommend secret prayer as the only mean for Reviving Languishing Love. for although he hath Bound himself by promise to save us from all our iniquity which is the cause of all our sorrows yet he hath said for these things will I be inquire of by the house of Israel and indeed it is in secret where the soul hath to Deal immediately with himself and this you know a father's view of his Lovely face and our interest in him will scatter all our fears and Doubts and where shall we have a sight of our King but by Coming into his Royal presence with Boldness as he is seated on a throne of grace with Love in his lovely Looks inviting us to Draw near that we may Receiv the purchase of his Blood which is pardon peace and Reconciliation. Oh Remember what Mr [William] Romain[e] [1714–1795] said, Take the Bank notes of heaven and carry them to the Bank, plead there Divine stamp thus saith Jehovah and hath he said and shall he not Bring it to pass hath he spoken and shall he not make it good he hath said, Return, O Backsliding Children for I am married unto you he hath said I will be mercifull unto your unrighteousness and your sins and your iniquities I will remember no more for he had said.³⁷

In the second half of the letter, which was written on February 1, 1765, David mentioned his move to “the Low Church Chair [*sic* Chare],” which was “the same rent of the other and are pretty light thoug[h] not up any stairs.”³⁸ Elizabeth later moved in as the mistress of the house, and a year later, Joseph Kinghorn was born here.

After a few months of separation, the couple got married on April 22, 1765 at Gateshead-on-Tyne, south of Newcastle across the river. Their understanding of a Christian marriage is awesomely reflected in Elizabeth's prayer,

I think of it with fear and trembling, as conscious of my great failings, and how insufficient I am to fulfil all the great duties of a wife, a mistress, a mother and a neighbour. But since thou hast ordained man and woman to be mutual helps and dear companions to one another, I hope I do not sin in consenting to change my state and as I have chose a man of religion and virtues, of agreeable temper, and a suitable condition as far as my judgment enables me, so I hope through the divine

³⁷ David Kinghorn to Elizabeth Jopling (1765), David/Joseph Kinghorn Letters, D/KIN 2/1765–1832, no. 2.

³⁸ David Kinghorn to Elizabeth Jopling (1765), David/Joseph Kinghorn Letters, D/KIN 2/1765–1832, no. 2.

“Chare” is commonly used in Newcastle as “the name of narrow streets or alleys in the populous parts of the city.” “Most of the chares ... may be easily reached across by the extended arms of a middle-sized man, and some with a single arm; but a stout person would find it inconvenient to pass through the upper part of” it. The houses are “almost touched each other at the top; and the whole of these chares were densely packed with humanity” (Oliver Heslop, “Chare,” *Northumberland Words. A Glossary of Words Used in the County of Northumberland and on the Tyneside*, 2 vols [London: English Dialect Society, 1892], 1:143–44). Wilkin noticed that the Low Church Chare was pulled down for a new street. It “led from the steps at the end of” St. Mary's Church “down to the alley called Hillgate, opposite the foot of” Bottle Bank (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 12, 13n2).

concurrence, our marriage will be the foundation of all that happiness which can flow from society and true friendship in this imperfect state.³⁹

It was also around this time, Kinghorn began to seriously consider credobaptism—possibly due to his wife’s influence.⁴⁰ With earnest prayers and diligent study, Kinghorn was finally convinced that only believers are suitable for baptism.⁴¹ After being baptised a second time, but as a believer—possibly by David Fernie (1730–1789?), who occasionally preached at Newcastle between 1765 and 1778—he became a member of the Tuthill-Stairs congregation, where Elizabeth’s cousin William Angus was a deacon.⁴² This Particular Baptist congregation was first formed in 1720 and then re-organised in 1765, as the church minute book recorded:

[A]s early as the year 1720, nine persons formed themselves into a Church, and shortly after purchas’d some premises, which had one large Room, in which they worshipped. This room tho originally not designed for a place of worship was built in the year 1405, and had been used by Religious Persons of different sentiments until it was at last purchas’d by the particular Baptists ... In the year 1765 (July) nine persons who resided in, or near Newcastle formed themselves into a Church,

³⁹ David Kinghorn’s notebook, c. 1765–1798, D/KIN 1/2, KPA, 3–4.

⁴⁰ See Kinghorn, “A Brief Account of my Call to the [ministry]” in Kinghorn Papers. Also see Kinghorn’s understanding of marriage in his notebook, where he stated, “there scarcely can be difference of opinion between man and wife without alienation of affection” (David Kinghorn’s Notebook, c. 1762, D/KIN 1/1).

⁴¹ See Kinghorn, “A Brief Account of my Call to the [ministry]” in KPA.

⁴² In a letter (July 6, 1765) to Robert Carmichael (d. 1774), minister of a small Independent church in Edinburgh, John Gill (1697–1771) recommended Fernie to fill in the former’s pulpit, as he is “a man of great evangelical light, and good knowledge of the constitution and order of churches ... I direct my letters always to him—for I have had a correspondence with him for many years” (As quoted in Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England*, 190). R. Pengibly recorded that Fernie “came originally from Scotland; is said to have been a magistrate before he began to preach. He had 4 sons, David, Solomon, Thomas, & Ebenezer. Some account of Mr Fernie’s exertions at the Dye-house, where he was the instrument of convincing Mr Robert Hall of the truth of the Baptists’ Principles, may be found in Dr Ryland’s Funeral Sermon for Mr Hall, or rather in the Appendix to it, page 59 et seq. ... Mr. F. is described as excessively partial to the high doctrines of Calvinism, which indeed was the common evil attending the preaching of that period. Mr F. preached and baptized at Newcastle at different times between the years 1765 and 1778” (R. Pengibly, “Records of the Baptist Church Assembling at Tuthill Stairs Chapel, Newcastle on Tyne,” Historical Records, register of membership and extracts from minutes of meetings, C.NC 11/4, TWA, 2).

Other accounts on Fernie, see Anonymous, “Tuthill-Stairs, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland,” *The Baptist Reporter, and Missionary Intelligencer* 5 (August 1848): 302–4; Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England*, 164–98; Allen B. Hinds, *A History of Northumberland, Volume III, Hexhamshire: Part I* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1896), 205–9.

In the church minute book, the earliest record of baptism was in the 1780s, with the only exception of Mary Kidd, who was baptised in 1765. Thus, there is no entry regarding David Kinghorn’s baptism.

and agreed to send for Mr. David Farnie, who preach'd occasionally at Durham, but resided at Stockton. He preach'd, and baptized two persons on 20. July (viz) Caleb Alder and Philip Nairne. Oct 14. 1765 he baptized Dorothy Andrew. And in the month of April following Mr. Rutherford of Chatham visited the church. Mr Rutherford's stay was but short, for on the 25 of April Mr. Farnie again visited the church, and baptized a Mr George Cox, hair dresser.⁴³

After James Rutherford left, his cousin William Peden also came occasionally to supply the pulpit.⁴⁴ In March 1770, the church called John Allen (fl. 1740s–d. 1783) as their minister, and he left around the year 1772.⁴⁵

⁴³ “The Baptized Church of Christ in Newcastle on Tyne ... Assembly of Worship, Tuthill Stairs Chapel,” Minutes including details of membership, deaths, accounts, etc., C.NC 11/1, TWA, [3].

⁴⁴ “James Rutherford was born in the north of England and educated as a Presbyterian; but when at the Latin school in Jedburgh during 1752, he was led by Vincent's Catechism to study the question of baptism, which he did from the Bible alone. This led him to the conclusion that baptism was intended for believers only, and that it should be administered by immersion. He had heard vaguely of English Baptists, and now sought for their books, of which he obtained Wilson's Scripture Manuel ... He resolved to make acquaintance with some of the body, and an intimate friend, Robert Hall, having joined a Baptist church at the Juniper Dye House, four miles south of Hexham, he called to get an introduction when the school broke up for harvesting. He reached the place on Saturday, and though Robert Hall was not there, David Fernie the minister welcomed him to the experience meeting, and to witness a baptism in the river that evening. He concealed his own opinions, to hear what they had to say, but when next day another candidate appeared, he also gave his experience, and both were baptized in the stream. Soon afterwards, his cousin William Peden followed his example. They found their relations cool to them, and both threw in their lot with the rural church, where Fernie was promoting a wide evangelism. He used them at the Newcastle church, when Peden went to Sunderland, but died young” (“Between the Leaves of an Odd Volume,” *TBHS* 5.2 [July 1916]: 92–93).

⁴⁵ Regarding Allen, Pengibly wrote, “He had been a baker in London; failed in trade, & was cast into prison. But tho he lost his earthly property he lost not the treasures of the Gospel. In prison he employed his pen with great diligent; as the principal parts of numerous publications are said to have been written while Mr Allen was under confinement. He was a man of considerable pliancy of speck, about 40 years of age when in Newcastle. The continence of Mr Allen, as minister at Tuthill Stairs, was not of long duration, but near of considerable usefulness. The Rev. Charles Whitfield [1748–1821] ... was one whom Mr A. brought by baptism into the fold of Christ. Mr. A. left within two years: went afterward to America (New York, it is said) where he finished his cause” (Pengibly, “Records of the Baptist Church Assembling at Tuthill Stairs Chapel, Newcastle on Tyne,” 2; on Whitfield, see W. Morgan Patterson, “The Evangelical Revival and the Baptists,” in *Pilgrim Pathways: Essays in Baptist History in Honour of B. R. White*, ed. William H. Brackney, Paul S. Fiddes, and John H. Y. Briggs [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999], 255). Joseph Ivimey (1773–1834), on the other hand, gave a soberer account about Allen, as he noted that Allen's “ministry in England was cut short by his illegal activity and immoral conduct which caused him to move first to the church at Broadstairs near Newcastle, who also dismissed him for ‘improper conduct,’ at which point he emigrated to New York, where he pastored a large church until his death” (as summarised by Anthony R. Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival among English Particular Baptists* [Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017], 171n383). Also see Hywel M. Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren: Rev. Samuel Jones (1735–1814) and His Friends: Baptists in Wales, Pennsylvania, and Beyond* (Bethlehem, PA: Leigh University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1995), 115–19; Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘To Devote Ourselves to the Blessed Trinity’: Andrew Fuller and the Defense of ‘Trinitarian Communities,’” *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 17, no. 2 (2013): 4–19.

David Kinghorn's Call to Ministry

On January 17, 1766, Joseph Kinghorn was added to the household as the family's only surviving child.⁴⁶ Eight months later, on August 8, David Kinghorn preached his first sermon at a church member's house. Though a number of members confirmed his homiletical gifts and encouraged him to participate in pastoral ministry, David struggled with this high calling. Similar to the way that he came to the credobaptist convictions, it was by meditation (especially on 2 Thess 3:5) and prayer, David was convinced in October 1767 that unless he responded with humility, he was being ungrateful to God. Kinghorn then began to serve as an assistant pastor at Tuthill-Stairs until his call to Bishop Burton.⁴⁷

In 1770, Kinghorn's family moved to Caleb Alder's house, who was a deacon of the same church and a local grocer and cheesemonger in Newcastle.⁴⁸ It was also during this time that David became close to another church member, Philip Nairn, who was baptised by Fernie in July 1765 along with Alder. The friendship between Kinghorn and Nairn continued and, after the Kinghorn household moved to Yorkshire, regular correspondence was maintained between these two men.⁴⁹

Early in 1770, upon the recommendation of Richard Hopper (1738–1826),

⁴⁶ Though Elizabeth also gave birth to David Kinghorn Jr., the child died at a young age. See Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 12.

⁴⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 13.

⁴⁸ Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England*, 190. According to Pengibly, "Mr Caleb Alder, a venerable old man, & of great respectability was a Deacon of the Church at this period. He was a pillar in the House of God, and beloved & revered by the people. Mr Allen in said to have lodged at his house; and wrote to him after he had settled in America" ("Records of the Baptist Church Assembling at Tuthill Stairs Chapel, Newcastle on Tyne," 3). Alder later embraced Socinianism and left his church. With his son-in-law William Robson, a congregation was formed in a room on North Shore.

⁴⁹ In fact, Nairn benefited from his correspondence with Kinghorn, as the former at the time struggled with the orthodox doctrine of Christology. In the letters, Kinghorn helped his friend to see the danger of his Sabellian notions, especially regard the nature of the pre-existence of Christ. Christopher Hall, who was Robert Hall Sr.'s brother was mentioned, as the former had "embraced views on the person of Christ bordering on Unitarianism, which had led to a serious difference between him and his brother Robert" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 22).

David received an invitation from the Baptist church in the village of Bishop Burton “to preach there, with a view to the pastoral office.”⁵⁰ Geographically, the village is approximately five kilometres west of the market town of Beverley in the East Riding of Yorkshire.⁵¹ On September 27, 1764, Richard Hopper and fifteen believers met in a cottage and decided to form a Baptist congregation in the village.⁵² Within six years, sixteen were baptised and joined the fellowship. Due to over-crowding, the congregation decided to build the chapel, they registered a lot, built a new meeting house, and it was opened on March 7, 1770. Two months earlier, Hopper wrote to Kinghorn on January 17, and described the church

As to the professed (nay I’m certain the real) Sentiments of the Church they are strictly Calvinistic. As to their circumstances they are follows: They have been collected together above five years; in which space of time (except the last year which I have been at Nottingham) I laboured amongst ‘em; and to the honor of the glorious Trophies of Sovereign Grace I would speak it: I hope my ministry was blessed: or rather the Lord own’d, his owned Word by me, His unstrument, for the conversion of some & the Establishment of others; & to the collecting of a

⁵⁰ Kinghorn, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 16. Hopper was the minister at Frair Lane Baptist Chapel in Nottingham, from March 2, 1769 to June 1803. On Hopper, see John T. Godfrey and James Ward, *The History of Friar Lane Baptist Church, Nottingham, Being a Contribution Towards the History of the Baptists in Nottingham* (Nottingham: Henry B. Saxton, 1903), 198–99. Notice that Godfrey and Ward mistakenly indicated that David Kinghorn was the “father of John Kinghorn, Norwich” (Godfrey and Ward, *History of Friar Lane Baptist Church*, 198), as David and John were brothers, and John Kinghorn lived in Newcastle.

⁵¹ “Burton (Bishop), originally called South Burton, is a parish and village in North Hunsley Beacon division, Beverley union, county court district, and polling district, situate on the Beverley and York road, about 3 miles from the former town. The parish contains 4210 acres of land and 459 inhabitants. Killingwoldgraves, a farm in this parish, which had anciently a hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, is the property of the trustees of Warton’s Hospital, Beverley ... In the village is a small lake called the Mere, and on the green beyond it stood an ancient witch-elm tree, which was blown down on January 23, 1836. It measured 48 feet in circumference, and its trunk was so hollow that several persons could conceal themselves within it at one time” (William White, *White’s General and Commercial Directory of Hull, Beverley, Patrington, Cottingham, Hedon, Hessle, Preston, Sutton, and All the Parishes and Villages North of the Humber Within a Radius of 12 Miles from Hull; Also the Towns of Grimsby and Barton-on-Humber, Followed by a General Trades Directory of the Whole District* [Sheffield: William White, 1882], 30–31). Between 1759 and 1790, John Wesley visited and preached at Beverley and the surrounding villages fourteen times. However, a Methodist chapel was not established at Bishop Burton until in the Victorian era.

⁵² E. H. Skingle, comp., *The Story of a Country Baptist Church, Bishop Burton, East Yorkshire* (Hull: Burt Bros., 1929), 7. According to W. R. Blomfield, though without direct evidence, the Baptist enterprise at Bishop Burton was under the influence of the nearby church at Bridlington, where Joseph Gawkrödger was the minister from 1767 (W. E. Blomfield, “The Baptist Churches of Yorkshire in the 17th and 18th centuries,” in *The Baptists of Yorkshire: Being the Centenary Memorial Volume of the Yorkshire Baptist Association* [Bradford: WM. Byles, 1912], 68–69).

considerable audience (I think in summer time afternoon 200 people).⁵³ Kinghorn accepted the preaching invitation, and attended the chapel building's opening celebration in March. Being acquainted with the congregation, Kinghorn told Nairn in his letter dated on March 16, 1770 that "they are very knowing in Doctrines of the gospel and seem to be all of Dr Gill's mind."⁵⁴ As it was indicated in Hopper's letter in January, he left Bishop Burton for Nottingham soon after the opening of the chapel. After passing a vote, the deacons wrote on behalf of the congregation and extended their invitation to David Kinghorn to lead as their pastor. In the letter, they also provided details regarding Kinghorn's salary and accommodation, as "on the 25th of March they unanimously resolved to invite him to settle with them, at the same time agreeing to subscribe maintenance for himself and family; this is said to have amounted to £26 per annum. They also provided him with a house."⁵⁵ Kinghorn then left Newcastle on April 26, and arrived at Bishop Burton on May 4, 1770. Before his departure, Kinghorn asked Nairn to take care of his wife and son in his absence, and while at Bishop Burton, Kinghorn sent money back to Elizabeth for life expenses. Nevertheless, Elizabeth and Joseph's delayed removal caused Kinghorn much pain, and he considered this few months as "a dark season."⁵⁶ A month later, on June 14, the Kinghorns were reunited at Bishop Burton. In his letter to Nairn, as regards his wife's and son's journey, David wrote to his friend:

⁵³ Richard Hopper to David Kinghorn, January 17, 1770, D/KIN 1/2 no. 8, KPA.

⁵⁴ David Kinghorn to Philip Nairn, March 16, 1770, D/KIN 1/2 no. 11, KPA.

⁵⁵ Richard Hopper to David Kinghorn, January 17, 1770, D/KIN 1/2 no. 8. Skingle, comp., *Story of a Country Baptist Church*, 8; Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 17.

⁵⁶ Wilkin recorded an account of Elizabeth Kinghorn's journey to Bishop Burton in a letter written to one of her friends, "I like the place very well, and the people, and let me not forget to tell you that my husband had never such good health since I knew him, and is much fresher coloured of his face; Joseph [then 4 years old] thrives very well, and grows till you would scarce know him, he will be nothing but a farmer, he is so busy every day with loading corn, and one thing or another, till he goes as weary to bed as a little thresher, but whenever he meets with a little offence, he is for coming back to Newcastle again. Dear friend, we are very comfortably situated as to the world; my life was far happier than when I was at Newcastle, as the Lord is pleased to bless our family with health, which is the greatest blessing we can enjoy in this life: oh! may we walk worthy of this, and every other mercy we enjoy" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 18–19).

As to my wife and son, they are in health though not quite settled after their journey. for they came from Couterstone on Thursday last and got here on Friday they rid forty three miles each day yet notwithstanding they both were able to walk to Beverley next day. now though I have been long on writing (partly on account of my troubles in mind and partly because my spouse was not yet come to Burton) I have been more large than I intended in mentioning some particulars so that you'l see by these hints I've had a dark season but tho weeping indure for a night joy cometh in the morning.⁵⁷

A year later, the Bishop Burton congregation recognised Kinghorn as their pastor, and the ordination took place on May 1, 1771.⁵⁸

“With honour and success” Kinghorn preached the gospel tirelessly to his congregation, and with his twenty-nine-year ministry, over thirty persons were baptised and joined the church.⁵⁹ At the same time, Kinghorn also helped the church to perform their duty of discipline. As early as in 1774/5, the church was in a bitter moment, as several members were excluded. Enduring the hardship, David Kinghorn took his brother John’s encouragement in heart, as the latter wrote, “D[ear] Brother the work is weighty but he has promised that as your day is so shall your strength be.”⁶⁰

At Bishop Burton, Joseph enjoyed a simple and affectionate childhood, and under the pastoral care of his father, the boy was trained in piety from an early age.⁶¹

⁵⁷ David Kinghorn to Philip Nairn, June 19, 1770, D/KIN 1/2 no. 17, KPA, [2].

⁵⁸ Wilkin records that “The service was commenced by Mr. Richard Hopper, of Nottingham, who formerly preached at Bishop Burton. He read, 1 Tim. iii, 2 Tim. ii, and Heb. xiii, prayed, and gave a short introductory discourse. Then Mr. William Crabtree [1720–1811], of Bradford, asked some questions, 1st, of the people, 2nd, of Mr. Kinghorn, who thereupon gave his confession of faith, after which Mr. [Joseph] Gawkrodger [1715–1798], of Bridlington, offered prayer, with *imposition of hands*, and Mr. Crabtree preached from 1 Cor. iv, 2. The whole service lasted from a quarter-past ten till half-past two: four hours and a quarter! but still the good friends were not satisfied: for at four they assembled again, when Mr. Gawkrodger preached from Eph. v, 2, after which three deacons were ordained by prayer and laying on of hands” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 19).

On William Crabtree, see Isaac Mann, *Memoirs of the Late Rev. Wm. Crabtree, First Pastor of the Baptist Church at Bradford, Yorkshire: To Which is added a Sermon, Preached to the Church at the Ordination of the Rev. Joshua Wood, of Halifax, August 6, 1760* (London, 1815); Henry Dowson, *The Centenary: A History of the First Baptist Church, Bradford, from its commencement in 1753 ...* (Leeds: J. Heaton & Son, 1854).

An interesting note about Gawkrodger can be found in David and Joseph’s correspondence in 1794, regarding the then 79-year-old Gawkrodger’s marriage to Mrs. Tettle, widow of the late Mr. Thomas Tettle of Hunmanby (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 236–37).

⁵⁹ Skingle, comp., *Story of a Country Baptist Church*, 9.

⁶⁰ John Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 10, 1775, D/KIN 1/2/1775 no. 103, KPA.

⁶¹ In his letter to Philip Nairn, David Kinghorn told his friend, “We feel it something difficult living here as things in general are very dear and our income has been less considerably this year than it

Joseph Kinghorn's Formative Years

On March 6, 1775, Joseph started school. It is, however, not clear which school Kinghorn attended. Though the vicar of All Saints Church, Thomas Leake (fl. 1730–1787), ran a parish school, it is unlikely Joseph attended it, as David also had an academy at home.⁶² Regardless, the kind of education Joseph received was not limited to liberal arts. Between 1560 and 1700, many grammar schools in England had taught a puritan vision, which emphasised the necessity of teaching morality and a classical curriculum at the same time.⁶³ Therefore, in a real sense, these grammar schools were “instruments of discipline.”⁶⁴ Probably with other boys in the village, Joseph learned Latin, Greek, English literature, mathematics, as well as Thomas Gurney’s (1705–1770) brachygraphy.⁶⁵ At the same time, he also acquired other disciplines, especially those that benefit his soul. Wilkin believed that as early as 1776, Joseph began to take notes of the sermons he heard, as in an entry, dated August 18, 1776, the ten-year-old boy wrote: “My father made some beautiful remarks from Gen. xxxv, 2, where he said that we should cast away the idols of our hearts, and that we should not suffer the world to intrude when we

was the former” (David Kinghorn to Philip Nairn, June 27, 1772, D/KIN 2/1772 no. 69, KPA).

⁶² Wilkin was complete silent on this matter. However, in Joseph Kinghorn’s letter to his father, dated February 5, 1783, the son wrote, “I shall be glad to know how your nigh Scholars come on & what they are doing” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 5, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 222, KPA, 3). Later, David told his son that due to a student’s illness, he sent all the students home. Though there are possibilities that David Kinghorn opened his school after Joseph went to Hull, it was not uncommon for dissenting ministers to open schools at their homes. As Kinghorn mentioned to Nairn previously, David found his income was not sufficient. Therefore, it was possible for him to run the school to supply the house need.

⁶³ Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600–1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 44. Also see James Buchanan, *A Plan of an English Grammar-School Education* (Edinburgh, 1770); Richard S. Tompson, “The English Grammar School Curriculum in the 18th Century: A Reappraisal,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 19, no. 1 (1971): 32–39; Aileen Fyfe, “Reading Children’s Books in Late Eighteenth-Century Dissenting Families,” *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2 (2000): 453–73. Also see Nicholas A. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2014).

⁶⁴ Fletcher, *Growing Up in England*, 44.

⁶⁵ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 26.

should worship God, and we should not have an everyday's heart in a Sunday's coat."⁶⁶ For four years or so, David Kinghorn was not only Joseph's father, he was also the junior's minister and school-master. Later, after Joseph's relocation, two more tiers were added to their relationship, as David also became Joseph's mentor (or counsellor) and friend.

Apprenticeship at Hull

As the boy grew up, David asked his friends to find an apprenticeship for his son. As a means of professional training, apprenticeship became a common practice in the English society since the ninth century.⁶⁷ Such a program was normally negotiated between a trainer and the apprentice's parents, over the length of the training. The adolescences began their training by moving into their masters' houses, and they completely depended on the masters for food, accommodation, and clothing. Since the seventeenth century, laws were made to regulate the apprenticeships, as taxation was applied to those who registered and took apprentices. Though not all learned skills in their apprenticeship, the trainees were differentiated from house servants in treatment and work.

In 1779, a letter from John Beatson (1743–1798), pastor of Salthouse Lane Baptist Chapel in Hull, arrived Bishop Burton, in which Beatson informed that the clockmaker Thomas Cliff was willing “to take an apprentice, & if you & he could form an agreement with respect to terms, he had no objection against Joseph.”⁶⁸ Though the

⁶⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 26 n 1. Unfortunately, the document Wilkin referred is not located in the archives.

⁶⁷ On apprenticeship in England, see Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (London: University College of London Press, 1996); Katrina Honeyman, *Child Workers in England, 1780–1820. Parish Apprentices and the Making of the Early Industrial Force* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

⁶⁸ John Beatson to David Kinghorn, December 7, 1779, D/KIN 1/2 no. 128, KPA. Also see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 27.

John Beatson “came to Hull in 1770 to be minister of the Baptist congregation ... meeting in a building in Salthouse Lane; continuing to hold that post until his death on the 24th April, 1798. He was the

letters between David Kinghorn and Thomas Cliff no longer exist, it is certain that Joseph Kinghorn left home in early or mid-January that year.

For the young Joseph, the world outside of the village was foreign and curious, even though Hull was only about sixteen kilometres north of Bishop Burton. At the same time, David worried about his son's physical and spiritual conditions. In his letter dated January 25, 1780, David expressed his affections and concerns for the teenager:

My dear child: As I cannot have the pleasure of speaking to you as usual, I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere regard for your welfare. As I have endeavoured to give you the best advice I was capable of, I should cease to love, if I did not continue to recommend to you a life of piety, that is, repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; together with a practical observance of the duties of religion and morality which your years and circumstances in life call for at your hand. Be carefull, my dear son, to read the sacred scriptures when you have opportunity, and daily to pray to God to keep you from every evil, and humbly thank him for every mercy you receive from him: Above all things remember to keep holy the Lord's day. He that neglects to honour the Lord in his house or that spends the Lord's Day idly [sic] need not wonder if God suffer him to run into all manner of sin. Oh, be careful that you do not commit little evils, for a commission of small sins (as some call them) make way for the commission of greater. Remember the words of Solomon. Prov 1:10. My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not. Thy mother and I seldom have thee out of our mind, but we hope that thou wilt be well used by thy master and mistress and that thou wilt be studious to please them by a constant application to business and a submissive behaviour.⁶⁹

As a "loving father" and village pastor, David Kinghorn felt the duty to warn his son to remain pious and faithful even away from home.⁷⁰ The father's worry, however, was not groundless, as William Wilberforce (1759–1833) recalled that Hull in the early 1770s was "one of the gayest places out of London. The theatre, balls, large supper and card parties were the delight of the principal merchants and their families."⁷¹ Joseph listened

author of several works of a religious nature" (Reginald W. Corlass, *Sketches of Hull Authors*, ed. C. F. Corlass and William Andrews [Hull: Bolton, 1879], 12).

Thomas Cliff "worked in Hull, Yorkshire, as early as about 1700, a fine pull-quarter reparing verge bracket clock of that date being recorded" (Brian Loomes, *Clockmakers of Northern England* [Mayfield, East Sussex: Mayfield Books, 1997], 108).

⁶⁹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 5, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 130, KPA.

⁷⁰ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 5, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 130.

⁷¹ Reginald Coupland, *Wilberforce: A Narrative* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 33.

to his father's advice and regularly attended Beatson's chapel in Hull.

The mother, on the other hand, expressed her compassion in another way. In David's letter of January 31, he talked about Elizabeth's disappointment as not hearing any current news about Joseph the Saturday before at Beverley. David then wrote, "It would have pleased her well to have heard from you by word of mouth, tho she did not expect a letter. We shall be glad to hear that you continue to observe the Lord's Day &c as in your last."⁷² Though Elizabeth did not write much to her son, she often sent food and supplies to Joseph. For a return, she asked her son to "send your dirty clothing, shirts, stockings [*sic*] &c by the coach," so she could wash them.⁷³

In early February 1780, David sent his son the "Greek & Latin Testament, Concordance, [John] Canne's Bible, and [Isaac] Watts' Children's Hymns," as he wished Joseph to "make it your study to consider all my admonitions as designed for" his good.⁷⁴ Around the same time, Joseph fell ill. David believed that his "disorder arises from indigestion, occasioned either by your close confinement, or catching cold when you go out."⁷⁵ To help his son's recovery, David sent "some cammomile [*sic*] flowers" and suggested to "make a little tea of [it] and drink ... every day about 11 o'clock," or use "orange peel tea," or brandy or rum, to strengthen his stomach and assist digestion.⁷⁶ Joseph's health, however, did not improve for two months. In early April, Beatson suggested Joseph to visit a Dr Darling, who diagnosed parasitic disease.⁷⁷ The physician then suggested Kinghorn to take a "milk diet & pudding & broth," along with a bottle of

⁷² David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 31, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 132, KPA.

⁷³ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 31, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 132.

⁷⁴ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 18, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 134.

⁷⁵ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, March 4, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 136, KPA.

⁷⁶ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, March 4, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 136.

⁷⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn to, April 13, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 143, KPA.

medicine.⁷⁸ None of these helped. Worse, Joseph also experienced spiritual illness, as he confessed to his parents: “Of late I have been but very dull with respect to God, and things of God, that I can’t find Immanuel in Mansoul, yet though I have him not now, I hope to find him, as his arm is not shortened, nor his ear heavy, and his promise is still the same.”⁷⁹ Under such conditions, Joseph ended his apprenticeship with Thomas Cliff and went home around Easter.

Walkers, Fishwick & Co.

In early March 1781, Joseph Kinghorn was sent to work under Archer Ward (1743–1800) for two or three years. Ward and his family were not unknown to the Kinghorns, as Ward was a member of the Bishop Burton church. After he moved to Newcastle, Ward became acquainted with another Baptist merchant, Richard Fishwick of Hull (1745–1825), who became a member of Beatson’s church in 1777, and came to Newcastle a year later “to take his part in conducting what came to be known as the Elswick White-Lead Works.”⁸⁰ In April, Samuel Walker (1715–1782), the Rotherham iron master, Fishwick, and Ward agreed and signed to form a partnership in the business of producing and selling white lead. Accordingly, this cooperation between Walker (and

⁷⁸ On early modern medical treatment, see Harold Cook, “From the Scientific Revolution to the Germ Theory,” in *Western Medicine: An Illustrated History*, ed. Irvine Loudon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 80–101; Lisa Rosner, “The Growth of Medical Education and the Medical Profession,” in *Western Medicine*, 147–59; Margaret Pelling, “Unofficial and Unorthodox Medicine,” in *Western Medicine*, 264–76; Anne Digby, “The Patient’s View,” in *Western Medicine*, 291–306. On treatment of parasitic diseases in the eighteenth century, see William C. Campbell, “Historical Introduction,” in *Chemotherapy of Parasitic Diseases*, ed. William C. Campbell and Robert S. Rew (New York; London: Plenum, 1985), 3–21. Also see Heather R. Beatty, *Nervous Disease in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Reality of a Fashionable Disorder* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2016); Gabrielle Hatfield, *Encyclopedia of Folk Medicine: Old World and New World Traditions* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004); Frederick Heman Hubbard, *The Opium Habit and Alcoholism: A Treatise on the Habits of Opium and Its Compounds; Alcohol; Chloralhydrate; Chloroform; Bromide Potassium; and Cannabis Indica: Including Their Therapeutical Indications: with Suggestions for Treating Various Painful Complications* (New York: Barnes, 1881).

⁷⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn to, March 16, 1780, D/KIN 1/2 no. 139, KPA; Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 28.

⁸⁰ Frank Beckwith, “Fishwick and Ward,” *BQ* 15, no. 6 (1954): 249. On Fishwick, also see Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England*, 218–19, 240–41, 243–44.

his sons), Fishwick, and Ward was “arguably the earliest founded first in what has become ALM [Asset and liability management].”⁸¹ In June 1779, John Kinghorn wrote to his brother that the new company had “erected a mill and several houses next field to Jenny’s Well for the purpose of making paints.”⁸²

Although there were problems between the partners, “the company was profitable from the beginning and in the first twelve months to May 1780 a turnover of nearly £4,000 gave a profit of £712.”⁸³ With high demand, the company expanded several times within ten years.⁸⁴ As Rowe reminded, “The increase in capacity made considerable demands for extra working capital in the form of stocks, work in progress and, ... credit sales.”⁸⁵ Kinghorn worked as a clerk in the factory, and his annual salary was £8 at first. A year later, his salary increased to £10, and came to £18 a few months later.⁸⁶ During this time, Joseph lodged with Ward. However, the relationship became sour as early as in 1782, as Kinghorn found Ward’s second wife Elizabeth Autherson (d. 1796) “to be highly unpleasant and she clearly made Ward’s home-life unattractive.”⁸⁷

⁸¹ D. J. Rowe, *Lead Manufacturing in Britain: A History* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 19.

⁸² John Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 12, 1779, D/KIN 1/2 no. 124, KPA.

⁸³ Rowe, *Lead Manufacturing in Britain*, 27–28.

⁸⁴ On the use of white-lead in the eighteenth century, see Christian Warren, *Brush with Death: A Social History of Lead Poisoning* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

⁸⁵ Rowe, *Lead Manufacturing in Britain*, 28.

⁸⁶ In comparison, Kinghorn’s salary was below average if being compared with clerks employed by the East India Company in the same year (See H. M. Boot, “Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760–1850: The Experience of Clerks at the East India Company,” *The Economic History Review* 52, no. 4 [1999]: 638–68). Given the nature of Walkers, Fishwick, and Ward, as well as Kinghorn’s life expenses in Newcastle—as both his accommodation and food were provided by his employers—he was able to live comfortably. Nevertheless, Kinghorn was very careful with his money, as his account of expenses in his letter to his parents (April 10, 1782). From March 25, 1781 to March 25, 1782, Kinghorn spent £5 s.10 d.4.5. It was 78% of his annual income. Later in his life, he lived prudently, and by 1799 had £60 in his bank account. With the dismissal of his father at Bishop Burton, Kinghorn guaranteed his care. He wrote, “I have £60 in bank, and hope to make it £70 at Lady day [March 25]; when I have received the first year’s legacy [book loyalty] it will amount to about £160, this, with what you have, would form a little annuity for both your lives, which would assist you, and I should be only as I was a few years ago, if even the boy [Simon Wilkin] should be cut off, and I should be spared” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 31, 1799, D/KIN 1/2/1799 no. 975, KPA).

⁸⁷ Rowe, *Lead Manufacturing in Britain*, 30. Ward was thrice married. After his first wife Rebekah died in September 1770, Ward married Elizabeth Autherson, through whom Ward became

Meanwhile, Ward had embraced Socinianism, and it is now apparent that Ward sought to persuade Kinghorn to embrace the same. At work, Ward also kept Kinghorn very busy without any break. Though David Kinghorn wrote to Ward and asked about the situation, the tension was not solved. In 1783, Kinghorn told his father: “Indeed now I can hardly hear his agreements with patience & it is amazing what odd ideas he will addice purposely to defend his own Scheme indeed we seldom have many words & I make as few replies as I can merely for the sake of Quietness.”⁸⁸ Regarding Mrs Ward, Joseph told his mother that he would “be more cautious of speaking any thing ... before her as she takes notice of such trivial circumstances.”⁸⁹ Elizabeth was deeply troubled by her “dear Joseph’s” hardship, which was caused by her friends, Ward and his wife, in Bishop Burton.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, she sought to help Joseph by pointing him to the sovereign God, and she wrote,

My dear child, although you meet with trials and griefs, which are destroying to the mind of hope, ye Lord will be a comforter to thee and guide thee in all thy ways as thy desire is I hope to serve God, his Word, his house. He has promised that all things shall work for good to them that love him and he hath said he will bring light out of darkness, and order out of confusion and his word is faithfulness itself.⁹¹

David Kinghorn once again served as Joseph’s mentor, as he encouraged his son through letters:

I’m glad that your mind seems pretty easy with respect to your present situation, I never expected that they would advance your Ways more than was at first proposed, not had I any thought of your proposing any thing of the kind of either Mr Ward or Mr Fishwick. All I intended by my Question was to know whether you seemed to be satisfied in your situation and your Masters satisfied with you. We think they have acted very honourably toward you thus far. and we hope you have acted the same to them as a Servant, tho we do not expect you ll save any matters of Money, yet you

brother-in-law to William Pendered and William Shaw. Ward’s third wife was Nancy Hopper, who was the daughter of Richard Hopper, who was the founding minister of Bishop Burton.

⁸⁸ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 5, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 222, KPA, 2.

⁸⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 19, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 226, KPA, 3.

⁹⁰ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, August 17, 1782, D/KIN 1/2 no. 201, KPA, 1.

⁹¹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, August 17, 1782, D/KIN 1/2 no. 201, KPA, 2.

are gaining a knowledge of Business in general, which in process of Time may be an advantage, tho perhaps it may be seven years before you may be fitt to take the management of Business upon you, so, as be capable to undertake a place of any considerable profit. As Bunyan says, the Bitter must come before the sweet; both in Temporal and Spiritual Things it is generally true. We think your Masters have acted genteely in giving you a guinea toward your Coat that was stolen, as they did also last Summer in Giving you Mourning. As life an all the comforts of it are in the disposing hand of God it is our Wisdom to enjoy, and improve our present Mercies, and not be too sollicitus for the Future: Seeing we cannot by takeing thought add one Cubit to our Stature, nor make one Hair White or Black. For a Man Can receive nothing except it be given him from above; neither of Spiritual, nor Temporal things. Such is our Pride and folly, that we are prone to think that Men and things must be obedient to our Wills. Nor do we ever learn true submission to the Divine Will till we are brought to a deep Sence of the Corruption of our Nature and of our Misery as exposed to the Wrath and Curse of Gods holy Law. Then every mercy of this life is sweet, and every pain or sickness little in comparison of what our sins deserve. If we can but view the low estate of the Son of God who veiled his glory by taking on him human Nature becoming a Man of sorrows and suffering for us that we might enjoy eternal Blessedness, it will reconcile our hearts to any lot that he may appoint for us in the World: knowing that all things shall work together for good to us and at last. May the Lord give you an Heart to know him, to submit to his will, and walk in obedience to his word, an Heart to cleave to him in love, and trust in his faithfull promises.⁹²

Despite the difficulties, Kinghorn proved himself to be a “very trusty and useful” worker in the company.⁹³ To end the unhappiness, Kinghorn later moved to stay with the Fishwicks, who encouraged Kinghorn to continue his studies in Greek and Latin.

While at Newcastle, Kinghorn attended his father’s old church at Tuthill Stairs. When Allen left the church in 1771, due to property disputes, a Mr Brown came and “lock’d up the door of the Room in which they had worshipped.”⁹⁴ At the same time, Caleb Alder and his son-in-law William Robson embraced Socinianism and separated from the congregation. Consequently, the Particular Baptist chapel was closed by force. It was said that in 1778, when Fishwick came to Newcastle, he was eagerly seeking to join a Baptist congregation, upon which he was introduced to Alder, and learned about the

⁹² David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 24, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 221, KPA, 2–3.

⁹³ Especially see David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, April 22, 1782, D/KIN 1/2 no. 188, KPA.

⁹⁴ “The Baptized Church of Christ in Newcastle on Tyne ... Assembly of Worship, Tuthill Stairs Chapel,” [3].

church.⁹⁵ Along with several like-minded people, Fishwick helped to re-organise the church, and “soon put new life into the old body and a new era in the life of Tuthill Stairs began.”⁹⁶ In 1780, Fishwick bought the chapel building, and donated it to the church, as he considered “it as all freely given to advance the cause of my Great Redeemer.”⁹⁷ In the same year, William Pendered (1755–1832), a student of Bristol Academy under Hugh Evans (1712–1781), came to the church. The church formally called him as their pastor, and his ordination took place in Hanover Square Chapel in 1786.⁹⁸ After four years of ministry, Pendered left Newcastle in 1790 for Hull.

Regarding the new pastor, Joseph told his father that Pendered “seems to have good Ideas & Great abilities he seems opposite to Mr Ward in Sentiment concerning the Son of God as he in his preaching very freely mentioned ‘Eternal Son’.”⁹⁹ As Pendered shared Kinghorn’s interest in studying the Greek New Testament, they formed an “intimate” friendship.¹⁰⁰ Kinghorn observed that his Greek was far better than

⁹⁵ In the church record, Fishwick was dismissed by letter in 1807 for Carter Lane, London. In a footnote, it wrote: “this excellent man, to whom the Church at Tuthill Stairs, is so greatly indebted, was ^born^ at Hull in 1745. He came to Newcastle to seek a place to erect a Factory, Shot-Tower &c for the manufacture of Lead, & built the extensive concern at Law Elswick. He was a hearer of Mr Brawn, Mr Rutherford, and Mr Beatson of Hull; the latter baptized him at the age of 32. When he came to Newcaslte he enquired at the Inn ‘if there were any Baptists in the town. The Inn-Keeper replied ‘he did not ^know^ What they were.’ At length he heard of a Mr Alder of that denomination who told him there were a few Baptists meeting at Tuthill Stairs but were divided into 4 parties. One party met in the meeting House; another in the adjoining Vestry, so that they could hear each other at the same time!!—Same time after Mr Fishwick & 8 others united themselves as a Church, & from there he began his zealous labors in recovering the Property, wch he happily affected with much tranble and expense; & wch service he followed by building a new Chapel” (*Records of the Baptist Church Assemblung at Tuthill Stairs Chapel, Newcastle on Tyne*, “Historical records, register of membership and extracts from minutes of meetings,” C.NC 11/4, TWA, 11).

⁹⁶ Beckwith, “Fishwick and Ward,” 250.

⁹⁷ Richard Fishwick, “Declaration,” November 23, 1820, in Pengibly, “Records of the Baptist Church Assemblung at Tuthill Stairs Chapel, Newcastle on Tyne.”

⁹⁸ The minister of Hanover Square Chapel at the time was William Turner (1761–1859), a known Unitarian. Turner came to Newcastle on September 25, 1782, and ministered the church for fifty-nine years. On Turner, see Stephen Harbottle, *The Reverend William Turner: Dissent and Reform in Georgian Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Northern University Press, 1997).

⁹⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 5, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 222, KPA, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 19, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 226, KPA.

Pendered's, but the latter "beats me fairly at Latin, yet I find he don't understand a Word of Hebrew."¹⁰¹ They regularly read the New Testament together in Greek. Kinghorn thought highly of Pendered, as he stated that "He continues very acceptable to the people & seems to gain the more credit the longer he stays. He studies precision & exactness in a very remarkable manner & strives to be connect & correct in what he delivers."¹⁰²

Recognising Kinghorn's gifts, Pendered later played a significant role in helping Kinghorn to determine his pastoral calling.

Joseph's baptism

In a letter dated September 15, 1782, Joseph expressed his willingness to be baptised, and David welcomed such a request.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, David wrote to remind his son about the seriousness of his decision,

As to your being baptized if you be seriously inclined to it, whether you come to Burton or not, it need not be delayed, seeing Mr [Charles] Whitfield [1748–1821] is only 30 miles from you even suppose there should not be a pastor at Toothill [*sic*, Tuthill] Stairs, I do not suppose there would be any objection made to it by the people there, tho[ough] I have not mentioned it to any as the time is so distant. Every ordinance of divine appointment ought to be attended to with seriousness and caution, and as you observe with prayer for the divine presence and blessing, two things are necessary antecedents to it. First a sence [*sic*] of our lost condition by the fall and our inability to recommend ourselves to the favour of God by any duties or acts of obedience we are able to perform. 2. A hearty reception of and dependence on Jesus Christ for salvation. Without the first the second cannot be, nor can the first be of any advantage without the second. Therefore, both must go together, and obedience to the precepts of Christ will flow from love, not from slavish fear, if he is viewed and depended on as an able al[l] sufficient Saviour; and loved as such. If

¹⁰¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 19, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 226.

¹⁰² Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 19, 1783, D/KIN 1/2 no. 226.

¹⁰³ As early as 1781, Joseph had expressed his Christian affections, which was possibly a consequence of his studying of the Bible. In his letter to David and Elizabeth on May 9, 1781, Joseph wrote "beautifully": "I have reason to thank God for protecting and preserving me from evil, he only can protect us and guide us in the right way. It is a great blessing when our hearts' desire is after the Lord, and then all sublunary things are felt to be in subjection to him; then we find most peace in our minds—real, not imaginary peace" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 31). Or in a letter on July 18, 1781 to his parents, Joseph wrote, "happy are we, happy am I, when I find the light of God's countenance; he has never deceived me in withholding his blessing: no, nor ever will, so long as I can earnestly seek him, I hope I may truly say, I have found the above true. Who then, for the perishing joys of earth, would part with the eternal joys if heaven? I hope the Lord, of his great goodness, will keep me from doing this" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 32).

he is loved, sin will be hated for its intrinsic [sic] evil, as it stands opposed to the holy nature of God and to the holiness of his law. It is possible to shun sin for fear of punishment, that we many not hate it because of its impurity, not to do the first shews a sinner hardened in wickedness, not to hate sin as impure shews the impurity of the heart. It is the pure in heart, that shall see God, not the wise in head, unless they are purified &c.¹⁰⁴

It is apparent that Kinghorn believed genuine love and dependency on Christ Jesus was the qualification for participating in the ordinances of both baptism and communion.¹⁰⁵

Thus, it is not enough to know about the Christian faith intellectually; more important, Christians are those who experience, love, and need the Saviour.¹⁰⁶

Joseph understood his father's warnings, and decided to travel back to Bishop Burton to publicly profess his faith.¹⁰⁷ As he later wrote to others, he considered the ordinance of baptism as “expressive of a death to sin, and of a life to righteousness; of a desire to live in the hope of enjoying the benefit of the death and resurrection of Jesus, and of being raised by him at the last day and introduced into glory.”¹⁰⁸ With Fishwick's permission, Joseph left Newcastle and arrived home on April 18, 1783. Two days later—April 20, 1783—David Kinghorn baptised his son Joseph on the Easter Sunday, and a week later Joseph was received into the church fellowship as a Christian brother and participated in his first communion.¹⁰⁹ Kinghorn returned to Newcastle on May 6, 1783.

¹⁰⁴ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, October 11, 1782, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 209, KPA, 2. Also see a partial transcription by Wilkin in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 44–45.

¹⁰⁵ Arguably, this serious attitude towards the ordinances was deeply impressed in Joseph Kinghorn's heart, and it could be understood as the very reason why he disagreed with Hall, his cousin, over the terms of communion, viz. should credobaptism be required for participating the Lord's Table.

¹⁰⁶ On Sandemanianism and its influence among the eighteenth-century English Baptists, see Nathan Finn, ed., *Apologetic Works 5: Strictures on Sandemanianism*, The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller, vol. 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), esp. 1–35; Michael A. G. Haykin, “Andrew Fuller and the Sandemanian Controversy,” in “*At the Pure Fountain of Thy Word*” *Andrew Fuller as an Apologist*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2004), 223–36.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph's uncle John also testified his character and faith, as he praised Joseph as a “very fine youth and so far as I know unreprouable and may he ever remain so . . . I look upon him to be a pattern of sobriety and good sence and an honour to our family” (John Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 17, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 232, KPA).

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Kinghorn, *An Address to A Friend Who Intends Entering into Church Communion* (Norwich, [1803]), 7.

¹⁰⁹ See David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, April 4, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 229, KPA; Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 13, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 231, KPA; Richard Fishwick

Education at Bristol

In the summer of 1782, Joseph complained to his parents of “the great confinement to which he was subjected in the business,” and was willing to quit and take the business of clock-making.¹¹⁰ David, however, strongly opposed such an idea, without having any “objection to your being a mechanic either in clock and watch, or any other branch that had the probability of being for your future welfare.”¹¹¹ For David, Joseph’s previous failures at Hull “seems probable that you are not to get your living in the world by clockmaking.”¹¹² A month later, David wrote

perhaps you may think me severe, or that I harbor a bad opinion of you. But, my dear son, a few years’ experience will certainly teach you, that it is good to bear the yoke in one’s youth, and that I speak with the feelings of a tender father, who would not willingly see you oppressed or injured on the one hand, nor exposed to the snares and temptation of Satan, and a bewitching world on the other. Perhaps you wish only for a little more time to study. I acknowledge that a little time for that purpose may be very desirable, if wholly employed in it.¹¹³

Joseph took his father’s advice. A year later, after his baptism, Joseph went back to Newcastle, and with considerations, Kinghorn expressed his desires “are to be in [God’s] immediate service” as a minister of the Word.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, as during one of his meetings with Pendered, the Bristol alumnus showed him a printed portrait of Hugh Evans (1712–1781), and told him about the academy at Bristol. Kinghorn recalled, “When after a little trivial conversation, [Pendered] said he wished I was under the tutorage of this gentleman’s son (pointing to the print of Mr Hugh Evans). To which I replied I had no objections to be so.”¹¹⁵ David, however, disagreed with Joseph’s

and Archer Ward to Joseph Kinghorn, April 30, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 233, KPA.

¹¹⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 41.

¹¹¹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, July 15, 1782, D/KIN 2/17/1782 no. 197, KPA.

¹¹² David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, July 15, 1782, D/KIN 2/17/1782 no. 197.

¹¹³ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, August 10, 1782, D/KIN 2/17/1782 no. 200, KPA.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 7, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 234.

¹¹⁵ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 7, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 234, KPA, 2.

seemingly-hasty choice of career. The father believed that his seventeen-year-old son was too young to enter pastoral ministry, and moreover, the church should first approve his fitness for ministry before attending the academy.¹¹⁶

William Pendered also played a significant role in persuading David to recognise Joseph's gifts and calling. In a letter of August 26, 1783, Pendered urged David that "you must not stand still if you" wished to send Joseph to an academy.¹¹⁷ Pendered then helped David to reconsider his concerns, as he stated, "I don't mean that he is as able a minister now as ever he will be, but this satisfaction respects not what he is, but what he is likely to be. And a judicious people will make proportionable allowance for the want of years and experience."¹¹⁸ In addition, he also recommended Aberdeen as an alternative choice. However, the matter was not settled until 1784. In his letter, Joseph expressed his decision, as

I was afraid at first of running through my stock soon, but I have hitherto seen, through divine grace, so much left, that my present inquiry more frequently is, which of all these good things must I take next. The greater displays I see of the divine glory of God in the gospel, the more I am lost in wonder and admiration at

¹¹⁶ William Pendered to David Kinghorn, August 26, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 249/250. Wilkin summarised that David Kinghorn considers his son "too young 'to be turned into the work of the ministry' after a year or two at Bristol and does not approve of 'confining a person four or five years from public speaking after they are judged by the church to have gifts already for that work'" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 51). This is further reflected in his letter dated May 27, 1783 (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, May 27, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783, no. 240, KPA).

David Kinghorn's objections were based not only on his reading of the scripture, but also his own experience. Furthermore, as for Baptists of David's generation, the debate over the value of formal theological education for ministerial candidates were still alive. Though David Kinghorn did not deny the value of education, he worried about what would the education make of his son. In other words, he worried that Joseph would become pedantic, and led astray by his learning. Even after Joseph began to minister at the church in Norwich, David continuously warned his son. For instance, in May 1795, David wrote, "Perhaps you'll say, I shall be no partaker with you in your pleasure, as I shall neither see nor enjoy any of the fruits of your labour this season. No, you'll stay at home cracking your brain with heaps of Latin books, till every philament [*sic*] and fibre is steached [*sic*] to the state of a fiddle strong, and sounds Latin, Latin at every touch" (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, May 2, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 832, KPA, 1).

On the educational debate, see Michael A. G. Haykin, "'With light, beauty, and power': Educating English Baptists in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Challenge and Change: English Baptist Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stephen Copson and Peter J. Morden (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2017), 177–203.

¹¹⁷ William Pendered to David Kinghorn, August 26, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 249/250, KPA, 1.

¹¹⁸ William Pendered to David Kinghorn, August 26, 1783, D/KIN 2/17/1783 no. 249/250.

the state of the blessed above, whose happiness consists in the enjoyment of God.¹¹⁹ The father agreed with Joseph's decision to leave Newcastle, and begin his studies at Bristol on August 20, 1784. With regard to the tuition, besides Fishwick's help, the Baptist Fund also agreed to support Joseph while under Evans' tutorship, which was from 1784 to 1788.¹²⁰

The Bristol Academy was founded as a legacy of Edward Terrill (1634–1685), a member of Broadmead Baptist Chapel.¹²¹ Under the influence of Hugh and Caleb Evans (1737–1791), the Bristol Education Society was formed in June 1770 “to put the work on a sound financial footing, and to make possible a more liberal type of education.”¹²² After his father's death, Caleb Evans followed Hugh's vision, which was

¹¹⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 65.

¹²⁰ The fund's aim was fourfold: “To unite the churches of the denomination in mutual love and helpfulness, to relieve cases of temporary distress among ministers and churches, and especially to secure for efficient ministers a ‘tolerable reputable’ maintenance, and to educate ‘able and well-qualified teachers’ to defend the truth and to take the pastorate of vacant churches. These last two objects, and especially the second of them, the education of young men for the ministry, are frequently insisted upon in subsequent appeals. The Fundees seem to have felt that the surest way of securing a reputable maintenance was to have an intelligent and efficient ministry” (Joseph Angus, *The Baptist Fund and Its Educational Work* [London: Yates & Alexander, 1875], 5). Also see Theo F. Valentine, *Concern for the Ministry: The Story of the Particular Baptist Fund 1717–1967* (Teddington, London: Particular Baptist Fund, 1967).

¹²¹ On Broadmead Baptist Church, see Roger Hayden, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640–1687* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1974); Jonathan Harlow, and Jonathan Barry, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603–1689: Uniformity to Dissent* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2017); B. R. White, *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983).

On the history of this school, see Norman S. Moon, *Education for Ministry: Bristol Baptist College, 1679–1979* (Bristol: Bristol Baptist College, 1979); Roger Hayden, *Continuity and Change: Evangelical Calvinism Among Eighteenth-Century Baptist Ministers Trained at Bristol Baptist Academy, 1690–1791* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2006); Jeongmo Yoo, “The Bristol Academy and the Education of Ministers in Eighteenth-Century England (1758–1791),” in *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition*, ed. Jordan J. Ballor, David S. Systma, and Jason Zuidema (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2013), 749–763; Cross, *Useful Learning*; Haykin, “‘With light, beauty, and power’,” 177–203. Also see Stephen Albert Swaine, *Faithful Men; or, Memorials of Bristol Baptist College, and Some of Its Most Distinguished Alumni* (London: Alexander & Shephard, 1884).

¹²² Norman S. Moon, “Caleb Evans, Founder of the Bristol Education Society,” *BQ* 24, no. 4 (1971): 182. This two-fold aim was made targeting the situation at Bristol at Hugh and Caleb Evans' time, of which Norman Moon summarizes as “there were students, but not as many as were needed, and there was insufficient money to enable them to stay in College as long as they ought if they were to be equipped to serve the churches” (Moon, *Education for Ministry*, 11). Moon also extended the aims of Bristol Education Society as: “1. To supply destitute congregations with a succession of able and evangelical ministers; 2. To assist young men of promising ability for the ministry in such a course of preparatory study as may enable them with the blessing of God, to exercise their ministerial talents with general acceptance and usefulness; 3. To involve churches in the selection of suitable candidates for the ministry. ‘The Society are determined to receive no students but such as are members of churches and are recommended as persons of promising ability for the ministry;’ 4. To encourage evangelistic work in the churches” (Moon, *Education for Ministry*, 12–13).

to consider their mission as

To instruct [the students] into the knowledge of the languages in which the scriptures were written, to give them a just view of language in general, and of their own in particular, to teach them to express themselves with propriety upon whatever subject they discourse of, and to lead them into an acquaintance with those several branches of literature in general, which may be serviceable to them, with the blessing of God, in the exercise of their ministry.¹²³

Pedagogically, “the routine and curriculum adopted at Bristol closely followed the formative patterns devised by Doddridge.”¹²⁴ In other words, Evans also promoted “freedom of enquiry” among his students.¹²⁵ Though such a method broadened students’

On the life and ministry of Evans, see Moon, “Caleb Evans, Founder of the Bristol Education Society,” 175–90; Hayden, *Continuity and Change*, 209–40; Kirk Wellum and J. P. Salley, “Caleb Evans (1737–1791),” in *British Particular Baptists 1639–1910*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Terry Wolever (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2019), 5:115–51.

¹²³ Hugh Evans, *The Able Minister: A Sermon Preached in Broad-mead, Before the Bristol Education Society, August 18, 1773* (Bristol, 1773), 43.

¹²⁴ Ken R. Manley, “Redeeming Love Proclaim”: *John Rippon and the Baptists* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2004), 18. On Doddridge’s influence upon evangelicalism, see Robert Strivens, *Philip Doddridge and the Shaping of Evangelical Dissent* (London: Routledge, 2016); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, ed., *Philip Doddridge, 1702–51: His Contribution to English Religion* (London: Independent, 1951); Alan C. Clifford, *The Good Doctor: Philip Doddridge of Northampton—A Tercentenary Tribute* (Charenton: Reformed Publishing, 2002).

¹²⁵ On Doddridge’s pedagogy, see Philip Doddridge, *Sermons on the Religious Education of Children. Preached at Northampton* (London, 1732); J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education: The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1600–1800* (London: Independent Press, 1954), 138–43; A. Victor Murray, “Doddridge and Education,” in *Philip Doddridge*, 102–21; Roger Thomas, “Philip Doddridge and Liberalism in Religion,” in *Philip Doddridge*, ed. Nuttall, 122–153; Brad A. Thomas, “Teaching Against Tradition: Historical Preludes to Critical Pedagogy” (PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 2011). Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) later criticised Doddridge’s pedagogy, as he regretted that when he was at Daventry Academy, his course was “defective in containing no lectures on the Scriptures, or on ecclesiastical history” (Simon Mills, “Scripture and Heresy in Biblical Studies of Nathaniel Lardner, Joseph Priestley, and Thomas Belsham,” *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c. 1650–1950*, ed. Scot Mandelbrote and Michael Ledger-Lomas [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 97). In a similar manner, Joseph Kinghorn later counselled William Newman (1773–1835), the first principal of Stepney Academy. Kinghorn strongly urged Newman to systematically lecture on doctrinal subjects, as he told Newman, “After all you must have some plan in your mind, & you must follow it with regularity. Perhaps the following might be worth trying. Suppose you require a thesis or someone from 2 or 3 students (to be delivered on such a day) on some important part of the Christian Religion. These would furnish some for remarks, had you to state your view of the subject, in nature—evidence—& importance;—you would also introduce such illustrations as the subject required ... By this means you would exercise their minds, & had them to seek such information as they might need. Thus under your direction the most important parts of Christianity would pass under review in less time than one would suppose, I should hesitate about adopting the plan of reading Lectures on Divinity, if I were in your situation. But you must have an outline of your own which will gradually enlarge & improve” (Joseph Kinghorn to William Newman, March 13, 1811, MC 64/12. 508X8, Wilkin Papers, no. 36, NRO, 3). Also see Baiyu Andrew Song, “Joseph Kinghorn’s (1766–1832) Educational Vision,” *Pacific Journal of Theological Research* 15, no. 1 (2020): 23–35; Song, “When They Know Only or Chiefly Its Language, Not Its Spirit’: Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832) and Socinianism,” *Puritan Reformed Journal* 12, no. 2 (2020): 81–99.

horizon and trained them in reason and arguments, some students at Bristol struggled with the tension between rationalism and confessionalism.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, Caleb Evans was a significant defender of Christian orthodoxy, and he was loved by his students. When Evans died, Kinghorn remarked that “Caleb Evans is a very rare character, and we have much reason to lament his loss.”¹²⁷

Regarding the physical appearance of the academy, many disliked its architectural design at first sight. According to Robert Hall Jr. (1764–1831), the academy building was referred to as “the parson manufactory.”¹²⁸ However, the building housed an

¹²⁶ For instance, Samuel Pearce (1766–1799), who arrived in Bristol two years later than Kinghorn, was confused by Socinianism after reading Priestley and Daniel Whitby (1638–1726) (see Andrew Fuller, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Pearce*, The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller vol. 4, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin [Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2017], 49–50, 123). Another example was Anthony Robinson (1762–1827), who was born in Kirkland, Cumberland, where his father John Robinson owned land and estates from paternal inheritance. Being the youngest of three Robinson boys, Anthony was trained for trade at a young age. However, after his father’s death, Robinson decided to attend Bristol Academy in 1784, and was baptised at Pithay in the same year. It was at this time, Robinson became friend with Joseph Kinghorn and Samuel Pearce. After finishing his study under Caleb Evans in 1787, Robinson went and ministered at “an orthodox Baptist Church at Fairford,” Gloucestershire for six months. Then with his friend Job David’s recommendation, Robinson became a pastor at the General Baptist church on Worship Street, London. It was there, Robinson became an Arian. “After a connexion of little more than a year with the Worship-Street congregation, he returned into Cumberland, where he remained, occupying his own estate, about seven years.” In 1788, with his help, a meeting-house at Wigton was erected, and it was there Robinson became a convinced Unitarian. In 1796, Robinson went back to London and settled there for sugar business till his death (H. C. R., “Obituary: Anthony Robinson, Esq.,” *The Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature* 1, no. 4 [April 1827]: 288–93). Accordingly, Robinson’s son “Anthony, who disappeared in 1827, was a reputed victim of Burke and Hare” (Albert Frederick Pollard, “Robinson, Anthony,” *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900*, ed. Sidney Lee [London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1897], 49:3). Over a period of ten months in 1828 in Edinburgh, William Burke (1792–1829) and William Hare (c. 1792–c. 1870) murdered 16 victims, and sold their corpses to Robert Knox (1791–1862) for dissection at the latter’s anatomy lectures. In November 1828, Burke and Hare were arrested, and a trial was heard by the Lord Justice-Clerk David Boyle (1772–1853) on Christmas Eve 1828 before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh’s Parliament House. Both pleaded guilty, and Burke was hanged on the morning of January 28, 1829; Hare was sentenced to prison and was released on February 1829 (See George MacGregor, *The History of Burke and Hare: And of the Resurrectionist Times; A Fragment from the Criminal Annals of Scotland* [Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1884]; William Roughead, ed., *Burke and Hare* [Edinburgh: William Hodge, 1921]; Lisa Rosner, *The Anatomy Murders: Being the True and Spectacular History of Edinburgh’s Notorious Burke and Hare and of the Man of Science Who Abetted Them in the Commission of Their Most Heinous Crimes* [Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010]; Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *The Doctor Dissected: A Cultural Autopsy of the Burke & Hare Murders* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012]; R. Michael Gordon, *Burke and Hare: Serial Killers and Resurrectionists of Nineteenth Century Edinburgh* [Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009]). Also see Joseph Kinghorn’s letter, dated February 23, 1796, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 261 (notice this letter is not included in the Kinghorn Papers at Angus Archives).

¹²⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 196.

¹²⁸ Fred Trestrail, *Reminiscences of College Life in Bristol During the Ministry of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.* (London: Marlborough, 1879), 9.

impressive library and museum. Hall recalled that,

The collection of Bibles—one of the finest and most valuable in the kingdom—with numerous relics of distinguished persons, and curiosities from all parts of the world, awakened emotions to which I had hitherto been a stranger. I can never forget the feelings with which I looked on the exquisitely-painted miniature of Oliver Cromwell. The tide of public opinion respecting that illustrious man had just begun to turn—and history has since proved how true he was to all the striking indications of genius and greatness seen in that beautiful picture.¹²⁹

Kinghorn knew this library well, as he spent two months in 1787 cataloguing every book on the library's shelves.¹³⁰ The Bristol Education Society then awarded him £10 for his excellent work. According to Kinghorn's catalogue, there were sixteen shelves and 1,360 titles in total, and many of these titles contained multiple volumes.¹³¹

Due to the loss of his letters from 1784 to 1788, little is known about Kinghorn's student life at Bristol, except Wilkin's account. Academically, Kinghorn was an outstanding student, as Evans praised him as “a pupil I could wish him to be, attentive, diligent, respectful, modest, ardent.”¹³² According to William Richards (1749–1818),

¹²⁹ Trestrail, *Reminiscences*, 9–10.

¹³⁰ Joseph Kinghorn, *A Catalogue of the Books in the Library belonging to the Bristol Education Society; In the Order in which they stand on the Shelves. Taken in April & May 1787, C/01/1787* (Bristol Baptist College).

¹³¹ For Baptists of this period, useful learning is “those several branched of literature in general, which may be serviceable to them, with the blessing of God, in the exercise of their ministry” (Henry Foreman, “The Early Separatists, the Baptists and Education, 1580–1780” [PhD diss., Leeds University, 1976], 276; also see Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘A Great Thirst for Reading’: Andrew Fuller the Theological Reader,” *Eusebeia* 9 [2008]: 7–10). Many Baptist ministers began to collect books for their private libraries. Though private library records are few and rare, Baptist ministers' libraries were mainly composed with literatures written by the Reformers, puritans and Baptists. Among the Baptists in the eighteenth century, works by John Gill were essential to read and collect. Baptist minister Abraham Booth's (1734–1806) works were also common. Eighteenth-century ministers also read American authors, and as a result, works by New Divinity theologians like Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790), Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803), John Smalley (1734–1820), Stephen West (1735–1819), and Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1745–1801) can also be found in Baptist ministers' libraries. Another feature of the library's collection is Welsh books. By studying a library catalogue of Bristol Academy (1795), Geoffrey F. Nuttall listed thirty-eight titles of Welsh books, which have been collected in the eighteenth-century by the Bristol Education Society (Geoffrey F. Nuttall, “Welsh Books at Bristol Baptist College [1795],” *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 9 [2003]: 162–168). Given the fact that books were expensive, many Baptist ministers only had no more than John Gill's commentaries and his *Body of Divinities*, and a few puritan works. Thus, Bristol Academy's collection was gigantic in any respect. Also see Baiyu Andrew Song, “‘I have a much larger room to sleep in, and good closets for my books’: A Study of Joseph Kinghorn's Library Catalogue,” *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 6 (2023): 57–71.

¹³² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 99.

who briefly attended the academy, and later became a friend with Kinghorn, “the Academy was by no means predominantly peopled with his [Richards’] like, but instead awash with Welshmen whose insufficient English would retard everyone’s pursuit of higher studies, and not without a frivolous minority of students of the kind that Joseph Kinghorn in 1784 was glad he could hide from.”¹³³ As he was at Newcastle, Kinghorn was delighted to study the Greek New Testament with Caleb Evans, and Latin with James Newton (1733–1790). Regarding Hall, Kinghorn told his father that he “has not acted yet as assistant tutor, only as assistant preacher, and there he shines admirably indeed.”¹³⁴ Significantly, it was at Bristol, Kinghorn was introduced to the writings of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). As early as 1783, while he was preparing his essay on “The Promise of Life,” an exposition on the first chapter of 2 Timothy, Kinghorn read Edwards’ *Freedom of the Will* (1754). In January 1785, Kinghorn began to read Edwards’ *Religious Affections* (1746).¹³⁵ Later, he told his father, “I have read his Life and some sermons—such a life did I never read, he seemed to live a heaven on earth, and in abilities he was unrivalled, although his learning was not very extensive. But might I be any man I ever heard of or saw it should be Jonathan Edwards.”¹³⁶ In fact, as Kinghorn later wrote, he admired Edwards’ “close thinking,” which made him “not to be deceived by appearances, but searched ideas to the very bottom.”¹³⁷ Following Edwards’ intellectual model, Kinghorn pursued excellency in his studies.¹³⁸

¹³³ John Oddy, *The Writings of the Radical Welsh Baptist Minister William Richards (1749–1818)* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2008), 26. Also see Kinghorn’s letter to his father on September 3, 4, 5, 1784, where he commented that, “Being many men there are many tempers and dispositions; it does not appear to me that there is much genius among them in general, and there are two or three . . . who by the levity of their tempers give great offence to us all, and for that reason we generally shun them” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 72).

¹³⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 71.

¹³⁵ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 80.

¹³⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 81.

¹³⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 285.

¹³⁸ Kinghorn wrote in 1786, “I consider myself as a mere nothing when I look abroad into the

As Caleb Evans claimed that the academy was “not merely to form substantial scholars, but ... [to be] an instrument in God’s hand for forming them [students] able, evangelical, lively, zealous ministers of the Gospel,” students were taught in spiritual disciplines as well.¹³⁹ Kinghorn recalled that after they woke up at six in the morning, students gathered in the library for family prayer, “where a kind of pulpit is placed for the purpose, and we sit all around the room, and when all together, with the other parts of the family, make the place like a country congregation. A part of [Matthew] Henry’s Exposition is then read, a hymn sung, and prayer by Mr. [James] Newton, or Mr. [Robert] Hall in his absence.”¹⁴⁰ In the evening, before supper, which was around eight o’clock, students gathered again in the library for devotion, and these services were led by students instead.¹⁴¹ Kinghorn also mentioned that on Sunday mornings, he and others voluntarily met in the library at half past six o’clock “for prayer, and conversation, and conference, on some part of the Word, or some religious subject; this lasts about an hour,” which was “done to keep alive something of the life of religion, and suppress an irreligious spirit.”¹⁴²

As a student, Kinghorn and others lodged together as a family. On their lifestyle, Robert Hall Jr., who once was a student, praised it thus:

The greater regularity of all arrangements, the stricter discipline, the command which the student has of his own time in prosecuting his studies, the *esprit de corps* consequent on living together, the formation and growth of personal friendships, the family feeling, the constant friction of mind with mind, the kindly assistance which the more advanced can render to those whose attainments are lower, the check

world among men of real abilities, and therefore am sensible I must move in a humble sphere; however I pray and hope that God will so guide and direct me that I may glorify his name, and then a sanctified use of what little learning I may have or may obtain, will yield more satisfaction than if the name of Joseph Kinghorn were to be mentioned with honour in succeeding generations” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 96).

¹³⁹ Caleb Evans, *Elisha’s Exclamation! A Sermon, Occasioned by the Death of the Rev[erend] Hugh Evans, M.A. Who Departed this Life, March 28, 1781, in the 69th Year of His Age* (Bristol, 1781), 31.

¹⁴⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 71.

¹⁴¹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 71.

¹⁴² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 72.

which each has on each, though unconsciously exerted, the necessity of being in the house at proper hours, and the shelter provided against temptations to which young men are especially exposed, are advantages too important and numerous to be exchanged for whatever benefit boarding out can supply.¹⁴³

Without romanticisation, Hall's description was at least accurate in relation to Kinghorn's friendships at the academy.¹⁴⁴ During this time, Kinghorn developed intimate relationships, particularly with Anthony Robinson, Samuel Pearce, and James Hinton (1761–1823).¹⁴⁵

Another aspect of the academy's life was the practice of preaching. In a letter, dated November 21 to 24, 1784, Kinghorn told his parents that in the academy, Evans "does not like to send any to preach, till they are called out to preach by their church."¹⁴⁶ However, soon after Kinghorn's arrival, Evans asked:

if I was called out to preach? I replied I could not say precisely; I thought so, but I would tell him how the affair had been proceeded in, and then he could judge whether it was what was so understood; and then giving him a relation of the various circumstances at Newcastle, &c., he said he looked on me as called out to preach; and said he did not suppose I should receive any other call, to which I replied, I thought it not very likely.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Trestrail, *Reminiscences*, 18–19.

¹⁴⁴ On friendship in the eighteenth century, see Naomi Tadmor, *Family & Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 167–216. Here friendship is understood as "a close network of sentiment and instrumental exchange" (Tadmor, *Family & Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 175).

¹⁴⁵ On Hinton, see James Howard Hinton, *A Biographical Portraiture of the Late Rev. James Hinton, M.A. Pastor of a Congregational Church in the City of Oxford* (Oxford: Bartlett and Hinton, 1824); John Thomas Dobney, *The Decease of Eminent Ministers a Source of Lamentation: A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. J. Hinton, A.M. Oxford* (Oxford, 1823); Joseph Ivimey, *The Excellence and Utility of the Evangelical Ministry as Exercised by the Protestant Dissenters. A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. J. Hinton* (London, 1823); Walter Stevens and Walter W. Bottoms, *The Baptists of the New Road, Oxford* (Oxford: Alden, 1948); Philip Hayden, "The Baptists in Oxford 1656–1819," *BQ* 29 (1981–1982): 130–32; Raymond Brown, "'Fear God and honour the King': James Hinton and the Tatham Pamphlet Controversy," in *A Protestant Catholic Church of Christ: Essays on the History and Life of New Road Baptist Church, Oxford*, ed. Rosie Chadwick (Oxford: New Road Baptist Church, 2003), 107–35; Tim Grass, "'Walking together in unity and peace and the fear of God': The Challenge of Maintaining Ecumenical Ideals, 1780–1860," in *A Protestant Catholic Church*, 148–54; Michael A. G. Haykin, "Accounted Worthy to Bear in My Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus": James Hinton, the Persecution of English Dissent, and the Woodstock Riot, Occasional Publications of The Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies No. 8 (Louisville: The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2018); Haykin, "James Hinton (1761–1823)," in *British Particular Baptists*, 5:375–400; Chance Faulkner, ed., *The Diary of James Hinton (1761–1823)* (Peterborough, ON: H&E, 2020).

¹⁴⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 77.

¹⁴⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 77.

Extraordinarily, Evans made the first-year-student Kinghorn one of his student-preachers.

In October 1784, Kinghorn told his parents an interesting anecdote:

The Lord's day after Mr. Evans thought I looked pale, and said he thought a ride would do me good; he sent me out to Kingstanley, in Gloucestershire, (I went on the Saturday and came home on the Monday) there I preached twice to a few rough country people; in the forenoon from Psa. cxix, 25, and in the afternoon Eccles. xii, 13. I was a good deal hampered, yet not flustered, in the morning, and being determined to make no haste, spoke in a much more deliberate manner than I used to do. In the afternoon I enjoyed a good deal of serenity of mind and calmness, with such a view of my subject as enabled me to speak with pleasure.¹⁴⁸

During his school years, Kinghorn was sent to many rural churches to preach. Three years later, Evans told David Kinghorn that regarding Joseph's sermons, the principal thought "him much improved both in style and delivery, but hope he will be much more so before our connexion is dissolved."¹⁴⁹ Unlike his tutor and friend Robert Hall Jr., Kinghorn was never celebrated as an orator.¹⁵⁰ In fact, for some, Kinghorn's sermons were "too deep" to understand.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, since his studies at Bristol, Kinghorn gained his reputation of being a scholar, "a thinking, reasoning," and "precious man."¹⁵² As it was his hope, Kinghorn laboured "to be useful to my fellow creatures, and in some measure, to be the means of answering that prayer—thy kingdom come."¹⁵³

From Bristol to Norwich

In 1787, Kinghorn turned twenty-one years old. As he reflected his life, Kinghorn "found twenty-one years filled with instances of goodness to one who has been

¹⁴⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 74.

¹⁴⁹ Caleb Evans to David Kinghorn, July 25, 1786, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 99.

¹⁵⁰ According to Pendered, "We never expected him [Joseph] to excel in the graces of a polished eloquence, but we expected, and we find a sensible, zealous, and instructive preacher of the gospel" (William Pendered to David Kinghorn, August 24, 1787, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 111).

¹⁵¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 2, 1787, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 109.

¹⁵² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 108. Pendered told David Kinghorn that Robert Thomson told him, without being asked that Joseph "is a precious man" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 111).

¹⁵³ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 106.

very ungrateful, and of mercy to a great sinner.”¹⁵⁴ He felt that he has “rather been preparing for action than a scene of action.”¹⁵⁵ With his desire to serve, an opportunity came forward in that spring, as the Baptist church in Oxford was considering to choose either Kinghorn or Hinton to be their pastor.¹⁵⁶ Though Evans recommended him “with heart and good-will,” and Daniel Turner of Abingdon (1710–1798) found promise in Kinghorn, the people at Oxford considered Hinton “the better speaker, and some who had been in his company were attracted by his affable temper.”¹⁵⁷

In summer 1787, Kinghorn went back home, and later visited Pendered in Newcastle. On September 11, he arrived at Leeds, and stayed with Thomas Langdon (1755–1828), and from there he visited Thomas Ashworth (d. 1802) of Gildersome (about eight kilometres west of Leeds).¹⁵⁸ Being impressed by Kinghorn’s sermon at Ashworth’s church, William Crabtree requested his friend’s son to go to Sheffield on probation.¹⁵⁹ Kinghorn agreed to visit the church while on his way back to Bristol, but he

¹⁵⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 106.

¹⁵⁵ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 106.

¹⁵⁶ On New Road Baptist Chapel, see B. R. White, “The Organisation of the Particular Baptists, 1655–1660: The Abingdon Association,” in *A Protestant Catholic Church of Christ*, 1–8; Roger Hayden, “‘Through grace they are preserved’: Oxford Baptists, 1640–1715,” in *A Protestant Catholic Church of Christ*, 9–34; J. H. Y. Briggs, “Oxford and the Meeting-House Riots of 1715,” in *A Protestant Catholic Church of Christ*, 35–64; Paul S. Fiddes, “Receiving one Another: the History and Theology of the Church Covenant, 1780,” in *A Protestant Catholic Church of Christ*, 65–106; Raymond Brown, “‘Fear God and honour the King’: James Hinton and the Tatham Pamphlet Controversy,” 107–36.

¹⁵⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 108, 109. On Turner and Abingdon Baptist Church, see Michael G. Hambleton, *A Sweet and Hopeful People: A Story of Abingdon Baptist Church 1649–2011*, rev. ed. (Fyfield, Oxfordshire: Trojan Museum Trust, 2011), 53–104.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Langdon studied at Bristol with Robert Hall Jr. Langdon arrived in Leeds in 1782 after being an assistant to Daniel Turner of Abingdon. On Langdon, see [Mary Langdon], *A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Langdon, Baptist Minister, of Leeds; Including Numerus Hitherto Unpublished Letters of the Rev. Robert Hall, and Other Ministers* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1837); F. W. Beckwith, “The First Leeds Baptist Church,” *BQ* 6 (1932–1933): 72–82.

¹⁵⁹ Crabtree corresponded with David Kinghorn regularly, and he preached at the latter’s ordination service. W. E. Blomfield recorded that “In 1786 a few Christian people in Sheffield became convinced of the truth of Believers’ Baptism. A Nottingham minister [probably Richard Hopper] came over to baptise them. They were formed into a Church. There never was a settled pastor, and in 1793 the little company united with the Church in Masborough,” which was formed by Benjamin Dickson in 1789 (Blomfield, “Baptist Churches of Yorkshire in the 17th and 18th Centuries,” 108–9). In the eighteenth century, it was a common practice among the Baptists to ask a possible pastoral candidate to minister the church for a period of probation before the congregation extended their formal call to ask that person to become their minister. Though the length of probation varied, it was common for a person to minister six

would not make any decision without Caleb Evans' concession. Meanwhile, Kinghorn received another invitation from the Baptist Church at Fairford, Gloucestershire, which is about 69 kilometres east of Bristol, and 43 kilometres west of Oxford.¹⁶⁰ Kinghorn promised to visit the church at Christmas. After he returned to Bristol, Evans wrote to two churches and recommended them to invite Kinghorn: a church "in Devonshire, at Hunnington," and another at Chester, Cheshire, which was close to Liverpool and Manchester.¹⁶¹ For his parents' sake, he rejected the one in Devonshire, as he could not suffer the distance from his parents. The Chester church, however, never replied to Evans' letter. During this time, a church at Dereham, Norfolk also sent Kinghorn their invitation, but with consideration, Kinghorn rejected the offer as he "considered the Fairford people had the greatest claim to his regard."¹⁶²

In addition to his itinerate ministry at this time, Joseph Kinghorn also had a romantic experience while completing his 1,770-kilometre peregrination that summer. During his trip to Newcastle and Leeds, Kinghorn met a family in which were three young ladies, who were orphans.¹⁶³ Kinghorn became fond of one sister, and soon proposed to her for marriage. Though "the attraction appeared to be mutual, [and] they corresponded for some time, and he made excursions with the family," the lady indicated to Kinghorn that "his connection with the church was the great hindrance to her accepting

months to a year, before the congregation making a decision.

¹⁶⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 111.

¹⁶¹ It is problematic to locate the said church, as according to Wilkin's transcription, this church in Hunnington is in Devonshire (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 112). However, the village Hunnington is located in Warwickshire, and it is not far from Birmingham. Given the fact that Kinghorn complained to his father that the church would be "three hundred miles from home," the county was correct, though "Hunnington" might have been misspelled. It could be a misspelling of Honiton, which is a market town in east Devon.

¹⁶² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 112. The Jamaica missionary James Mursell Phillippo (1798–1897) converted under Samuel Green (1770–1840), a close friend of Kinghorn, at Dereham Baptist Church. Phillippo was later interviewed by Kinghorn when he applied to become a missionary. On the church, see Eric W. Whitwell, *Story of the Baptist Church, Dereham, Norfolk, 1784–2001: Over 200 Years History* (Dereham, Norfolk: Dereham Baptist Church, 2001).

¹⁶³ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 113.

his offer.”¹⁶⁴ This was also the reason why she rejected a previous suitor’s proposal. Then as the other “clerical suitor determined to relinquish the church and take a school, in order to satisfy the dissenting scruples of his lady,” she wrote “a most graphic letter” to bid Kinghorn farewell.¹⁶⁵ In return, Wilkin recorded, Kinghorn replied to her with “the letter of a Christian and friend.”¹⁶⁶ Kinghorn later reflected on his birthday in 1788, he was thankful for such an experience, as it helped him to reconsider the meaning of marriage, and his ministerial calling. He then settled his mind on Christian ministry, and possibly followed Richard Baxter’s (1615–1691) advice and remained unmarried.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 113.

¹⁶⁵ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 113, 114.

¹⁶⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 114.

¹⁶⁷ On Baxter’s appeal of clerical celibacy, see Seth D. Osborne, *The Reformed and Celibate Pastor: Richard Baxter’s Argument for Clerical Celibacy* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022). Kinghorn possessed a copy of Baxter’s works (see [Simon Wilkin, ed.,] *Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Late Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich; Comprising a Very Valuable Collection of English and Foreign Theology and Biblical Criticism, Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature, Fathers of the Church, and Ecclesiastical History, Now Selling for Ready Money Only. At the Prices Affixed to Each Article, by Wilkin & Fletcher, Booksellers, Upper Haymarket, Norwich* [Norwich, 1833], 3–4).

According to Sally Holloway, in Georgian England, there were other concerns that compelled individuals to marry beside love, and they are: “marriage promised companionship, but also financial security, social advancement, and the continuation of a family line. Importantly, it was a key marker of adulthood, signaling the creation of a new household and economic unit” (Holloway, *The Game of Love in Georgian England: Courtship, Emotions, and Material Culture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019], 10). Though Kinghorn’s understanding of love and marriage is not known, the concerns Holloway listed can be found in James Hinton’s letter, dated June 30, 1795. In this letter, Hinton told Kinghorn about his marriage, as he had found “a companion in [Christ] every way qualified to make me happy—We have 3 children & one other Heaven has taken to rest.” Hinton mentioned that after learning about Kinghorn’s decision to be “a determined bachelor,” he was “very sorry.” Hinton continued, “I wish you would marry Tis a monstrous shame to let the Race of Kinghorns be lost—Take the testimony too of an old friend—Marriage absolutely is this worlds paradise, with peace & purity” (James Hinton to Joseph Kinghorn, June 30, 1795, D/KIN/2/1795 no. 837, KPA).

Two years later, as Kinghorn turned 31 years old, and his parents celebrated their thirty-second anniversary of marriage, Kinghorn remarked, “There is a solitariness in single life: the heart wants a companion, a friend to whom all can be told is not to be met with in our common intercourse. How many things do I think of various persons that I dare tell to us one! I dare say if I had a wife I loved & who loved me I should tell what now his lies buried till it is forgotten. What are generally called friends are very valuable. I own it & I have many I esteem, yet there is an intercourse of sentiment of a higher kind, & which it seems impossible to enjoy but where the interest & happiness of two are completely made one. You will by this time suspect that I am at least half in love, perhaps courting &c &c. No, but I could not help saying what I have from the circumstance you mention. I do not feel at times the inconvenience of a state of life I have not yet quitted & perhaps may not. A Dissenting Minister, is really in a difficulty in this matter, setting every thing else aside, but which Mr Wadman & Miss R have made a match. I think few states of life are hopeless” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 9, 1797, D/KIN/2/1797 no. 909, KPA, 3).

A “Heretic” at Fairford

The Baptist church to which Kinghorn decided to minister originated around 1700 in a licenced house at the village of Meysey Hampton, which is about three and a half kilometres west of Fairford. In 1723, the congregation erected a chapel at Fairford, “but preaching was continued in the same private house until prevented by the intolerant interference of the incumbent of the parish.”¹⁶⁸ The congregation did not have a minister until 1744, when Thomas Davis (d. 1784) was “chosen Pastor who sustained that office with Reputation and some Degree of Success till” his death in 1784.¹⁶⁹ For nine years, the church was supplied by neighbouring ministers and students from Bristol, and in 1793, Daniel Williams (1759–1841) was called to be its minister.¹⁷⁰

Kinghorn first visited and preached at the church in March 1785, and he discovered that Davis had left an impressive collection of Jonathan Edwards’ works.¹⁷¹ After his second visit at Christmas 1787, the church sent Kinghorn an invitation in January 1788, and asked him “to spend six months with them on probation, at the conclusion of his studies in the following May.”¹⁷²

According to Kinghorn, the church was declining and in chaos, as he told his parents:

As to Fairford, I have an invitation from the church, signed by all present but two. I am much more convinced of the attachment of my friends than before, and I was

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, “Maiseyhampton,” *New Baptist Miscellany* 6 (Supplement, 1833): 617.

¹⁶⁹ “Baptist Church Book, Fairford (1780–1843),” D4278/2/1, GA, [1].

¹⁷⁰ Williams went to the Bristol Academy in 1780 and finished his studies in 1784. From James Hinton’s letter, dated May 26, 1786, Kinghorn and Williams might know each other from school. Began in 1785, Williams ministered at the Baptist Church at Unicorn Yard, London, where he was ordained in 1787. In 1789, Williams visited Norwich and preached at St. Mary’s in Kinghorn’s absence. In Thomas Hawkins’ letter, the deacon told Kinghorn that “he is slow in conversation, and I was afraid would have nothing to say in the pulpit, however, I was agreeably disappointed, and several of the people said to me, we have got a very good supply” (Thomas Hawkins to Joseph Kinghorn, May 29, 1789 [Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 146]).

¹⁷¹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 84.

¹⁷² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 115.

much afraid if I did not go they would leave the church, indeed, I am almost certain the principal men would; this made me take the opportunity to beg of them to consider the welfare and peace of the church as a part of the church of Christ, in which little parties and passions should be entirely laid aside, and that, if I should come, they would still endeavour to promote the interest of the whole; and after I had talked in this way to one I went to another, and told him what I had said, that I might read him the same lesson in an indirect manner. It had the desired effect, so far that they assented to it, and said they wished me to speak my mind quite openly, and they thought it was very good in me to consider them thus.¹⁷³

In the middle of February, Kinghorn went to supply the church, and remained there till the end of March. By the end of March, Caleb Evans came to assist the eucharist, and it was from Evans that Kinghorn learned that “the opposition against my coming is stronger than I thought it was.”¹⁷⁴ Regarding the situation, even Evans did not know what to do. Moreover, as Kinghorn was acquainted with the people, he found out that the “congregation is a good deal mixed respecting sentiments,” as many held the position of high Calvinism.¹⁷⁵ Like Andrew Fuller (1754–1815), Kinghorn’s reading of Edwards helped him to reject such a rationalised and distorted version of Calvinism.¹⁷⁶ However, the high Calvinists at Fairford took a militant attitude, and suspected Kinghorn’s

¹⁷³ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 115–116.

¹⁷⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 25, 1788 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 117).

¹⁷⁵ In the eighteenth century, Particular Baptists debated over the minutiae of Calvinist doctrine, which became known as the “modern question.” As Stephen Holmes summarised, “The question was whether unconverted inners have a duty to believe in Christ. If, it was argued, some are predestined to hell, then they cannot believe; if they cannot believe, they cannot have a moral duty to believe—and if they have no duty to believe, it is inappropriate for a preacher to encourage them to believe. These ideas came into Particular Baptist life through a London minister John Skepp [1675–1721], who was closely associated with John Gill, the most learned, and perhaps the most influential, minister of the mid-eighteenth century. Through the influence of Gill, and of Skepp’s successor, John Brine, the Particular Baptist churches around London became places where active evangelism was regarded as a grave sin. This was not advantageous to the continued health of the denomination” (Stephen R. Holmes, *Baptist Theology* [London; New York: T&T Clark, 2012], 23). Also see Gerald L. Priest, “Andrew Fuller, Hyper-Calvinism, and the ‘Modern Question’,” in *At the Pure Fountain of Thy Word*, 43–73.

¹⁷⁶ According to Kinghorn, “I think Calvin superior to any system-writer I have met with; his Institutions (in Latin) I keep constantly by me, and very frequently read them, and set a very high value on them” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, June 25, 1788 [Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 123]).

See Paul Helm, “A Different Kind of Calvinism? Edwardsianism Compared with Older Forms of Reformed Thought,” in *After Johnathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 91–106. On Edwards’ influence upon Fuller, see Chris Chun, *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2012); Michael A. G. Haykin, “Great Admirers of the Transatlantic Divinity: Some Chapters in the Story of Baptist Edwardsianism,” in *After Johnathan Edwards*, 197–207.

orthodoxy.¹⁷⁷ Not only did they think Kinghorn was an Arminian, their “suspicious whispers” made Kinghorn “quite popular in the country round for heterodoxy,” and even those he did not know thought him “a dangerous thing.”¹⁷⁸ Though Evans defended Kinghorn that he “was as orthodox as [Evans] was,” the congregation was not convinced.

Though David Kinghorn was horrified with his son’s situation at Fairford, he provided concrete advice—“to preach [the rumour] down.”¹⁷⁹ David then suggested his son to “be cautious of using loose words,” and read Stephen Charnock’s (1628–1680) treatise on regeneration, and Gill’s *Body of Divinity*.¹⁸⁰ David also suggested that his son to “treat on practical subjects doctrinally and on doctrinal subjects practically, it might have a tendency to calm the minds of the jealous.”¹⁸¹ In reply, Kinghorn explained that at Fairford, he

preached those things that most affected my own mind, and I do not think my views of the gospel, as a system of entire mercy, are at all diminished. When I preached in your pulpit, I enjoyed much pleasure myself, and you and your people were pleased to express satisfaction in my attempts to set forth the unsearchable riches of Christ to sinners, in saving them from sin and hell, and making even the poor of this world heirs of an immortal kingdom, in ruling over his enemies and guiding his people through the intricate mazes of human life to his heavenly mansions; and I am not sensible that at F[airford] I preached any other Gospel. I have laboured to convince them that Christ died for sin and rose again for our justification, and if this is not gospel, I must confess myself ignorant of it. I have pressed on them as much as I was able, the great guilt of men in not receiving the gospel on this very consideration, that in rejecting the gospel of Jesus they rejected the only way of salvation, which was through him; and surely this is the doctrine which will exalt Jesus and debase men.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Such was the case when a Mr. Clark came with the church’s invitation to fill in the pastoral office, and the people at Fairford suspected his faith (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 117).

¹⁷⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 117.

¹⁷⁹ In the same letter, David told his son that “If I had known sooner the real cause of the opposition against Mr. Clark, I should have advised you not to engage to settle among them for any length of time, under a persuasion that your character would greatly suffer and perhaps your usefulness go with it at least to some individuals, though you might be more useful to many others who heard you without prejudice” (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, April 3, 1788 [Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 118]).

¹⁸⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 118–119.

¹⁸¹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, April 29, 1788 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 121).

¹⁸² Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 15, 1788 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 120).

As Kinghorn's situation at Fairford did not improve, Caleb Evans strongly suggested he quit. Like a father, Evans told Kinghorn, "I miss you greatly, and wish you were nearer to me, but it is God that fixes the bounds of our habitations."¹⁸³

Despite his dilemma at Fairford, Kinghorn gained trust and reputation from Daniel Turner, Benjamin Beddome (1717–1795), and other respectful ministers. On September 17, Kinghorn was invited to preach at the monthly ministers' meetings at Abingdon. Turner encouraged him later in a letter, "I plainly perceive you have great ministerial abilities, and appear to have felt the power of the gospel upon your own heart, and wish to do good, promote the interest of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the salvation of mankind."¹⁸⁴ At the time, two more invitations reached to Kinghorn. The first one was from Joseph Straphan (b. 1757), who was a nephew of Samuel Stennett (1727–1795), to supply a new chapel at Hanley, near Newcastle, Staffordshire. Kinghorn, however, declined it. The other one was proposed by Thomas Dunscombe (1748–1811) and Beddome, to supply at Arlington, Gloucestershire. Though the latter was attractive, Kinghorn did not make up his mind to leave Fairford until January 1789.

Call to St. Mary's

In January 1789, Kinghorn received a letter from Caleb Evans, to which a letter from Fishwick, his old employer, was also attached. As Fishwick had recently visited Norwich, he told Evans about the departure of Kinghorn's fellow-student Thomas Dunn (d. 1833) and the church's pastoral need.¹⁸⁵ Though both Fishwick and Dunn

¹⁸³ Caleb Evans to Joseph Kinghorn, October 13, 1788 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 130).

¹⁸⁴ Daniel Turner to Joseph Kinghorn, September 29, 1788 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 130).

¹⁸⁵ Regarding Dunn, Joseph Kinghorn later wrote: "As to Dunn's sentiments & the difference between his & mine that question cannot be answered. I have heard much about Dunn since I came here but I can make very little out to any purpose only that he had a small share of religious knowledge & was so scant of ideas as not to be able to fill up the time of worship without a good deal of extraneous mat[ter]. I did not apprehend while at the Academy Dunn wd. have act so poor a seizure [*sic*] but there is an amazing different between a persons having only to preach a sermon now & then—and having daily to break to others the bread of Life" (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 4, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 641, KPA, 2).

suggested Kinghorn's name to the congregation at St. Mary's, Fishwick decided to write to Evans, and let the tutor persuade his beloved student.¹⁸⁶ An invitation letter from Thomas Hawkins (d. 1841), a Norwich grocer and leading deacon at St. Mary's, was also included in Evans' letter-parcel. In his reply, Kinghorn told Hawkins about his plan to visit home first, and he then would come to Norwich and spend two months with them. With Hawkins' directions, especially about taking the *Expedition* coach, Kinghorn arrived at Norwich on March 27, 1789.

Norwich was a significant city in both commerce and culture.¹⁸⁷ In the seventeenth century, with its woollen industry, Norwich was considered to be "next to London ... the most rich and potent city in England."¹⁸⁸ However, since the Industrial Revolution in the 1760s, this former "second city" was fast losing ground.¹⁸⁹ Though scholars disagreed over the timing of the decline, Mark Harrison argued that the decline was gradual, and a major decline took place "during the French wars [1792–1802], and that by 1840 the trade was a shadow of its former self."¹⁹⁰

Culturally, Norwich was considered as the "Athens of England" in the late eighteenth century, as the city nourished many writers of the Romantic movement, as well as a group of artists, who were called "the Norwich school."¹⁹¹ Nevertheless,

¹⁸⁶ All letters from 1789 to 1790 are not archived. As a result, the following sections will depend on Wilkin's transcription.

¹⁸⁷ See C. B. Jewson, *The Jacobin City: A Portrait of Norwich 1788–1802* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1975).

¹⁸⁸ Quoted by Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government: The Story of the King's Highway* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), 530.

¹⁸⁹ See Mark Harrison, *Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns, 1790–1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 96ff.

¹⁹⁰ Harrison, *Crowds and History*, 97. On the timing of the decline, see M. F. Lloyd Prichard, "The Decline of Norwich," *Economic History Review*, 2nd series 3, no. 3 (1951): 371–77; J. K. Edwards, "The Decline of the Norwich Textile Industry," *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research* 16, no. 1 (1964): 31–41; Edwards, "Communications and the Economic Development of Norwich, 1750–1850," *Journal of Transport History* 7, no. 2 (1965): 96–108; Penelope Corfield, "From Second City to Regional Capital," in *Norwich Since 1550*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe, Richard Wilson, and Christine Clark (London; New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 139–66.

¹⁹¹ See David Chandler, "'The Athens of England': Norwich as a Literary Center in the Late

Norwich was also a significant place for the Christian church. Unlike Canterbury and York, where the archbishops' seats located, Norwich was a centre of the Dissenting Bodies, as the Reformation and puritanism were heartily welcomed in East Anglia.¹⁹² During the Stuart period, Norwich was especially a stronghold of Congregationalism.

In 1667, under the leadership of Daniel Bradford, a group of people left their fellow Congregationalists, and formed a separate "Baptised Church."¹⁹³ Like other dissenters, this close-communion, Particular Baptist church endured persecutions during the Restoration. As soon as the Act of Toleration passed, the Baptist church quickly secured the "East Granary," which had been the "Dorter of the Blackfriars' Convent, over the East Walk of the Cloisters," and was opposite from St. Christopher's Church.¹⁹⁴ During the ministry of John Stearne (d. 1755), the congregation purchased "an old brick and flint house opposite the venerable parish church of St. Mary Coslany," and it was converted to a meeting house.¹⁹⁵ It was from the parish that the Baptist congregation gained their name, St. Mary's. In 1773, as rumours of "a gross moral lapse on the part of her pastor" Samuel Fisher came to the congregation, the church investigated and found

Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 2 (2010): 171–92; Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons, and Institutions Outside London, 1800–1830* (London: Clarendon, 1974); Paul A. Elliott, *Enlightenment, Modernity and Science: Geographies of Scientific Culture and Improvement in Georgian England* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010); David Allen, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008); Angela Dain, "An Enlightened and Polite Society," in *Norwich Since 1550*, 193–218; E. A. Goodwyn, *East Anglian Literature: A Survey from Crabbe to Adrian Bell* (n.p., 1982).

¹⁹² See Patrick Collinson, "Godly Preachers and Zealous Magistrates in Elizabethan East Anglia: The Roots of Dissent," in *Religious Dissent in East Anglia*, ed. E. S. Leedham-Green (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1991), 5–28; Ole Grell, "A Friendship Turned Sour: Puritans and Dutch Calvinists in East Anglia, 1603–1660," in *Religious Dissent in East Anglia*, 45–68; Jewson, *Baptist in Norfolk*, 11–28; Janet Ede and Norma Virgoe, "Mapping Nonconformity in Norfolk," in *Religious Dissent in East Anglia: Historical Perspectives; The Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Religious Dissent in East Anglia*, ed. Norma Virgoe and Tom Williamson (Norwich: Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group, and Centre of East Anglia Studies University of East Anglia, 1993), 47–58.

¹⁹³ See C. B. Jewson, "St. Mary's, Norwich, II," *BQ* 10, no. 3 (1940): 168–77.

¹⁹⁴ C. B. Jewson, "St. Mary's, Norwich, III," *BQ* 10, no. 4 (1940): 232.

¹⁹⁵ C. B. Jewson, "St. Mary's, Norwich, IV," *BQ* 10, no. 5 (1941): 282.

Fisher guilty.¹⁹⁶ This left the church without a minister for three years. In 1777, William Richards, pastor of the Baptist church in Lynn, suggested the church write to Caleb Evans for pastoral candidates, and Rees David (1749–1788) was sent that October.¹⁹⁷ David was welcomed by the church, and his ordination took place in May 1779, when Robert Robinson (1735–1790) gave the charge. During David’s ministry, the church grew in number, and a church choir was organised as well. By the time of David’s death in 1788, the church held “700 or 800 people, the members about 120.”¹⁹⁸ Soon after David died on February 6, 1788, Hawkins wrote to Evans for a candidate to provide occasional supplies. The church minute book recorded that Dunn was sent and remained at the church till Lady Day 1789.¹⁹⁹

As he was transferring to the city, Kinghorn told his father, “I am sensible of the importance of dress, and know I must dress more in Norwich than I have done here [Fairford] among farmers and mechanics; especially as I am told I am going to a fine congregation. However, I hope not to go into the opposite extreme and turn fop, for that is abominable.”²⁰⁰ In fact, Kinghorn was impressed by the city, as he told his father: “Norwich is an irregular city, and much antiquity remaining in and about it.”²⁰¹ Unlike

¹⁹⁶ Jewson, “St. Mary’s, Norwich, IV,” 284.

¹⁹⁷ Rees David was from Penyfai, near Bridgend, Glamorgan in Wales. He was sent by his church to study with Caleb Evans at Bristol, which was funded by the Bodenham Trust Fund. Before his arrival at Norwich, David supplied the church at Lower Ormond, Ireland in 1775, and ministered at Falmouth and Chacewater in 1776. On January 24, 1779, Rees David married Elizabeth Haton (1737–1833) in Norwich. During his time at Norwich, David was vocal to defend the Dissenters and Whig politics. See Jewson, “St. Mary’s, Norwich, IV,” 282–287; Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 160; Joshua Thomas, *A History of the Baptist Association in Wales, from the Year 1650, to the Year 1790, Shewing the Times and Places of Their Annual Meetings, Whether in Wales, London, or Bristol, &c. Including Several Other Interesting Articles* (London, 1795), 72; James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Non-conformity in Eighteenth-Century Politic and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 12, 130, 239.

¹⁹⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 135.

¹⁹⁹ “Norwich St Mary’s Chapel (Baptists), Church Book, Members 1780–1830,” MS 4283, NRO, 53.

²⁰⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 11, 1789 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 140–141).

²⁰¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 14, 1789 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 144).

the Fairford church, Kinghorn was warmly welcomed, and he was put to lodge with Rees David's widow, Elizabeth Haton David (1737–1833) in St. George, Norwich. When Kinghorn preached at St. Mary's for the first time, there were about 500 in the audience.²⁰²

After staying for six weeks, Kinghorn left for Yorkshire from May 19 to July 17, during which time Daniel Williams supplied the pulpit.²⁰³ On December 13, 1789, after consideration, votes were cast at the church meeting, and the congregation unanimously decided to invite Kinghorn to fill the pastoral office. Significantly, this was the first time that women of the church were allowed to vote.²⁰⁴ Kinghorn accepted the call on January 17, 1790, and he was received as a member a month later on February 14, 1790. On May 20, 1790, an ordination service was held, where David Kinghorn delivered the pastoral charge from 1 Timothy 4:16 to his son, and William Richards preached to the church from 1 Thessalonians 5:12–13. Edward Trivett (1712–1792) of Worstead, who preached the sermon to the church at Rees David's ordination, was also invited to assist in the service.²⁰⁵ Like his predecessor, Kinghorn ministered at St. Mary's for the rest of his life, and he was cherished by the people. He also formed an intimate relationship with both the church and the city. Kinghorn was particularly close to the Hawkins and the Wilkin families.²⁰⁶

Preaching the Gospel

When Kinghorn was still at Newcastle, he explained his understanding of the

²⁰² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 144.

²⁰³ "Norwich St Mary's Chapel (Baptists), Church Book, Members 1780–1830," 53.

²⁰⁴ "Norwich St Mary's Chapel (Baptists), Church Book, Members 1780–1830," 53.

²⁰⁵ "Norwich St Mary's Chapel (Baptists), Church Book, Members 1780–1830," 55.

²⁰⁶ See C. B. Jewson, "William Hawkins, 1790–1853," *BQ* 26, no. 6 (1976): 275–81; Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979).

office and work of a minister: it “is great indeed, the charge weighty, the denunciations heavy against those who are unfaithful; but the promises of help are large, the master faithful and true, and the cause good.”²⁰⁷ In the following ten years, Kinghorn faithfully preached the gospel to the congregation from the Bible. Beside preaching expository sermons, Kinghorn also taught doctrines from the pulpit, as he believed,

I have oft thought the theory of Christianity is little understood by many, and that it might be placed on a basis of Scripture and so far supported by fact and argument, as would, at least not be overturned easily. And little as I have been given to doctrinal preaching I think it now received attention for if we do not make some rigorous efforts to support what we think right, men will forget & disbelieve first one thing & then another till even the most serious will hardly know what they believe & this will be so far from being an improvement in the religious world that it will only introduce a state of religious barbarism & ignorance.²⁰⁸

The congregation needed such teachings, as they were surrounded by doctrinal confusions and political upheavals. Socinianism continued to be taught from the pulpit of the beautiful Octagon Chapel, which was about a five-minute walk from St. Mary’s.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 15, 1784 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 63).

²⁰⁸ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 19, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, KPA, 3.

²⁰⁹ The Octagon Chapel was built “in 1754–6 for a congregation of well-connected Presbyterians, replacing their first purpose-built place of worship in Norwich, which had been completed by 1689. Initially it was thought that the new chapel would have a rectangular plan, its entrance front being in the short side facing the street, like many other urban chapels of the time. In the event an octagonal plan was adopted, however, and this has attracted attention ever since. The allure of its neat geometry is captured in John Wesley’s oft-quoted description of the exterior: ‘It is eight square, built of the finest brick, with sixteen sash-windows below, as many above, and eight skylights’. Even more remarkable is the interior of the chapel . . . where the domed central space is bounded by eight giant, fluted Corinthian column; each bears a deepen tabature black and round arches, an idea possibly adapted from James Gibbs’s circular design of St Martins-in-the-Fields. Behind the columns a raked gallery runs around the chapel, so that its pews like those underneath, could follow the octagonal lines of the wall. The pulpit is set in front of the gallery, facing the entrance (and a well-placed clock) across a block of pews. Since 1802 an organ has occupied the gallery space behind the pulpit. Except for the columns interrupting certain sightlines, the plan of the building enables the preacher to be clearly seen and heard, and also shapes the congregation’s sense of itself as a body of worshippers” (Christopher Wakeling, *Chapels of England: Buildings of Protestant Nonconformity* [Swindon, Wiltshire: Historic England, 2017], 55). When John Wesley visited and preached at the Octagon Chapel, he was impressed by the architecture, yet at the same time, he wondered, “How can it be thought that the old, coarse gospel should find admission here?” (as quoted by Christopher Stell, “Puritan and Nonconformist Meetinghouses in England,” in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999], 73). Wesley’s question was by and large caused by the minister at the time, John Taylor (1694–1761), who was a well-respected biblical scholar. As Taylor embraced Socinianism, the congregation soon embraced his view, and to this day, the Octagon Chapel remains a pearl of Unitarianism. On the church, see John Taylor, *History of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich* (London: Charles Green, 1848). On Taylor, see G. T. Eddy, *Dr Taylor of Norwich: Wesley’s Arch-heretic* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003).

Other significant Socinians of Kinghorn’s time were: Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808) was an Anglican clergyman, who befriended with Joseph Priestly since 1769. With uneasy conscience, Lindsey and four other churchmen (including Francis Blackburne [1705–1787, Lindsey’s father-in-law], John Jebb

Prophets and “messiahs” came to attract large populations.²¹⁰ The wars and economic crisis made people live in agitation and fear. The state had the potential to take away the dissenters’ limited freedom. Moreover, many Baptists lacked understanding of their doctrines and identity. Such were the challenges faced by Kinghorn and his people.

Furthermore, since the beginning of Kinghorn’s ministry at St. Mary’s, he decided to speak nothing but the gospel. In May 1789, Kinghorn participated in a

[1736–1786], Christopher Wyvill [1740–1822] and Edmund Law [1703–1787]) drew a petition to the Parliament to no longer require Anglican clergy and university graduates to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The petition was defeated in February 1772 in the House of Commons, and consequently Lindsey resigned as vicar. Two years later, he began to host Unitarian services in Essex Street, the Strand, London, and came from it was the first Unitarian church—Essex Street Chapel. Lindsey was buried in Bunhill Fields after his death, and his pastorate was succeeded by Thomas Belsham (1750–1829), with whom Joseph Kinghorn responded in detail (unfortunately, Kinghorn’s 400–500 pages response to Belsham’s *A Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ* [1811] was never published; though Kinghorn published another pamphlet, *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ, Addressed to the Serious Professors of Christianity* [1813]). Edward Evanson (1731–1805) was an Anglican scholar and biblical critic. When he was the rector of Tweekesbury and vicar of Longdon, Worcestershire, Evanson began to question Anglican teachings, especially certain biblical texts and translations. In pulpit, he would omit or alter certain texts which seemed to him untrue, or erroneous. In 1773, with his sermon on the resurrection, a prosecution was instituted against him, charging him preaching contrary to the Anglican beliefs and creeds, as well as denying Christ’s divinity. Later, Evanson joined and ministered at a Unitarian church at Lympton, Devonshire.

²¹⁰ One of the examples is Richard Brothers (1757–1824), who was born in Port Kirwan, Newfoundland, and later went to England for education. In 1783, Brothers became lieutenant and was honourably discharged the same year. After his unhappy marriage with Elizabeth Hassall, Brothers returned to the Royal Navy. Began in 1789, Brothers questioned his allegiance to the king. He then became an itinerant preacher by claiming himself a prophet and healer. In 1793, Brothers began to claim that he should call and bring the “hidden Jews” back to New Jerusalem. In 1795, Brothers was put on trial and imprisoned for treason and being criminally insane. It was only by the help of his follower Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Brothers was removed to a private asylum in Islington. On Richard Brothers, see Deborah Madden, *The Paddington Prophet: Richard Brothers’s Journey to Jerusalem* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); George Turner, *A Testimony to the Prophetic Mission of Richard Brothers* (London, 1795); Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, *Testimony of the Authenticity of the Prophecies of Richard Brothers, and of His Mission to Recall the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1795). On prophecies and visionaries in the revolutionary age, see Susan Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). Brothers attracted a large group of followers. Joseph Kinghorn indicated that “we have had them here in great abundance. And I have been astonished at the childish weakness of people in being frightened at them. It has afforded an instance how easy it re^d. he for God if he meant to infatuate a people to send them strong delusions that they might believe a lie!” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 19 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, KPA). On the millenarian movements in the eighteenth century, see Ronald Matthews, *English Messiahs: Studies of Six English Religious Pretenders 1656–1927* (London: Methuen, 1936); Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-century England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980); Lionel Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm: Prophecy and Religious Experience in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Matthew Niblett, *Prophecy and the Politics of Salvation in Late Georgian England: The Theology and Apocalyptic Vision of Joanna Southcott* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015); J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780–1850* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2012); Philip Lockley, *Visionary Religion and Radicalism in Early Industrial England: From Southcott to Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Andrew Crome, *Christian Zionism and English National Identity, 1600–1850* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

thanksgiving day, and he told his father, “Political sermons are things I do not like to meddle with, I never yet touched on the subject but when I could not help it, and then as little as may be.”²¹¹ In 1793, England went to war with France, and the Crown issued all churches and chapels to host a fast day to pray for the King’s navy.²¹² Kinghorn, however, told his parents about how he managed it:

As to the Fast-day, my determination was that no one should know my political sentiments from my sermon. I took Isa. xlvi, 10; took my materials from the bible and addressed myself to men not as politicians but as Christians, particularly in pointing out their peculiar consolation w^c. the world knew not of & the reasons they had for hope that troubles w^c. were feared might not come or that if they did they were not deprived of their happiness.²¹³

By doing so, Kinghorn distinguished himself from both his predecessor Rees David, and fellow Norwich Baptist minister, Mark Wilks (1748–1819), as the latter two often employed the pulpit to preach against certain political views.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, in private Joseph Kinghorn supported the Hanoverian house and the Whig party’s policies.²¹⁵

Planting the Aylsham Congregation

As St. Mary’s grew in numbers, they also extended their influence to other parts of the county. Aylsham is a market town in Norfolk, and it is about nineteen kilometres north of Norwich. There was an abandoned Methodist meeting house in the

²¹¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 5, 1789 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 144).

²¹² On the thanksgiving sermons and their effect, see Warren Johnston, *National Thanksgivings and Ideas of Britain 1689–1816* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2020).

²¹³ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 7, 1793, D/KIN 2/1793 no. 764, KPA, 1.

²¹⁴ On Mark Wilks, see C. B. Jewson, “Norwich Baptists and the French Revolution,” *BQ* 24, no. 5 (1972): 209–15; Sarah Wilks, *Memoirs of Rev. Mark Wilks, Late of Norwich* (London, 1821). One example of Wilks’s political sermons is his *The Origin & Stability of the French Revolution. A Sermon preached at St. Paul’s Chapel, Norwich, Jul, 14, 1791* (Norwich, 1791).

²¹⁵ On the centenary of King William and Queen Mary’s landing on British soil, Joseph Kinghorn celebrated the liberty brought by the king, and told his parents, “Had I been at Hull I should have been as hearty in putting on orange cockades and singing as the best of them” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, December 1, 1783 [Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 133]). Another example is Kinghorn’s lobbying against the Protestant Dissenting Ministers Bill presented by Henry Addington (1757–1844), then Lord President of the Council to the House of Lords in 1811 (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 339–40).

town, which was owned by a Baptist.²¹⁶ As the owner believed in the importance of religion, in 1790, he requested help from W. W. Wilkin (1762–1799), who was a member of St. Mary’s.²¹⁷ Wilkin passed on the request to Kinghorn, and the latter immediately agreed to visit the town. On Sunday November 15, Kinghorn and Wilkin went with Hawkins in a chaise, and Kinghorn “preached three times, the prospect appeared pleasing, and animated us all.”²¹⁸ On May 8, 1791, Kinghorn rode to Aylsham and preached there in the evening. The next day, they woke up at four o’clock,

walked down to the river, met a few friends at a place appointed under a venerable willow tree, in proper readiness; we joined together in prayer, begging God’s blessing on his own commands; and then went down into the way, and I baptized five persons, two men, (father and son,) three women (mother, daughter, and the mother’s sister.) All seemed deeply sensible what they were doing, and behaved with a steadiness and intrepidity that astonished me. There were only three present besides, except myself, circumstances rendering it almost necessary that there should be no bustle made about it. After we all got to the house of a friend, near the river, and out of the town, I addressed them on the serious nature of the profession they had made, &c., and after joining in prayer again, they left me, and went on their way rejoicing. I then took breakfast and rode home, and spent the rest of the day in great fatigue, partly, it is true, from my ride, but chiefly for want of rest and from anxiety, as I had suffered many things in my mind on their account, because three of them were likely to have a storm of persecution descend upon them, and I knew not how they would bear it, though they seemed sufficiently aware of it, and prepared against it.²¹⁹

Three years later, the congregation at Aylsham celebrated their first Lord’s Supper with Kinghorn on Christmas day. Kinghorn continued to preach and administer the eucharist at the church once a month, and paid attention to their need, until in 1817,

²¹⁶ “The chapel has brick walls and a hipped pantiled roof. The broad N front, which has a high brick plinth, was originally of three bays with two tiers of windows and a central doorway” (Christopher Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in East England* [Swindon, Wiltshire: English Heritage, 2002], 230).

²¹⁷ W. W. Wilkin’s full name was William Wilkin Wilkin.

²¹⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 181.

²¹⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 1, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 653, KPA. In 1808, the Aylsham Baptist church experienced persecution from the townsmen. It was reported that a riot broke out on Sunday evening, March 13, 1808, as mugs “behaved in a very disorderly manner in the chapel, and carried off the minister [Joseph King] by force to the Dog Inn” (Charles Mackie, *Norfolk Annals: A Chronological Record of Remarkable Events in the Nineteenth Century 1801–1805*, 2 vols. [Norwich: Office of the Norfolk Chronicle, 1901], 1:74). Kinghorn “succeeded in inducing the committee of the dissenting deputies to take up their cause by prosecuting the rioters, whose trial took place at Norwich, before Sir Vicary Gibbs [1751–1820]” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 324).

when John Bane (1790–1855) became their first minister. As Bane stated, “Aylsham was engraved on [Kinghorn’s] heart.”²²⁰

Living with His Parents, Again

Since Kinghorn arrived at St. Mary’s, he developed a special friendship with W. W. Wilkin.²²¹ The latter’s father, Simon Wilkin Sr., sent his son to Hoxton Academy under the learned Abraham Rees (1742–1825). Afterward, William Wilkin came to St. Mary’s, and was baptised by Rees David in 1779. After spending some time in France, Wilkin returned to Norwich and became a merchant. In 1787, Wilkin married Cecilia Lucy Jacomb, and had their first child Mary Snell in 1788. Simon Wilkin then was born in 1790, and Lucy in 1791. Around 1797/8, the family suffered with a severe illness, and Cecilia and Lucy died in 1798. In December 1798, W. W. Wilkin caught a cold, and passed away in the next January. As written in Wilkin’s will, Simon Wilkin was entrusted to Kinghorn. At the time, Kinghorn was still lodging at Mrs. David’s house, where he shared the lodging with William Youngman (d. 1837). When the little Simon moved in with Kinghorn, he also brought half of his father’s library. It made Kinghorn’s already-packed room become “so lumbered up with books that there was no stirring.”²²² It made Kinghorn began to think to have his own house. In 1800, Kinghorn found a house on Pottergate street, which is “a narrow street running from the Maddermarket in the centre of the city westwards.”²²³ Kinghorn also hired Eleanor Cutting to be his housekeeper. For thirty-two years, Cutting served and observed her master, and under Kinghorn’s

²²⁰ John Bane, *A Tribute of Respect for Departed Worth: Or, the Righteous Had in Everlasting Remembrance. A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich; Preached at Aylsham, Sep. 16th, 1832* (Norwich, 1832), 15. On Bane’s ordination, see “Appendix H Ordination of John Bane as pastor of the Baptist church at Aylsham, July 24, 1817,” in *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, ed. Terry Wolever (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 201), 3:376–77.

²²¹ See Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich*, 2.

²²² Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich*, 5.

²²³ Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich*, 7.

influence, she was baptised in 1800.²²⁴

In 1799, David Kinghorn and the congregation in Bishop Burton found themselves in irreconcilable disagreements over the issue of church discipline. By the end of that year Kinghorn was dismissed. In a letter to Benjamin Tomkins of Abingdon, the secretary of the Particular Baptist Fund (1796–1811), David Kinghorn explained that the quarrel began with his public reproof of the deacon Simon Gregson’s (1739–1817) wife, Jane Ross (1743–1816), who habitually attended public worship late.²²⁵ Kinghorn continued, “My mind was irritated at the time with her conduct, in sending about nine o’clock, to know whether I should be able to do anything or not, and she did not attend till within a few minutes of eleven.”²²⁶ To protest, the Gregsons refused to participate at the Lord’s Table, which was celebrated the following week. Some members began to condemn Kinghorn “for reprov[ing] a member of the church in public, and insisted that I had no right to reprove any one for late attendance without first inquiring into the cause of it.”²²⁷ Members of the Bishop Burton congregation then debated over “the nature of private offences, and those of a public nature.”²²⁸ They then concluded with ordering Kinghorn to repent or resign before August or Michaelmas (September 29). Physically ill,

²²⁴ In Kinghorn’s will, he owned three properties, one on Pottergate Street, one on Bull Close, and one on Thorpe Road. Besides his gift of two hundred pounds to nonconformist solicitor and later Mayor of Norwich, Thomas Brightwell (1787–1868), Kinghorn also left money for his housemaid Eleanor Cutting, and four Particular Baptist societies, among which included the Baptist Missionary Society (“Will of Reverend Joseph Kinghorn, Dissenting Minister of Norwich, Norfolk,” Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, PROB 11/1806/381, Tenterden Quire Numbers: 601–650 [National Archives, Kew]). Thomas Brightwell was the father of English etcher and author Cecilia Lucy Brightwell (1811–1875). Thomas Brightwell was first tutored by Kinghorn. As he later married Simon Wilkin’s sister, Brightwell also became a close friend to Kinghorn. In his will, Kinghorn particularly indicated that the gift was for Cecilia’s education. On Thomas Brightwell, see Cecilia Lucy Brightwell, *Memorials of the Life of Mr. Brightwell, of Norwich* (Norwich: Fletcher and Son, 1869).

²²⁵ David Kinghorn to Benjamin Tomkins, November 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 996, KPA, 1.

²²⁶ David Kinghorn to Benjamin Tomkins, November 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 996, 1.

²²⁷ David Kinghorn to Benjamin Tomkins, November 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 996, 1.

²²⁸ David Kinghorn to Benjamin Tomkins, November 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 996, 1.

Kinghorn wrote, “the grief it occasioned me had nearly cost me my life.”²²⁹

During this troublesome period of time, David and Elizabeth were comforted by their son Joseph. After honestly explaining his financial condition, Joseph promised to provide care once his parents relocated to Norwich. In a letter dated January 31, 1799, Joseph reminded his father that “there is still a God who has said ‘the silver is mine and the gold is mine,’ and he can give it in futurity in as singular and unexpected a manner as in times past.”²³⁰ In return, now dismissed, David wrote,

God in his providence has put it in your power to befriend us, and has given you a heart to sympathise so with us in all our distresses. I can truly say, (and I doubt not that you remember having heard me often speak to that effect,) that my dependence for outward support, and for your future welfare, when you were young, was on divine providence ordering our and your lot, and supplying our needs, when we had no visible prospect of outward prosperity before us; and to the honour of his name, we may say that he hath not failed nor forsaken us, though we have had some little trials to exercise our dependence on him.²³¹

With their hope set upon the sovereign and gracious God, the senior Kinghorns left Yorkshire on Tuesday, July 9, 1799, and arrived at Norwich by sea a few days later. An interesting account about the senior Kinghorns was given by Simon Wilkin, who lived under Kinghorn’s care since the age of eight:

I had never seen a couple who so struck my boyish imagination. Nor was I received by them with indifference, especially by Mrs. K[inghorn]. She had made many inquiries (when informed that I was placed as a ward in her son’s care) as to what sort of an urchin he might be, and how much trouble he might entail on her son. Her appearance and manners at once attracted me. Her figure was short but plump. She wore an ample cloak of black satin, lined with ermine; and a white round cap, edged with lace, peeped from under a large round bonnet also of black satin. Her countenance, accent, and manner were full of kindness and gentleness, and she won my heart at once. But her partner struck me with much surprise, and with something like awe. He was very tall, and sturdily upright. His hat, with a round and very shallow crown, and broad, upturned verge, rested on an ample, white, full-bottomed wig. His upper dress was of dark blue; the coat of great length and amplitude, with copious sleeves, large buttons, and wide-flapped pockets; the waistcoat also was ample both as to skirts and pockets. His nether dress was of black velvet, buckled at

²²⁹ David Kinghorn to Benjamin Tomkins, November 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 996, 1.

²³⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 293.

²³¹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 295.

the knees; with dark gray [*sic*] stockings, terminated by square-toed, substantial shoes, and large square buckles. His countenance was remarkably robust, and even rubicund; with keen grey eyes, and shaggy brows, expressive of shrewdness and great determination. But though of aspect somewhat formidable to a child, he addressed me with such quaint and lively kindness as at once to reassure me ... The father ... possessed a remarkably clear and masculine understanding, and the most unwavering integrity and elevation of character.²³²

This attentive boy's description is valuable, as Wilkin's account reveals the senior Kinghorns' personalities and physical appearances, which become the only portraits of David and Elizabeth.²³³ Nevertheless, it was their genuine faith and character struck the boy and set them apart, and even though they had been hurt by friends at Bishop Burton, they were "looking unto Jesus" (Heb 12:2). With this faith, David and Elizabeth lived quietly with their son for the next two decades. However, it also means that the decade-long correspondence between father and son also ended.

Elizabeth Kinghorn died on December 30, 1810, after nearly two years of illness. Her son wrote in his journal, "she had no doubts, was comfortable in her mind, and loved Jesus Christ."²³⁴ On February 18, 1822, Joseph wrote in his journal,

Monday morning, about half-past eight o'clock, my dear father departed this life in the eighty-fifth year of his age. Peaceful, without agonizing pain. His last days on the whole, comfortable. He told me he was so on the day before he died, amongst the last things he was able to speak intelligibly. He mentioned two or three days ago, in an imperfect manner, the language of Hebrews xii, 1,—“Let us lay aside every weight,” &c., which was the last passage of Scripture I heard him quote; and that he was hardly capable of doing.²³⁵

The unique friendship between David and Joseph ended with joy and thanksgiving. At his father's funeral (February 25, 1822), Joseph preached from the text David recited on his deathbed, and concluded with addressing to the congregation at Norwich, "I am now loosened from every earthly tie, and have no other care but you. Henceforth you, the

²³² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 4–5.

²³³ On aging in the eighteenth century, see Susannah R. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²³⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 328.

²³⁵ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 380–81.

members of this church, shall be my brother and sister, my father and my mother.”²³⁶

During Kinghorn’s first twenty years of ministry, many were baptised and joined the church as members; nevertheless, due to his publications and oratorical reputation, many regularly attended the church services without becoming a member. The number of people on Sunday soon packed out the 1745 building. In February 1811, the generous congregation raised a total of £3,650 to demolish the old chapel and build a new one.²³⁷ During this period, Kinghorn received a friendly letter from William Hull (ministered from 1809 to 1823), the successor of Samuel Newton (1732–1810), at the Old Meeting House indicating that the deacons agreed to welcome and facilitate the Baptist congregation at their building. Hull pointed out: “We beg particularly to have it understood that, as our motive in accommodating Mr. Kinghorn’s congregation in entirely friendly, we shall decline accepting any subscriptions on account of seats.”²³⁸ On February 17, 1811, the congregations of St. Mary and the Old Meeting House joined together and “held their first assembly in the venerable structure to which they were invited; and there they continued, in the utmost cordiality and harmony, to worship till the new place was completed, conducting their respective services, as arranged by their pastors, who occupied the pulpit alternately.”²³⁹ Kinghorn and Hull shared the pulpit, though the St. Mary’s congregation held separate communion services.

In March 1811, Kinghorn laid the new church’s foundation. By the end of the ceremony, as Kinghorn lifted his arms in prayer, the celebrated essayist William Taylor (1765–1836) happened to pass by, and according to the latter, Kinghorn “strongly reminded him of the benediction of the people by the Pope, which he had witnessed at

²³⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 381.

²³⁷ See C. B. Jewson, “St. Mary’s, Norwich, V,” *BQ* 10, no. 6 (1941): 343–44.

²³⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 332.

²³⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 333.

Rome.”²⁴⁰ A year later, as the construction neared completion, Kinghorn preached a farewell sermon at the Old Meeting House in the afternoon of June 21, 1812. On June 25, the congregation moved into the new building, and held their first service there. On that day, Kinghorn preached from Psalm 90.

Regarding the architecture of the new building, Simon Wilkin described the architecture, thus:

with handsome iron palisades and gates; its imposing front of white bricks, with Grecian portico and an ample flight of stone steps—altogether, both within and without, one of the handsomest Baptist Meeting-houses in the kingdom: free, however, from all popery and popish adornments of Gothic within and Gothic without, as well as from all vestiges of popish canonicals.²⁴¹

Another interesting description of the building was given by a Mr. Marten of Plaistow in 1825, who was not impressed by the building or Kinghorn’s sermon, as he recorded in his journal that

We went to Mr Kinghorn’s Meeting at St. Mary’s. It has a handsome porch in front & the inside roof is arched like a Gothic Cathedral. Doubtless meant to look very handsome and grand but upon such a diminutive scale and only Lath & plaister of a hungry look & with many a plaister crack—the small pillars supporting the points of the Gothic droop over the gallerie,—fluted & discovering many an open shake in the wood—the whole appeared like a design-abortive and that plainness would have been the surer elegance. Mr Kinghorn prayed in a very pleasing manner—his preaching was not to us so satisfactory—It was Essayish rather than experimental or practical & then coasted as we all thought a seriousness in his deportment—He appeared to me more the preacher than the minister or pastor. His pronunciation is very broad and his action rather restless than animated.²⁴²

Principal Kinghorn?

When Kinghorn became Simon Wilkin’s guardian, he also fulfilled his promise to his friend and took responsibilities to educate young Simon. Though he had to limit the number of pupils, many children from the church were entrusted to the learned scholar to

²⁴⁰ Jewson, “St. Mary’s, Norwich, V,” 344; Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 334.

²⁴¹ Jewson, “St. Mary’s, Norwich, V,” 344.

²⁴² Marten of Plaistow, “Journal by a Mr Marten of Plaistow,” September 1825, MC 26/1, NRO, 31–32.

receive a classical education.²⁴³ In the early 1800s, Kinghorn received invitations from both Northern Academy (1804) and Stepney Academy (1809) to be their principal and tutor.²⁴⁴ At this time, Kinghorn's parents were still alive, and he was convinced that his primary calling was that of a pastor. Though the inviters sought to persuade him through many letters, Kinghorn turned both offers down.²⁴⁵

A few years later, Kinghorn was invited to preach to the students of Stepney (June 23, 1814), Bristol (August 3, 1814), and Horton (August 27, 1817).²⁴⁶ It was rare at the time for a minister to preach at all Baptist academies in England, and Kinghorn was honoured. Through these sermons, Kinghorn explained his educational vision. As Andrew Fuller stated, "eminent spirituality in a minister is usually attended with eminent usefulness," Kinghorn understood the quintessential connection between human learning, personal piety, and public ministry.²⁴⁷

Supporting the Missions

After the formation of the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Heathen (BMS) in 1792, Kinghorn regardless received news from

²⁴³ See Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich*, 5–10. Also see David Blakely, *Ships, Shawls and Loyal Service: The Stories of Three East Anglian Brothers* (Kibworth Beauchamp, Leicestershire: Matador, 2016), 53.

²⁴⁴ In a letter to Thomas Langdon, Robert Hall wrote, "It is a great pity Mr. Kinghorn cannot be prevailed upon to accept the office of tutor, as it is a situation he is so well qualified to fill" ([Langdon,] *Brief Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Langdon*, 46–47).

²⁴⁵ For instance, see Joseph Gutteridge's (1752–1844) correspondence with Kinghorn in Edward Steane, *Memoir of the life of Joseph Gutteridge, Esq. of Denmark Hill, Surrey* (London: Jackson and Walford; Partridge and Oakey, 1850), 77–110.

²⁴⁶ Joseph Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers. The Substance of a Sermon Preached at Bradford, in the County of York; At the Annual Meeting of the Northern Baptist Education Society, August 27, 1817* (Norwich, 1817); *item, Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers. Two Sermons, Addressed Principally to the Students of the Two Baptist Academies, at Stepney and at Bristol. The First Preached June 23, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's Meeting, Carter-lane, Southwark; The Second, August 3, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Ryland's. Broad Mead, Bristol* (Norwich, 1814). On Kinghorn's view of theological education, see Song, "Joseph Kinghorn's (1766–1832) Educational Vision," 23–35.

²⁴⁷ Andrew Fuller, *The Qualifications and Encouragement of a Faithful Minister Illustrated by the Character and Success of Barnabas*, in *The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life*, by Andrew Gunton Fuller, ed. Joseph Belcher (Reprint, Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle, 1988), 1:143.

Andrew Fuller, the first secretary. On January 25, 1793, Fuller sent Kinghorn a fly-leaf of a proof copy of a pamphlet. With it, Fuller provided details regarding the Society, as well as its needs. In reply, Kinghorn wrote, “The prospect is pleasing, though the difficulties in the way are many. I doubt not you have considered them, and, perhaps, received full satisfaction concerning those which I might be ready to deem unanswerable.”²⁴⁸

Kinghorn then took the responsibility to collect money for the BMS. Later after Fuller’s death, Kinghorn also served in both the central committee and east committee of the BMS.²⁴⁹

Twice did Kinghorn travel to northern England and Scotland to promote the mission of the BMS and collect money for the missionary enterprises. In 1818, Kinghorn travelled with William Steadman (1764–1837) and John Birt Jr (1787–1862) of Hull. Starting from Norwich, they first travelled westbound to Stamford, Lincolnshire, and then through Worksop, Nottinghamshire, and arrived in Carlisle, Cumberland on June 25. Passing through Gretna Green, they arrived at Dumfries on June 27. They then visited and preached at Kilmarnock, Irvine, Ayr, Largs, Greenock, Port Glasgow, Perth, Stirling,

²⁴⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 218.

²⁴⁹ In the general meeting of the BMS, which was held at Northampton on October 11, 1815, Kinghorn and 34 other Baptist minister and lay leaders were elected as central committee members of the Society. These were: Christopher Anderson (1782–1852) of Edinburgh, George Barclay (1774–1838) of Kilwinning, Isaiah Birt (1758–1837) of Birmingham, Thomas Blundell (1786–1861) of Northampton, William Burls (1763–1837) of London, Thomas Coles (1779–1840) of Bourton-on-the-water, Francis Augustus Cox (1783–1853) of Hackney, James Deakin of Glasgow, Joseph Dent of Milton, John Dyer (1783–1841) of Reading, John Fawcett (1740–1817) of Halifax, Robert Hall of Leicester, John Hall of Kettering, Joseph Hall of Northampton, James Hobson of Kettering, Reynold Hogg (1752–1843) of Kimbolton, Joseph Hughes (1769–1833) of Battersea, Joseph Ivimey (1773–1834) of London, John Jarman (1774–1830) of Nottingham, Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich, James Lomax (1762–1850) of Nottingham, Thomas Morgan (1776–1857) of Birmingham, William Newman of Stepney, John Nicholls of Collingham, Henry Page (1781–1833) of Bristol, John Palmer (1768–1823) of Shrewsbury, Thomas Potts of Birmingham, William Ragsdell (fl. 1811–1822) of Thrapston, Thomas Roberts (1780–1841) of Bristol, John Saffery (1763–1825) of Salisbury, William Steadman of Bradford, Micah Thomas (1778–1853) of Abergavenny, Mark Wilks of Norwich, William Wilson of Olney, and John Yates of Leicester (“Baptist Missionary Society,” *BM* 7 [November 1815]: 480–81). Also see “Baptist Mission. Annual Meeting of the Society,” *BM* 11 (November 1819): 493–95; “Baptist Mission. Home Proceedings. Annual Meeting,” *BM* 12 (1820): 345–46; “Baptist Mission. Home Proceedings. Annual Meeting,” *BM* 13 (1821): 369–70; “Baptist Mission. Home Proceedings. Annual Meeting,” *BM* 14 (1822): 357–58; “Baptist Mission. Home Proceedings. Annual Meeting,” *BM* 16 (1824): 353–54; “Baptist Mission. Home Proceedings. Annual Meeting,” *BM* 17 (July 1825): 313–20; “Baptist Mission. Home Proceedings. Annual Meeting,” *BM* 17 (1825): 361–62; “Home Proceedings,” *BM* 19 (November 1827): 540–42.

Inverness, Wherdeen, and Edinburgh. They then came back to England through Newcastle. During this trip, around £1,600 were collected for the mission.²⁵⁰

Four years later, in October 1822, Kinghorn was again commissioned to visit northern England and Scotland on behalf of the BMS. This time, his companions were Thomas Steffe Crisp (1788–1868), who later succeeded John Ryland Jr. (1753–1825) as the principal of Bristol Academy, and Thomas Brightwell (1787–1866), who was a close friend of Kinghorn, a noted entomologist and attorney.²⁵¹ They went through Lynn, Wisbeach, Peterborough, and took the coach from Stamford to York. On October 9, 1822, they arrived at Newcastle. After spending three days there, they went and visited Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Rinton, Dunbar, Haddington, Auld Reekie, and arrived at Edinburgh on October 13. At Edinburgh, they visited St. Giles Cathedral, where Henry Grey (1778–1859) was the minister, and the Wall (or West) Church, where Robert Gordon (1786–1853) ministered. On the same day, Kinghorn also preached at Charlotte Baptist Chapel, where William Innes (1770–1885) was the pastor. A week later, Kinghorn preached at Charlotte Chapel again in the afternoon, and at North College Street Meeting House in the evening. The next day, they boarded at New Haven, near Leith for Kirkcaldy, where Kinghorn preached at John Martin’s kirk in the afternoon. On October 22, Kinghorn preached in the evening at Jonathan Watson’s (1795–1878) Baptist chapel at Cupar, Fife. They then went to Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Glasgow, Paisley, Port Glasgow, Greenock, Dumbarton, and Castle Rock.

²⁵⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 373.

²⁵¹ Thomas Brightwell married William Wilkin’s daughter, becoming Simon Wilkin’s brother-in-law. As a close friend, Kinghorn left “the sum of two hundred pounds” to Brightwell, particularly for the education of his daughter Cecilia Lucy Brightwell (1811–1875) (“Will of Reverend Joseph Kinghorn, Dissenting Minister of Norwich, Norfolk,” Prerogative Court OF Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, PROB 11/1806/381, Tenterden Quire Numbers: 601–650 [National Archives, Kew]). Besides being a nonconformist solicitor, Brightwell also published works such as *Journal of a Tour Made by a Party of Friends in the Autumn of 1825 through Belgium, up the Rhine* (Norwich, 1828), which Kinghorn owned a copy (#1494 in Wilkin, ed., *Catalogue*, 50). Brightwell also served as the Lord Mayor of Norwich in 1836.

Brightwell recorded in his journal that Kinghorn preached at the Gaelic Chapel at Paisley on November 2 and 3. At the evening service, there were about two thousand people who came to hear Kinghorn.²⁵² Furthermore, Brightwell recorded

In pointing us to remembrances of conversion, admonitions, mercies, and afflictions, he took a most rich view of Christian experience, and the tears were constantly starting into his eyes. I believe his auditors liked him, but they appeared to me rather to gaze at his manner and wonder at his rapidity, than sympathize in the rich and varied view of Christian feeling, which he depicted in a most touching manner.²⁵³

On November 29, Kinghorn turned for home. Especially after Fuller's death, Kinghorn served as a member of the BMS' executive committee, and regularly attended BMS meetings.²⁵⁴

The Last Decade of Ministry and Controversy

For forty-three years, Joseph Kinghorn, who was described as “a thin tall old Gentleman, very plain in his satire [*sic*], simple in appearance, of acknowledged talents,” faithfully laboured in the gospel ministry, particularly in preaching.²⁵⁵ As his hearers observed: “His sermons were the result primarily of his diligent and prayerful attention to the subject; and more remotely, of the immense amount of reading and study, to which he

²⁵² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 390.

²⁵³ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 390.

²⁵⁴ For instance, Kinghorn preached the anniversary sermon for BMS on June 25, 1817 (Joseph Kinghorn, “Sermon. Preached by the Rev. J. Kinghorn, of Norwich, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, at Spa-fields Chapel, on Wednesday, June 25, 1817,” *BM* 9 [September 1817]: 324–33). Kinghorn also helped to interview missionary candidates, such as James Mursell Phillippo (1798–1879), missionary to Jamaica. Regarding the interview, Phillippo wrote in his journal: “As some evidence of my anxiety of mind as to the results of the interview with this venerable and learned minister of the Gospel [Kinghorn], from a fear of my not possessing, in his judgment, the requisite qualifications for the work to which I aspired, not unmixed with awe which his presence and manner inspired, I prayed earnestly to God during the whole of the journey” (as quoted by Edward Bean Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo, Missionary in Jamaica* [London: Yates & Alexander, 1881], 10–11). Phillippo's biographer wrote: Kinghorn's “kindness and courtesy ... soon dispelled all fear. A long conversation ensued. The dealings of God with the young aspirant were fully related. The sincerity of his consecration was tested with kindly care, and at length James phillippo was encouraged to communicate his views and wishes to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, with the assurance that Mr. Kinghorn would sustain the application by a private letter from himself” (Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo*, 11).

²⁵⁵ Marten of Plaistow, “Journal by a Mr Marten of Plaistow,” 33.

had devoted himself.”²⁵⁶ Kinghorn proved to be an able and excellent minister. More than that, Joseph Kinghorn continued his studies as a scholar. During his lifetime, he learned various languages, including Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and German. With his linguistic abilities and rabbinic knowledge, Kinghorn edited and reprinted Scottish scholar Professor James Robertson’s (1714–1795) *Clavis Pentateuchi* (1770) in 1824.²⁵⁷ Kinghorn’s dedication to learning earned him a stellar reputation “in his own denomination ... inferior only to Dr. Gill in an intimate acquaintance with Rabbinical literature.”²⁵⁸ In 1828, Brown University granted an honorary Master of Arts degree to Kinghorn.²⁵⁹

By the last decade of his life, Kinghorn had become one of the leaders in his denomination. To defend the Baptist identity, Kinghorn and his friend Robert Hall Jr. engaged in a decade-long debate over the terms of communion and proved broadly the nature of Baptist identity. With Hall’s death in 1831, the written debate came to an end. However, the controversy continued on into the Victorian era, and it left a permanent scar of bitterness among the Particular Baptists.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 444.

²⁵⁷ Noticeably, Robertson’s book was originally written in Latin with Hebrew and Arabic, and Kinghorn was able to edit the work and published it with a preface written in Latin. Regarding this work, Kinghorn wrote in the preface: “Exemplar cum Clavis Pentateuchi ab Auctore ipso interfoliatum audivissemus, ac notis sua manu scriptis locupletum esse, summa cura et diligentia, ut hoc acquireremus, utebatur; tandem aliquando, satis feliciter impetravimus: atque hæc additamenta, nunc primum ad lucem allata, tanti facimus, ut, aut in textu, aut in notis, uncinis quadratis inclusa, fideliter demus” (Kinghorn, “Ad Lectorem,” in Jacob Robertson, *Clavis Pentateuchi*, ed. Joseph Kinghorn [Norwich: Simon Wilkin, 1824], n.p.).

²⁵⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 449.

²⁵⁹ Brown University, *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island 1764–1894* (Providence, RI: Press of P. S. Prentiss, 1895), 360. Jewson noticed that Kinghorn was not interested in the honour: “He had expressed his opinion years before in writing that Andrew Fuller had been duncified, and he had not changed his view. He never used the degree and it was only by chance that his biographer learned that it had been conferred on him” (Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, 244).

²⁶⁰ See Michael Walker, *Baptists at the Table: The Theology of the Lord’s Supper amongst English Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1992); Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists: A Study of English Calvinistic Baptists from the Late 1600s to the Early 1800s* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2003); Kenneth Dix, *Strict and Particular: English Strict and Particular Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society for the Strict Baptist Historical Society, 2001); J. H. Y. Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1994); Gordon L. Heath, Dallas

In January 1832, Kinghorn celebrated his sixty-sixth birthday. Eight months later, he finished his ministry at St. Mary's and on earth. His last public ministry was on Sunday August 19, as he preached an expository sermon on 2 Peter 1:7 and urged his audience to following the apostle's teaching. On the following Wednesday, he taught Jeremiah 35 at the evening lecture.²⁶¹ Though he wished to continue his sermon on the second epistle of Peter, Kinghorn began to suffer from a fever. He was so weak that on Sunday morning, when he came down to breakfast, he "was obliged to return to bed almost immediately."²⁶² On that day, William Knibb (1803–1845), the missionary to Jamaica, and R. G. Lemare (or LeMaire), the minister of Rehobeth Chapel at Union Place in Norwich, preached in Kinghorn's place.²⁶³

During the week, the fever continued to increase, and at nine o'clock on Saturday evening, September 1, 1832, Kinghorn passed away, as "his spirit took its flight to the presence of the Saviour" he loved.²⁶⁴ The funeral took place at St. Mary's the next Friday on September 7. On the following Sunday, a funeral sermon was preached at the church by John Alexander. For all who knew him, Kinghorn, "fit to live, was greatly fit to die!"²⁶⁵

Friesen, and Taylor Murray, *Baptists in Canada: Their History and Polity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2020), 120–25.

²⁶¹ See Baiyu Andrew Song, ed., "An Uncatalogued Baptism-Sermon by Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832)," *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 2 (2021): 71–83.

²⁶² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 455.

²⁶³ According to a list of Particular Baptist Churches in 1827, there were four in Norwich: St. Mary's was listed as the first Norwich church, as it was formed in 1691. The second church was St. Clement's, which was founded in 1789, and the pastor at the time was James Puntis (1794–1852). The third church, Orfold Hill or Providence Chapel was founded in 1820, and Abraham Pye was the pastor. The fourth church, however, did not have its date, and R.G. LeMaire was recorded as its pastor ("List of Particular or Calvinistic Baptist Churches," *BM* 19 [February 1827]: 83; R. W. Thompson, "From Norwich to New Zealand," *BQ* 23.2 [1969]: 91). According to C.B. Jewson, the fourth church was at Union Place (C. B. Jewson, *The Baptists in Norfolk* [London: Carey Kingsgate, 1957], 90). Thus, LeMaire minister at Union Place.

²⁶⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 455.

²⁶⁵ Amelia Alderson Opie (1769–1853), "'Lines' on Hearing it said continually, that our late Revered friend, J. Kinghorn, was 'fit to die'," in Cecilia Lucy Brightwell, *Memoir of Amelia Opie* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1855), 99; also see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 457. Amelia Opie was a novelist

and leading abolitionist in Norwich. Her husband John Opie (1761–1807) was a historical and portrait painter, who was later appointed as a professor at the Royal Academy in 1806. On Amelia Opie, see Cecilia Lucy Brightwell, *Memoir of Amelia Opie* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1855); Eleanor Ty, *Empowering the Feminine: The Narratives of Mary Robinson, Jane West, and Amelia Opie, 1796–1812* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 131–177. Cecilia Lucy Brightwell (1811–1875) was an the eldest child of Thomas Brightwell, and later became known as an Italian scholar, etcher, and biographer.

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COMMUNION CONTROVERSIES AMONG THE ENGLISH PARTICULAR BAPTISTS

Emerging to a Sect

William H. Brackney (1948–2022) has observed, “the issue of identity constitutes a major problem for the Baptists.”¹ While many have attempted to solve the genealogical issue with a propositional approach, contemporary scholarship, by and large, has rejected the former’s isogenic historiography.² Instead, historians have argued that the Baptist movement contains various tributaries from different sources in differencing geographical locations.³ Scholars thus argue that the Calvinistic or Particular

¹ William H. Brackney, *The Baptists* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), ix.

² See B. R. White, *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, A History of the English Baptists 1 (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983); *item*, *The English Separatist Tradition: From the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Erroll Hulse, *An Introduction to the Baptists*, 2nd ed. (Haywards Heath, Sussex: Carey Publications, 1976); Anthony L. Chute, Nathan A. Finn, and Michael A. G. Haykin, *The Baptist Story: From English Sect to Global Movement* (Nashville, TN: B&H, 2015), 11–27; Michael A. G. Haykin, *Kiffen, Knollys, and Keach: Rediscovering Our English Baptist Heritage*, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, ON: H&E, 2019); David Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010), 7–63; Roger Hayden, *English Baptist History and Heritage*, 2nd ed. (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Union of Great Britain, 2005); Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London, 1616–1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Stephen Wright, *The Early English Baptists, 1603–1649* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2006); Stanley A. Nelson, “Reflecting on Baptist Origins: The London Confession of Faith of 1644,” *Baptist History and Heritage* 29 (1994): 33–46; James Leo Garrett Jr., *Baptist Theology: A Four Century Study* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009); Thomas S. Kidd and Barry Hankins, *Baptists in America: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1–18; Robert E. Johnson, *A Global Introduction to Baptist Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Stephen R. Holmes, *Baptist Theology, Doing Theology* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2012); Gordon L. Heath, Dallas Friesen, and Taylor Murray, *Baptists in Canada: Their History and Polity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2020), 1–24.

³ An ultimate illustration is found in Ernest A. Payne’s (1902–1980) response to Winthrop S. Hudson (1911–2001), where the former concluded, “The religious life of the seventeenth century was like a tumultuous sea, blown upon by winds from several directions. That one strong current of air came from the Anabaptist movement of the previous century I am convinced. Nor need Baptists be ashamed to admit it. . . . But to speak ‘harm’ and ‘unhappy consequences’ if there is any recognition of a connection between Anabaptists and Baptists seems to me to be historically unsound. It also implies an unjust reflection on a very notable movement to which all the churches of the modern world owe a debt” (Payne, “Who were the Baptists?,” *BQ* 16, no. 8 [1956]: 342).

In fact, as Joseph Kinghorn later observed from reading Heinrich Jochmus (*Geschichte der*

Baptists in England emerged from puritanism, and more specifically from the bassinet of the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey Church in London.⁴ Therefore, the constitution of the Particular Baptists in the late 1630s was the result of processing a three degrees of separation since the Reformation—from state establishment, to paedeo-congregationalism, and then to credo-congregationalism.

With the magisterial and radical reformations in the sixteenth century, the Protestant churches rejected papal and conciliar *plenitudo potestatis* in both ecclesiastical and secular spheres.⁵ However, the magisterial reformers yielded to the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* (i.e., states follow the religion of the ruler), which provided the right to

Kirchen-Reformation zu Münster und ihres Untergangs durch die Wiedertäufer [Münster: Copenrathschen Buch und Kunsthandlung, 1825]) that even the name “Anabaptists” was used by several different groups on the European continent in the sixteenth century (Kinghorn, “Articles Relating to the Münster Anabaptists,” in *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, ed. Terry Wolever [Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2010], 3:167–68).

⁴ See Haykin, *Kiffen, Knollys, and Keach*, 6–29. On the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey Church, see W. T. Whitley, ed., “Records of the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey Church 1616–1641,” *TBHS* 1, no. 4 (January 1910): 203–25; Whitley, ed., “Rise of Particular Baptists in London, 1633–1644,” *TBHS* 1, no. 4 (January 1910): 226–36; Anonymous, “The Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616–1678,” *TBHS* 1, no. 4 (January 1910): 246–56; Jason G. Duesing, *Counted Worthy: The Life and Work of Henry Jessey* (Mountain Home, AR: BorderStone, 2012); Duesing, *Henry Jessey: Puritan Chaplain, Independent and Baptist Pastor, Millenarian Politician and Prophet* (Mountain Home, AR: BorderStone, 2015); Richard Woodruff Price and Rebecca L. Burdette, *John Lathrop (1584–1653): Reformer, Sufferer, Pilgrim, Man of God* (Salt Lake City, UT: Institute of Family Research, 1979); Ian Birch, *To Follow the Lambe Wheresoevre He Goeth: The Ecclesial Polity of the English Calvinistic Baptists 1640–1660* (Eugeon, OR: Pickwick, 2017), 1–14; Joel Halcomb, “Congregational Church Books and Denominational Formation in the English Revolution,” *Bunyan Studies* 20 (2016): 51–75; Polly Ha, “The Freedom of Association and Ecclesiastical Independence,” in *Church Life: Pastors, Congregations, and the Experience of Dissent in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Michael Davies, Anne Dunan-Page, and Joel Halcomb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 104–8. For an example, see the connection between Broadmead church in Bristol and Henry Jessey’s church, in Roger Hayden, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640–1687* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1974), 47–56. Michael A. G. Haykin, “Separatists and Baptists,” in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions Volume I The Post-Reformation Era, c. 1559–c. 1689*, ed. John Coffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 122–24.

⁵ See Morimichi Watanabe, “Pope Eugenius IV, the Conciliar Movement, and the Primacy of Rome,” in *The Church, the Councils, & Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Christopher M. Bellitto (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 177–93; Brett Edward Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers*, rev. ed. (Nashville, TN: B&H, 2013); Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); G. W. Bernard, *The King’s Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017).

the secular state to interfere ecclesiastical matters.⁶ In other words, the decision of the degrees of ecclesiastical reform was upon the local magistrate's shoulders. In England, though the church's headship was transformed from the bishop of Rome to the monarch through the Act of Supremacy (1534), further reforms were required by many within the English church, especially after Mary's Catholic restoration (1553–1558). However, the ecclesiastical reforms during the early years of Elizabeth's (1533–1603) reign were not straightforward, as the queen faced challenges from the Marian Catholic bishops in the parliament and threats from the Catholic powers on the continent.⁷ Thus, as Claire Cross pointed out, the Elizabethan government strategically "aimed at achieving a policy of reformation by gradual stages," which explained why "Elizabeth's supremacy was markedly less ecclesiastical than her father's."⁸

However, Elizabeth's and her successor James' political concerns were not

⁶ See Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); Paul Avis, *Church, State and Establishment* (London: SPCK, 2001); Arthur Stephen McGrade, *Richard Hooker and the Construction of Christian Community* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997); William H. Harrison, "The Church," in *A Companion to Richard Hooker*, ed. Torrance Kirby (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 305–36; Kirk R. MacGregor, *A Central European Synthesis of Radical and Magisterial Reform: The Sacramental Theology of Balthasar Hubmaier* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006); Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Robert von Friedeburg, "Cuius regio, eius religio: The Ambivalent Meanings of State Building in Protestant Germany, 1555–1655," in *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A.J. Szabo (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 73–91; Haigh, *English Reformations*.

⁷ See Mark D. Chapman, *Anglican Theology, Doing Theology* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 11–102; Alec Ryrie, "The Reformation in Anglicanism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies*, ed. Mark D. Chapman, Sathianathan Clarke, and Martyn Percy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46–59; J. E. Neale, "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity," *English Historical Review* 65, no. 256 (1950): 304–32.

⁸ Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), 21–22, 23. Cross further explains, "while Henry VIII lived, the royal right to rule over the church depended upon the king alone, not upon the king-in-Parliament. Events during Edward VI's and Mary's reigns considerably modified this proposition. The Edwardian act of uniformity could be read as giving the liturgy and ceremonies of the church parliamentary sanction. Parliament had described, in the second act of uniformity, the first Edwardian Prayer Book as having been set forth 'by authority of Parliament'. Mary had had to work through Parliament in order to bring about the reconciliation with Rome since only Parliament could repeal the penalties imposed in the earlier supremacy acts. Parliament could well now be seen as participating in the exercise of the royal supremacy, and to this extent the 1559 act had to admit the change. The Elizabethan act of supremacy stated that powers over the church enjoyed by Henry VIII should be restored to the crown 'by the authority of this present Parliament'. The queen's right to delegate her authority to commissioners was also essentially parliamentary. Ultimate authority over the church now rested in the queen in Parliament" (Cross, *Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church*, 24).

shared by those who were pejoratively called “puritans.”⁹ Being unsatisfied by institutional reforms, the puritans emphasised personal regeneration. Thus, these “avid connoisseurs” wanted “a reformation of manners to proceed from their reformulation of doctrine.”¹⁰ Furthermore, the puritans’ plans were not to “reduce the church to a soteriological think-tank;” instead, as Paul Lim pointed out, like their European contemporaries, the seventeenth-century puritans shared a vision of Christianisation.¹¹ In other words, the majority of puritans sought to create a “more intensely and intentionally Christian’ religion and nation-state [that] transcended denominational and confessional barriers.”¹² For that reason, when William Laud (1573–1645) became Archbishop of

⁹ Curiously, James stated his willingness to tolerate Roman Catholics in a limited way, as he wrote, “I was never violent nor unreasonable in my profession: I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were when they crucified Christ: And as I am noneemie to the life of a sicke man, because I would have his bodie purged of ill humours, no more am I enemie to their Church, because I would have them reforme their errors” (Johann P. Sommerville, ed., *James VI and I: Political Writings* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994], 138–39). On James’ religious policies, see G. P. V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant, or, the Court of King James I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Alan Cromartie, “King James and the Hampton Court Conference,” in *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 61–80; Brooke Conti, *Confessions of Faith in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 21–49; Christina H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938); W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (London: Macmillan, 1904); Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982).

For a survey of defining the term “puritan,” see Brian H. Cosby, “Toward a Definition of ‘Puritan’ and ‘Puritanism’: A Study in Puritan Historiography,” *Churchman* 122, no. 4 (2008): 297–314; Patrick Collison, “Antipuritanism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 19–33; Ian Hugh Clary, “Hot Protestants: A Texonomy of English Puritanism,” *Puritan Reformed Journal* 2, no. 1 (2010): 41–66.

¹⁰ Peter Iver Kaufman, *Thinking of the Laity in Late Tudor England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 17.

¹¹ Lori Anne Ferrell, “Kneeling and the Body Politic,” in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540–1688*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 72; Paul C. H. Lim, “Puritans and the Church of England: Historiography and Ecclesiology,” in *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, 228. Also see Scott H. Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Polly Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590–1640* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

¹² Lim, “Puritans and the Church of England,” 228. Such was the reason for Edmund S. Morgan to argue that “with the exception of a very small minority, ... few Puritans identified themselves as Presbyterian or Independent before the 1640’s ... The fact is that before the disputes of the 1640’s, virtually all Puritans agreed on certain basic principles of church organization and on the basis nature of the church” (Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963], 13).

Canterbury in 1633, the majority of the Caroline puritans complained about “the Laudians’ ecclesiology, theology and liturgical praxis,” which were regarded as “inadequate to accomplish the ongoing Reformation of the English church.”¹³ Instead, as John Field (1545–1588) defined, early puritans understood the visible church as

a company or congregacione of the faythfull called and gathered out of the worlde by the preachinge of the Gospell, who followinge and embracing true religione, do in one unitie of Spirite strengthen and comferte one another, dayelie growinge and increaseinge in true faythe, framinge their lyves, governmente, orders and ceremonies according to the worde of God.¹⁴

In contrast to the Thirty-Nine Articles (1563), Field’s visible church resembled the invisible church and emphasised on the effectiveness of biblical preaching in believers’ personal and communal lives. At the same time, Field subordinated the sacraments to the ministry of preaching and teaching, as every aspect of the church life should be “according to the worde of God.”¹⁵

Nevertheless, it is significant to recognise that though the puritans from the Elizabethan era to the Restoration shared a similar vision of a “reformed” church among themselves, they differed over the nature of the visible church, as well as the means to reform it. For instance, in 1610, semi-Separatist Henry Jacob (1563–1624) defined the visible church as,

a number of faithfull people joined by their willing consent in a spirituall outward society or body politike, ordinarily comming together into one place, instituted by Christ in his New Testament, & having the power to exercise Ecclesiasticall

¹³ Lim, “Puritans and the Church of England,” 227.

¹⁴ John Field, “A breife confession of Faythe written by the authors of the firste admitione to the parliament to testefie ther perswasion in the Faythe againste the uncharitable surmises and suspicons of Doctor Whitegifte, uttered in his answere to their admonitione, in defence both of them and there Fawtors” (December 4, 1572), in *The Seconde Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr Williams’s Library, London*, ed. Albert Peel, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 1:86.

¹⁵ In article nineteen, the visible church is defined as “a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ’s ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same” (“The Thirty-Nine Articles [1563], in *Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*, ed. John H. Leith, rev. ed. [Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1973], 273).

government and all Gods other spirituall ordinances (the meanes of salvation) in & for it selfe immediatly from Christ.¹⁶

Thus, Jacob argued that the Christian church is different from “the olde Jevvish Church [which] vvas Nationall, or rather after a sort a Vniversall vnder the Lavv.”¹⁷ In other words, Jacob believed that a true church must originate in “a voluntary conjunction” of the faithful people.¹⁸ Furthermore, this voluntary gathering forms a new self-governing polity, which is beyond the parochial system. As Christopher Hill pointed out,

The assertion of a new communal voluntarism was a reaction ... to Tudor nationalization, to the central control extended over the traditional communities. ... The transition from parish to sect is from a geographical unit which brings the members of a community together for cultural, social and ceremonial purposes, to a voluntary unit to which men belong in order to hear the preacher of their choice.¹⁹

Therefore, Jacob’s voluntary church is significantly different from the Presbyterian idea, as the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646) later defined that the visible church “consists of all those, throughout the world, that profess the true religion, and of their children.”²⁰ For the latter, preaching and catechism were the means of conversion, through which “a godly people out of a nation of conformists” might be created within the national church.²¹ For the Presbyterians, baptism functions as “a sign and seal of the

¹⁶ Henry Jacob, *The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christs true Visible or Ministeriall Church. Also the Unchangeableness of the same by men; viz. in the forme and essentiall constitution thereof* (Leiden, 1610), A1v.

¹⁷ Jacob, *The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christs true Visible*, A2v.

¹⁸ Morgan, *Visible Saints*, 29. Similar views can be found in works of non-Separatists such as William Ames (1576–1633), Paul Baynes (c.1573–1617), William Bradshaw (1571–1618) and others. See Ames, *A Second Manuduction, For Mr. Robinson. Or a confirmation of the former, in an answer to his manumission* (1615), 33–34; Ames, *Marrow of Sacred Divinity, Drawing out of the holy Scriptures and the interpreters thereof, and brought into Method* (London, 1642), 139–43; Baynes, *The Diocesans Tryall. Wherein All the Sinnews of D. Dovvnams Defence are brought unto three heads, and orderly dissolved* (1621; [Amsterdam], 1640); Bradshaw, *English Pvritanisme Containening. The maine opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritanes in the Realme of England* ([London], 1605).

¹⁹ Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1964; London: Panther, 1969), 476, 477. Also see Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 242–82.

²⁰ “Westminster Confession of Faith (1646), 25.2,” in *Creeds of the Churches*, 222. On Henry Jacob’s ecclesiology, see Slayden A. Yarbrough, “Ecclesiastical Development in Theory and Practice of John Robinson and Henry Jacob,” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 5 (1978): 183–197; Robert S. Paul, “Henry Jacob and Seventeenth-Century Puritanism,” *Hartford Quarterly* 7 (1967): 92–113.

²¹ Eamon Duffy, “The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the Multitude,” in *England’s Long Reformation: 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (London: University College London

covenant of grace,” and its efficacy “is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered.”²² Paradoxically, Presbyterians opened the communion table to all, while recognising that the “ignorant and wicked men” were unable to receive “the thing signified thereby.”²³ For Richard Baxter (1615–1691), “The communion of saints could be enjoyed in a relatively pure sacramental fellowship,” where individuals need to “faithfully do their own part,” and not have “the sins of others be their burden.”²⁴

In contrast to the Presbyterians, Independents or Congregationalists of the Interregnum further developed Jacob’s idea. As Matthew C. Bingham pointed out, “Congregationalists maneuvered for a church settlement amenable to their distinctive ecclesiological vision ... [which] categorically denied the legitimacy of” the national church.²⁵ Therefore, the Congregational Way challenged “the basic logic of Christendom,” which was behind the puritan dream of Christianisation.²⁶ As it is stated in

Press, 1998), 42.

²² “Westminster Confession of Faith, 28.1, 6,” in *Creeds of the Churches*, 224–25. Ian Birch pointed out, the theology English Presbyterians “drew from the tradition of Reformed theology which since the time of Zwingli argued for infant baptism on the basis of the covenant of grace” (Birch, *To Follow the Lamb Wheresoever He Goeth*, 41). Though Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) explained his view of baptism in his *On Baptism, Rebaptism, and the Baptism of Infants* (Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe, May 27, 1525), he further explained his view of baptism in his response to Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1480–1528). In Zwingli’s reply, he linked baptism with the covenant of grace. As W. P. Stephens summarised, for Zwingli, “faith must be understood as the content of the whole covenant which we have with God, and not as the trust which a person has in his heart. When infants are baptized it is not in terms of their parents’ saving faith, for they may be unbelievers, but in terms of the faith they confess with their lips.” As baptism functions as a sign of God’s covenant and promise, “this understanding of ‘sign’ fits adult and infant baptism alike, whereas its earlier understanding as ‘pledge’ had a somewhat different sense in each. Moreover the covenant is not a new or different covenant, but ‘we are in the covenant that God made with Abraham’” (Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1986], 207). Also see John W. Riggs, *Baptism in the Reformed Tradition: A Historical and Practical Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 19–70; Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Burnett, *Debating the Sacraments: Print and Authority in the Early Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

²³ “Westminster Confession of Faith, 29.8,” in *Creeds of the Churches*, 226.

²⁴ Lim, “Puritans and the Church of England,” 236; Richard Baxter, *Certain Disputations Of Right to Sacraments, and the true nature of Visible Christianity; Defending them against several sorts of Opponents, especially against the second assault of that Pious, Reverend and Dear Brother Mr. Thomas Blake* (London, 1657), 37.

²⁵ Matthew C. Bingham, “On the Idea of a National Church: Reassessing Congregationalism in Revolutionary England,” *Church History* 88, no. 1 (2019): 33. Also see Bingham, *Orthodox Radicals: Baptist Identity in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

²⁶ Bingham, “On the Idea of a National Church,” 38. For instance, as Geoffrey F. Nuttall

the Savoy Declaration (1659):

The Members of these Churches are Saints by Calling, visibly manifesting and evidencing (in and by their profession and walking) their obedience unto that Call of Christ, who being further known to each other by their confession of the Faith wrought in them by the power of God, declared by themselves or otherwise manifested, do willingly consent, to walk together according to the appointment of Christ, giving up themselves to the Lord, and to one another by the will of God in professed subjection to the Ordinances of the Gospel.²⁷

Thus, the fundamental qualification of a Congregationalist member is not ethnicity or parochial enrolment, but their manifested faith. In practice, Congregationalists emphasised the individual's conversion experience upon acceptance, as candidates had to give a "testimony as to the work of grace in their hearts."²⁸

pointed out, a former member of the church in London ministered by John Goodwin (1594–1665) wrote, "The Parishes, for the most part, are but like a dead Corps without Life. The living Stones are gone into one gathered Church or other." To this, Richard Baxter replied, "I think gathered out of many Parishes, in such a Place as London: Co-habitation is in Nature and Scripture Example, made the necessary Disposition of the Materials of a Church" (as quoted by Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way 1640–1660*, 2nd ed. [Weston Rhyn, Shropshire: Quinta, 2001], 108). Another example Nuttall noticed is from a John Cook, who stated, "a Union of hearts rather than a vicinity of Houses, is to make up a Congregation according to the New Testament, then which he conceives his way no Newer" (Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, 108n2).

²⁷ "Of the Institution of Churches, and the Order Appointed in them by Jesus Christ," article 8, in *A Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England; Agreed upon and consented unto By their Elders and Messengers in Their Meeting at the Savoy, October 12. 1658* (London, 1659), 57. Earlier arguments for congregationalism can be particularly found in John Cotton's (1584–1652) *The Doctrine of the Church, to which is committed the Keyes of the kingdome of Heaven. Wherein is Demonstrated by way of Question and Answer, what a Visible Church is, according to the order of the Gospell: and what Officers, Members, Worship and Government, Christ hath ordayned in the New Testament* (London, 1642); Cotton, *Certain Queries Tending to Accommodation and Communion of Presbyterian & Congregational Churches* (London, 1654). On the development of English Congregationalism, see Nuttall, *Visible Saints*; Hunter Powell, "'Promote, protect, persecute': The Congregationalist Divines and the Establishment of Church and Magistrate in Cromwellian England," in *Church Polity and Politics in the British Atlantic World, c.1635–66*, ed. Elliot Vernon and Hunter Powell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 222–41; Albert Peel, *The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, 1658* (London: Independent Press, 1939); Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011); Crawford Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Matthew Barrett and Michael A. G. Haykin, *Owen on the Christian Life: Living for the Glory of God in Christ* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2015), 237–52.

²⁸ A. G. Matthews, *Diary of a Cambridge Minister ... Published on the occasion of the 250th Anniversary of Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, May 1937* (Cambridge, 1937), 7, as quoted in Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, 112. John H. Taylor observed that there were eight common experience of conversion in Congregationalist candidates' testimonies, which are: "(1) The realization of sin, and within oneself. (2) A period of struggle, God's wrath, suffering or hell causing unrest. Bondage to fear. (3) The attempt to earn salvation (formalism and self-righteousness). (4) The means are followed, especially hearing the Word. (5) Redemption comes through Christ at a moment of emotional tension. Prayer is often mentioned. (6) Extraordinary phenomena such as the voice in the above story. (7) The quotation of Scripture. (8) The feeling of satisfaction, sometimes expressed in language which tends to be extravagant, as 'rowling my self on Christ'. The person testifies to his changed, regenerate condition" (Taylor, "Some Seventeenth-Century Testimonies," *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 16, no. 2

Nevertheless, as the newly-evolved sect was not settled in its ecclesiology, Congregationalists began to ask questions regarding the subject of Christian initiation.²⁹ Beginning in 1630, members of Lathrop's church disagreed over the legitimacy of the establishment's baptism.³⁰ As the debate unfolded, the "Kiffin Manuscript" recorded that in 1638, "M^r Tho: Wilson, M^r Pen, & H. Pen, & 3 more being convinced that Baptism was not for Infants, but professed Believers joynd wth M^r Jo: Spilsbury y^e Churches favour being desired therein."³¹ Therefore, Ian Birch argues along with John Howard Shakespeare (1857–1928) that "It can be said that a church which was Calvinistic and Baptist was formed in London not earlier than 1633 and not later than 1638."³² By May 1640, the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey church agreed to divide into two congregations "by mutual consent," one led by Henry Jessey (1603–1663), and the other by Praise-God Barebone (d. 1679). During the Laudian persecution, members of Jessey's church further developed the idea of credobaptism by requiring immersion to be the only mode of baptism. In 1640, a Richard Blunt returned to Jessey's church after leaving with Samuel Eaton in 1633, and soon Blunt began to question "whether or not the baptism of believers

[1949]: 66).

²⁹ Nuttall pointed out in his studies of early Congregationalism that the debates over baptism were not unique to the Congregationalists, as both the Quakers and some Presbyterians rejected paedobaptism (Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, 118).

³⁰ Whitley, ed., "Records of the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey Church 1616–1641," 27; Birch, *To Follow the Lambe Wheresoevre He Goeth*, 5–7.

³¹ "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633–1644," *TBHS* 1, no. 4 (January 1910): 231.

³² Birch quoted Shakespeare, who stated, "In 1638 there was either the first Calvinistic Baptist Church, with John Spilsbury as its pastor, containing Samuel Eaton, Mark Lucar, and others, or that in the same year, there were two Calvinistic Baptist Churches in London, the one under John Spilsbury and the other under Samuel Eaton" (John Howard Shakespeare, *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers* [London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1907], 183, as quoted by Birch, *To Follow the Lambe Wheresoevre He Goeth*, 7). However, Nuttall believed that baptism only became a matter of division among the Congregationalists in the late 1640s. Nuttall cited the question from the brethren at Wymondham, Norfolk to the congregation at Yarmouth: "whether we may join comfortably together whenas we are divided in our judgements; some looking upon the baptism of infants the way of God; and others, questioning the truth of it, and therefore suspend it?" The Yarmouth congregation's answer was "We think there ought to be on both sides a full knowledge and experience of one another's affections and judgments, how far they can bear in point of practice, lest after difference should be more sad than church fellowship comfortable" (Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, 118).

by immersion was the only type of baptism to actually correspond to that practised in New Testament times.”³³ Consequently, the Particular Baptists emerged as a sect from the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church over the questions about the mode, nature, and subject of baptism.

The Confessions of 1644 and 1646

Much as a child born in wartime—that is the emergence of English Particular Baptists during the English Civil Wars (1642–1651)—survival became the first priority for the Particular Baptists. On the one hand, these Baptist pioneers launched nationwide evangelism and church plantings.³⁴ By their continued efforts, the new sect experienced considerable growth by the time of the Restoration in 1660.³⁵ On the other hand, due to

³³ Haykin, *Kiffen, Knollys, and Keach*, 25. The “Kiffin Manuscript” recorded: “M^r Richard Blunt wth him being convinced of Baptism y^t also it ought to be by dipping y^e Body into y^e Water, resembling Burial & rising again. 2 Col: 2. 12. Rom: 6. 4. had sober conference about in y^e Church, & then wth some of the forenamed who also ware so convinced: And after Prayer & conference about their so enjoying it, none having then so practised in England to professed Believers, & hearing that some in y^e Nether Lands had so practised they agreed & sent over M^r Rich. Blunt (who understood Dutch) wth Letters of Comendation, who was kindly accepted there, & returned wth Letters from them Jo: Batte a Teacher there, & from that Church to such as sent him” (Whitley, ed., “Rise of Particular Baptists in London, 1633–1644,” 232–33). Also see Haykin, “Separatists and Baptists,” 124–26.

³⁴ See B. R. White, “The Organisation of the Particular Baptists, 1644–1660,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 17, no. 2 (1966): 209–26; White, “John Miles and the Structures of the Calvinistic Baptist Mission to South Wales, 1649–1660,” in *Welsh Baptist Studies*, ed. Mansel John (Llandysul, Ceredigion: South Wales Baptist College, 1976), 35–76; B. G. Owens, ed., *The Ilston Book: Earliest Register of Welsh Baptists* (Aberystwyth, Ceredigion: National Library of Wales, 1996); Joshua Thomas, “The Histories of Four Welsh Baptist Churches, c. 1633–1770,” in *The American Baptist Heritage in Wales*, ed. Carrol C. Ramsey and William A. Ramsey (Gallatin, TN: Church History Research and Archives, 1976), 40–66; T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000); Rachel Adcock, *Baptist Women’s Writings in Revolutionary Culture, 1640–1680* (London: Routledge, 2015).

³⁵ For a statistic account, see W. T. Whitley, “Baptist Churches Till 1660,” *TBHS* 2, no. 4 (1911): 236–54; Michael Watts, *The Dissenters Volume I: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 160n3. Robert Baillie (1599–1662), the Scottish Presbyterian divine and critic, noticed: “Their number in England till of late was not great; and the most of these were not English but Dutch strangers: for beside the hand of the State that ever lay heavy upon them, the labours of their children the Separatists were always great for their reclaiming. Notwithstanding of all the contentions of the Separatists among themselves, yet all of them did ever joyn to write sharp and large Treatises against the Anabaptists; In this *Ainsworth, Johnson, Robinson, Clifton* did study who should be most zealous. Hence it was that the Anabaptists made little noyse in England, till of late the Independents have corrupted and made worse the principles of the old Separatists, proclaiming for errors a liberty both in Church and State; under this shelter the Anabaptists have lift up their head, and increased their numbers, much above all other sects of the Land. Their way as yet are not well known, but a little time it seems will discover them, for their singular zeal to propagate their way will not permit them long to lurk” (Baillie, *Anabaptism, the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme, And the most of the other Errors, which for the time doe trouble the Church of England, Unsealed. Also the Questions of Paedobaptisme and Dipping Handled From Scripture in A Second Part of The Disswasive from the Errors of the time* [London,

their belief in credobaptism, these Particular Baptists experienced slanders and criticism, being charged with spreading theological heresies and threatening political stability.³⁶ Beside individual pamphlet wars, a cooperative response was issued in 1644 in the form of confessional declarations.³⁷ As the document's title suggests, the nature and purpose of this confession of faith is scriptural and polemical, as these falsely "called Anabaptists ... examine by the touchstone of the Word of Truth" and seek to confute common "aspersions which are frequently both in Pulpit and Print."³⁸ According to the preface, these London Baptists were charged with "holding Free-will, Falling away from grace, denying Originall sinne, disclaiming of Magistracy, denying to assist them either in

1647], 17–18). Also see B. S. Poh, "A Historical Study and Evaluation of the Form of Church Government Practised by the Particular Baptists in the 17th and 18th Centuries" (PhD diss., Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University, 2012).

³⁶ These two accusations can be observed in the confessions of 1644 and 1646, where about 60% of the confessions stated the orthodox and reformed faith (articles I to XXXII), and 10% of the confessions presented Baptist understanding of civil magistracy (articles XLVIII to [LIII]).

³⁷ B. R. White summarised that there were two general approaches adopted by the early Baptists to respond to their critics. The first kind is represented by Thomas Kilcop, who argued that "if Scripture gave authority for the vital act of the reconstruction of the church it must surely do so for the smaller act of reconstituting the church ordinance of baptism." The other approach, White observed, is represented by John Spilsbury (1593–c. 1668), who appealed to "the authority entrusted to a gathered congregation of believers." Thus, Spilsbury argued that "once the apostolic pattern had been restored and the Church was once more rightly constituted neither an individual nor a congregation were at liberty to launch out upon innovations of their own" (White, *English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, 60, 61). Also see Matthew Ward, *Pure Worship: The Early Baptist Distinctive* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014), 56–60, 94–104; John T. Christian, *Did They Dip? Or an Examination into the Act of Baptism as Practiced by the English and American Baptists Before the Year 1641* (Louisville: Baptist Book Concern, 1896); William G. McLoughlin and Martha Whiting Davidson, eds., "The Baptist Debate of April 14–15, 1668," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 76 (1964): 91–133.

³⁸ *The Confession of Faith, of those churches which are commonly (though falsly) called Anabaptists; presented to the view of all that feare God, to examine by the touchstone of the Word of Truth: As likewise for the taking off those aspersions which are frequently both in Pulpit and Print, (although unjustly) cast upon them* (London, 1644). On the 1644 Confession, see B. R. White, "The Doctrine of the Church in the Particular Baptist Confession of 1644," *Journal of Theological Studies* 19, no. 2 (1968): 570–90.

White brilliantly summarised that the 1644 Confession "was published at a time when it was necessary for its signatories to convince their fellow Englishmen that they were not secretly planning red revolution and that their theology in general was sufficiently orthodox to win them some measure of toleration. Furthermore, in the autumn of 1644, London's churchmanship was more likely to take on a Presbyterian colour than an Episcopalian and therefore, whilst it was obviously impolitic for those seeking toleration themselves, to add fuel to the fires of inter-sectarian warfare, it was also inappropriate to republish the earlier Separatist polemic against Anglicanism. The 1644 *Confession* also reflected another change of theological emphasis: questions about one's personal salvation and discipleship had now to be settled alongside those concerned with the true constitution of the Church" (White, "Doctrine of the Church in the Particular Baptist Confession of 1644," 579).

persons, or purse in any of their lawfull Commands, doing acts unseemly in the dispensing the Ordinance of Baptism, not to be named amongst Christians.”³⁹ Thus, representatives of seven London Particular Baptist churches signed the document, “desiring all that feare God, seriously to consider whether (if they compare what wee here say and confesse in the presence of the Lord Jesus and his Saints) men have not with their tongues in Pulpit, and pens in Print, both spoken and written things that are contrary to truth.”⁴⁰

The 1644 Confession of Faith begins with affirming classical Christian theism and Calvinistic orthodoxy, which includes the theological topics of the triune God (Articles I–III), sin (IV–VI), scripture (VII–VIII), the person and office of Jesus Christ (IX–XXI), and salvation (XXII–XXXII).⁴¹ Upon these theological foundations, the confession then presents a Baptist ecclesiology (Articles XXXIII–XLVII) and their view of the civil government (XLVIII–[LIII]).⁴² By distinguishing the invisible and visible churches, article thirty-three defines the latter as “a company of visible Saints, called & separated from the world, by the word and Spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the Gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joynd to the Lord, and each other,

³⁹ *Confession of Faith* (1644), A2r–v.

⁴⁰ *Confession of Faith* (1644), A3v. These seven churches are Wapping (represented by John Spilsbury, George Tipping, and Samuel Richardson), Devonshire Square (William Kiffen and Thomas Patience), Crutched Fryars (Paul Hobson and Thomas Goare), Glasshouse (Thomas Gunne and John Mabbatt), Southward (Thomas Skippard and Thomas Munday), Petty France (John Webb and Thomas Killcop), and the church gathered by Joseph Phelpes and Edward Heath (Poh, “Historical Study and Evaluation of the Form of Church Government Practised by the Particular Baptists in the 17th and 18th Centuries,” 227–28).

⁴¹ White confirms W. T. Whitley’s observation that the 1644 Confession adopted the structure and much of the content of the Separatist Confession of 1596. White states, “The relationship between the two documents can be summarily stated as follows: twenty-six articles out of the fifty-three composing the 1644 *Confession* repeat the teaching, often with only slight verbal modifications, given in the corresponding sections of 1596.” Furthermore, White points out that the parallel articles are, I–XI (1644)/I–XI (1596); XIII/XII; XV/XIII; XVII/XIV; XIX–XX/XV–XVI; XXXIV–XXXV/XVIII–XIX; XLII–XLIV/XXIV–XXVI; XLVI–XLVII/XXXVI, XXXVIII; LI–LIII/XLII–XLIV (White, “Doctrine of the Church in the Particular Baptist Confession of 1644,” 576, 576n2).

⁴² Notice that in the 1644 Confession, there are two articles numbered with “LII.” Thus, in total, there are 53 articles in the 1644 Confession.

by mutual agreement, in the practical injoyment of the Ordinances, commanded by Christ their head and King.”⁴³ In contrast to Henry Jacob’s definition, for instance, the 1644 Confession further defines a visible saint as one who is baptized into “the visible profession of the faith of the Gospel.” Furthermore, the ordinances are to be enjoyed in the “company of visible Saints.” In other words, baptism, the eucharist, and church disciplines are ordinances or sacraments being practiced by local congregations. Noticeably, though there were significant revisions in the 1646 Confession, the definition of the visible church was not changed.

In the thirty-ninth article, the 1644 Confession defines baptism as “an Ordinance of the new Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed onely upon persons professing faith, or that are Disciples, or taught, who upon a profession of faith, ought to be baptized.”⁴⁴ Thus, baptism is understood as a Christ-given New Testament duty for all believers. Furthermore, “upon a profession of faith” also indicates that baptism ought to be performed immediately after one’s public confession without unnecessary delay. Article XL further explains the mode and meaning of baptism. Baptism by immersion is understood as a sign or a typical representation of realities, which are “the washing the whole soule in the bloud of Christ,” the “interest in the Saints have in the death, buriall, and resurrection” of Christ, and “a confirmation of our faith.”⁴⁵ Interestingly, there was no explanation about the meaning of the Lord’s Supper in both the 1644 and 1646 Confessions.

In 1646, the London churches decided to reissue a statement of faith with significant revisions.⁴⁶ Regarding baptism, the revised confession defines: “Baptisme is

⁴³ *Confession of Faith* (1644), Cr.

⁴⁴ *Confession of Faith* (1644), Cv–C2r.

⁴⁵ *Confession of Faith* (1644), C2v. The first and third meaning of baptism were omitted in the 1646 Confession.

⁴⁶ Notice that there were representatives of eight churches to sign the 1646 Confession. Besides the congregations at Glasshouse (Thomas Gunne and John Mabbit), Southward (Thomas Munden

an ordinance of the new Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made Disciples; who upon profession of faith, ought to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's Supper."⁴⁷ While retaining the body of the definition that was laid out by the 1644 Confession, a significant element was added in the revised edition.⁴⁸ In the additional statement, "and after to partake of the Lord's Supper," "after" functions as a subordinating conjunction, which means "to partake of the Lord's Supper" must be preceded by being baptised as a disciple. In other words, the 1646 Confession spells out the sequential relationship between the two sacraments, by which baptism is understood as a term of communion. This change as well as others reflect the awareness of different views of baptism, church membership, and the Lord's Supper among the early Particular Baptists.⁴⁹ Though not every Particular Baptist congregation in the kingdom practised close communion, the 1646 Confession

and George Tipping), Wapping (John Spilsbery and Samuel Richardson), Devonshire Square (William Kiffen and Thomas Patient), Crutched Fryars (Paul Hobson and Thomas Goare), and Petty France (Benjamin Cockes and Thomas Kilikop), two more congregations also signed the confession. These new congregations are Broken Wharp (Hanserd Knolly and Thomas Holms), and the Huguenot congregation represented by Denis le Barbier and Christophle Duret. See B. R. White, "The London Calvinistic Baptist Leadership, 1644–1660," *BQ* 32 (1987): 34–45. On the 1644/6 Confessions' compared view of soteriology, see David H. Wenkel, "The Doctrine of the Extent of the Atonement among the Early English Particular Baptists," *Harvard Theological Review* 112, no. 3 (2019): 358–75.

⁴⁷ *A Confession of Faith of seven Congregations of Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (but uniuistly) called Anabaptists. Published For the vindication of the Truth, an information of the ignorant; likewise for the taking off of those aspersiones which are frequently both in Pulpit and Print unjustly cast upon them* (London, 1646), C2r.

⁴⁸ In the 1651 edition, baptism is defined as "an Ordinance of the new Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made Disciples; who upon profession of faith, and desiring of it, ought to be baptized, & after to partake of the Lords Supper" (*A Confession of Faith, of the several Congregations or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly [though unjustly] called Anabaptists. Published, for the Vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant; likewise for the taking off of those aspersiones which are frequently, both in Pulpit, and Print unjustly cast upon them. Unto which is added, Heart Bleedings for Professors abhominations. Or a faithfull general Epistle [from the same Churches] presented to all who have known the way of truth, forewarning them to flee security, and carelesse walking under the Profession of the same, discovering some of Sathans wiles, whereby also, wanton persons and their ungodly ways are disclaimed* [London, 1651], Cv). Here, the condition for baptism is extended to one's desire. Like the 1646 Confession, the substantial editions kept the statement that indicated baptism as a term of communion.

⁴⁹ See Birch, *To Follow the Lambe Wheresoever He Goeth*, 39–48; E. P. Winter, "The Lord's Supper: Admission and Exclusion Among the Baptists of the Seventeenth Century," *BQ* 18, no. 5 (1960): 196–204; Poh, "Historical Study and Evaluation of the Form of Church Government Practised by the Particular Baptists in the 17th and 18th Centuries," 33–55, 225–239.

manifested a shared normative practice among the early London Baptists. Meanwhile, the differences surrounding the practices of the sacraments as indicated in the 1644 and 1646 Confessions also revealed real existential questions for the new sect. The question was not merely concerning the relationship between the two sacraments, but also concerns the identity of the Baptists: should they be defined by credobaptism and make it a term of communion? The seriousness of such an internal disagreement surfaced through a decade-long pamphlet war between two groups of Baptists, one of which was tied to the Bedford minister John Bunyan (1628–1688) and the other to the London merchant-minister William Kiffen (1616–1701).

“to shun Truth for Peace”:

The Bunyan-Kiffen Dispute⁵⁰

Bunyan’s *Confession*

Under the Royal Declaration of Indulgence (March 15, 1672), nonconformist preachers such as John Bunyan were released from prison.⁵¹ While still in prison, Bunyan had written *A Confession of Faith*, which according to T. L. Underwood, had a threefold purpose:⁵²

First, it constituted a plea for freedom. As he explains in the preface, people think his long imprisonment is strange, so that he here presents his principles and practice, which he held when first imprisoned and which he has since examined and

⁵⁰ Thomas Paul, *Some Serious Reflections On that Part of Mr. Bunion’s Confession of Faith: Touching Church Communion with Unbaptized Persons: As Also ... Arguments against the ..., and Seven Queries ... to the Author* (London, 1673), 10.

⁵¹ See Frank Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: A Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1908); Jacqueline Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 89–128, 163–202; Richard Greaves, *John Bunyan and English Nonconformity* (London: Hambledon, 1992), 51–70.

⁵² John Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith, And A Reason of my Practice: Or, With who, and who not, I can hold Church-fellowship, or the Communion of Saints. Shewing, By diverse Arguments, that though I dare not Communicate with the open Prophane, yet I can with those visible Saints that differ about Water-Baptism. Wherein Is also discoursed whether that be the entering Ordinance into Fellowship, or no* (London, 1672).

reaffirmed. Thus readers can judge for themselves if his position is characterized by heresy, rebellion, or anything deserving nearly twelve years of imprisonment. Second, the work fulfilled something of a personal responsibility in making his faith and practice clear at the beginning of his pastorate in Bedford. Finally, as would be revealed in his next printed work on the subject, it served to counter some eighteenth years of attempts to divide the Bedford congregation and others in the region over the open membership issue.⁵³

Being the first of an ecclesiological trilogy, Bunyan established three principles, with which he defended the Bedford church practices—a tradition of the Congregational Way that can be traced back to John Gifford (d. 1655).⁵⁴ In his prefatory letter, Bunyan states that his “professed principles” are faith and holiness, which for both Bunyan and the Bedford congregation are the *sine qua non* of church membership or communion.⁵⁵ For Bunyan, communion is “fellowship in the things of the Kingdom of Christ, or that which is commonly called Church communion, the Communion of Saints.”⁵⁶ Thus, church communion is practically synonymous with church membership, as it introduces believers “to the inner heart of church fellowship where new converts and mature

⁵³ T. L. Underwood, “Introduction,” in 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*, The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan, volume 4, ed. Underwood (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), xxviii–xxix.

⁵⁴ The other two works of the trilogy are *Differences in Judgment about Water-Baptism, No Bar to Communion: Or, To Communicate with Saints, as Saints, proved lawful. In Answer to a Book written by the Baptists, and published by Mr. T. P. and Mr. W. K. entituled, Some Serious Reflections on that part of Mr. Bunyan’s Confession of Faith, touching Church-Communion with Unbaptized Believers. Wherein, Their Objections and Arguments are Answered, and the Doctrine of Communion still Allerted and Vindicated. Here is also Mr. Henry Jesse’s Judgment in the Case, fully declaring the Doctrine I have Asserted* (London, 1673), and *Peaceable Principles and True: Or, A brief Answer to Mr. Danver’s and Mr. Paul’s Books against my Confession of Faith, and Differeces in Judgment about Baptism no Bar to Communion Wherein Their Scriptureless Notions are overthrown, and my Peaceable principles still maintained* (n.p., 1674).

On Gifford’s influence, see H. G. Tibbutt, ed., *The Minutes of the First Independent Church (now Bunyan Meeting) at Bedford, 1656–1766* (Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1976); Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 61–67; Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious, and Factious People: John Bunyan and His Church 1628–1688* (1988, London: Verso, 2016), 90–99; Michael Davies, “The Silencing of God’s Dear Ministers: John Bunyan and His Church in 1662,” in *“Settling the Peace of the Church”:* *1662 Revisited*, ed. N. H. Keeble (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 85–113.

⁵⁵ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, A5v. Also see Anne Dunan-Page, “Bunyan and the Bedford Congregation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan*, ed. Michael Davies and W. R. Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 54–68.

⁵⁶ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 48.

believers encouraged and nourished one another's faith and witness."⁵⁷ Bunyan then defines "mixed communion" as to "have communion with them that profess not faith and holiness; or that are not visible Saints by calling."⁵⁸ He further explains that to have communion with the "ungodly and open prophanes" is to "polluteth the ordinance of God," "violateth the law," "prophaneth the holiness of God," and "defileth the truly Gracious."⁵⁹ Therefore, Bunyan understands conversion as the only term for church communion. In other words, Bunyan believes the Congregationalist ecclesiology—the gathered saints—was fundamental to church life.

Bunyan's second principle is "Giffordism," which believes the internal or spiritual matter is exhaustive of reality. With his experience and early works, Bunyan consistently opposed formalism.⁶⁰ For instance, in *I Will Pray with the Spirit* (1662), Bunyan defends the experiential devotion of prayer, which is "a sincere, sensible, affectionate pouring out of the heart or soul to God through Christ, by the strength or assistance of the Spirit."⁶¹ In light of the restoration of the Book of Common Prayer,

⁵⁷ Robert Archer, "Like Flowers in the Garden: John Bunyan and his Concept of the Church," *BQ* 36, no. 6 (1996): 286. Archer pointed out Bunyan's analogy of the church: "Christians are like flowers in the garden, that stand and grow where the gardener hath planted them . . . They have upon each of them the dew of heaven, which being shaken by the wind, they let fall their dew at each other's roots, whereby are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another" (Bunyan, *Christian Behaviour*, as quoted by Archer, "Like Flowers in the Garden," 286).

⁵⁸ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 49.

⁵⁹ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, A5v, 58–59.

⁶⁰ Christopher Hill contributed Bunyan's sentiment of anti-formalism to the influence of both John Gifford and Paul Hobson (d. 1666). See Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious, and Factious People*, 293; J. C. Davis, "Against Formality: One Aspect of the English Revolution," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1993): 265–288. On English empiricist traditions, see Allan Rolf Graves, "Puritan Empiricism in Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1973); Susan Khin Zaw, *John Locke: The Foundations of Empiricism* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Open University Press, 1976); Lisa Downing, "Locke's Metaphysics and Newtonian Metaphysics," in *Newton and Empiricism*, ed. Zvi Biener and Eric Schliesser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 97–118; Marco Sgarbi, *The Aristotelian Tradition and the Rise of British Empiricism: Logic and Epistemology in the British Isles (1570–1689)* (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer, 2013); Barry Allen, *Empiricisms: Experience and Experiment from Antiquity to the Anthropocene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); Michael Davies, *Graceful Reading: Theology and Narrative in the Works of John Bunyan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).G.

⁶¹ John Bunyan, *I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the Understanding also: Or, A Discourse Touching Prayer. From 1 Cor. 14. 15. Wherein is briefly discovered, 1. What Prayer is. 2. What it is to pray with the Spirit. 3. What it is to pray with the Spirit, and with the Understanding also*, 2nd ed.

Bunyan opposed the set forms of public and private worship. Furthermore, as Horton Davies noticed, “The two notions of prayer, liturgical and spontaneous, reflect two different concepts of the church and its relation to the state.”⁶² In light of the first principle, Bunyan was again motivated by anti-formalism and argued,

I desire you first to take notice; That touching shaddowish, or figurative ordinances; I believe that Christ hath ordained but two in his Church, viz. Water baptism and the Supper of the Lord: both which are excellent use to the Church, in this world; they being to us representation of the death, and resurrection of Christ, and are as, God shall make them helps to our faith therein; But I count them not the fundamentals of our Christianity; nor grounds or rule to communion with Saints: servants they are, and our mystical Ministers, to teach and instruct us, in the most weighty matters of the Kingdom of God: I therefore here declare my reverent esteem of them; yet dare not remove them, as some do, from the place, and end, where by God they are set and appointed, not ascribe unto them more, then they were ordered to have in their first, and primitive institution: Tis possible to commit Idolatry, even with Gods own appointments: But I pass this, and come to the thing propounded.⁶³

Later, in his answer to the objection “Water baptism ought to go before Church-membership,” Bunyan expands his metaphysical idealism, *avant la lettre*, by distinguishing the doctrine and practice of water baptism.⁶⁴ For Bunyan, the latter is “the sign, the shadow, or the outward circumstance thereof,” by which the former “is preached to the believer” by “the outward circumstance of the act.”⁶⁵ Furthermore, with Ephesians 4:4–6, Bunyan argues that baptism by the Spirit is the “best of Baptisms” that a believer has, for with the Spirit, “he hath the heart of Water baptism,” and water baptism is “only the outward shew” that cannot prove one’s visible sainthood, or otherwise “unchristian

(London, 1663), 20.

⁶² Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker and Fox, 1534–1690* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 198.

⁶³ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 64–65. Matthew Ward argues that for Bunyan, “The Baptists treated baptism the same way Anglicans treated the Prayer Book. That made them idolaters, respecting ‘more a form, then the spirit, and power of Godliness.’ Furthermore, because God had not established a law making baptism a ‘wall of division,’ the Baptists had carried themselves with the same arrogance as those who imposed the Anglican ceremonies” (Ward, “Baptism as Worship: Revisiting the Kiffin/Bunyan Open-Communion Debate,” *Artistic Theologian* 4 [2016]: 22).

⁶⁴ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, [81].

⁶⁵ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 87.

us.”⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that Bunyan employs the language of light and shadow here.⁶⁷ Unlike the Quakers, Bunyan’s “light” is synonymous to faith, as he quotes Romans 14:23 to argue that water baptism without light is unfaithful and sinful.⁶⁸ Thus, like circumcision of the Old Testament, water baptism is also a “token of the Covenant,” “of righteousness of Abrahams Faith, and of the visible membership of those that joynd themselves to the Church with him.”⁶⁹ In other words, by faith alone, people are converted and become members of the visible and invisible church.⁷⁰ By examining New Testament texts, especially in the book of Acts, Bunyan argues that “even in the second of the Acts, Baptizing and adding to the Church, appear to be acts distinct.”⁷¹ Thus, since there is not any biblical instance for the early church to regard water baptism as an initiating ordinance, Bunyan argues that water baptism cannot become a term of communion.⁷²

Bunyan’s third principle is individualistic benevolence, as he argues, the only value of water baptism is for the believers’ own faith, since by water baptism a person “might be strengthened in the death and resurrection of Christ” and have “confirmed to

⁶⁶ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 88, 94.

⁶⁷ Also see Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 105.

⁶⁸ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, [84], 95. Also see Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 19–20. On Bunyan and the Quakers, see Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious, and Factious People*, 75–89; Ann Hughes, “The Pulpit Guarded: Confrontations between Orthodox and Radicals in Revolutionary England,” in *John Bunyan and His England, 1628–88*, ed. Anne Lawrence, W. R. Owens, and Stuart Sim (London: Hambledon, 1990), 31–50; Dewey D. Wallace Jr., “Bunyan’s Theology and Religious Context,” in *Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan*, 69–85; T. L. Underwood, “‘For then I should be a Ranter or a Quaker’: John Bunyan and Radical Religion,” in *Awakening Words: John Bunyan and the Language of Community*, ed. David Gay, James G. Randall, and Arlette Zinck (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 127–40; Nicholas Seager, “John Bunyan and Socinianism,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65, no. 3 (2014): 580–600.

⁶⁹ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 71.

⁷⁰ Bunyan states, “Baptism makes thee no member of the Church, neither particular nor universall: neither doth it make thee a visible Saint: It therefore gives thee neither right to, nor being of membership at all” (Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 76).

⁷¹ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 75.

⁷² See Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 109–15.

his own conscience the forgiveness of sins.”⁷³ However, since water baptism “as the circumstances with which the Churches were pestered of old, trouble their peace, wound the consciences of the Godly; dismember and break their fellowships, it is although an ordinance for the present to be prudently shunned; for the edification of the Church as I shall shew anon, is to be preferred before it.”⁷⁴ Bunyan explains that since edification “is that that cherisheth all grace, and maketh the Christians quick and lively, and maketh sin lean and dwindling, and filleth the mouth with thanksgiving to God,” Christians should yield their individual choice to mutual benevolence.⁷⁵ For Bunyan,

Love, which above all things we are commanded to put on, is of much more worth then to break about Baptism; Love is also more discovered when it receiveth for the sake of Christ, and grace; then when it refuseth for want of water: And observe it, as I have also said before, this exhortation to Love is grounded upon the putting on of the new creature ... Love therefore is sometimes more seen and shewed, in forbearing to urge and press what we know, then in publishing and imposing.⁷⁶

In a similar manner, congregations cannot “exclude Christians from Church communion, and to debar them their Heaven-born priviledges” on the basis of water baptism, as such a “man-made” requirement forces believers to “sin against their Souls” and divides God’s people.⁷⁷ In other words, water baptism, for Bunyan, is disposable if it hinders church unity and mutual love.⁷⁸

⁷³ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 76, 77.

⁷⁴ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 86. Later Bunyan states, “Divisions and distinctions are of shorter dare then election; let not them therefore that are but momentary and hatcht in darkness, break that bond that is from everylasting It is Love, not Baptism that discovereth us to the world to be Christs Disciples. It is Love that is the undoubted character of our interest in, and sonship with God: I mean when we Love as Saints, and desire communion with others, because they have fellowship one with another, in their fellowship with God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ. 1 Joh. 1. 2” (Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 105).

⁷⁵ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 98.

⁷⁶ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 105, 106.

⁷⁷ Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 116, 98.

⁷⁸ Such a conviction can also be found in Gifford’s deathbed epistle, where he stated that “union with Christ is the foundation of all saintes’ communion, and not any ordinances of Christ, or any judgment or opinion about externalls” (Tibbutt, ed., *Minutes of the First Independent Church*, 19). Furthermore, Gifford warned the Bedford congregation “not to be found guilty of this great evill, ... separation from the church about baptism ... or any externall” (Tibbutt, ed., *Minutes of the First Independent Church*, 19). Also see Dunan-Page, “Bunyan and the Bedford Congregation,” 57–62; John R.

Thomas Paul's *Serious Reflections*

Soon after the publication of Bunyan's *Confession of my Faith*, both General and Particular Baptists publicly responded.⁷⁹ However, when Bunyan published his response to these criticisms in 1673, he only chose to reply to Thomas Paul's (fl. 1673–1674) tract, in which William Kiffen penned a prefatory letter.⁸⁰ In "To the Reader," Kiffen provided the opening statement for the strict communion position, as he pointed out, "Communion with all saints ... is a desirable thing ... But care must be had in the first place, to observe the rules given by our great Lord, and to walk according to them, and not for communion sake to leap over the order Jesus Christ hath prescribed in his

Knott Jr., "Bunyan and the Holy Community," *Studies in Philology* 80, no. 2 (1983): 200–125; Joseph D. Ban, "Was John Bunyan a Baptist? A Case-Study in Historiography," *BQ* 30, no. 8 (1984): 367–76.

⁷⁹ John Denne (fl. 1645–1699), the son of Henry Denne (c. 1606–1660), was an influential General Baptist in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire (see James Hurford Wood, *A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion. Preceded by Historical Sketches of the Early Baptists* [London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1847], 155; Joseph Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists: containing Biographical Sketches and Notices of above Three Hundred Ministers, and Historical Accounts, alphabetically arranged, of One Hundred and Thirty Churches, in the Different Countries in England: from about the year 1610 till 1700*, 2 vols [London, 1814], 2:98–99). Denne's response is entitled, *Truth outweighing Error: Or, An Answering To A Treatise lately published by J. B. Entitled, A Confession of his Faith, and A Reason of his Practice. Or, With who can he can, and with who he cannot hold Church-Fellowship, or the Communion of Saints* (London, 1673). For Denne, his disagreement with Bunyan was twofold. In the first part, Denne criticized Bunyan's belief of predestination. Regarding Bunyan's practice, Denne examined Bunyan's arguments and pointed out Bunyan's logical inconsistency. Denne stated, "That Baptism is a duty necessarily to be observed by Christians in obedience to God, and in order to Church-Communion: I say, necessarily to be observed, for some things are lawful for a Christian, but not expedient. Some things again are expedient, but not necessary, but other things are necessary and must be done, of which sort is Baptism. This Christ himself testifieth, Matth. 3. 15. Thus it behooveth us, (mark) he speaketh not particularly of himself, but also of his followers, us ... we must do thus to fulfil God's righteous Commands" (Denne, *Truth outweighing Error*, 52–53).

See Anne Dunan-Page, "John Bunyan's Confession of My Faith and Restoration Anabaptism," *Prose Studies* 28, no. 1 (2006): 19–40; Dunan-Page, *Grace Overwhelming: John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress and the Extremes of the Baptist Mind* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 47–102; Harry L. Poe, "John Bunyan's Controversy With the Baptists," *Baptist History & Heritage* 23, no. 2 (1988): 25–35; Ward, "Baptism as Worship," 17–31; Michael A. G. Haykin, and C. Jeffrey Robinson, "Particular Baptist Debates about Communion and Hymn-Singing," in *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates Within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Mark Jones (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 284–95.

⁸⁰ Thomas Paul, *Some Serious Reflections On that Part of Mr. Bunion's Confession of Faith: Touching Church Communion With Unbaptized Persons: As Also ... arguments against the ..., and Seven Queries ... to the Author* (London, 1673). Kiffen's "To the Reader" has been transcribed and included in William Kiffen, *The Prefaces*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Joshua R. Monroe (Louisville: Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2018), 25–27. Little is known about Thomas Paul's life, except his involvement in the Baptist-Quaker debate in the 1670s. See Larry J. Kreitzer, *William Kiffen and his World (Part 5)* (Oxford: Regent's Park College, 2016), 9–62.

Word.”⁸¹ Unlike Kiffen, who later responded in sober and reverent manners, Paul’s was direct and personal, about which Bunyan later complained:

I will not make Reflections upon those unhandsom brands that my Brethren have laid upon me for this, as that I am a Machivilian, a man devilish, proud, insolent, presumptuous, and the like ... you closely disdain my Person, because of my low descent among men, stigmatizing me for a Person of that Rank, that need not to be heeded, or attended unto.⁸²

Nevertheless, Paul contributed to the debate in at least two areas. First, Paul denies Bunyan’s dualistic view of baptism—of water and Spirit, doctrine and practice. Paul points out that as Bunyan “acknowledge[s] that Baptism [comes] immediately after Conversion,” it was the known practice of the first Christians and thus credobaptism is not contrary to Bunyan’s first principle.⁸³ Instead, God gave the ordinance of baptism as “New Covenant Blessings” and a “Command.”⁸⁴ In order to prove his point, Paul explains the relationship between Old Testament ceremonies and New Testament ordinances with Christocentric typologies. Paul argues:

Under the Law all the Sacrifices of that disposition with their Sabaths and other things, were Types of that Christ who was the substance of all those Ceremonies: If any of them then that professed Faith in the Messiah to come, should upon scruples, or want of pretended light, neglect the whole, or part of that Typical Worship, why may not a man say of them, as this advocate says of the practice under debate? They had the richer and better Sacrifice, they had the substance and body of all the Types: So that this principle puts the whole of Gods instituted Worship, both under Law and Gospel, to the highest uncertainties; & it is so indifferently commended to men for their practice, that the holiness or good that is in it, is by the Author so indersernable.⁸⁵

Therefore, Paul distinguishes Old Testament ceremonies, such as circumcision, from New Testament ordinances, as Christ, who is the substance and the antitype, instituted

⁸¹ Kiffen, *The Prefaces*, ed. Haykin and Monroe, 26–27.

⁸² Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, A2r–v, 6. See Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 2–4, 42.

⁸³ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 5.

⁸⁴ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 11, 19.

⁸⁵ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 16–17. On Baptist covenant theology, see Samuel D. Renihan, *From Shadow to Substance: The Federal Theology of English Particular Baptists (1642–1704)* (Oxford: Regent’s Park College, 2018).

baptism as an initiative ordinance for all his disciples.⁸⁶ For the believers, their desire for baptism is natural and ready, as “by a discovery of their Faith and Holiness, and Willingness to [be] subject to all Christs Laws.”⁸⁷ In other words, the Spirit’s work of regeneration causes believers’ internal desires to voluntarily obey Christ’s commandments, which include the external action of water baptism. Thus, Paul asked rhetorically, “Is obeying Baptism, no part of a Christians Holiness? Is Baptism none of the Laws of Christ, the Law-giver?”⁸⁸ Paul further points out, in pursuit of the argument that “Persons ought to be Christians before they are Baptized; and once a Christian, and always a Christian,” Bunyan ranks “Water-Baptism with eating, or not eating, that if a man do it, he is not the better, or neglect it, he is not the worse.”⁸⁹ Therefore, Paul understands water baptism as essentially a positive institution by Christ. Moreover, baptisms of Spirit and water are quintessentially connected, as the former initiates the latter.

For Paul, as baptism is an outcome of regeneration, such an act of obedience is also “a part of our Edification,” which “is the end of all Communion.”⁹⁰ As both conversion and baptism are the Spirit’s work, Paul believes Bunyan’s dualistic distinctions—of water and Spirit baptisms, and the doctrine and practice of baptism—are novel and absurd. For that reason, Paul asks:

Pray you tell me what you mean by Spirit Baptism: if you mean the work of the Spirit in Conversion, I grant Conversion is the Spirits Work, but where Conversion barely without extraordinary gifts, is called the Baptism of the Spirit, I am in a readiness to learn, if you can teach me, but why must this baptism not be Water Baptism, if Water Baptism be a Truth, the Spirit leadeth into this Truth, as well as others ... if nothing but extraordinary gifts be called the Baptism of the Spirit, in a

⁸⁶ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 17, 18.

⁸⁷ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 5.

⁸⁸ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 5, altered.

⁸⁹ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 25.

⁹⁰ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 27, 26.

strickt sence, then that Baptism 1 Cor. 12. must be water Baptism, as well as this in Ephesians 4. and then your Argument from both is void.⁹¹

Furthermore, Paul states, “To distinguish between the Doctrine, and the Practice: this is one of the strangest Paradoxes that I have lightly observed,” which in reality is to divide “Christ and his Precepts.”⁹² Paul believes it is impossible to hold “practical Doctrines” without practicing them.⁹³ Thus “obedience to [a practical Doctrine] will always speak for” the believer.⁹⁴ Therefore, Paul “took the Doctrine of Baptism to be the Command, that a believer ought to be baptized in Christ’s Name, for such ends which the Gospel expresses.”⁹⁵

Paul’s second point is concerning the relationship between tolerable benevolence and orderly obedience. Much like Kiffen, Paul also believes that “all things must be done in order, orderly.”⁹⁶ For Paul, though Christians are obliged to love one another, it is not wise to make “affection the rule of his walking, rather then Judgement.”⁹⁷ In other words, Christians cannot indulge one’s “act of disobedience”—in this case, paedobaptism—with their love.⁹⁸ For Paul, to love “a Saint, as a Saint for Christ’s sake” and “hold Church-Communion” are not necessarily connected. Paul explains,

if a Child of God fall into Sin, or disorder, without the due sence of his Sin, yet I ought to love him: though I am forced to deal with him, and to withdraw him, yet I am not to count him as an enemy, but admonish as a brother in some respects: and must we be Judged to have no love to the persons under debate, because we are not

⁹¹ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 13–14, 15.

⁹² Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 15, 19.

⁹³ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 15.

⁹⁴ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 15.

⁹⁵ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 16.

⁹⁶ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 26.

⁹⁷ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 29.

⁹⁸ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 30.

willing to suffer them to sit down satisfied with a lye, instead of the truth, a false Baptism, instead of Christ's appointment.⁹⁹

Sharing with Bunyan's view of the church, which is made up of visible saints, Paul argues that credobaptists ought to keep paedobaptists "from a disorderly practice of Gospel Ordinances," through which "we offer them their privilege in the way of Gospel order, as all the Scripture Saints received their Priviledges."¹⁰⁰ By "following the footsteps of the Flocks," Paul points out, the divine precept is to have "Baptism went before, as a Simbol of our new birth: and breaking bread followed after, as the spiritual nourishment of Christ's new born Babes."¹⁰¹

The Second Round (1673–1674)

The second round of the debate began with Bunyan's *Differences in Judgment About Water-Baptism, No Bar to Communion* (1673), followed by Thomas Paul's and Henry Danvers' (c. 1622–1687) responses, and ended with Bunyan's *Peaceable Principles and True* (1674).¹⁰² As Underwood pointed out, Bunyan's *Differences in Judgment* was "less provocative and more moderate in tone than *A Confession*."¹⁰³ Furthermore, Bunyan revealed his emotions caused by both the pamphlet war and broken

⁹⁹ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 31–32.

¹⁰⁰ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 54, 40.

¹⁰¹ Paul, *Some Serious Reflections*, 40, 41.

¹⁰² In Bunyan's *Differences in Judgment*, he also included a sermon by Henry Jessey on Romans 14:1, about which Bunyan wrote, "providentially I met with, as I was coming to London to put my Papers to the Preß, and that it was his Judgment is asserted to me, known many years since to some of the Baptists, to whom it was sent, but never yet Answered; and will yet be Attested if need shall require" (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 4).

Paul's second response was lost. Danvers' is entitled: *A Treatise of Baptism: Wherein That of Believers and that of Infants is examined by the Scriptures. With The History of both out of Antiquity; making it appear, that Infants Baptism was not practiced for Three Hundred Years, nor enjoyn'd as necessary till (by the Popes Canons here at large) Four Hundred Years after Christ; with the fabulous Traditions, and erroneous Grounds upon which it was (with Gossipt Chrisme, Exorcisme, Consignation, Baptising of Churches and Bells, and other Popish Rites) founded: And that the famous Waldensian and old British Churches and Christians witnessed against it. With the Examination of the Stories about Thomas Munzer, and John a Leyden. As also, The History of Christianity amongst the Ancient Britains and Waldenes. And, A brief Answer to Mr. Bunyan about Communion with Persons Unbaptized* (London, 1673).

¹⁰³ Underwood, "Introduction," xxxii.

relationships in his 1673 response. In his prefatory letter, Bunyan complained, “the Brethren of the Baptized-way ... have sought to break us in pieces, merely because we are not in their way all baptized first.”¹⁰⁴ Later, Bunyan stated, “My self they have sent for, and endeavoured to perswade me to break Communion with my Brethren.”¹⁰⁵ For Bunyan, the dispute was not merely intellectual; instead, it emerged from the strict-communionists’ attempt to “divide his congregations and others in the region over this issue for some eighteenth years.”¹⁰⁶ As Bunyan painfully admitted, some who turned to the “Baptized-way” had caused troubles in his congregation, and in particular, he singled out John Child (d. 1684).¹⁰⁷ Underwood has suggested that Bunyan had Child in mind when he wrote, “The Judgment of God so following their design, that the persons which then they prevailed upon, are now a stink, and reproach to Religion.”¹⁰⁸

In *Differences in Judgment*, Bunyan affirmed his belief that the strict communionists have made baptism “the Wall, Bar, Bolt, and Door,” with which to “separate between the righteous and the righteous.”¹⁰⁹ Bunyan thus accused Paul and Kiffen of discarding faith, as the key basis for church fellowship, even as they accused

¹⁰⁴ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, A2.

¹⁰⁵ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 8.

¹⁰⁶ Underwood, “Introduction,” xxxii.

¹⁰⁷ John Child was formerly one of Bunyan’s ministerial colleagues. In November 1656, Child participate with Bunyan in a dispute with the Quakers. Before his departure from the congregation, Child followed the Fifth Monarchist sentiments. Due to his close relationship with Bunyan, Child also influenced Bunyan’s eschatology in the mid-1650s. Probably around 1658, Child adopted the close communion position and stirred troubles in the congregation. After the Restoration, Child criticised the dissenters. In his 1676 pamphlet, Child proposed three questions to “be disputed with John Bunion”: “Whether our Blessed Saviour hath not Instituted a certain order to be observ’d by his followers in the administration of Gospel ordinances if so, then;” “Whether according to that order Baptism with water is not to go before the celebration of the Lords supper” (Child, *A Moderate Message to Quakers, Seekers, and Socinians. By a Friend And Well-wisher to them all. Or Some Arguments offered to clear up three points in difference betwixt them and others, viz. the Baptism with Water, the Right of Administration in this Age, and the Preexistancy of the Son of God to his being conceived of the Virgin* [1676], 75). Later Child “became despondent for having turned against his former religious associates and in 1684, he committed suicide” (Underwood, “Introduction,” xxxii). Also see Tibbutt, *Minutes of the First Independent Church*, 22–23, 31–33; Greaves, *John Bunyan and English Nonconformity*, 142–44.

¹⁰⁸ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 8; Underwood, “Introduction,” xxxii.

¹⁰⁹ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 10–11.

him of dispensing with baptism as the door to the church.¹¹⁰ Bunyan thus confirmed his belief in his confession that “Faith and Holiness, must be the Essentials, or Basis, upon, and for the sake of which you receive” any into the church.¹¹¹ Bunyan further explained:

Throw out Faith, and there is no such thing as a Christian, neither visible nor invisible: You ought to receive no man, but upon a comfortable satisfaction to the Church, that you are now receiving a Believer. Faith, whether it be savingly there or no, is the great Argument with the Church in receiving any: we receive not men as men, but the man immediately under that supposition; He hath Faith, he is a Christian. Sir, Consent, simply without Faith, makes no man a Member of the Church of God; because then would a Church not cease to be a Church, whoever they received among them. Yea, by this Assertion you have justified the Church of Rome itself.¹¹²

Bunyan thus defended the Congregational Way, as he had been taught by Gifford at Bedford. In contrast to the “Baptized-way,” Bunyan argued that baptism is not a sign of obedience, as “it is none of those Laws ... that the Church ... should shew her Obedience by.”¹¹³ Though Bunyan did not deny the divine origin of the institution of baptism, he only ascribed its benefits to individuals. In practice, however, baptism did not contribute to the church in any way; instead it hindered the peace and unity of the church, as “both Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord, have ... been a great affliction to the Godly both in this and other Ages.”¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Bunyan scrutinised a candidate’s heart and argued that by desiring to receive water baptism, the believer “wanteth only the outward shew,” which contributed nothing to one’s “truly visible” sainthood.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the church for

¹¹⁰ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 11.

¹¹¹ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 12. In the same response, Bunyan reconfirmed that “a discovery of the Faith and Holiness, and a Declaration of the willingness of a Person to subject himself to the Laws and Government of Christ in his Church, is a ground sufficient to receive such a Member” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 12).

¹¹² Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 12.

¹¹³ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 13.

¹¹⁴ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 23. One of the biblical examples Bunyan later used was the divisions at Corinth (1 Cor 1:10–17). Bunyan commended that the Corinthians “had their Factious Leaders, is evident; and that these Leaders made use of the Names of Paul, Apollo, and Christ, is as evident; for by these Names they were beguiled by the help of abused Baptism” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 63).

¹¹⁵ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 41.

Bunyan is a city of “Valiant-for-faith,” or “a Church without Water-baptism.”¹¹⁶

Furthermore, Bunyan regarded the London Baptists’ insistence on water-baptism as merely legalism.¹¹⁷ As in his *A Confession of my Faith*, Bunyan compared circumcision in the Old Testament with water baptism, and argued that both of these outward performances (or shows) should be understood as types of circumcision in the heart, which is baptism of the Spirit by faith.¹¹⁸ Thus, water baptism is not an initiatory ordinance, or even a sacrament of the church, for

Baptism will neither admit a man into Fellowship, nor keep him there, if he be a transgressor of a Moral Precept; and that a man who believeth in Jesus, and fulfilleth the Royal Law, doth more glorifie God, and honour Religion in the World, than he that keepeth (if there were so many) ten thousand figurative Laws. ... The Church then must first look to Faith, then to good Living according to the Ten Commandments; after that she must respect those Appointments of our Lord Jesus, that respects her outward order and discipline, and then she walks as becomes herm sinning if she neglecteth either; sinning if she over-valueth either.¹¹⁹

As he did in the previous work, Bunyan emphasised the baptism of the Spirit, as it is the Spirit who regenerates believers and unites the church. However, Bunyan failed to provide a clear definition of the term, as he focused on the prepositions by arguing that

¹¹⁶ See John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, in *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners and The Pilgrim’s Progress from this World to that which is to come*, ed. Roger Sharrock (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 383–85, 397–98. Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 50.

¹¹⁷ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 14. Bunyan stated that “Sir, Know you not yet, that a difference is to be put betwixt those Rules that discover the Essentials of Holiness, and those that in themselves are not such; and that that of Faith and the Moral Law is the one, and Baptism, &c. the other?” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 14).

¹¹⁸ See Bunyan, *A Confession of my Faith*, 79–80; Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 25–26, 36–38.

¹¹⁹ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 15–16. Bunyan repeatedly stated, “Baptism is not the entering-Ordinance. And as for the Worship that Christ hath Instituted in his Church, as a Church, I say ... Baptism is none of the Forms thereof, none of the Ordinances thereof, none of the Laws thereof: for Baptism is, as to the Practice of it, that which is without the Church, without the House of God” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 17); “Water-Baptism hath nothing to do in a Church, as a Church; it neither bringeth us into the Church, nor is any part of our Worship when we come there” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 28); “Baptism makes no man a Saint, is not the entering-Ordinance, is no part of the Worship of God enjoined the Church as a Church” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 38); “The act of Water-baptism hath not place in Church-worship, neither in whole nor in part” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 52); Baptism is “no Church-Ordinance as such, not any part of Faith, nor of that Holiness of heart, or life, that sheweth me to the Church to be indeed a visible Saint” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 87).

one ought to be baptised “in” the Spirit, not merely “with” the Spirit.¹²⁰ To distinguish these two ways of baptism, Bunyan explained, “For the Spirit to come upon me, is one thing; and for that when come, to implant, imbody, or baptize me into the body of Christ, is another.”¹²¹ It seems that for Bunyan to be baptised by the Spirit is to be possessed by the Spirit, by which there is a new life marked out by faith and holiness.¹²² In other words, baptism of the Spirit is synonymous with Christian conversion.¹²³ Thus, Bunyan expanded his metaphysical idealism by preferring the internal or spiritual reality of conversion over external practices of water baptism. As he stated, “The Doctrine of Baptism is not the Practice of it, not the outward act, but the thing signified.”¹²⁴

Furthermore, unlike the Lord’s Supper, baptism “is not the Priviledge of a Church.”¹²⁵ Within the framework of distinguishing the doctrine and practice of baptism, Bunyan argued:

He that is not baptized, if yet a true Believer, hath the Doctrine of Baptism; yea, he ought to have it before he be Convicted, it is his duty to be baptized, or else he playeth the Hypocrite. There is therefore no difference between that Believer that is, and he that is not yet baptized with Water; but only his going down into the Water, there to perform an outward Ceremony of the Substance which he hath already; which yet he is not Commanded to do with respect to Membership with the Church.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 30.

¹²¹ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 30.

¹²² Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 30.

¹²³ Interestingly, though Bunyan wrote against the Quakers, his view of the baptism of the Spirit is much similar to his opponents, as they only differed over the way to achieve such a “baptism.” For an overview of the Quaker’s view of baptism, see Howard R. Macy, “Baptism and Quakers,” in *Baptism: Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Perspectives*, ed. Gordon L. Heath and James D. Dvorak (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 157–74.

¹²⁴ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 39.

¹²⁵ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 40, 89.

¹²⁶ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 41.

For Bunyan, as “Christ did not receive” his disciples by baptism, there is no legal case or divine example for close communion.¹²⁷ However, since Christian communion, or the Lord’s Supper, is commanded and exemplified by Christ in the New Testament, it is Christians’ “Heaven-born Priviledges” to “have Communion with visible Saints.”¹²⁸ “To make Water-baptism a bar and division betwixt Saint and Saint” is to act with “a Spirit of Persecution,” being faithless, and sinful.¹²⁹ Furthermore, to enforce close communion is to vandalise “Church-peace,” which is “founded in blood” and requires its members to “love to each other for Jesus sake; bearing with, and forbearing one another, in all things Circumstantial.”¹³⁰ With the principle of mutual forbearance, Bunyan echoed Richard Baxter on the participants’ qualification. In response to the charge of indulging “the sin of Infant-baptism,” Bunyan understood it as a duty for Christians “to bear with the Infirmities of each other, [and to] suffer it.”¹³¹

Bunyan’s *Peaceable Principles and True* (1674)

Soon after the publication of Bunyan’s *Differences in Judgment*, two responses were issued by the Particular Baptists, Thomas Paul and Henry Danvers.¹³²

¹²⁷ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 43.

¹²⁸ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 68, 44. Interestingly, Bunyan disagreed with Paul’s typology, as the latter understood the Passover as a type of the Lord’s Supper. Bunyan argued that the former “was only a Type of the Body and Blood of the Lord: For even Christ our Passover is Sacrifice for us. 1 Cor. 5.7” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 54–55). Here is another example of Bunyan’s anti-formalism, as though he believed the significance of the Lord’s Supper, he refused to tie the ordinance to a ceremony or ritual; instead, Bunyan emphasised the benefit of the Lord’s Supper, which is a means to church unity and edification.

¹²⁹ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 68, 45.

¹³⁰ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 46.

¹³¹ Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 58. Bunyan further stated, “But in theirs they say a duty, till God shall otherwise perswade them. If you be without infirmity, do you first throw a stone at them: They keep their Faith in that to themselves, and trouble not their Brethren therewith: we believe that God hath received them; they do not want to us a proof of their Sonship with God; neither hath he made Water a Wall of Division between us, and therefore we do receive them” (Bunyan, *Differences in Judgment*, 58).

¹³² During the Civil Wars, Danvers served in Oliver Cromwell’s New Model Army, and for a while Governor of Stafford. In his early days, Danvers embraced views of the General Baptists, and of the Fifth Monarchy Men. However, as Anne Dunan-Page and David A. Copeland noticed, Danvers became a Particular Baptist after the Restoration (1660–1689). See David A. Copeland, *Benjamin Keach and the Development of Baptist Traditions in Seventeenth-Century England* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2001), 33–45;

Unfortunately, the only remnants of Paul's response are quotations in Bunyan's *Peaceable Principles and True*. Danvers' *Treatise on Baptism* was a lengthy polemic against paedobaptism, and Danvers only responded to Bunyan's open communion in a small section. Quite similar to Paul's arguments, the only unique contribution in Danvers' work was his use of the "analogy of marriage" to understand baptism as an initiatory ordinance.¹³³

Underwood observes that by 1674, Bunyan felt "besieged and even weary" by the communion controversy, as criticism came from both paedobaptists and Baptists.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Bunyan felt much of the attacks were personal and manipulative.¹³⁵ For example, Bunyan complained that it was under the Strict Baptists' influence that John Owen (1616–1683) stopped writing an endorsement for one of his books.¹³⁶ Thus, calling his opponents "my angry Brother," Bunyan initiated the end of the dispute from his side.¹³⁷ *Peaceable Principles and True*, therefore, served as Bunyan's closing

Dunan-Page, *Grace Overwhelming*, 50–51; Richard L. Greaves, "Gentleman Revolutionary: Henry Danvers and the Radical Underground," in *Saints and Rebels: Seven Nonconformists in Stuart England* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), 157–77; Greaves, "The Tangled Careers of Two Stuart Radicals: Henry and Robert Danvers," *BQ* 29, no. 1 (1981): 32–43.

¹³³ Underwood, "Introduction," xxxiv. Danvers states, "it is true (as Mr. Paul affirms) that Persons entered into the Visible Church hereby, are by consent admitted into particular Congregations, where they may claim their Priviledges due to Baptized Believers, being orderly put into the Body, and put on Christ by their Baptismal Vow and Covenant, for by that publick Declaration of consent is the Marriage and solemn Contract made betwixt Christ and the Believer in Baptisme, as before at large. And if it be prepostrous and wicked fir a Man and Woman to co-habite together, and to enjoy the Priviledges of a Marriage-state, without the passing of that publick Solemnity; So it is no less disorderly upon a Spiritual account, for any to claim the Priviledges of a Church, or be admitted to the same till the passing of this Solemnity by them" (Danvers, *Treatise of Baptism*, 52–53). As to his subject, Danvers received wider responses, critics included Obadiah Wills (b. 1625), Richard Blinman, and Richard Baxter. Due to its popularity, Danvers revised his work within a year of its publication. On Danvers' *Treatise of Baptism*, see Dunan-Page, *Grace Overwhelming*, 69–77. On the controversy over paedobaptism, also see Jonathan Warren Pagán, *Giles Firmin and the Transatlantic Puritan Tradition: Polity, Piety, and Polemic* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 189–225.

¹³⁴ Underwood, "Introduction," xxxv.

¹³⁵ Bunyan stated, "Your artificial squibbing suggestions to the world about my self, imprisonment, and the like, I freely bind unto me as an Ornament among the rest of my Reproaches, till the Lord shall wipe them off at his coming. But they are no Argument that you have a word that binds you to exclude the holy Brethren Communion" (Underwood, ed., *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 4:272).

¹³⁶ Underwood, ed., *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 4:272.

¹³⁷ Underwood, ed., *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 4:285.

argument.¹³⁸ In fact, two years after the publication of *Peaceable Principles and True*, Bunyan was imprisoned, and this time for about a year.

In *Peaceable Principles and True*, Bunyan restated his conviction that though he affirmed “Baptism is God’s ordinance,” he denied that “Baptism was ever ordained of God to be a wall of Division between the Holy and the Holy.”¹³⁹ In this considerably shorter work, Bunyan selectively responded to Kiffen, Paul, Danvers, and John Denne, as he accused “Paul of seeming to retract his earlier denial of baptism as the initiating ordinance,” questioned “Denne’s morals,” and brushed “aside Danvers’s analogy of marriage.”¹⁴⁰ Repeating his arguments, Bunyan pointed out that there was no biblical text can prove the “Baptized-way.” As “Church-Communion is Scripture-Communion,” water baptism “is neither a Bar nor Bolt to Communion of Saints, nor a Door nor inlet to Communion of Saints.”¹⁴¹

Kiffen’s *Sober Discourse* (1681)

Though Bunyan mentioned Kiffen in his works, the London minister did not write a full response until 1681, four years after Bunyan’s release from prison, and the production of the Second London Confession (1677). Though the reason for Kiffen’s delay was unknown, his *Sober Discourse* in many respects provided the most comprehensive argument from the strict communion position. As John Mockett Cramp (1796–1881) later noticed, there was nothing published on the terms of communion after Kiffen’s *Sober Discourse*, until the 1770s.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Bunyan wrote on the subject of ecclesiology in later works, see Underwood, “Introduction,” xxxvi.

¹³⁹ Underwood, ed., *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 4:286, 269.

¹⁴⁰ Underwood, “Introduction,” xxxv. Denne later in 1674 published his response, *Hypocrisie Detected, or Peaceable and True Principles as so Pretended by John Bunyan, tried and found False and Unsound*. Unfortunately, there is no known copy exists.

¹⁴¹ Underwood, ed., *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 4:287.

¹⁴² John Mockett Cramp, *Baptist History: From the Foundation of the Christian Church to the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Elliot Stock, 1868), 476. On Cramp’s relationship with Joseph

In 1677, the London Baptists issued the Second London Confession which was based upon the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646). However, the strict communionists did not peculiarly use this document to promote their view. Instead, as the preface indicated, the Confession was a document that aimed to “manifest our consent with both” the Presbyterians and Congregationalists “in all the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion.”¹⁴³ Thus, unity was one of the goals for these Particular Baptists to achieve among both fellow Baptists and other orthodox dissenters. Nevertheless, the Second London Confession defined both baptism and the Lord’s Supper as “ordinances of positive, and sovereign institution; appointed by the Lord Jesus the only Law-giver, to be continued in his Church to the end of the world.”¹⁴⁴ Though the Confession did not explicitly indicate baptism as a term of communion, it affirmed baptism as an ordinance of the church. In other words, though there were disagreements among the “Baptized Way” over the term of communion, Bunyan’s “baptism of the Spirit” was in definition a marginalised view.

In response to Bunyan’s charges, Kiffen described himself as “a lover of truth and Peace,” who had followed the order of worship for forty years.¹⁴⁵ Kiffen was open in understanding that “Baptism of Repentance as the first initiating Ordinance” of the church.¹⁴⁶ He pointed out that the communion controversy was unique to the Baptists, as “for the others [i.e., the paedobaptists], their avowed Principle is, To admit none into

Kinghorn, see Song, “Joseph Kinghorn’s (1766–1832) Educational Vision,” 23–35.

¹⁴³ *A Confession of Faith. Put forth by the elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians (baptized upon Profession of their Faith) in London and the Country* (London, 1677), A3r.

¹⁴⁴ “Chap. XXVIII. Of Baptism and the Lords Supper,” in *A Confession of Faith* (1677), 96.

¹⁴⁵ William Kiffen, *A Sober Discourse of Right to Church-Communion. Wherein is proved by Scripture, the Example of the Primitive Times, and the Practice of All that have Professed the Christian Religion: That no Unbaptized person may be Regularly admitted to the Lords Supper* (London, 1681), A2v.

¹⁴⁶ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, viii.

Church-Fellowship or Communion, that are Unbaptized.”¹⁴⁷ In other words, the challenge proposed by Bunyan is understood as devaluation of water baptism. Kiffen then summarised the open communion position as “That there being no Precept, President nor Example in all the Scripture, for our excluding our Holy Brethren that differ in this Point from us, therefore we ought not to dare to do it.”¹⁴⁸

In response, Kiffen first established a common ground for both Bunyan and the paedobaptists, as Kiffen noticed that none of them objected to the fact that “The Administration of Baptism, by Rantism or Sprinkling in Infancy is disorderly, as being a Practice without Example or consequent Warrant from Scripture, and Administered to a Subject not capable, or qualified to receive it, nor in an orderly manner.”¹⁴⁹ Thus, for Kiffen, the key biblical text that justified strict communion was 2 Thessalonians 3:6, where Paul urged the Thessalonian churches to withdraw from those “that walketh disorderly.”¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, as such disorders included those “in Manners, Doctrine, or Practice,” Kiffen understood the practice of strict communion as their obedience to this timeless command of the Bible.¹⁵¹ In practice, they needed to

exclude such as disorderly practice the Ordinance of Baptism, from our immediate Communion at the Lords Table, though not from our Love and Affection, for we hope they walk according to their Light, and the Error being not so fundamental as to endanger their Eternal state, we esteem them Christian Brethren and Saints, for whose further illumination we dayly put up our Prayers.¹⁵²

In other words, while acknowledging the existing gap between the visible and invisible churches, Kiffen understood the “Baptized Way” as an intermediary structure to not only

¹⁴⁷ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 2.

¹⁴⁸ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 4–5.

¹⁵⁰ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 5.

¹⁵¹ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 6.

¹⁵² Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 6.

legitimise their conviction of credobaptism by immersion, but also allowed doctrinal and practical diversities to exist among the orthodox dissenters.¹⁵³ By defining the eucharist as a practice of the local congregation, Kiffen sloughed off the accusation of schism by understanding his conviction and practice as obeying and fulfilling “the indispensable Rule of our Duty,” which is “the Rule of the Gospel.”¹⁵⁴ At the same time, Kiffen disagreed with Bunyan’s anti-formalism, as the former argued for the necessary order from baptism to the Lord’s Supper. Therefore, Kiffen set forth his logic in this way: First, credobaptism alone was legitimate according to the Bible. Following such a premise, any other way of baptism was considered as “disorderly, and in the Consequence dangerous, as bringing many unregenerate Members into the Church.”¹⁵⁵ On the individual level, those who were not baptised upon the confession of their faith, in reality, had never been baptised.¹⁵⁶ Second, the Lord’s Supper was only for baptised believers who live in order and faith. Therefore, the strict communionists were following the “Divine Truth” by refusing to open the eucharistic table to those who either walk disorderly, or are unbaptised.¹⁵⁷ In other words, according to Kiffen, paedobaptists were not weaker

¹⁵³ The term “intermediary structure” comes from Barry Ensign-George, who argues that “Denomination is to be understood as lying within the unity and the diversity to which God calls Christians. ... Denomination occupies a place between congregation and church universal, mediating between the two realities. ... Denomination enables Christians to live peaceably together in the midst of disagreement about the living of the Christian faith. Living together requires structures, institutional realities; denomination provides those structures. ... Denomination is intermediary, contingent, interdependent, partial, and permeable” (Ensign-George, *Between Congregation and Church: Denomination and Christian Life Together* [London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018], 153).

¹⁵⁴ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 7. Kiffen argued that the admission to the Supper cannot “be built upon the imagination of the party desiring Communion, but upon the knowledg the church hath of it, and its being tryed by the Rule which they are to Walk by” (Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 126). Here Kiffen understood the Supper as a communal practice, as “the Receiving here intended is into the Affections of each other” (Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 131). Furthermore, “the Church, or Society of Christians, who were, and should still be Planted together by Baptism ... into that one Church of Christ, which is distributed into several parts and particular Societies. Hence Baptism is called one of the Principles or beginning Doctrines of Christ, and part of the Foundation, Heb. 6” (Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 138).

¹⁵⁵ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 7.

¹⁵⁶ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 9.

¹⁵⁷ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 8–9.

brethren, but unbaptized Christians.

For Kiffen, baptism was a divine institution delivered to us by Christ, which served “the Symbol of Regeneration, in which a Believer is made a Partaker of those Divine Conveyances, those communications of Grace, and increasings of Faith, promised by the Lord Jesus to his sincere followers.”¹⁵⁸ Kiffen further explained:

For as Regeneration is the first work of God upon the Soul, in order to the exercise of the Graces of Christ given, so hath he appointed Baptism, as that which is the first Ordinance to be Practiced, which doth more particularly, than any other Ordinance in the signification of it, hold out, and visibly represent our New Birth, and therefore is called the Baptism of Repentance, Mark 1.4. Luk. 3.3.¹⁵⁹

According to Kiffen, Bunyan’s fear of “baptismal regeneration” was insufficient to devalue baptism as an ordinance. By quoting Daniel Rogers (1573–1652), Kiffen confirmed that baptism seals “up to an invisible Union with Christ,” and functions as “our Marriage Ring, our Military Press-mony,” “a mark or badge of external Communion.”¹⁶⁰ Therefore, Kiffen argued, “that Divine Law that Ordained the Supper,

¹⁵⁸ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 12, 11. By the end of the second chapter, Kiffen provided a clear definition of nature of baptism, which is “(1) To represent to the Eye and Understanding by a visible sign or figure what hath been Preacht to the Ear and heart. (2) To witness Repentance ... (3) To evidence Regeneration, called in allusion to it the washing of Regeneration ... A being born of the Water and the Spirit ... (4) A Symbol of our dying unto sin, and living again to Christian newness of life” (Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 31–32).

¹⁵⁹ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 38.

¹⁶⁰ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 39–40, 44. The original quote is from Daniel Rogers, *A Treatise of the Two Sacraments of the Gospell: Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Divided into two Parts* (London, 1633), 71–72, 81. Kiffen’s reference to the wedding ring is significant, as it contradicts the common puritan view. In the Book of Common Prayer, “The Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the book with the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk” at the ceremony of matrimony (*The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019], 304). In the *Censura*, his review of the Book of Common Prayer, Martin Bucer (1491–1551) applauded the inclusion of the wedding ring in the ceremony, as the ring symbolises “that the heart of the bride ought always to be bound to her husband with the bond of love, a bond which must have no end just as the ring has no end” (E. C. Whittaker, trans. and ed., *Martin Bucer and The Book of Common Prayer*, Alcuin Club Collections 55 [Great Wakering, Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1974], 124). However, for the puritans, the wedding ring resembles Roman Catholic rites, thus, they believed “they abuse the name of the Trinitie, they make the newe married man, according to the Popish forme, to make an idol of his wife, saying: with this ring I thee wedded, with my body I thee worshippe. &c. and because in Poperie, no holy action mighte be done without a masse, they enioyne the married persones to receiue the communion” (*An Admonition to the Parliament* [Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, 1572], [22]). Such a view was shared by Richard Baxter, as the latter omitted any mention of a wedding ring in his replacement of the Book of Common Prayer (Baxter, *A Petition for Peace: with the Reformation of the Liturgy. As it was Presented to the Right Reverend Bishops by the Divines Appointed by His Majesties Commission to treat with them about the alteration of it* [London, 1661], 68–70). Also see Bufford W. Coe, *John Wesley and Marriage* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1996), 92–96; Glen J. Segger, *Richard Baxter’s Reformed Liturgy: A Puritan*

did also Establish Baptism.”¹⁶¹ Particularly with Matthew 3:16–17, Kiffen stated, “Never was any Ordinance graced with such a Presence” of “the whole Trinity,” “nor Authentick by a more Illustrious Example.”¹⁶² Furthermore, both ordinances were symbols of Christ’s redemptive work, and required “Faith and Repentance” as their antecedents.¹⁶³ Thus, Kiffen stated that “As the Supper is a Spiritual participation of the Body and Blood of Christ by Faith, and so (not merely by the work done) is a means of Salvation; so Baptism Signs and Seals our Salvation to us, which lies in Justification and discharge of sin, &c.”¹⁶⁴ Given its nature and effects, Kiffen understood baptism as “not only ordained and ratified,” but also “is dignified with as Spiritual Encomiums.”¹⁶⁵ Moreover, as “the New Testament more frequently mentions the Command and practice of Baptism than of the Supper,” it was evident to argue that “the Obligation to preserve [baptism], as Delivered by Christ and his Apostles, is indispensable.”¹⁶⁶

In relation to the order of first being baptised and then being received to the eucharistic table, Kiffen appealed to both apostolic examples and Patristic teachings. As for the former, he argued:

Alternative to the Book of Common Prayer (London: Routledge, 2014), 155.

¹⁶¹ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 22.

¹⁶² Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 24.

¹⁶³ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 24–25.

¹⁶⁴ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 25–26. Kiffen later argued that Galatians 3:27 teaches that Christians “put on Christ as a Garment, and by Baptism have put on the visible Profession of Christ, plainly holding out, that none have put on the visible Profession of Christ until they are baptized; the outward Sign, answering to the inward Grace, so Rom. 6. 3. Know ye not that we who were Baptised into Jesus Christ, were Baptised into his Death; which Baptist is a pledge of” (Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 124). Kiffen’s view of baptism is an early example of Baptist sacramentalism, which is discussed by Stanley K. Fowler, *More Than a Symbol: The British Baptist Recovery of Baptismal Sacramentalism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002); Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘His soul-refreshing presence’: The Lord’s Supper in Calvinistic Baptist Thought and Experience in the ‘Long’ Eighteenth Century,” in *Baptist Sacramentalism*, ed. Anthony R. Cross and Philip E. Thompson (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 177–193; Haykin, *Amidst Us Our Belovèd Stands: Recovering Sacrament in the Baptist Tradition* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2022).

¹⁶⁵ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 26.

¹⁶⁶ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 26, 27.

1. There is no precept directly or Consequentially Commanding us to Receive any Member without [baptism], 2. Nor one Instance to be produced that ever it was done. 3. It is evident, that the Abettors or Promoters of such a Practice [i.e. open communion] now, do in so much invert Gods Order, and lay a dangerous Foundation for the Abolition of this great and sacred Institution of our Christian Baptism.¹⁶⁷

By examining the teachings of Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) and Cyprian (c. 200–258), Kiffen argued that it was only in the third century, the “mischiefs” of paedobaptism by sprinkling was introduced to the church, as “Charity to the Childrens Souls.”¹⁶⁸ The practice thus distorted the order prescribed in Matthew 28:19, “that Baptism must go before the Practice of other Ordinances, as Preaching goes before Baptism.”¹⁶⁹

A final remark Kiffen made is regarding the charge over the strict communionists’ lack of love, as objection eleven stated, “Whereas it may be Objected that ’tis Love and not Baptism, that discovers us to be Christs Disciples.”¹⁷⁰ By recognising the false dichotomy of love and order, Kiffen argued:

Yet that cannot be called Love, which is exercised in opposition to the Order prescribed in the Word, by which Ordinances ought to be Administred; For as Love is a grace of the Spirit of Christ; so Ordinances are the appointments of the same Spirit which works Grace in the Hearts of Christians; All true Gospel Love being Regulated by Gospel-Rule; and as all men may know the Disciples of Christ by their Love one to another.¹⁷¹

In other words, the orderly participation in the ordinances is recognised as a part of a Christian’s regular life. Kiffen’s approach to doctrinal disagreement is balanced, as he understood that there is not a need to sacrifice either order or love for the other’s sake.

Conclusion

Seven years after the publication of Kiffen’s *A Sober Discourse*, the London

¹⁶⁷ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 64.

¹⁶⁸ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 68–75, 76.

¹⁶⁹ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 122.

¹⁷⁰ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 160.

¹⁷¹ Kiffen, *Sober Discourse*, 161.

Baptists decided to reissue their Confession of Faith, and it was in that summer Bunyan died. Though formally after Kiffen's concluding statement, the decade-long debate over the nature of baptism and the terms of communion ceased to be prominent in the public eye, and it seemed that neither side was successful in persuading their opponents. Though the "Baptized Way" remained the norm among Particular Baptists in the kingdom, a small number of congregations kept Bunyan's open communion position alive.¹⁷²

Nevertheless, as Kinghorn, standing in Kiffen's shoes, remarked a century later:

The eminent John Bunyan, who zealously advocated the cause of mixed communion, seems to have had no great success in promoting the interests of the Baptists. We hardly ever find an allusion to the ordinance of baptism in his works, except in his controversial pieces, in which he practically undermines its authority. Nor was the effect of his favourite system conducive to the spread of his opinion as a Baptist; for such was the state of the church with which he was long connected, that on his death they chose a Pædobaptist.¹⁷³

As Kinghorn understood it, the Bunyan-Kiffen dispute centred on the meaning and value of water baptism, and represented the polarised views that came from different emphases. For Bunyan, it was his anti-formalism, or idealism led him to overly focus on the internal reality of faith and regeneration. Kiffen, on the other hand, argued for the essential and chronological relationship between faith and sacrament, and baptism and the eucharist. On the other hand, as both Kiffen and Bunyan were leaders of the puritan movement, they shared a commitment to the regulative principle.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, they differed on

¹⁷² One of the examples is Broadmead chapel in Bristol, see Roger Hayden, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640–1687* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1974), 103–8, 142–44.

¹⁷³ Joseph Kinghorn, *A Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion."* In Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall's Reply (Norwich: Wilkin and Youngman, 1820), xv. An interesting contrast can be found in George Whitefield's (1714–1770) endorsement of the publication of Bunyan's works, as the evangelist commented, Bunyan "was of a catholic spirit, the want of *water adult baptism* with this man of God, was no bar to outward Christian communion. And I am persuaded, that if, like him, we were more deeply and experimentally baptized into the benign and gracious influences of the blessed Spirit, we should be less baptized into the waters of strife, about circumstantial and non-essentials" (Whitefield, *A Recommendatory Preface to the Works of Mr. John Bunyan*, in *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield* [London, 1771], 4:307).

¹⁷⁴ On puritanism and the regulative principle, see William Young, "The Puritan Principle of Worship," in *Puritan Papers Volume 1 1956–1959*, ed. J. I. Packer (Philipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2000), 141–53; Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones, *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 850–52; R. J. Gore, *Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Puritan Regulative Principle* (Philipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2002); Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (Morgan,

the application of this principle. As Bunyan argued for his view, he divided the apostolic practice and his own age. Thus, hermeneutically, Bunyan could not recognise certain texts as commandments for the New Testament church. Thus, regarding water baptism, he could only acknowledge it as “an act of individual worship,” instead of a church ordinance.¹⁷⁵ Kiffen, however, understood that the Bible contains norms and precepts over the Christian life, which cannot be changed under any circumstances. It is for that reason, Kiffen argued for obedience to the divine precepts and order in the matter of the ordinances.

“Amicus Pacificus, amicus Candidus, sed magis amica

Veritas”:The Ryland/Turner-Booth Dispute¹⁷⁶

Particular Baptists before the Communion Controversy

While the Act of Toleration brought a degree of freedom to the Particular Baptists, what followed was a pattern of decline, instead of massive growth.¹⁷⁷ Statistically, “there had been a decrease in the number of congregations by approximately one-third” nation-wide from 1715 to 1750.¹⁷⁸ During these years of decline, most

PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1997).

¹⁷⁵ Ward, “Baptism as Worship,” 24.

¹⁷⁶ Abraham Booth, *An Apology for the Baptists. In which they are vindicated from the imputation of laying an unwarrantable stress on the ordinance of baptism; and against the charge of bigotry in refusing Communion at the Lord’s Table to Pædobaptists* (London, 1778), 46; Booth, *An Apology for the Baptists. In which they are vindicated from the imputation of laying an unwarrantable stress on the ordinance of baptism; and against the charge of bigotry in refusing Communion at the Lord’s Table to Pædobaptists* (Philadelphia, 1788), 60. All future references of Booth’s *Apology for the Baptists* are cited from the Philadelphia edition, unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁷⁷ On the Act of Toleration, see Ralph Stevens, *Protestant Pluralism: The Reception of the Toleration Act, 1689–1720* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2018); Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013). For a summary of the reasons of the decline, see Michael A. G. Haykin, *One Heart and One Soul: John Sutcliff of Olney, His Friends, and His Times* (Darlington, Durham: Evangelical Press, 1994), 15–33.

¹⁷⁸ Michael A. G. Haykin, *Ardent Love to Jesus: English Baptists and the Experience of Revival in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Bryntirion, Bridgend: Bryntirion Press, 2013), 17. See W. T. Whitley, “The Baptist Interest under George I,” *TBHS* 2 (1910–1911): 95–109; Arthur S. Langley, “Baptist Ministers in England about 1750 A.D.,” *TBHS* 6 (1918–1919): 138–57; Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740–1914* (London: Longman, 1976),

Particular Baptists emphasised the “ecclesiastical experience,” which had as its goal as the severance of “ideal congregations and churches following a perfectly-set New Testament pattern of order.”¹⁷⁹ Meanwhile, some of them turned to non-invitation high Calvinism to explain their decline—as they used the doctrine of election to justify their decreasing of numbers.¹⁸⁰ When facing the Evangelical Revival in the 1730s–1740s, Baptist leaders reacted with scepticism and criticism, as the Anglican-led movement did not share the Old Dissenters’ concern over church order and discipline.¹⁸¹ Moreover, with

35, 37; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 1:267–71, 491–510; C. E. Fryer, “The Numerical Decline of Dissent in England Previous to the Industrial Revolution,” *American Journal of Theology* 17 (1913): 232–39; Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itineracy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 38. It is also noticed that decline was not a general experience for every Baptist community in the kingdom during this period of time. Roger Hayden observed from the association circular letters that the Western Association experienced steadily growth under the leadership of men like Bernard Foskett (1685–1758) and Hugh Evans (1712–1781). See Hayden, *English Baptist History and Heritage*, 110–11; Hayden, *Continuity and Change: Evangelical Calvinism among Eighteenth-Century Baptist Ministers Trained at Bristol Academy, 1690–1791* (Milton under Wychwood, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2006).

¹⁷⁹ B. L. Manning, “Some Characteristics of the Older Dissent,” *Congregational Quarterly* 5 (1927): 289; R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and the Evangelical Revival 1760–1820* (Wheaton, IL: Richard Owen Roberts, 1989), 56.

¹⁸⁰ Roberts, *Continuity and Change*, 55–67.

¹⁸¹ Roberts, *Continuity and Change*, 55–67. One example of Baptists’ negative attitude towards the Evangelical Revival is found in St. Mary’s chapel, Norwich. The congregation resolved at their meeting in February 1753 that “3. That it is unlawful for any so to attend upon the meetings of the Methodists or to Join in any worship which is contrary to the Doctrines and ordinances of our Lord Jesus, as that without partiality it may be construed to be giving countenance to them” (“Norwich St Mary’s Chapel [Baptists], Church Book, Members 1691–1778,” MS 4282, NRO, [883]). It is interesting to observe that such a resolution is based on two premises. First, immediately before this third resolution, the congregation agrees that “2. That it is an Evil in any to absent themselves from Publick worship on the forenoons of Lords days or from Lectures, or Church-meetings without some lawful Impediment” (“Norwich St Mary’s Chapel [Baptists], Church Book, Members 1691–1778,” MS 4282, NRO, [883]). In other words, to attend a Methodist meeting was regarded as being absent from a church meeting without “some lawful Impediment.” Second, it is noticeable that the congregation regarded Methodists as theologically “contrary to the Doctrines and ordinances of our Lord Jesus.” Though it might only refer to the Methodists’ practice of paedobaptism, it is curious that Methodism was regarded as being theologically or praxeologically heretical. It shall also be noticed that when quoted the above minutes in his article, C.B. Jewson mistakenly referred them as of 1754 (Jewson, “St. Mary’s, Norwich. IV. The Church Takes Root 1743–1788,” *BQ* 10, no. 5 [1941]: 283). From the church minute book, they were resolved in a year earlier.

On the Evangelical Revival’s influence upon Baptists, see Roberts, *Continuity and Change*; Anthony R. Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017); Richard T. Pollard, *Dan Taylor (1738–1816): Baptist Leader and Pioneering Evangelical* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2018); Peter J. Morden, “Continuity and Change: Particular Baptists in the ‘Long Eighteenth Century’ (1689–1815),” in *Challenge and Change: English Baptist Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stephen L. Copson and Peter J. Morden (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2017), 1–28; J. H. Y. Briggs, “New Connexion General Baptists, 1770–1813,” in *Challenge and Change*, 57–76; W. R. Ward, *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth, 1993), 202–22; Chris Chun, *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2012); Michael A. G. Haykin, “Great Admirers of the Transatlantic Divinity: Some Chapters in the Story of Baptist Edwardsianism,” in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses*

the rise of rationalism and heterodoxy among the Old Dissenters, many Particular Baptists before 1750 saw the need to defend orthodoxy, which “generally resulted in a highly systematized and almost rationalistic apologetic for the doctrines of grace.”¹⁸²

Ecclesiologically, most Particular Baptist congregations of the early eighteenth century practiced close communion. However, with the expanding influence of the Bristol Academy and the Evangelical Revival among Baptists, open communion soon became a preferred alternative for a growing number of ministers and congregations to embrace. Nevertheless, as Baptists of this time faced unceasing criticism from both the Establishment and many dissenters with regard to credobaptism, it seemed inevitable that the terms of communion would be debated among Baptists again. The following three Baptist writers/ministers are illustrative of how the sacraments were viewed before the communion controversy in the 1760s. In addition to the theological influence of John Gill (1697–1771), Anne Dutton (1692–1765), and Benjamin Beddome (1717–1795), their socio-geographical gravity also help the reader to understand the ecclesial *status quo* of the time—as Gill represents Baptists in metropolitan London, Dutton, rural south-eastern England, and Beddome, rural western England.

John Gill

In Gill’s confession of faith, he declared that

of the New England Theology, ed. Oliver D. Crisp, and Douglas A. Sweeney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 197–207; Haykin, “The Baptist Identity: A View from the Eighteenth Century,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (1995): 137–52; W. T. Whitley, “The Influence of Whitefield on Baptists,” *BQ* 5, no. 1 (1930): 30–36; L. G. Champion, *Farthing Rushlight: The Story of Andrew Gifford 1700–1784* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1961).

¹⁸² Roberts, *Continuity and Change*, 61. In the case of John Gill, who advocated a non-offer theology, David Rathel has pointed out that “Ironically, although Gill visualized himself as a preserver of an older and healthier theological tradition, the tradition that he preserved was not the Puritanism for which he could at times express a certain degree of fondness. The conversion narrative found in the evangelical movement possessed more similarities to earlier Puritanism than did the contra-Puritanism to which Gill steadfastly clung” (David Rathel, “A Pastor-Theologian in Search of a Faith Worthy of All Acceptation: The Theological Genealogy of Andrew Fuller and His Critique of It” [PhD diss., the University of St Andrews, 2018], 75).

We believe, yt Baptism & ye Lord's Supper are ordinances of Christ to be continued untill his second coming, & that the former is absolutely requisite to the latter, that is to say, that those onely are to be admitted into the communion of the Church, & to participate of all ordinances in it, who upon profession of their faith, have been baptised by immersion, in the name of the father, & of the son & of the holy ghost.¹⁸³

It is necessary to read Gill's close-communion views within the framework of ecclesiology. In his *A Body of Practical Divinity* (1770), Gill distinguished the invisible and visible churches.¹⁸⁴ Regarding the latter, Gill defined it as "a particular assembly of saints meeting together in one place for religious worship."¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, Gill explained that these saints are regenerated "men of holy lives and conversations," and they have been "truly baptized in water, that is, by immersion, upon a profession of their faith."¹⁸⁶ As members of "a church-state, which is as a garden inclosed," these regenerated-baptised believers ought to perform their Christian duties, among which is to keep "up their communion with them and one another," and not be absent from missing from the Lord's-supper.¹⁸⁷ By making an "equation of church communion with church

¹⁸³ Seymour J. Price, "Dr. John Gill's Confession of 1729," *BQ* 4, no. 8 (1929): 369.

¹⁸⁴ John Gill, *A Body of Practical Divinity; Or, A System of Practical Truths, Deduced from the Sacred Scriptures. Which (with the Two Former Volumes) Completes the Scheme of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity* (London, 1770), 3:242–45. On Gill's ecclesiology, see John W. Brush, "John Gill's Doctrine of the Church," in *Baptist Concepts of the Church: A Survey of the Historical and Theological Issues Which Have Produced Changes in Church Order*, ed. Winthrop Still Hudson (Chicago, IL; Philadelphia, PA: Judson Press, 1959), 53–70; Timothy George, "The Ecclesiology of John Gill," in *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697–1771): A Tercentennial Appreciation*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 225–36. Regarding Gill's unequal treatment on the invisible and visible churches, John W. Brush explains that for Gill, he sees "Jesus building his church by converting 'God's elect'." Thus, it was through the "essential work of the local congregation," that the "work of Christ as he converts his elect and to nurture them in faith and holiness" are done. Thus, Gill advocated "the localism of the historic Baptist way" (Brush, "John Gill's Doctrine of the Church," 58–59).

¹⁸⁵ Gill, *A Body of Practical Divinity*, 3:245. It is interesting to observe that by the end of the eighteenth century, Baptist leaders' definition of the church was significantly different from Gill's. In 1800, John Sutcliff (1752–1814) of Olney wrote in his circular letter that "a christian church, is a society formed for religious purposes. These are principally two: The promotion of the cause of Christ at large; and the spiritual edification of individuals" (Sutcliff, *Qualifications for Church Fellowship. The Circular Letter from the Ministers and Messengers of the Several Baptist Churches of the Northamptonshire Association, Assembled at Nottingham, June 3, 4, 5, 1800* [Clipstone: J. W. Morris, 1800], 3). Notice Sutcliff in his definition emphasised on the function of the church, while Gill followed the Congregationalist tradition by emphasising on the quality of its members.

¹⁸⁶ Gill, *A Body of Practical Divinity*, 3:246, 247.

¹⁸⁷ Gill, *A Body of Practical Divinity*, 3:256, 257.

membership,” Gill’s ecclesiology affirmed both close communion and close membership.¹⁸⁸

In his early defence of credobaptism and close communion, Gill argued that Romans 15:7 “can never be understood of the receiving of persons into church-fellowship,” as these “were members of churches already.”¹⁸⁹ In that same pamphlet, Gill stated that close communion is a “gospel order.”¹⁹⁰ By applying arguments similar to Kiffen’s, Gill argued that both baptism and the eucharist were Christ-established ordinances.¹⁹¹ In addition, Gill argued that close communion was a catholic practice of the church throughout the ages, by which the church is distinguished from “Semi-Quakers” and Socinians.¹⁹²

Anne Dutton

Though Anne Dutton was not a minister, she was influential through her pen among both the Particular Baptists and early evangelicals.¹⁹³ When Anne and her second

¹⁸⁸ Brandon Jones, “Restricting Gill: John Gill’s Defense of Closed Communion and Its Relationship to the ‘Strict and Particular Baptists’ of the Nineteenth Century” (unpublished paper), 9. Close-membership as a common practice is also manifested in burial. For instance, in Norwich, a minute of July 4, 1751 stated, “The church agreed that none shall be buried in the Burying ground, but members and their Parents & Children i.e. the members Parents, & the members Children. Except Mrs. Ann Fuller who has free leave granted by the Church to be buried there” (“Norwich St Mary’s Chapel [Baptists], Church Book, Members 1691–1778,” MS 4282, NRO, [81]).

¹⁸⁹ John Gill, *The Ancient Mode of Baptizing, by Immersion, Plunging, or Dipping into Water; Maintained and Vindicated; Against the Cavils and Exceptions of the Author of a late Pamphlet, intituled, The manner of Baptizing with Water cleared up from the Word of God and right Reasons, &c. Together with Some Remarks upon the Author’s Reasons for the Practice of a Free or Mixt Communion in Churches, in A Collection of Sermons and Tracts* (London, 1773), 2:233.

¹⁹⁰ Gill, *Ancient Mode of Baptizing*, 2:233–34.

¹⁹¹ Gill, *Ancient Mode of Baptizing*, 2:235–36. James Leo Garrett Jr. notices that later in his *Body of Practical Divinity*, Gill argued that “Baptism is ‘not a church-ordinance,’ although ‘an ordinance of God,’ and not to be ‘administered in the church, but out of it, and in order to admission into it’” (Garrett, *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009], 102). In contrast, in *Ancient Mode of Baptizing*, Gill objected the belief that “the Lord’s-Supper is a church-ordinance, and cannot be dispensed with in such a case; but baptism is not, and therefore may. But baptism is an ordinance of Christ” (Gill, *Ancient Mode of Baptizing*, 2:235). Here it seems that Gill sought to understand baptism in light of his “church-state,” and in that sense baptism was considered as the key or path to enter the “inclosed garden.” Thus, Garrett’s quotation is misleading.

¹⁹² Gill, *Ancient Mode of Baptizing*, 2:236–37.

¹⁹³ On Dutton, see Michael A. G. Haykin, *Eight Women of Faith* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway,

husband Benjamin Dutton (1691–1747) arrived at Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, in 1731, the congregation was not Baptist by definition. Two years later, under Benjamin Dutton’s ministry, the congregation held days of prayer and fasting, and considered “how great things the Lord had done for them, and particularly, in Enlightening their minds into the Ordinance of Baptism, and enabling them to follow him therein.”¹⁹⁴ The congregation then decided to receive “none into their Communion but such that upon profession of Faith in Christ, have been Baptized by immersion, or dipping.”¹⁹⁵ In other words, the Great Gransden congregation embraced the close-communion and close-membership position.¹⁹⁶

2016), 53–65; Michael D. Sciretti, “‘Feed My Lambs’: The Spiritual Direction Ministry of Calvinistic British Baptist Anne Dutton During the Early Years of the Evangelical Revival” (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2009); Huafang Xu, “Communion with God and Comfortable Dependence on Him: Anne Dutton’s Trinitarian Spirituality” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2018); *idem*, “Anne Dutton (1692–1765),” in *The British Particular Baptists; Volume IV More Biographical Essays of Notable British Particular Baptists*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Terry Wolever (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2018), 4:104–25; Arthur Wallington, “Wesley and Anne Dutton,” *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 11, no. 2 (1917): 43–48; JoAnn Ford Watson, “Introduction,” in *Selected Spiritual Writings of Anne Dutton: Eighteenth-Century, British-Baptist, Woman Theologian*, ed. Watson (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2003), 1:xi–xliv.

¹⁹⁴ FR6/1/1–Church book, in the Records of Great Gransden Baptist Church (Huntingdonshire Archives, Huntingdon), [23–24].

¹⁹⁵ FR6/1/1–Church book, in the Records of Great Gransden Baptist Church (Huntingdonshire Archives, Huntingdon), [24].

¹⁹⁶ In the church minute book, seven reasons were provided for such a change: “(1) Rea. Because the Lord Jesus, the Crowned King of Zion, has commanded his Ministers, first to Teach, or Disciple, then to Baptize, and after that to Teach Baptized Believers to observe all things whatsoever he hath commanded in a Church-relation. Mat. 28. 19, 20, [22]. (2) Reas. Because, the Saints are exhorted to be perfectly joined together in the same mind & in the same judgment. 1 Cor. 1.10. (3) Rea. Because this was the primitive practice: as is plain from Acts 2:41. Then they that gladly received the Word, were Baptized: and the same day, there was Added unto them about three thousand souls. The way & manner how persons regularly come to the enjoyment of Church—communion is here set forth very clearly, as a Pattern for the Church to walk by. And here it’s plain that persons were first taught; then enabled to believe, or gladly to Receive the Word; upon this Baptized; And after that Added to the Church: And then continued ste[a]dfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and in Fellowship, and in Breaking of Bread, and in Prayers. This Order was likewise observed by Apostle Paul, who first Believed, then was Baptized, and after that assayed to join himself unto the Disciples. Act. 9.19, 18, 26. (4) Rea. Because, we judge this to be one Means of keeping the Ordinances Pure, as they have been Delivered unto us: Which is Commanded, 1 Cor 11.2. (5) Rea. Because, To adhere to the Command of Christ, & the primitive Practice herein, tends to promote the Peace of the Church: For how can two Walk together unless they be Agreed? Amos 3.3. An apparent Instance of Mixed Communion we have had amongst our selves. (6) Rea. Because, That hereby the Church bears its testimony for Christ, in his despised Ordinance, in the face of all Gainsayers: By which it becomes the Pillar & Ground of Truth, in this respect, whereon it is openly inscribed, and held up to the View of all Spectators. And so the Light of Christ’s pure institution is transmitted from Age to Age. 1 Tim 3:15. (7) Rea. Because, in the last place, As the saints Subjection to Christ herein, tends to promote their own Edification; so to the Advancement of God’s manifestative Glory; when in this it appears that the Lord Alone doth lead them, and there is no strange God, or strange Ordinance among them. Deut. 32.12”

In 1746, a year before Benjamin Dutton's tragic death at sea, Anne penned her tract *Brief Hints Concerning Baptism*, in which she expanded on her church's position by explaining the subject, mode, and end of the ordinance.¹⁹⁷ Two years later, she wrote a sequel, in which she explained the practice of the eucharist.¹⁹⁸ Both of these tracts were well-circulated and stirred discussions, as Dutton later wrote on April 19, 1747: "My *Letters on Baptism, Postscript*, and both my last *Letter-books*, the Lord hath now given me to hear, That he hath *blest them for the Good of Souls*."¹⁹⁹ In the first tract, Dutton stated toward its conclusion that "Baptism is the first and immediate Duty of a Believer," and following it was the "next Duty incumbent on a baptized Believer, is to be added to the Church, and in Church-Relation to observe the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper."²⁰⁰ By employing sacramental language, Dutton affirmed baptism as a solemn initiating ordinance, in which "the Whole of our Salvation is represented and sealed up to us at once, and the Christian Name at once put on."²⁰¹ Interestingly, Dutton agreed with Gill on the mediatory relationship between church membership and the ordinances. In her second tract, Dutton further explained her position, as she argued that the subjects of the Lord's

(FR6/1/1–Church book, in the Records of Great Gransden Baptist Church [Huntingdonshire Archives, Huntingdon], [27–30]).

On close-membership, see B. R. White, "Open and Closed Membership Among English and Welsh Baptists," *BQ* 24, no. 7 (1972): 330–34; George Gould, *Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich: Report of the Proceeding in Attorney-General v. Gould, Before the Right Honorable the Master of the Rolls, and His Honor's Judgment Thereon. Revised by Counsel* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1860).

¹⁹⁷ Anne Dutton, *Brief Hints Concerning Baptism: Of the Subject, Mode, and End of this Solemn Ordinance. In a Letter to a Friend. A short Account, how the Author was brought to follow the Lord in his Ordinance of Baptism. In A Letter to another Friend* (London, [1746]), 3. Dutton wrote, "I have wrote *Nothing*, my dear Friend, concerning *Baptism*. But as *you* and *others* would be glad to know my *Thoughts* about this *Ordinance* of our dear *Lord Jesus*" (Dutton, *Brief Hints Concerning Baptism*, 4).

¹⁹⁸ Anne Dutton, *Thoughts on the Lord's Supper, Relating to the Nature, Subjects, and right Partaking of this Solemn Ordinance. Written at the Request of a Friend, and addressed by letter to the tender Lambs of Christ. With a short Letter relating to it prefixed* (London, 1748).

¹⁹⁹ Anne Dutton, *A Brief Account of the Gracious Dealings of God, with a Poor, Sinful, Unworthy Creature, in Three Parts* (London, 1750), 121.

²⁰⁰ Dutton, *Brief Hints Concerning Baptism*, 24–25.

²⁰¹ Dutton, *Brief Hints Concerning Baptism*, 25. On Dutton's sacramentalism, see Stanley Keith Fowler, "Baptism as a Sacrament in 20th-Century British Baptist Theology" (ThD diss., Wycliffe College and the University of Toronto, 1998), 46–48.

Supper are not only baptised believers, but “Believers in Church-Relation.”²⁰²

Understanding Acts 2:41–42 provides the prototype of the primitive church practice, Dutton stated, “For as the Lord’s Supper is a Church-Ordinance, those that are the Subjects thereof must be Church-Members.”²⁰³

Benjamin Beddome

Unlike Gill, Beddome freely offered the gospel to his audience, and with his experience of local revivals, Beddome welcomed and befriended early evangelicals like George Whitefield (1714–1770).²⁰⁴ Though Beddome’s main focus in writing was the orthodox faith and spirituality, he expressed his belief on the ordinances in one of his early works. In his expanded version of Benjamin Keach’s (1640–1704) *Baptist Catechism*, Beddome defined a local congregation as “a voluntary society.”²⁰⁵ It is the duty of baptised believers to regularly gather, as Christian fellowship is “necessary for the glory of God.”²⁰⁶ As for the ordinances, Beddome explained that along with “the word ... and prayer,” baptism and the eucharist are “made effectual to the elect for salvation” as outward means of grace.²⁰⁷ Regarding the terms of communion, Beddome

²⁰² Dutton, *Thoughts on the Lord’s Supper*, 9.

²⁰³ Dutton, *Thoughts on the Lord’s Supper*, 9, 20.

²⁰⁴ On Gill’s non-offer theology, particularly see David Mark Rathel, “Was John Gill a Hyper-Calvinist? Determining Gill’s Theological Identity,” *BQ* 48, no. 1 (2017): 47–59. On Beddome, see Michael A. G. Haykin, “Benjamin Beddome, 1717–1795,” in *The British Particular Baptists*, 4:259–273; item, “Benjamin Beddome (1717–1795): His Life and His Hymns,” in *Pulpit and People: Studies in Eighteenth Century Baptist Life and Thought*, ed. John H. Y. Briggs (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 93–111; Haykin, Roy M. Paul, and Jeongmo Yoo, eds., *Glory to the Three Eternal: Tercentennial Essays on the Life and Writings of Benjamin Beddome (1718–1795)* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2019); Jason C. Montgomery, “Benjamin Beddome: The Fruitful Life and Evangelical Labor of a Forgotten Village Preacher” (PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2018); Anthony R. Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017), 57–70; Robert W. Oliver, *History of the English Calvinistic Baptists 1771–1892: From John Gill to C.H. Spurgeon* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2006), 16–29.

²⁰⁵ Benjamin Beddome, *A Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism By Way of Question and Answer*, 2nd ed. (Bristol, 1776), 166. Beddome first published his catechism in 1752, and it went through a second and corrected edition in 1776.

²⁰⁶ Beddome, *Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism*, 167.

²⁰⁷ Beddome, *Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism*, 152.

insisted that the eucharist is only for those “who have been baptized upon a personal profession of their faith in Jesus Christ and repentance from dead works.”²⁰⁸ In a follow-up question, it is asked “May all come to the Lord’s supper?”²⁰⁹ Beddome applied Matthew 15:25 as a biblical support for refusing to open the table to all. In other words, Beddome was a close communionist.

Nevertheless, as Peter Naylor has attested, Beddome began to shift his close communion position around the 1770s, even though he revised the catechism and published this revision toward the end of his life.²¹⁰ Naylor observed that after William Wilkins (c.1752–1812) became Beddome’s pastoral assistant from 1777 to 1795, the Bourton-on-the-Water congregation began to welcome “some who had been sprinkled in infancy” to the Lord’s Supper.²¹¹ Furthermore, as Beddome became acquainted with Baptist leaders such as John Collett Ryland (1723–1792) of Northampton, Daniel Turner (1710–1798) of Abingdon, and Robert Robinson (1735–1790) of Cambridge, Beddome became in favour of open communion and open membership.²¹² Beddome, thus, is a peculiar example of ecclesial shifts among early Georgian Baptists. Though Beddome’s ecclesial change was not directly related to the Evangelical Revival, his concern over conversion and his friendship with early evangelicals certainly contributed to his shift to an open communion position in his senior years.

Initiating a Controversy

After a period of tension, as Raymond Brown coined it, many Particular

²⁰⁸ Beddome, *Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism*, 169.

²⁰⁹ Beddome, *Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism*, 169.

²¹⁰ Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists: A Study of English Calvinistic Baptists from the Late 1600s to the Early 1800s* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2003), 54.

²¹¹ Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*, 54; Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, 4:467.

²¹² White, “Open and Closed Membership Among English and Welsh Baptists,” 332; Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*, 54.

Baptists embraced Fullerism and began to witness a period of local and missional expansion around and after 1770.²¹³ Besides debates over Fullerism, the terms of communion were once again brought to the public attention in the form of pamphlet wars. Two decades earlier, a similar debate happened among the General Baptists. On one side, James Foster (1697–1753), a Baptist-turned Socinian, and his successor Charles Bulkeley (1719–1797) argued for open communion; on the other side, Graham Killingworth (1699–1778) of Norwich defended close communion.²¹⁴ For the Particular Baptists, though there were discussions over the nature and meaning of the ordinances, a formal written debate did not appear until a year after Gill’s death.²¹⁵

²¹³ Raymond Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, A History of the English Baptists 2 (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1986), 71–97, 115–42.

²¹⁴ James Foster, “Sermon I. Of catholic communion,” in *Discourses on All the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue* (London, 1749), 1:331–44; [Grantham Killingworth.] *An Examination of the Revd. Dr. James Foster’s Sermon on Catholic Communion, As published in his First Volume Of Discourses on Natural Religion and Social Virtue. With an Address to the Doctor. Also an Appendix in answer to a late Pamphlet, intitled, Infant Baptism a Reasonable Service* (London, 1750); Philocatholicus, *A Defence of the Reverend Dr. Foster’s Sermon of Catholic Communion: In a Letter to a Friend. In which is attempted to be proved, that the truly Catholic is the only Consistent Christian* (London, 1752); Killingworth, *An Answer to the Defence of the Reverend Dr. Foster’s Sermon of Catholic Communion in which the Author of the Examination is clearly vindicated from the Aspersions of Philocatholicus* (London, 1752); Charles Bulkeley, *Two Discourses on Catholic Communion, Relating in particular to the different Sentiments of Christians Concerning Baptism: And Preached at Barbican, April 14 & 21, 1754* (London, 1754); Killingworth, *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Charles Bulkeley’s Pleas for Mixt Communion. As published in Two Discourses on John iii. 5. Under the Title of Catholic Communion, &c.* (London, 1756); John Wiche, *An Idea of Christian Communion and Christian Discipline. To which is added, An Appendix: containing Short Observations on Mr. Killingworth’s Answer to A Letter from Philocatholicus, in Defence of the late Rev. Dr. James Foster’s Sermon of Catholic Communion* (London, 1760). On Foster and Bulkeley, see Alan P. F. Sell, *Christ and Controversy: The Person of Christ in nonconformist Thought and Ecclesial Experience, 1600–2000* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 43–44; Stephen Copson, “Stogdon, Foster, and Bulkeley: Variations on an Eighteenth-Century Theme,” in *Pulpit and People*, 43–57. On Kinghorn’s comment of this controversy, see Kinghorn, *A Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* xvi.

²¹⁵ Naylor notices that in 1765 and 1766, Gill mentioned about a “Candidus,” who wrote letters in newspapers to question the necessity of baptism. Regarding this “Candidus,” Gill commented, “The first and second letters of Candidus, in the News-paper, are answered in marginal notes on my sermon upon baptism, and published along with it. His third letter is a mean piece of buffoonery and scurrility, it begins with a trite, vulgar proverb, in low language, fit only for the mouth of an hostler or a carman; and his friends seem to have spoiled on or other of these, by making him a parson” (as quoted by Naylor, *Calvinsim, Communion and the Baptists*, 111). Naylor suggests that this said “Candidus” can be identified with Daniel Turner, since the Abingdon minister also used “Candidus” in his pseudonymous pamphlet. Though such a suggestion is possible, since “Candidus” was a popular pseudonym in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is dubious to identify Gill’s “Candidus” with Turner. Furthermore, since Turner believed baptism as a divine ordinance (see Turner, *A Compendium of Social Religion, or the Nature and Constitution of Christian Churches, with the Respective Qualifications and Duties of their Officers and Members Represented in short Propositions, confirm’d by Scripture, and Illustrated with Occasional Notes. Designed as an Essay towards reviving the primitive Spirit of Evangelical Purity, Liberty, and Charity, in the Churches of the present Times* [London, 1758], 23, 27–28), it seems that Gill’s “Candidus” was another

In 1772, John Collett Ryland and Daniel Turner each published a pseudonymous pamphlet—Ryland as “Pacificus” and Turner as “Candidus”—in which they urged their fellow Baptists to adopt the practice of “free communion.”²¹⁶ Though these were published under two pseudonyms with different titles, their contents are almost indistinguishable.²¹⁷ Furthermore, as Lon Graham persuasively points out in his recent article after studying the Northampton church minute book, “Ryland is the main author” behind these pamphlets.²¹⁸ Regarding the contents, in *A Modest Plea*, the authors presented eight statements in support of “free communion,” and concluded with answering four objections. In their eight statements, Ryland and Turner emphasised the catholicity of the Christian faith, believers’ equal rights to spiritual privileges, and liberty of conscience.²¹⁹ Overall, the authors argued that the Lord’s Supper is a Christian privilege for “all [Christ’s] faithful Disciples” to participate in.²²⁰ Since Baptists

have no sufficient warrant to exclude [paedobaptists] from one of those privileges, to which his grace has given them a right, upon the account of their different sentiments or mistakes about the subject and mode of baptism ... [Baptists] are

person.

²¹⁶ Pacificus [John Collett Ryland], *A Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table; Between True Believers of All Denominations: In a Letter to a Friend* (n.p., [1772]); Candidus [Daniel Turner], *A Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table; Particularly between the Baptists and the Poedobaptists. In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1772). The authorship of these two tracts was an open secret among Particular Baptists, as at as late as 1778, Ryland and Turner were identified as the authors. See, for instance, Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 131; Robert Robinson, *The General Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Particular Case of Free Communion* (Cambridge, 1781), 8. Also see Lon Graham, “John Collett Ryland, Daniel Turner, and *A Modest Plea*,” *BQ* 52, no. 1 (2021): 36–37; Oliver, *History of the English Calvinistic Baptists*, 59–65; Robert W. Oliver, “John Collett Ryland, Daniel Turner and Robert Robinson and the Communion Controversy, 1772–1781,” *BQ* 29, no. 2 (1981): 77–79.

²¹⁷ Graham noticed that “there are only two differences between the tracts. First the title is lightly changed from one to the other ... The second difference is found in one sentence about the order of churches, which Candidus says is of ‘some importance,’ and Pacificus says is of ‘great importance.’” (Graham, “John Collett Ryland, Daniel Turner, and *A Modest Plea*,” 36).

²¹⁸ Graham, “John Collett Ryland, Daniel Turner, and *A Modest Plea*,” 37–39. Also see Peter Naylor, “John Collett Ryland (1723–1792),” in *British Particular Baptists*, 4:300–302. Due to its availability, the following session will use Turner’s tract for analysis.

²¹⁹ Throughout the pamphlet, the word “equal” occurred four times; “common” occurred eight times; “liberty” occurred four times; “conscience” occurred four times; “right/privilege” occurred three times; and “free” occurred once.

²²⁰ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 4.

guilty of invading the prerogative of Christ, making ourselves judges of things not pertaining to us, contrary to the subjection we owe to him; and of offending, and injuring our Christian brethren, by denying them, as far as in us lies, the means of their spiritual comfort, and edification; forcing them to live in the neglect of a known and important duty, and exposing them to many temptations, in violation of the express commands of the Gospel, and contrary to that spirit of divine benevolence that every where breathes in it.²²¹

By confirming credobaptism as a biblical norm, the authors turned to Christ's acceptance of paedobaptists "when they remember Him at his table," and argued that Baptists ought to "receive the weak in faith" and "forbear them in love."²²² Furthermore, the authors appealed to the liberty of conscience, and argued that the different views of baptism are "private opinion[s]" and "non-essentials of religion," which "can never be justly made an indispensable term of communion of the Lord's Table."²²³ For Ryland and Turner, to adopt "free communion" is to be of a "candid, peaceable, benevolent, and uniting spirit."²²⁴

Though their arguments echoed Bunyan's a century ago, Ryland and Turner believed credobaptism as an initiative ordinance.²²⁵ Much like Richard Baxter, the authors insisted that "I have no business with any man's conscience but my own," since

²²¹ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord's Table*, 4, 5.

²²² [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord's Table*, 5, 6.

²²³ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord's Table*, 7.

²²⁴ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord's Table*, 8.

²²⁵ For instance, Ryland and seven other ministers endorsed the hymn-writer John Fellows' (d. 1785) tract, *Six Views of Believers Baptism* (Birmingham, 1774)—which was reprinted in 1777, and was enlarged by John Ryland Jr. (1753–1825) in 1817. By the end of the tract, Ryland, along with James Turner (1724–1780) of Birmingham, John Butterworth (1727–1803) of Coventry, James Butterworth of Bromsgrove (ministered from 1755–1794), Isaac Woodman (1715–1777) of Sutton, John Evans of Foxton (ministered from 1751–1781), Robert Hall of Arnsby (1728–1791), and Ryland Jr. wrote: "We whose names are hereto subscribed are personally acquainted with the author: We have seen and approve his poetical productions: The Hymns on Baptism we have encouraged, and shall continue to do the same: We hope they will be made useful to the advancement of the Cause of Truth, and with this view recommend them to our brethren" (Fellows, *Six Views of Believers Baptism*, 3rd ed. [Birmingham, 1774], 22). Ryland's endorsement made Booth ask: "Had Mr. Ryland only recommended that little piece to the public, which contains this excellent passage, he would certainly have deserved my sincerest thanks. For the quotation produced may be justly considered as a compendious answer to all that Pacificus has wrote, and to all that he can write, in defence of free communion, so long as he professes himself a Baptist. Whether he will make a reply to the animadversions of my feeble pen, I cannot pretend to say; but I think he will hardly have courage, in any future publication on the subject before us, openly to confront and attack his dearest and most intimate friend Mr. Ryland" (Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 74).

“If my Pædobaptist brother is satisfied in his own mind, that he is rightly baptised, he is so to himself.”²²⁶ Furthermore, the authors compared the terms of communion to the conflicts between “the Christian Jews and Gentiles in the Apostles days.”²²⁷ Thus, “our stricter Brethren” ought to take “the latitude of Communion” for obeying the commandment to exercise “mutual forbearance and love” towards Christians of a common faith.²²⁸

It is significant to observe that Ryland and Turner had different reasons for advocating “free communion.” For Ryland, he had sat under the teachings of Beddome and experienced conversion in early 1741 during a local revival.²²⁹ After his training under Bernard Foskett (1685–1758) at Bristol, Ryland accepted a call at Castle Hill chapel in Warwick, where he served from 1746 to 1759.²³⁰ Naylor noticed that when Ryland arrived at Castle Hill, the congregation reissued their confession, in which it was stated:

Baptism and the Lord’s supper are Ordinances of Christ, to be continued until his Second Coming and that the former is Absolutely requisite to the Latter, that is to say, that those only are to be admitted into the Communion of the Church, and to Participate of all Ordinances in it who upon profession of their Faith, have been baptized by immersion in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.²³¹

²²⁶ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 10.

²²⁷ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 10.

²²⁸ [Turner], *Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 15, 16.

²²⁹ William Newman, *Rylandiana: Reminiscences Relating to the Rev. John Ryland, A.M. of Northampton, Father of the Late Rev. Dr. Ryland, of Bristol* (London: George Whightman, 1835), 3; James Culross, *The Three Rylands: A Hundred Years of Various Christian Service* (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), 13; H. Wheeler Robinson, “A Baptist Student—John Collett Ryland,” *BQ* 3, no. 1 (1926): 25–33; D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 301–6.

²³⁰ On the church, see W. T. Goodwin, “Warwick Baptist Church,” *BQ* 16, no. 2 (1955): 58–66; Goodwin, *The Baptists of Warwick, 1640–1955* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1955). Lon Graham noticed that John Ryland Jr. “noted in the margins of his copy of *An Account of the Life of the Late Reverend David Brainerd*, that May 25, 1746 was ‘the first Sabbath my dear Father spent at Warwick’” (Lon Graham, *All Who Love Our Blessed Redeemer: The Catholicity of John Ryland Jr.* [Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2022], 154n10).

²³¹ Warwick Church Minute Book, as cited by Naylor, “John Collett Ryland (1723–1792),”

Thus, it appears that for over a decade, Ryland ministered to a close communion congregation with whose confession and covenant he was supposed to agree with. It is unclear if Ryland was consistently a close-communionist during this time, but from his dismissal letter for Northampton in October 1759, Newman suggested that “It is highly probable that his differing with his people respecting terms of communion was the chief cause of his leaving them, and of the coldness they evinced, not only towards him, but to the people of Northampton also.”²³² If Newman’s conjecture is accurate, it then suggests that Ryland probably went through a change of mind on the ordinances in the mid-1750s. Therefore, it is highly possible to suggest that Ryland’s friendship with leaders of the Evangelical Revival, such as James Hervey (1714–1759), George Whitefield (1714–1770), and later John Newton (1725–1807), may have contributed to his shift.²³³

300; also see Newman, *Rylandiana*, 10–11.

²³² Newman, *Rylandiana*, 11. It is quite possible that before his arrival at Warwick, Ryland had fixed his position. One example of an open-communionist served in a close-communion congregation is John Rippon (1751–1838). See Ken R. Manley, “Redeeming Love Proclaim”: *John Rippon and the Baptists* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2004), 53.

²³³ Hervey was the rector of Weston Favel, Northamptonshire, and he began to correspond with Ryland as early as in 1752. For Hervey’s letters to Ryland, see Hervey, *The Works of James Hervey, M.A. Late Rector of Weston Favell, in Northamptonshire. A New and Complete Edition, in Seven Volumes* (London, 1797), volume 7. After Hervey’s death, Ryland wrote and published *The Character of the Rev. James Hervey, M.A. Late Rector of Weston Favel, in Northamptonshire, Considered, as a Man of Genius and a Preacher; As a Philosopher and Christian United; As a Regenerate Man; As a Man endowed with the Dignity and Prerogatives of a Christian; As a Man of Beautiful Virtue and Holiness* (London, 1790).

In his recent discovery, Grant Gordon found a letter from George Whitefield (1714–1770) to Ryland, dated December 14, 1759 (Grant Gordon, “A Revealing Unpublished Letter of George Whitefield to John Collett Ryland,” *BQ* 47, no. 2 [2016]: 65–75). This letter suggests that Whitefield and Ryland might know each other as late as in 1755 after Whitefield returned to Britain. John Newton first met Ryland in 1765 at the latter’s home in Northampton. Through his frequent visits to Ryland, Newton also befriended Ryland Jr., with whom Newton eventually regularly corresponded. In a letter dated March 26, 1791, Newton mentioned about Robert Hall Sr.’s death to Ryland Jr., about which the Anglican minister wrote: “When age and infirmities make life rather wearisome, and the Lord calls our friends home, why should we not thankfully resign them? *Their* work is done, and the residue of the Spirit is with *him*. He will never want instruments to carry on his work. . . . I think the same with respect to your father. I have always admired him: his love to the truth and to souls; his zeal and benevolence, have appeared to me, exemplary. His eccentricities and failures have likewise been great, but I think they were constitutional chiefly. He will leave them behind him, with the mortal part, and perhaps the blemishes may be more visible, and his excellencies more clouded the longer he lives. I shall not, therefore, mourn for him, if I should outlive him” (Grant Gordon, ed., *Wise Counsel: John Newton’s Letters to John Ryland, Jr.* [Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2009], 241–242).

Ryland’s evangelical friends also include the Scottish divine John Erskine (1721–1803) (about whom, see Jonathan M. Yeager, “The Letters of John Erskine to the Rylands,” *Eusebia* 9 [2008]: 183–195; Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism: The Life and Thought of John Erskine* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011]; Yeager, “A Microcosm of the Community of the Saints: John Erskine’s Relationship with the English Particular Baptists, John Collett Ryland and his Son John Ryland, Jr.,” in *Pathways and Patterns in*

Nevertheless, Ryland's support of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor (SPRKP) since 1758 may have further exposed this high Calvinist to the "Evangelical network," which as a result led him to prefer "free communion."²³⁴

Turner, on the other hand, had stronger theological reasons for open communion. Unlike Ryland, Turner received his training from the Welsh Baptist pastor and physician, Philip James (1664–1748), in Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire.²³⁵ After seven years of ministry at Reading, Turner moved to Abingdon in 1748, where he ministered till his death.²³⁶ During his fifty-years of ministry, the Abingdon congregation was revitalised, for, when Turner arrived in 1748, the church did not even have

History: Essays on Baptists, Evangelicals, and the Modern World in Honour of David Bebbington, ed. Anthony R. Cross, Peter J. Morden, and Ian M. Randall [London: Spurgeon's College; Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2015], 231–254; Rowland Hill (1744–1833); Philip Doddridge (1702–1751); and William Jay (1769–1853).

²³⁴ Isabel Rivers, *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist, and Evangelical Literary Culture in England, 1720–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 54. On early evangelical friendship and network, see Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening of the First Evangelical Network, 1735–1755," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (1986): 811–32; Lorraine Daston, "The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment," *Science in Context* 4, no. 2 (1991): 367–86; David T. Wood, "John Berridge and Early Evangelical Friendship Networks," *Churchmen* 127, no. 3 (2013): 231–40; Nigel R. Pibworth, *The Gospel Pedlar: The Story of John Berridge and the Eighteenth-Century Revival* (Welwyn, Hertfordshire: Evangelical Press, 1987); Hywel M. Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren: Rev. Samuel Jones (1735–1814) and His Friends: Baptists in Wales, Pennsylvania, and Beyond* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1995); Gareth Atkins, *Converting Britannia: Evangelicals and British Public Life, 1770–1840* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2019); Katherine Carté Engel, "Connecting Protestants in Britain's Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Empire," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2018): 37–70.

²³⁵ On Philip James, see Joshua Thomas, *A History of the Baptist Association in Wales, from the Year 1650, to the Year 1790, shewing the Times and Places of Their Annual Meetings, Whether in Wales, London, or Bristol, &c. Including Several Other Interesting Articles* (London, 1795), 30; William Richards, "Account of Philip James, Commonly Called Doctor James," *The Welsh Nonconformists' Memorial; Or, Cambro-British Biography; Containing Sketches of the Founders of the Protestant Dissenting Interest in Wales. To which are prefixed, an Essay on Druidism, and Introduction of the gospel into Britain. With an Appendix, including the Author's Minor Pieces, and his Last Views of the Christian Religion*, ed. John Evans (London, 1820), 367–73; Robert Thomas Jenkins, "James, Philip (1664–1748), early Baptist minister," *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, accessed October 20, 2020, <https://biography.wales/article/s-JAME-PHI-1664>. Not much is known about Turner's life as there has not been a major biography produced on Turner's life. It is known that Turner was born at Blackwater Farm, near St. Albans, on March 1, 1710.

²³⁶ On his ministry at Abingdon, see Joseph Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists: Comprising the Principal Events of the History of the Protestant Dissenters, During the Reign of Geo. III. And of the Baptist Churches in London, with Notices of Many of the Principal Churches in the Country During the Same Period* (London: Isaac Taylor Hinton, 1830), 4:421–22; Paul S. Fiddes, "Daniel Turner and a Theology of the Church Universal," in *Pulpit and People*, 112–27; Michael G. Hambleton, *A Sweet and Hopeful People: A Story of Abingdon Baptist Church 1649–2011*, rev. ed. (Fyfield, Oxfordshire: Trojan Museum Trust, 2011), 82–104.

deacons.²³⁷ Due to his influence, as Michael Hambleton notices, the Abingdon congregation adopted open communion, and became “a major church in the movement towards” such a position.²³⁸

In 1758, Turner published *A Compendium of Social Religion*, in which he argued for the necessity of a “social religion,” and provided a practical manual for the constitution of a local congregation.²³⁹ In many ways, *A Modest Plea*, on Turner’s side, was a manifesto or a summary of this lengthy treatise. In it, Turner argued that reason and benevolence “are absolute requisites to the forming the truly social character,” as he understood that “the light the gospel throws upon our understandings” and through restraining self-love and expanding benevolence, God “unite us to each other in the bonds of sacred charity.”²⁴⁰ Therefore, “social religion in general, and the constitution of Christian churches in particular ... are of divine appointment.”²⁴¹ Consequently, Christians of the catholic faith ought not to be sectarian or uniformed “in lesser matters;” “instead of spending our religious zeal upon modes and forms, and things indifferent, [we need to] unite and employ it in promoting real Christian knowledge.”²⁴² Though Turner sounded pragmatic here, he further expanded his position in light of his understanding of the church. According to Turner, a local congregation is “one particular society of

²³⁷ It was recorded in the minute book on February 6, 1749, “Bro. Turner acquainted the Church that as there were no persons that acted as Deacons it was most agreeable without delay to choose Deacons in order to take care of the outward affairs of the Church” (as quoted by Hambleton, *Sweet and Hopeful People*, 85).

²³⁸ Hambleton, *Sweet and Hopeful People*, 93. Turner’s influence on open communion is also found in his involvement of reconstituting New Road Chapel in Oxford, as open communion was built into the congregation’s covenant. Also see Fiddes, “Daniel Turner and a Theology of the Church Universal,” 112–27.

²³⁹ A second edition was published in Bristol in 1778. On Ryland’s view of the social religion, see Ryland, *The Beauty of Social Religion; or, the Nature and Glory of a Gospel Church, represented in a Circular Letter from the Baptist Ministers and Messengers, Assembled at Oakham, in Rutlandshire, May 20, 21, 1777* (Northampton, 1777), 1–15.

²⁴⁰ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, iv–v.

²⁴¹ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, xi.

²⁴² Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, xviii.

Christians, professedly devoted to God, according to the rules of the gospel, usually meeting for divine worship in one place.”²⁴³ For “those who had received (or been baptized with) the holy Ghost before,” water baptism is “necessary to a regular entrance into his visible church.”²⁴⁴ For Turner, Christians have a divinely-appointed duty and privilege to participate in external communion. Thus, water baptism initiates this communion and functions as its foundation. Nevertheless, the Lord’s Supper is understood as a means to the external communion.²⁴⁵ For Turner, this external communion is not limited to church members. Without distinguishing the visible and invisible churches, Turner argued that the eucharist was “a standing, visible, external pledge and means, of that divine union and fellowship, all true Christians have with Christ, and one another in one Body.”²⁴⁶ Like Bunyan, Turner believed that the communion of saints should be practised locally through the regular celebration of the eucharist. On the contrary, the close communionists denied “their brethren communion with them at the Lord’s Table,” and acted “intirely inconsistent with their common relation to Christ, and one another.”²⁴⁷ Furthermore, by practically upheld uniformity, Turner accused his fellow Baptists being inconsistent to the dissenting principle of liberty of conscience.²⁴⁸

Responses

By this point, Particular Baptists were clearly divided not only by the “modern question,” but also by ecclesiology.²⁴⁹ On the one hand, churches in the kingdom enjoyed

²⁴³ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, 4.

²⁴⁴ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, 27.

²⁴⁵ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, 119–20.

²⁴⁶ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, 120.

²⁴⁷ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, 121.

²⁴⁸ Turner, *Compendium of Social Religion*, 121, 122.

²⁴⁹ With the cases of John Collett Ryland (open-communion high Calvinist), Robert Robinson

unity in regional associations. On the other hand, there were a rising number of Particular Baptists adopted and vocally advocated open communion.²⁵⁰ In a letter dated November 11, 1774, John Geard (c. 1750–c. 1837), then probationary pastor at Tilhouse Street, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, wrote to Ryland in excitement, as he believed he had found new arguments for free communion.²⁵¹ Interestingly, Ryland copied this letter in College Lane’s church minute book.²⁵² Geard pointed out that the “Strict-baptists ... admit Pædobaptists so Preach amongst them,” yet deny the latter’s participation at the table.²⁵³ He frankly admitted that “The Question is not whether Baptism is necessary to Church-communion, and something else to the Regular Constitution of a Minister, but whether Baptism is not at least as necessary for a Parsons being orderly admitted as a Minister, as for his being admitted as a Member.”²⁵⁴ However, by pointing out the close-

(open-communion evangelical), and Andrew Fuller (close-communion evangelical), it does not seem that there was any direct consequential or organic relationship between soteriology and ecclesiology among the eighteenth-century Particular Baptists in Britain. Also see Taylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*.

²⁵⁰ One example is John Fawcett (1739–1817), who experienced conversion in September 1755 after listening to George Whitefield. On Fawcett’s view, see Fawcett, *The Constitution and Order of a Gospel Church Considered* (Halifax, 1797); Fawcett, *Thoughts on Christian Communion, Addressed to Professors of Religion of Every Denomination. Second Edition, Enlarged* (Halifax, 1798). On Fawcett, see John Fawcett Jr., *An Account of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of the late Rev. John Fawcett* (London, 1818); Michael A. G. Haykin, “John Fawcett, 1740–1817,” in *British Particular Baptists*, 5:192–216; Cross, *Useful Learning*, 182–234.

²⁵¹ According to the church minute book, the Hitchin congregation was mixed communion before Geard’s arrival. After their minister Samuel James died on August 22, 1773, the congregation asked Geard, a Bristol student, to preach for seven weeks (from January 16 to February 27, 1774). Before he finished his term, the congregation asked him to return for a 6-month probation. Geard returned to Hitchin on June 12 and ministered till November. The congregation then officially welcomed Geard into the communion on April 9, 1775 and his ordination occurred on April 13 (Sam Hallas, ed., “Tilehouse Street Baptist Church Minute Book,” accessed October 20, 2020, 45–47, 51, <http://www.samhallas.co.uk/oddments/stuff/THS/THS%20Minutes%20%281%29%201742-1802.pdf>). Later in August 1775, Geard and six other ministers joined and formed the Eastern Association. See C. F. Stell, “The Eastern Association of Baptist Churches, 1775–1782,” *BQ* 27, no. 1 (1977): 14–26; Michael J. Collis, “Ebenezer Particular Baptist Church, Hertford and the Eastern Association of Baptist Churches,” *BQ* 34, no. 4 (1991): 191–94.

²⁵² John Collect Ryland’s copy of John Geard’s letter to him, in Church Book, B/CSBC/047, Northampton College Street Baptist Church Records fonds (Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton), 201–15. Here I am particularly grateful for Lon Graham, who shared his copy of this document.

²⁵³ Geard, Church Book, 203.

²⁵⁴ Geard, Church Book, 203.

communionists' inconsistency in church order, Geard also noticed that "the Way of arguing I have used in itself, will not prove Mixt Communion Lawful."²⁵⁵ Nevertheless, for Geard, Baptist congregationalism ought not to treat ministers and members differently.²⁵⁶ Thus, he believed that the close communionists were conveniently blind to their own deviation. Geard's letter thus illustrated the restless contention among Particular Baptists over their denominational identity and trajectory.

James Turner (1725–1780)

Though Dan Taylor (1738–1816), the leader of the New Connexion, quickly responded to the Ryland-Turner pamphlets, a Particular Baptist response did not appear until a year later when one was written by James Turner of Canon Street, Birmingham, under the pseudonym of "Aristobulus."²⁵⁷ Turner's response was brief and compelling. In structure, Turner followed Ryland and Turner's work, and responded to each argument in their pamphlets. For the Birmingham minister, both baptism and the eucharist are of "positive and sacred institutions" with a "grand rule" and order, and the term of communion is "made by the authority of the Eternal God," instead of "human authority."²⁵⁸ On the basis of reading Acts 2:41, Turner argued that baptism is not

²⁵⁵ Geard, Church Book, 210.

²⁵⁶ Geard, Church Book, 213–14.

²⁵⁷ Philalethes [Dan Taylor], *Candidus Examined with Candor. Or, a Modest Inquiry into the Propriety and Force of what is contained in a late Pamphlet; intituled, A Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord's Table* (London, 1772). For an analysis of Taylor's response, see Pollard, *Dan Taylor*, 242–46. Aristobulus [James Turner], *Thoughts on Mixt Communion; In a Letter to a Friend* (Coventry, 1773). James Turner was from Bacup, Leicestershire, and was ordained in 1755 as the minister of Canon Street, where he ministered for twenty-six years. It is said that "He was a clear, judicious, acceptable, and successful preacher, and a faithful defender of the glorious doctrines of the everlasting gospel. ... On his settlement the church had dwindled to fourteen members (one account says forty) and the congregation to thirty hearers; but in less than ten years the meeting-house had to be enlarged, and the members were increased to ninety. In 1774 they had further increased to 112, and in 1776, ... they rose to 140" (William Stokes, *The History of the Midland Association of Baptist Churches, from Its Rise in the Year 1655 to 1855* [London: R. Theobald, 1855], 62).

²⁵⁸ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 4, 9.

essential to salvation, but to communion.²⁵⁹ In other words, “The way pointed out in scripture, to the wine, is through the water.”²⁶⁰ Though Ryland and Turner upheld credobaptism, James Turner pointed out that the open communionists in reality invalidated baptism, as they redefined a divine institution as “a private opinion” and “non-essential” to religion.²⁶¹ Furthermore, James Turner dismissed Ryland and Turner’s accusation of being uncharitable and a bigot, as it was through the paedobaptists’ “disbelief of baptism” that “they exclude themselves” from the table.²⁶² Turner further explained,

I love good men of all denominations, and hesitate not to declare my firm persuasion, that they will be saved, whether they are, or are not, baptized by immersion; yet, for all this, I should not chuse to encourage mixt communion. It is easy to depart from all the grand essential doctrines of religion, under the pretence of candor; and it is well if this is not the case with hundreds of congregations in this kingdom, at this day.²⁶³

For James Turner, personal friendship was not a sound reason to banish a divine order.²⁶⁴

Turning the table on the open-communionists, the Birmingham minister stated, “The Baptist-advocates for mixt communion are undermining, with their own hands, the very ground they stand upon.”²⁶⁵ Worse, “Mixt Communion retards freedom of speech, both in minister and people,” as it “lays upon them an embargo not to speak upon the point of baptism.”²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 5.

²⁶⁰ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 6.

²⁶¹ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 9.

²⁶² Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 8, 6.

²⁶³ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 5.

²⁶⁴ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 5–6.

²⁶⁵ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 10–11.

²⁶⁶ Turner, *Thoughts on Mixt Communion*, 10.

John Brown (d. 1800) and William Buttfeld (d. 1778)

Four years later, another round of written debates occurred between John Brown of Kettering, Northamptonshire, and William Buttfeld of Dunstable, Bedfordshire.²⁶⁷ For Brown, to participate at the table is an act of Christian confirmation and fellowship. Along with Bunyan, Brown stated that “Water-Baptism is only a figure or shadow, an outward sign, or one leaf of our profession, therefore we ought not to refuse or reject the substance for the sign or shadow.”²⁶⁸ Throughout his pamphlet, Brown argued on the basis of Christian catholicity, and proposed normalising “transient communion,” which was practised by a number of congregations. In the dedication, Buttfeld explained that he decided to respond to the open communion position was linked to an unpleasant experience in the summer of 1777. At the time, Buttfeld was invited to preach at Ridgmount, Bedfordshire, and his text was James 1:27. Though Buttfeld’s sermon did not survive, he recalled that many of his audience “highly disapproved” his sermon, “particularly the arguments that were advanced against Free Communion.”²⁶⁹ Being horrified by his opponents on the terms of communion, Buttfeld decided to write an exculpation.²⁷⁰ It was at the same time that he received Brown’s pamphlet. After reading Brown, Buttfeld “formed a resolution of making some remarks on the sentiments it contains, and of interweaving, in the course of my observations, ...

²⁶⁷ John Brown, *The House of God Opened and His Table Free for Baptists and Pædobaptists, who are Saints and Faithful in Christ. Or, Reasons Why their different Sentiments about Water-Baptism should be no Bar to Church Fellowship with each other. The principal Objections answered. Also an Illustrative Dialogue and an Incidental Narrative* (London, 1777); William Buttfeld, *Free Communion an Innovation: Or, an Answer to Mr. John Brown’s Pamphlet, entitled, The House of God Opened and his Table free, &c.* (London, 1778). On the Brown-Buttfeld debate, see Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*, 114–19; Oliver, *History of the English Calvinistic Baptists*, 66–70; Naylor, *Picking Up a Pin for the Lord: English Particular Baptists from 1688 to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Grace Publications Trust, 1992), 106–11.

²⁶⁸ Brown, *House of God Opened and His Table Free*, 2.

²⁶⁹ Buttfeld continued: “The malecontents, not being satisfied with barely signifying their disapprobation, proceeded to indecent freedoms; loading me with reproach, and charging the doctrines that were delievered, with destructive consequences; such consequences, as I cannot but abhor” (Buttfeld, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 1).

²⁷⁰ Buttfeld, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 1.

against that practice for which Mr. B. strenuously pleads.”²⁷¹ In his response, Buttfield examined Brown’s arguments one by one, and differentiated baptisms of the Spirit and of water. For him, believers “being baptized by the one Spirit in regeneration, is only an evidence to us of their being the adopted sons of God, and no proof that they have a right to communion at the Lord’s table.”²⁷² In other words, to participate the eucharist was understood as a privilege, not a right. Unlike salvation, where one was “baptized by, and having drank into, one Spirit” for regeneration and adoption, the eucharist was understood as a place of special blessings.²⁷³ Buttfield further distinguished Christian communion and the eucharist, as he stated:

the right of believers to communion, who, under the influence of the Spirit actually eat the sacramental bread, and drink the sacramental wine, is a blessing which was conferred upon them in Christ, before the world began, even when the covenant of grace was ordered in all things, for the elect’s sake. Consequently, the enjoyment of communion with God, does not give Christians a right to communion at his table.²⁷⁴

In other words, the eucharist is not a place to demonstrate one’s communion with God. Nevertheless, the language here is curious, as it seems that Buttfield employed a supralapsarian interpretation to emphasise the difference between regeneration and the right to the table, as he continued by stating that “that which proves a person’s relation to God, does not evidence his right to communion.”²⁷⁵ The example Buttfield provided was “some that give evidence of their being christians, who, notwithstanding, live and die without ever approaching the Lord’s table.”²⁷⁶ Thus, for Buttfield, “The omniscient God conferred blessings on some of his people, in the covenant of grace, which [the said

²⁷¹ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 1.

²⁷² Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 11.

²⁷³ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 11.

²⁷⁴ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 11.

²⁷⁵ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 12.

²⁷⁶ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 12.

people] never enjoy.”²⁷⁷ On the other hand, since “Baptism is not only a personal duty out of the church, but it is also the only way in which the word of God directs us into the church,” it is necessary to have this divine institution and command to serve as the terms of communion.²⁷⁸

Abraham Booth (1734–1806)

A day after Buttfield finished his work, Abraham Booth penned a preface to his *An Apology for the Baptists* at Goodman’s Fields in east London on March 3, 1778.²⁷⁹ Though it had been six years since Ryland and Turner published their manifesto, Booth’s *Apology* was destined to become the finest response from the close communion camp, by not only size, but also arguments. Furthermore, as Kinghorn later commented, Booth’s

character is so well established, the information he has shown on the subjects treated on in his publications, is so extensive, as to render him very respectable, both as an opponent in controversy, and as a writer on uncontested subjects. Many of those who rank among men of ability and information, must be content to follow Mr. Booth *non passibus æquis*.²⁸⁰

Nevertheless, Kinghorn regarded Booth as an excellent example of a virtuous Christian writer in controversy. The Norwich pastor stated,

In controversy nothing should bear away the palm, but argument united with temper; and there is a way of writing on the most controverted subjects, that will neither make a man’s friends ashamed of him, nor add to the instances, of a professed zeal for truth being under the dominion of the most paltry passions. ... In controversy, opinions should be delivered with firmness, and cases may occur which will justify severity. But if we consider our opponent as wrong, that is no reason we should make him the object of contemptuous sneer, or of idle witticism.²⁸¹

Kinghorn’s praise was shared by many, as one reviewer commented that “those who read

²⁷⁷ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 12.

²⁷⁸ Buttfield, *Free Communion an Innovation*, 14.

²⁷⁹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, [ii].

²⁸⁰ Joseph Kinghorn, *A Defence of Infant Baptism, its best Confutation: Being a Reply to Mr. Peter Edwards’s Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Anti-paedo-baptism, on His Own Ground* (Norwich, 1795), in *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 2:52.

²⁸¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 2:52, 53.

his book [i.e., *Apology*] will find, that he is not unacquainted with his subject, nor destitute of argument to support his hypothesis.”²⁸² During his lifetime, Booth’s *Apology* was translated into Dutch (1779), and in 1788, Thomas Dobson (1751–1823) reprinted it in Philadelphia (1788).²⁸³ Soon after Booth’s death, a new American edition was published in Boston (1808), and the London minister and publisher William Button (1754–1821) also provided a new British edition in 1812.²⁸⁴ It was due to its persuasiveness and popularity, Robert Hall Jr. (1764–1831) later initiated another round of the communion controversy by responding to then deceased Abraham Booth.²⁸⁵

When Booth first published his *Apology*, he had been the minister of Little Prescott Street Chapel for over a decade, and a celebrated author among the dissenters.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Anonymous, “Art. 22. *An Apology for the Baptists*. In which they are vindicated from the Imputation of laying an unwarrantable Stress on the Ordinance of Baptism; and against the Charge of Bigotry in refusing Communion at the Lord’s Table to Pædobaptists. By Abraham Booth. 12 mo. 1 s. Dilly. 1778,” *Monthly Review; Or, Literary Journal* 59 (November 1778): 388.

²⁸³ Abraham Booth, *De Doopsgezinden verdedigd, tegen de verdenking, van een onbehoorlijk gewigt te leggen op de inzetting des Doops; en tegen de beschuldiging van bijgeloof, in het weigeren van de gemeenschap aan ’s Heeren Tafel aan jonggedoopte belijderen* (Amsterdam, 1779). Martinus de Bruyn was a Dutch bookseller, who also printed Dutch editions of Jonathan Edwards’ works (See Jonathan M. Yeager, *Jonathan Edwards and Transatlantic Print Culture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016], 141–42). Another Dutch translation was Booth’s *Death of Legal Hope, the Life of Evangelical Obedience*, which was originally published in 1770 and went through ten editions. In Dutch, the title was *De Verloochening van Eigen-Gerechtigheid volstrekt noodig ter betrachting van Evangelische Deugd. In eene Verhandeling over Galaten II:19* (Amsterdam, 1791). It is curious that when de Bruyn printed Booth’s *Apology*, the word “Baptists” was translated as “Doopsgezinden,” which literally means “baptism-minded” and was used particularly to refer to the Dutch Mennonites. It is said that “Booth was valued as an apologist for Mennonite orthodoxy (and he was avidly read by some orthodox Calvinists)” (Joris van Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord in the United Provinces: Religious Toleration and the Public in the Eighteenth-Century Netherlands* [Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2003], 190).

²⁸⁴ Abraham Booth, *An Apology for the Baptists; In which They are vindicated from the imputation of laying an unwarrantable stress on the Ordinance of Baptism. And against the charge of bigotry in refusing Communion at the Lord’s Table to Pædobaptists* (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1802); Booth, *An Apology for the Baptists. In Which They are Vindicated from the Imputation of laying an Unwarrantable Stress on the Ordinance of Baptism; and Against the Charge of Bigotry in Refusing Communion at the Lord’s Table to Pædobaptists* (London, 1812).

On William Button, see Jeff Straub, “William Button (1754–1821),” in *British Particular Baptists*, 5:293–317; Anonymous, “Memoir of the Late Rev. William Button,” *BM* 14 (January 1822): 1–10; (February 1822): 45–50; (March 1822): 102–104; Joseph Ivimey, *The Preciousness of Faith in Times of Trial. A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. William Button, upwards of forty years pastor of the Baptist Church in Dean Street, Southwark. Preached at the Meeting-House in Eagle Street, London, August 21, 1821. With an Address at the Grave by Dr. Newman* (London, 1821).

²⁸⁵ Robert Hall, *On Terms of Communion, with a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Pædobaptists* (Leicester, 1815).

²⁸⁶ On Booth, see Raymond Arthur Coppenger, *A Messenger of Grace: A Study of the Life and Thought of Abraham Booth* (Cambridge, ON: Joshua Press, 2009); Michael A. G. Haykin, with Victoria J.

As he explained in the preface, Booth's purpose was threefold: "To vindicate the honour of Christ;" "to assert the scriptural importance of a positive institution;" and "to exculpate himself ... from charges of an odious kind, that excited the author to compose and publish the following pages."²⁸⁷ Booth then developed his arguments in six sections (or chapters). Throughout the work, Booth quoted extensively from various works in both Latin and English.

In the first section, Booth tried to prove that the open communionists' plea and proposal was both unwarrantable and confused. Booth pointed out that the belief of baptism "as indispensably necessary to communion at the Lord's table" was catholically practiced by all denominations of "the Christian church in every age."²⁸⁸ Moreover, "The point controverted between us and our Pædobaptist brethren is not, Whether *unbaptized believers* may, according to the laws of Christ, be admitted to communion; for here we have no dispute; but *What is baptism, and who* are the proper subjects of it?"²⁸⁹ For Baptists, regenerated believers ought to be baptised by immersion, as such a mode "is not a mere circumstance ... but essential to the ordinance."²⁹⁰ Since "he who is not immersed, is not baptized," Baptists refused to recognise infant-baptism on both its mode and subject.²⁹¹ As for the Lord's Supper, Booth's focus was vertical, as he understood it

Haykin, eds., *"The First Counsellor of Our Denomination": Studies on the Life and Ministry of Abraham Booth (1734–1806)* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2011); Robert W. Oliver, "Abraham Booth (1734–1806)," in *British Particular Baptists 1638–1910*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2000), 2:30–55; Seymour J. Price, "Abraham Booth's Ordination, 1769," *BQ* 9, no. 4 (1938): 242–46; Ernest A. Payne, "Abraham Booth, 1734–1806," *BQ* 26, no. 1 (1975): 28–42; Payne, "Abraham Booth and Some of his Descendants," *BQ* 16, no. 5 (1956): 196–99; K. F. T. Matrunola, *A Brief Account of the Life and Labours of Abraham Booth 1734–1806* ([London:] Fauconberg Press for the Strict Baptist Historical Society, 1979); William Jones, *An Essay on the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Booth, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church in Little Prescott-Street, Goodman's Fields, London* (Liverpool: James Smith, 1808).

²⁸⁷ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, [i].

²⁸⁸ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 14, 15.

²⁸⁹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 21–22.

²⁹⁰ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 22.

²⁹¹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 22.

as “a sacred feast and an ordinance of divine worship,” and “a memorial of God’s love to us” in Christ.²⁹² In contrast, the open communionists erred to understand the ordinance horizontally, as they argued that the table as “a test” or “criterion” of one’s love “to individuals, or to any Christian community.”²⁹³ Therefore, Booth’s opponents devalued the table by inverting its participants’ focus. Moreover,

The true test of his love to the disciples of Christ, is, not a submission to any particular ordinance of public worship; for that is rather an evidence of his love to God and reverence for his authority; but sympathizing with them in their afflictions; feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and taking pleasure in doing them good, whatever their necessities may be.²⁹⁴

Booth’s response is significant, as it echoed Ryland and Turner’s accusation of being “too rigid” and “watery bigots.”²⁹⁵ After demolishing the notion that the Lord’s Supper was a means of Christian fellowship, Booth then pointed out that Ryland and Turner’s advocacy of freedom of conscience was biased, as “We cannot receive Pædobaptists into communion at the Lord’s table, without doing violence to our professed sentiments, as Baptists.”²⁹⁶

In the second and third sections, Booth provided reasons to oppose open communion. Booth pointed out, “there is a connection between the two positive institutions of the New Testament,” as “one of them must be prior to the other, in order of

²⁹² Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 23, 24. Though Booth used the word “memorial” to define the meaning of the Lord’s Supper,” it cannot be simply understood as if Booth took a Zwinglian or memorial position. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) defined “memorial” as “preservative of memory; contained in memory; a monument; something to preserve memory” (Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words are deduced from their Originals, Explained in their Different Meanings, and Authorized by the Names of the Writers in whose Works they are found*, 3rd ed. [Dublin, 1768], [488]). Thus, Booth did not intend to provide a comprehensive definition of the ordinance or its elements; instead, as he emphasised what the elements signified, it should be read in contrast to the open communionists’ definition of “test” or “criterion.”

²⁹³ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 23.

²⁹⁴ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 24.

²⁹⁵ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 26, 127.

²⁹⁶ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 27.

administration, is evident from the nature of things.”²⁹⁷ Different from the paedobaptists, who disagreed on the mode and subject of baptism, the open communionists—or “Katabaptists”—“practically deny the necessity of baptism in order to communion at the sacred supper.”²⁹⁸ For Booth, the latter’s practice contradicted the Bible, as believers in both the Old and New Testaments were to maintain “the plain, the established, the divinely appointed order” in positive institutions.²⁹⁹ Thus, Booth found it “a paradoxical conduct” as the open communionists did not appear to practice what they believe:

They are verily persuaded that the wisdom and sovereignty of God united in ordaining, that *immersion* should be the mode of baptism, yet they connive at *sprinkling*; that *professing believers* should be the subjects, yet they admit of *infants*; that baptism should be administered to a believer, *before* he receive the Lord’s supper, and yet they permit unbaptized persons to have communion with them in that sacred ordinance.³⁰⁰

As positive institutions, the ordinances of baptism and the eucharist should be determined by divine precepts and apostolic practice, not individual knowledge, integrity, or “charitable opinion.”³⁰¹ Thus, by reversing “the order of two positive institutions,” the open communionists shared the ethos of the Antinomians—“Let us do evil that good may come.”³⁰² Furthermore, Booth traced the open communion position back to Faustus Socinus (1539–1604), who “introduced the custom of receiving unbaptized persons to

²⁹⁷ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 33.

²⁹⁸ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 35, 54.

²⁹⁹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 50. Booth stated, “It would, no doubt, have been highly offensive to God, if the priests or the people of old had inverted the order appointed by him, for the administration of his own solemn appointments. For instance; first admit to the *passover*, afterwards *circumcise*; *burn incense* in the holy place, then offer the *propitiatory sacrifice*. This, I conceive, our brethren must allow. Have they any reason, then, to imagine, that a similar breach of order is not equally displeasing to God, under the New Testament economy? If not, it must be supposed, that the Most High has not so great a regard to the purity of his worship, is less jealous of his honour, and does not so much insist on his eternal prerogative now, as he did under the former dispensation: suppositions these, which they who acknowledge his universal dominion and absolute immutability, will hardly admit” (Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 51). Also see Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 70–71, 82–88.

³⁰⁰ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 69.

³⁰¹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 77.

³⁰² Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 79.

communion.”³⁰³ Though Booth failed to explain why Socinus adopted open communion, in light of the rising influence of rationalism and Socinianism in his day, Booth warned the danger to pursue “prodigious improvement in light and liberty.”³⁰⁴

In the fourth section, Booth examined the key biblical texts that the open communionists used to support their position.³⁰⁵ For Booth, these texts “do not so much as mention communion at the Lord’s table, nor appear to have the least reference to it.”³⁰⁶ Instead, Booth suggested that the open communionists argued by their “own reasonings” and “arguments formed on moral precepts and general rules of conduct.”³⁰⁷ In contrast to the Quakers and Bunyan, Booth repeatedly argued that “baptism ought to be administered prior to the sacred supper, is as clearly revealed, as that either of them was intended for the use of believers in all succeeding ages.”³⁰⁸ Therefore, benevolence and tolerance cannot be an excuse for not “practising a duty required.”³⁰⁹

The fifth section is the longest, as Booth responded to three accusations relating to the close communionists’ attitude and practice. For Booth, his opponents’ tendency to emphasise Christian charity and mutual edification over church order was preposterous and empirical. Booth explained, since the table is “only a mean” to “the grand end” of Christ’s honour, though “The edification of Christians is of *great* importance; yet it must be allowed, that the honour of our divine Sovereign is of *infinitely*

³⁰³ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 38, 90.

³⁰⁴ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 38, 90. Also see Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 99–101.

³⁰⁵ These texts include Rom 14:1, 3; 15:7; Acts 15:8, 9; 1 Cor 9:19–23.

³⁰⁶ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 93–94.

³⁰⁷ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 94.

³⁰⁸ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 105.

³⁰⁹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 107. Booth pointed out that “Socinians, Quakers, and those Baptists who plead for free communion, were almost the only persons in the Christian world, that exercise a proper degree of candour towards professors of other denominations, or have a due regard for peace among the people of God” (Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 107).

greater importance; and, consequently, the primitive order of the gospel churches should be observed.”³¹⁰ Moreover,

Forbearance and love, not less than resolution and zeal, must be directed in the whole extent of their exercise, by the word of God; else we may greatly offend and become partakers of other men’s sins, by conniving when we ought to reprove. If the divine precepts relating to love and forbearance, will apply to the case in hand; or so as to justify our connivance at an alteration, a corruption, or an omission of baptism; they will do the same in regard to the Lord’s supper.³¹¹

Significantly, Booth’s approach was convergent, as he located Christian charity and edification within the framework of honouring Christ, which in practice was to obey Christ and his commandments.³¹² By proving baptism as a divine command and a Christian duty, Booth argued that the open communionists held “the mistake maintained,” which was “inimical to the honour of God.”³¹³ It should be distinguished from “a practical error,” such as paedobaptism by sprinkling, which was considered as “comparatively small” in Christian worship.³¹⁴

In practice, Booth agreed with John Wesley (1703–1791) and Rowland Hill (1744–1833) that “a catholic spirit is not speculative latitudinarianism.”³¹⁵ Booth argued that Christian communion and “fellowship at the Lord’s table” are distinct and different acts, as they are performed on different principles. For the former, Christians are obliged to love their neighbours, “both as a man and a Christian.”³¹⁶ In contrast, the latter is

³¹⁰ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 117.

³¹¹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 127.

³¹² Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 117.

³¹³ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 123.

³¹⁴ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 123.

³¹⁵ Rowland Hill, *A Full Answer, to the Rev. J. Wesley’s Remarks upon a Late Pamphlet, published in Defence of the Characters of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and Others. In a Letter to a Friend* (Bristol, 1777), 40, as quoted by Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 132.

³¹⁶ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 136.

performed as a duty and privilege according to Christ's design and commands.³¹⁷

Therefore, though Booth considered a paedobaptist as "a real convert," and he should love that person "as a Christian brother," it is consistent for Booth to refuse such a person to participate the table, as a paedobaptist was being considered as unbaptised.³¹⁸

Regarding Geard's objection, Booth stated, "Public preaching is not confined to persons in a *church state*, nor ever was; but the Lord's supper is a church ordinance, nor ought ever to be administered but to a particular church, *as such*."³¹⁹ Furthermore, when close communionists "admit Pædobaptist ministers into our pulpits, it is in expectation that they will preach the gospel," which is different from admitting paedobaptists to the table, as the latter "openly connive ... an error."³²⁰

As for the open communionists' emphasis on the value of the eucharist over baptism, Booth wondered "what is there of obligation, of solemnity, of importance, in the former, that is not in the latter," since both shared "the same divine Institutor, and the same general end."³²¹ For Booth, since baptism occurs more than the eucharist in the New Testament, and it confesses the triune God by performance, baptism then is more important in practice than the supper.³²² However, by prioritising the supper over baptism, and devaluing the latter as nonessential, the open communionists echoed Socinianism and Tridentine Catholicism.³²³ Booth then skilfully pointed out that since both Ryland and Turner "are pretty well acquainted with [the Socinian] writers" and

³¹⁷ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 136.

³¹⁸ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 136–37, 138.

³¹⁹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 145.

³²⁰ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 146.

³²¹ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 156.

³²² Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 156–57, 168–69.

³²³ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 165.

“they so widely differ,” they need to beware of such an error.³²⁴

In the final section, Booth explained why he “cheerfully adopt[ed]” the pejorative term “Strict Baptists.”³²⁵ Though his opponents applied such a term to characterise the close communionists as “bigoted, unnecessarily exact, unscripturally confined,” Booth understood that they “act on a principle received in common by Christians of almost every name, in every age, and in every nation.”³²⁶ Thus, the contrast is not “strict” or “free;” rather, it is a contrast of obedient and Latitudinarian Baptists.³²⁷ Regarding baptism, since “there is but one God, and one faith, so there is but one baptism.”³²⁸ Therefore, there can be either Baptists or paedobaptists in practice; there is no way for argument to moderation.

Robert Robinson

Like all the pamphlets in this round of communion controversy, there was no follow-up responses from those Booth opposed. In fact, it was not until three years later, a response was issued by the celebrated Robert Robinson of St. Andrew’s Street Chapel, Cambridge.³²⁹ Robinson’s biographer George Dyer (1755–1841) recorded that in the later

³²⁴ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 161, 165, 162.

³²⁵ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 171.

³²⁶ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 173, 171.

³²⁷ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 175.

³²⁸ Booth, *Apology for the Baptists*, 179.

³²⁹ Robert Robinson, *The General Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Particular Case of Free Communion* (Cambridge, 1781). In 1778, Robinson translated and edited French Huguenot preacher Jean Claude’s (1619–1687) posthumous work *Traité de la composition d’un sermon* (1688). In the advertisement, Robinson explained that when he first obtained Claude’s treatise in 1766, he “immediately translated it for my own edification, adding a few critical notes from various authors. Six years after, I added several more quotations, intending them for small exercises for one of my sons. About three years ago, I was persuaded by many worthy ministers of my acquaintance, who had occasionally seen the work, to enlarge the notes for the use of our brethren abovementioned, and to publish it. In May 1776, I had the misfortune, by a fall from a coach, to sprain my ancle. This aid me long aside from my publick labours, and deprived me of what above all things in the world I loved, frequent preaching of lectures in villages, where members of my congregation lived. I endeavoured to console myself, and assist my brethren by revising, enlarging, and publishing this essay” (Robinson, trans. and ed., *An Essay on the Composition of a Sermon. Translated from the original French of The Revd. John Claude, Minister of the French Reformed Church at Charenton. With Notes* [Cambridge, 1778], 1:[iv]). Due to the popularity of Claude’s treatise, most English dissenters adopted Claude’s style of preaching, which particularly emphasised one particular text, rather

part of 1780, Robinson visited Oxford and Abingdon while on his way to visit Scotland.³³⁰ While at Oxford, the celebrated minister preached “civil and religious liberty to a little society of dissenters, then forming themselves into what is called *church order*,” and it was for their sake, Robinson penned *The General Doctrine of Toleration*, and published it in 1781.³³¹ As its title suggested, Robinson considered close communion and its uniformity violating Christian toleration and liberty, even though he firmly believed credobaptism.³³² After a brief historical survey of the communion controversy,

than to preach a running commentary (see Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church. Volume 5 Moderatism, Pietism, and Awakening* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004], 567–568). Also see Steele B. Wright, “The Preacher and His Sermon: Andrew Fuller’s Reading of Jean Claude,” *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 3 (2021): 35–48. On Robinson, see George Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson, Late Minister of the Dissenting Congregation, in Saint Andrew’s Parish, Cambridge* (London, 1796); Joseph Priestley, *Reflections on Death. A Sermon, on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, Delivered at the New Meeting House in Birmingham, June 13, 1790. And published at the Request of those who heard it, and of Mr. Robinson’s Family* (Birmingham, 1790); Graham W. Hughes, *With Freedom Fired: The Story of Robert Robinson Cambridge Nonconformist* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1955); L. G. Champion, “Robert Robinson: A Pastor in Cambridge,” *BQ* 31, no. 5 (1986): 241–46; Len Addicott, ed., *Church Book: St. Andrew’s Street Baptist Church, Cambridge 1720–1832* ([London:] Baptist Historical Society, 1991); Timothy Whelan, “Six Letters of Robert Robinson from Dr Williams’s Library,” *BQ* 39, no. 7 (2002): 347–59; Clyde Binfield, “Six Letters of Robert Robinson: A Suggested Context and a Noble Footnote,” *BQ* 40, no. 1 (2003): 50–60; Karen Smith, “The Liberty Not to Be a Christian: Robert Robinson (1735–1790) of Cambridge and Freedom of Conscience,” in *Distinctively Baptist: Essays on Baptist History; A Festschrift in Honor of Walter B. Shurden*, ed. Marc A. Jolley and John D. Pierce (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2005), 151–70; Michael A. G. Haykin and Jared Skinner, “‘My Dear Spiritual Father’: George Whitefield’s Impact on Robert Robinson of Cambridge” (paper presented at the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies Eighth Annual Conference, Louisville, October 22, 2014).

³³⁰ Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson*, 197.

³³¹ Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson*, 197. Also see Fiddes, “Receiving One Another: The History and Theology of the Church Covenant, 1780,” in *A Protestant Catholic Church of Christ*, 71–72. It is noticed that in Daniel Turner’s sermon, which marked the re-establishment of New Road Chapel, the Abingdon minister mentioned: “As some of our Christian Friends, of the Baptist Denomination, object to what is commonly called, *mixed Communion* . . . I intended to have hinted a few Things with the View of removing their Objections; but my very worthy and much esteemed Friend, the Rev. R. Robinson, of Cambridge, having just now acquainted me that he has sent to the Press, some Considerations on this Subject, I refer my Readers to my Friend’s Pamphlet, which I suppose will be soon published, and in which, I doubt not, they will find the Practice of *mixed Communion* fully vindicated (if they read without Prejudice, and with a Mind open to Conviction) and that they have been wrong in setting up their own *fallible* private Judgment against the Claims of their Pædobaptist Brother to Communion with them at the Table of their common Lord, to which, as a Believer in Christ, answering in a good Conscience to what He thinks true Baptism, He has an equally just Right with themselves” (Daniel Turner, *Charity the Bond of Perfection. A Sermon, the Substance of which was Preached at Oxford, November 16, 1780. On Occasion of the Re-Establishment of a Christian Church of Protestant Dissenters in that City: With a Brief Account of the State of the Society, and the Plan and Manner of their Settlement* [Oxford, 1780], 22–23).

³³² Robinson later published his lengthy treatise, *The History of Baptism* (London, 1790), in which, he defended credobaptism.

Robinson divided the debated issue into “a case of fact and a case of right.”³³³ For the former, Robinson explained the religious *status quo*, and affirmed the co-existence of strict and mixed Baptist congregations even before the Civil Wars.³³⁴ Though both parties were convinced of their views’ legitimacy, all these facts could not “constitute Christian law, and, if we would ascertain what is right, we must distinguish what is from what ought to be.”³³⁵ Regarding the case of right, Robinson observed that it depended on one’s way to observe the “revealed will of Jesus Christ.”³³⁶ By referring to the “written revealed will of God” as the only determination of right or wrong, Robinson affirmed:

It is just and right and agreeable to the revealed will of Christ, that Baptist churches should admit into their fellowship such persons as desire admission on profession of faith and repentance: although they refuse to be baptized by immersion, because they sincerely believe they have been rightly baptized by sprinkling in their infancy.³³⁷

Furthermore, Robinson distinguished the “*esse*, or the *being* of a church” from the “*medius esse*, or *best* being of one.”³³⁸ For Robinson, “a church that tolerates is a good church; but a church that has no errors to tolerate is a better.”³³⁹ In order to explain the differences, Robinson introduced the principles of analogy and express laws to argue for toleration.³⁴⁰ Regarding the former, Robinson understood that the church was created as an analogy or resemblance of God’s nature and work, which was “between the ties of nature and the social bonds of grace.”³⁴¹ On such a principle, the Christian church should

³³³ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 9.

³³⁴ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 9–10.

³³⁵ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 11.

³³⁶ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 12.

³³⁷ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 16.

³³⁸ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 16.

³³⁹ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 16.

³⁴⁰ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 16.

³⁴¹ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 17.

distinguish themselves from all evils, unrighteousness, and wickedness.³⁴² Nevertheless, on the ground of Christ's express laws, which are the laws of exclusion and toleration, "all Christians should enjoy unmolested in the Christian church the right of private judgment."³⁴³ Robinson understood that Christian churches ought to tolerate "errors of faith and irregularities of practice," as long as it "consistent with purity of faith and order."³⁴⁴ For Robinson, toleration marked out the nature of a true church, which also set the nonconformity apart from the Establishment. Furthermore, it is significant to notice that Robinson's plead for toleration also reflected his political activity during the age of revolutions. From 1773 to 1775, Robinson paid close attention to the nonconformists' history, and published a Cromwellian interpretation of English history in *A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity* (1778).³⁴⁵ With such a historical approach, Robinson reoriented his view toward the government, and pled for repealing the Test and Toleration Act and reforming the parliament.³⁴⁶ As the church was understood as a social entity, or polity, Robinson's defence for liberty and toleration in the church was an echo to his vision of a free society at large.³⁴⁷

³⁴² Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 18–22.

³⁴³ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 23.

³⁴⁴ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 25, 24–25.

³⁴⁵ Robert Robinson, *A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity. For the Instruction of Catechumens* (Cambridge, 1778). In the first lecture, Robinson defined "free religious inquiry" as "an examination uncontrolled by human authority—by our own passions and prejudices—by popular customs—fashions—maxims" (Robinson, *A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity*, 1). Regarding the Dissenters' political view, Robinson noticed that "modern nonconformity naturally leads us to study government.—[Algernon] Sidney [1623–1683]—[John] Locke [1632–1704]—Montesquieu [1689–1755]—[Cesare] Beccaria [1738–1794]—teach the notions—which we hold—of government.—All think the people the origin of power—administrators responsible trustees—and the enjoyment of life—liberty—and property—the right of all mankind—except of those, whose crimes are allowed by the constitution to have disfranchised them" (Robinson, *A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity*, 49).

³⁴⁶ John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 124–49. Also see James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Bradley, "Baptists and National Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century England," in *Challenge and Change*, 147–176.

³⁴⁷ In his conclusion, Robinson noticed, "Impartial justice obliges us to declare, that all our congregations, whether they tolerate infant baptism in their communities or not, are warm friends to civil

Regarding the ordinances, though Robinson agreed that baptism was a positive institution, he refused to acknowledge it as a “New Testament church ordinance,” as he explained, “Baptism is not a church ordinance, that it is not naturally, necessarily, and actually connected with church fellowship, and consequently that the ordinance of initiating into the Christian church by baptism is a confused association of ideas, derived from matters, whose disciples it is no honour to be.”³⁴⁸ Instead, baptism “was an initiation into the profession of Christianity at large, not into the practice of it in any particular church.”³⁴⁹ Since baptism “strictly speaking is neither repentance towards God, nor faith in” Christ, one’s “title to fellowship lies in the divine charter, meetness for it in personal qualification.”³⁵⁰ Such a divine charter was realised in an individual’s threefold union with Christ, which are “an union of sentiment, for they believe what he believed and taught; an union of affection, for they love and hate what he loved and hated, what gave him pleasure gives them pleasure, and what grieved him gives them pain; and an union of practice, for they form their lives on his example.”³⁵¹ With believers’ union with Christ, they are also entitled to share a union with the Body of Christ—his church.³⁵² As everyone within the Body shares their union with Christ, they “are equal to every duty of church fellowship, to singing, prayer, hearing and even preaching the word, receiving the lord’s supper, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, in a word, to all the duties men owe as church members to themselves, to one another, and to God.”³⁵³ Since “the Lord’s supper

and religious liberty, and to universal toleration in *a state*. Even in popery, they distinguish the religion from the civil polity incorporated with it, and would tolerate the former while they execrate the latter as men and as Britons” (Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 42).

³⁴⁸ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 30–31.

³⁴⁹ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 32.

³⁵⁰ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 37, 38.

³⁵¹ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 35–36.

³⁵² Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 36.

³⁵³ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 37.

is both a duty and a benefit,” to deny paedobaptists to either membership or the table is to “release [them] from duty,” which “includes in it a deprivation of benefits.”³⁵⁴ Therefore, Robinson concluded that “the admitting of an unbaptized believer to church fellowship is on the principles of Christianity, a wise, a just, a benevolent, a holy, a humane action.”³⁵⁵

Unlike Booth, Robinson did not provide detailed exegesis of any biblical texts in this short work. Nevertheless, Robinson’s *General Doctrine of Toleration* is a prime example of the zeitgeist of his time. For Ryland, Turner, and Robinson, their concern was less about their denominational identity and tradition; instead, they argued for “the spirit of divine benevolence” and “liberty of conscience.”³⁵⁶ Furthermore, as Baptists embraced anti-systematic empiricism, the tide of open communion began its effect, and many more began to advocate and practice “a non-doctrinal unity of Christians based on a small core of basic biblical propositions.”³⁵⁷

Aftermath

Though it seemed that either Booth or Robinson had placed a longa rest to the debate, as a famous quote, which is often attributed to the genius composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), states, “the music is not in the notes but in the silence between.” Though there was no written response from either side for over twenty years, the open communionists as a movement were occupied in many aspects to help more

³⁵⁴ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 39, 38.

³⁵⁵ Robinson, *General Doctrine of Toleration*, 41. It is interesting to notice that Caleb Evans (1737–1791) shared Robinson’s view. In his letter to William Richard on February 14, 1777, Evans confirmed that it is “the duty of *all believers* to be baptized, of all that believe and are *baptized* to partake of the Lord’s Supper.” But since “we live in an imperfect state,” and “*union* is the ground of *communion*,” Evans believed that it is an “intolerant” and “popish spirit” to deny “mistaken” believers to perform their duty at the table (John Evans, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. William Richards, LL.D. who Died at Lynn, September 13, 1819, in the Sixty-Ninth Year of His Age. With Some Account of the Rev. Roger Williams* [Chiswick, 1819], 36–40).

³⁵⁶ Turner, *A Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 5, 6.

³⁵⁷ G. M. Ditchfield, *The Evangelical Revival* (London: Routledge, 1998), 7. Also see W. R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 187–9.

congregations to adopt their view.

Beside personal influence of the open communionists, Baptist laymen also contributed to the advancement of such a movement. Since 1783, Abraham Atkins (c. 1716–1792) of Clapham, governor of London’s Magdalen Hospital (1776), established five trusts to financially sponsor churches and leaders of the open communion position.³⁵⁸ Though little is known about Atkins’ life, he inherited wealth and land from his father, also Abraham Atkins (d. 1742)—who was probably one of the six deacons at Goat Lane church, who “objected to the invitation to Gill in 1719.”³⁵⁹ In 1783, Atkins appointed Robinson, Thomas Dunscombe (1748–1811) of Coate, Oxfordshire, Beddome’s former assistant William Wilkins of Risington, Gloucestershire, and “four members of the Tomkins family, Joseph, sen. [1729–1794], William [1731–1808], Benjamin [1753–1817] and Joseph, jun., well-known supporters of the Baptist church in Abingdon” to be his trustees, so that his property at Clapham could be used by a “general communion”

³⁵⁸ Ernest A. Payne, “Abraham Atkins and General Communion,” *BQ* 26, no. 7 (1976): 314–19. In the Parliamentary papers, it is recorded that “by an indenture dated the 15th July 1783 and enrolled the 13th January 1784, Abraham Atkins granted to the Rev. Robert Robinson and six other trustees three messuages with the gardens and appurtenances, situate on the south side of Clapham Common, the ground containing by estimation two acres or thereabouts, and being land which was leased for 99 years from 1741 at the rent of 5*l.*, together with all reversions of the premises; and he assigned to the said trustees for the remainder of a term of 199 years from Lady Day 1715 two messuages with their appurtenances, situate at Clapham, let at rents of 12*l.* and 9*l.*, exonerated and discharged by the said Abraham Atkins from the payment of any part of the ground rent reserved in the lease of the said premises; and also premises held by lease for the term of 36 years from 1777 at the rent of 18*l.*, situate on Clapham Common, consisting of a messuage and a chapel or meeting-house contiguous thereto with their appurtenances, upon trust to permit the said chapel to be used by the congregation of Baptists then attending the same, and such others as should succeed them, for the exercise of divine worship there, upon condition that such congregation should not refuse general communion at the Lord’s Supper, and, if the trustees should think proper, to permit the minister for the time being to inhabit the said messuage adjoining the chapel, and upon further trust as to the said freehold premises and the rest of the said leasehold premises, to use or dispose of the same and apply the rents thereof in such manner as should tend most to the support of the said meeting-house, and for that purpose in the first place to pay the rent of the said premises, and then to repair them, and then to pay and apply the residue of the said rents for the benefit of the minister and poor belonging to the said congregation or such of them as the said trustees should in their discretion think fit” (House of Commons, *Accounts and Papers: Sixty-Three Volumes. (20.) Charities—continued. London—continued; Middlesex; Norfolk; Rutland; Yorkshire* [London: House of Commons], 70:13–14).

³⁵⁹ See “Atkins family of Kingston Lisle: deeds and papers, c.1200–1851,” D/EFh (Berkshire Record Office); Nicholas Kingsley, “(232) Atkins (later Martin-Atkins) of Kingston Lisle,” Landed Families of Britain and Ireland, accessed November 2, 2020, <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2016/10/232-atkins-later-martin-atkins-of.html>. On Atkins Sr.’s involvement in rejecting the invitation to John Gill, see Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, 4:417–19.

congregation.³⁶⁰

Three years later, another trust was established, and Robinson, Dunscombe, Wilkins, and Daniel Turner were appointed as trustees to distribute Atkins' generous donations, which aimed to assist "the congregation of Protestant Dissenters, scrupling the Baptism of Infants, commonly called Baptists ... upon condition that such congregation doth not refuse general communion at the Lord's Supper."³⁶¹ At first, fourteen churches in southern and eastern England received funds, which included the congregations at Kingston Lisle (now Oxfordshire), Faringdon, and Wokingham in Berkshire; Stratfield Saye (later known as Beech Hill) in Hampshire and Wiltshire (now Hampshire); Oxford, Buckland, Coate, and Burford in Oxfordshire; Lingfield in Surrey; Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire; Fairford and Cirencester in Gloucestershire; Stratton in Wiltshire; and Cambridge in Cambridgeshire.³⁶² Later in 1788, Atkins also added the Unicorn Yard congregation in Southwark to his list of support.³⁶³ When Atkins died in 1792, he left £2,000 to his trust to support ministers of the sixteen congregations.³⁶⁴ Though these churches were mainly in southern England, within fifty years, open communion would soon be adopted by Particular Baptist congregations nationwide.

³⁶⁰ Payne, "Abraham Atkins and General Communion," 315. On the Tomkins family, see Hambleton, *Sweet and Hopeful People*. According to Ivimey, John Ovington was the minister at Clapham in 1798 (Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, 4:412). On Ovington, see R. C. Walton, "Two Baptist Pamphleteers," *BQ* 10, no. 4 (1940): 212–14.

³⁶¹ Payne, "Abraham Atkins and General Communion," 315.

³⁶² Payne, "Abraham Atkins and General Communion," 315; Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson*, 245–46. Ivimey identified ministers of these congregations in 1796 were: Thomas Smith of Kingston Lisle; Joseph Stennett of Faringdon; John Wills of Wokingham; John Wills of Beech Hill; James Hinton (1761–1823) of Oxford; Joseph Stennett of Buckland; Joseph Stennett (d. 1824) of Coate; William Harris (1740–1822) of Burford; Mr. Powell of Lingfield; John Lloyd of Colnbrook; Daniel Williams of Fairford; William Wilkins of Cirencester; Thomas Smith of Stratton; and Robert Hall of Cambridge (Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, 4:412).

³⁶³ Payne, "Abraham Atkins and General Communion," 315–16.

³⁶⁴ Payne, "Abraham Atkins and General Communion," 316.

CHAPTER 4

“SHALL WE SLIGHT THE CHURCH BELOW WHILE SEEKING MEMBERSHIP IN THE CHURCH ABOVE?”: JOSEPH KINGHORN’S ECCLESIAL SPIRITUALITY¹

By studying the Book of Acts, the missionary-bishop Lesslie Newbigin (1909–1998) stated that those who “received the Holy Spirit were promptly incorporated into the community of the baptized.”² Furthermore, this visible community “provides companionship and guidance in the new pattern of conduct which is relevant for the doing of God’s will and the fulfilment of his reign at this particular juncture of world history.”³ Newbigin’s statement incorporates various theological topics under the umbrella of ecclesiology and highlights the central role of the church in the Christian life. In a similar manner, Joseph Kinghorn would have agreed with his countryman, as the Baptist minister had argued a century and a half earlier:

much of our religious improvement and pleasure is nearly connected with our continuing with Christian brethren *in the Apostle’s Doctrine and in fellowship and in breaking of bread and in prayers*. (Acts ii 42). Nor does the New Testament seem at all to intimate, that any who lived within the limits of its history, professed the Gospel of Jesus and yet were not joined to his Church.⁴

In light of Kinghorn’s historical, social, and theological background, as presented in the previous chapters, this chapter examines Kinghorn’s idea of the New Testament church and its central role in Christian formation and living. Thus, instead of merely focusing on

¹ Joseph Kinghorn, *An Address to a Friend Who Intended Entering into Church Communion* (Norwich, [1803]), 15.

² Lesslie Newbigin, *The Finality of Christ* (1969; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 104.

³ Geoffrey Wainwright, *Lesslie Newbigin: A Theological Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 287.

⁴ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 4.

Kinghorn's idea of the local church and its practices, this chapter examines Kinghorn's spirituality in the framework of his ecclesiology. In other words, this chapter seeks to understand how did the church—both catholic and local, invisible and visible—play a central role in Kinghorn's life and thought. Since Kinghorn never published a systematic treatise on ecclesiology, this chapter primarily depends on his published works and private correspondence.⁵ Furthermore, since most of Kinghorn's published works were

⁵ According to W. R. Ward, due to the common assumptions of the enlightenment, eighteenth-century evangelicals adopted “the metaphysical approach to theology,” and they applied “the inductive method in the field of religion, while the polemical backwoodsmen were sacrificing the truth to system” (Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790–1850* [London: B. T. Batsford, 1972], 17). Therefore, for them, “it was system, metaphysics which seemed to account for the unhappy embarrassments of the past, especially in regard to reprobation, and high and low, ‘system’ became the theological swearing word of the hour” (Ward, *Religion and Society in England*, 18). David Bebbington agrees with Ward. Particularly, as Bebbington argues that evangelicalism was a product of the enlightenment. By putting eighteenth-century evangelicalism and seventeenth-century puritanism in contrast, Bebbington traced the former's source of influence to John Locke (1632–1704) and Isaac Newton (1643–1727) (see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* [London: Routledge 1989], 50–60). Michael A. G. Haykin thus summarises: “Seventeenth-century philosophical and scientific thought had been primarily concerned with general principles and the creation of metaphysical systems that would provide a unifying web for all fields of human knowledge” (Haykin, “Evangelicalism and the Enlightenment: A Reassessment,” in *The Ardent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart [Nashville, TN: B&H, 2008], 42). Furthermore, it seems that the eighteenth-century evangelicals—as many of their contemporary critics, such as David Hume (1711–1776)—adopted speculative metaphysics, while attacking analytic metaphysics of their predecessors. Moreover, the eighteenth-century metaphysicians began to distinguish metaphysics from epistemology, ethics, and logic from a previous all-catch category of metaphysics. This trend of speculative metaphysics also paved the way for many late eighteenth-century Particular Baptists to adopt empiricism—at least in their approach to and view of the sacraments. The philosophical development among the Particular Baptists is complex. As for Kinghorn, his reading of German scholars like Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791) had more influence upon his intellectual framework than Scottish empiricists such as Hume. Moreover, due to the influence of John Calvin (1509–1564) and John Gill (1697–1771), Kinghorn advocated though briefly in his sermon to the Bristol students for studying “systematic divinity,” as he argued that “I know that there is a strong tendency in the minds of many, to despise every thing which they call *systematic divinity*, but notwithstanding all that is said in opposition to it, and granting, that like every thing else, it may be abused or misimproved, yet we cannot take an enlarged view, even of our own sentiments, without some knowledge of it” (Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers. Two Sermons, Addressing Principally to the Students of the Two Baptist Academies, at Stepney and at Bristol. The First Preached June 23, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's Meeting, Carter-Lane, Southwark; The Second, August 3, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Ryland's, Broad Mead, Bristol* [Norwich, 1814], 28). In fact, Kinghorn expressed his concern over a popular pedagogy, which encouraged intellectual speculation. In his letter (dated May 13, 1811) to William Newman (1773–1835), the principal of Stepney Academy, Kinghorn stated: “The prejudice against a regular course of Instruction in divinity, I know in [is] great, & the outcry against it as Systematic, is too popular. But is foolish to imagine, that religion is the only thing in which arrangement does nothing;—or that young men who may be capable of preaching an acceptable plain sermon, know every thing in divinity by intuition, and have the privilege of despising whatever may be nick-named a System. Too much of this folly however does exist. That which will render it necessary to adopt some regular plan of explaining and discussing the leading points of the Christian Doctrine, is, that you will find young men sent to you, who will hear of some of them for the first time in your house. Many very useful ministers are on such narrow ground, that they never fairly to their proper extent state, a variety of things which have a place in the Christian System; and of course such young men as arise from their Churches are in a very uninformed **state** condition” (Joseph Kinghorn to William Newman, March 13, 1811, #36, “Wilkin papers,” MC64/12, 508X8, NRO, 3–4). Kinghorn was not alone, as Andrew Fuller (1754–1815), who preached before the Northamptonshire Association on June 1, 1796, also expressed concern over free

polemic in nature, theological concepts were scattered in his responses, the presentation of Kinghorn's ecclesial spirituality is thus interpretative and reconstructive in nature.⁶

The Concept of the Dualistic Church

At Joseph Kinghorn's ordination service, which was held on May 20, 1790, the young ordinand followed the tradition to publicly declare his confession of faith in front of the congregation, before David Kinghorn gave the ordination prayer.⁷ In Kinghorn's

inquiry in theological matters, and argued for Christians to study God's truth "in its various connexions in the great system of redemption," which is in "agreement with the Holy Scriptures" (Fuller, "The Nature and Importance of an Intimate Knowledge of Divine Truth," in *The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, ed. Joseph Belcher [Reprint; Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle, 1988], 1:164). With the examples of Fuller and Kinghorn, it seems that some Particular Baptists began to question the popular methodology in theological inquiries. Furthermore, though both Fuller and Kinghorn never wrote any treatise of systematic divinity, at least for the latter, John Gill's *Body of Divinity* was considered as exceedingly useful. Many times, in Kinghorn's correspondence with his father, Gill and his *Body of Divinity* were mentioned as a reference.

⁶ Since eighteenth-century correspondence is a special genre, it is difficult to derive theological concepts from individual letters without losing their contexts. Such a technical problem poses serious issues, and makes the following presentation more interpretive than verbatim. On the other hand, it can be observed that though the correspondence between Joseph and David Kinghorn were more theologically oriented—in contrast to Joseph Kinghorn's correspondence with Simon Wilkin (1790–1862), which was more concerned over domestic affairs—Joseph Kinghorn did not present his views in details, especially toward the end of the 1790s. In many cases, David Kinghorn presented his detailed views, about which Joseph Kinghorn commented, if disagreed. Therefore, when it comes to sources from their correspondence, David and Joseph Kinghorn's views are understood as a couplet or synoptic.

On eighteenth-century correspondence as a genre, see Elizabeth Cook, *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth-Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 5–29; Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Susan E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁷ Though Particular Baptists in London had published several Confessions of Faith (1644, 1646, 1651, 1677, 1688), these creedal documents were never adopted for ministers or ministerial candidates to subscribe. Even for the English Presbyterians, creedal subscription was not required until the nineteenth century (For instance, see Joshua Wilson, *An Historical Inquiry Concerning the Principles, Opinions, and Usages, of the English Presbyterians; From the Restoration of Charles the Second to the Death of Queen Anne*, 2nd ed. [London: William Ball, 1836]). It has been a custom among the Particular Baptists that an ordinand had to publicly declare their confession of faith prior to ordination. Though the formality and structure of these confessions could be assimilated to other creeds, the ordinand could not simply declare their assent to a historic document. For instance, at Joseph Jenkins' (1743–1819) ordination at Wrexham, Denbingshire, on September 8, 1773, after Samuel Medley (1738–1799) introduced the ordination, "the call of the Church and its acceptance being now publicly recognized, and Mr. Jenkins's *Confession of Faith* delivered, the Rev. Mr. [John] Tommas [1723/4–1800], of Bristol, prayed over him, the other ministers joining in laying on hands" ([Joseph Jenkins,] *A Confession of Faith, Delivered at the Ordination of Joseph Jenkins, A.M. at Wrexham in Denbighshire, September 8, 1773* [Shrewsbury, 1773], 2). At "laying-on-hands," two sermons were preached to both the new minister and the congregation. Such a modelled order was used by many at their ordination services. For instance, see Samuel Pearce's (1766–1799) ordination in 1790, as recorded in John Rippon, *The Baptist Annual Register, for 1790, 1791, 1792, and Part of 1793. Including Sketches of the State of Religion among Different Denominations of Good Men at Home and Abroad* (London, 1793), 517–18.

Kinghorn wrote in his manuscript about such a custom: "Being now called upon to give an account of those sentiments which I have preached to the people in this place, over whom I am now about

confession, which was preserved by Martin Hood Wilkin (1832–1904), the young ordinand followed a structure similar to the Nicene Creed (325/381). By confirming classical trinitarianism and the sufficiency of the scriptures, Kinghorn expressed his belief about the works of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. For him, people are justified “through faith in this Jesus” and are “sanctified through the operation of the Holy Spirit.”⁸ Furthermore, it was for the believers’ sanctification and final salvation that “the Holy Spirit leads them to attend to God’s word as their rule, and assists them in every part of their duty, that they may live as the children of God.”⁹ For Kinghorn, one of these Christian duties was “especially incumbent on Christians to unite together in a church state, to attend to the positive ordinances Christ has commanded.”¹⁰ In other words, regular Christian gatherings—or “a church state”—were understood as of both divine origin and a Christian duty. Furthermore, though Kinghorn did not explicitly define the church as a company of the redeemed or visible saints, he sandwiched his belief of the church with two sets of God’s works—justification and sanctification, and predestination and providence. Thus, for the young minister, the church is explicitly Christian, and more specifically, of those who were predestined to believe the historic and orthodox faith, to be baptised, and to live faithfully or dutifully according to their confessed faith. Significantly, to attend God’s rule and fulfil Christian duties became Kinghorn’s persisting commitment in life, teaching, and even debates, as rule and duty were major rationales for Kinghorn’s defence of doctrines such as credobaptism and close communion, about which will be explored in the next chapter.

to take the pastoral charge, I comply in conformity to the general custom on these occasions, and shall briefly recite what appear to me the leading truths of Christianity” (Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* [Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander, 1855], 175). Regrettably, this manuscript does not exist in the collections at either Oxford or Norwich.

⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176.

⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176.

¹⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176.

Throughout his confession, ecclesiology seems to be a minor issue in contrast to doctrines such as Christology and election, as there are only three short paragraphs on matters related to the church and its practices—baptism and eucharist. As he mentioned by the end of his confession:

Such are the general views of Christianity which I have endeavoured to lay open to the people here ... Should I be hereafter favoured with a clearer insight into his holy will, I hope I shall not hide from them what shall appear as his counsel, but shall look on myself as bound to declare it, being sensible that anything attended with Scripture evidence is not only important, but best calculated to promote the end which I trust I earnestly desire,—the eternal salvation of their souls.¹¹

However immature Kinghorn's thoughts were at the time, his confession reveals a prototype of the two-nature church, which had probably been uncritically inherited from earlier Protestant traditions.¹² As it was revealed by correspondence with his father and

¹¹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 177.

¹² Though the concept of the visible and invisible (or empirical and spiritual) church has been commonly attributed to the works of Augustine of Hippo (354–430), Tarsicius J. van Bavel suggests that the dualistic interpretation of Augustine's ecclesiology is misleading, as it isolated Augustine's teachings on the church from other significant theological topics, such as eschatology. Therefore, van Bavel states that for Augustine, "there is no perfect identity between the church on earth and the community of saints, but the saints reign already now with Christ, albeit in an imperfect way. In the same sense the church is already the reign of Christ, the heavenly kingdom or the body of Christ (*civ. Dei* 20.9). There is identity and nonidentity at the same time. The one church leads, as it were, two lives and passes through different phases. Therefore the church in which we now live is not a fixed or completed entity; it is in becoming and in process, in the stage of growing from a mixed body into the perfect body of Christ" (van Bavel, "Church," in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999], 173; also see Émilien Lamirande, *La situation ecclésiologique des donatistes d'après saint Augustin: contribution à l'histoire doctrinale de l'œcuménisme* [Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1972]; Walter Simonis, *Ecclesia visibilis et invisibilis: Untersuchungen zur Ekklesiologie und Sakramentenlehre in der afrikanischen Tradition von Cyprian bis Augustinus* [Frankfurt: Knecht, 1970]; Michael Root, "Augustine on the Church," in *The T&T Clark Companion to Augustine and Modern Theology*, ed. C. C. Pecknold and Tarmo Toom [London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013], 54–74; James Lee, *Augustine and the Mystery of the Church* [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017]). In other words, the visible church and the "mixed church" are not identical, and Augustine saw no gap between the *Corpus Christi* and the empirical or institutional church. It seems that the concept of a dualistic church can be traced as early as to John Wycliffe (c. 1320s–1384) and Jan Hus (c. 1372–1415), from whom most Protestants inherited their idea. For Wycliffe, the church is defined as "congregacione omnium predestinatorum" (Wyclif, *Tractatus De ecclesia*, ed. Iohann Loserth [London: Wyclif Society, 1886], 2 line 27–28). Unlike Augustine, since Wycliffe tied the nature of the church with predestination, the "Morning Star" de-institutionalized the church. Thus, for Wycliffe, "the sacramental power of the ecclesiastical office was null and void and reduced it to the duty of disseminating correctly informed knowledge of the Christian faith" (Takashi Shogimen, "Wyclif's Ecclesiology and Political Thought," in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy [Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2006], 217). By reclaiming Christ as the sole head of the church, Wycliffe emphasised on the spiritual nature of the one catholic church, and "rejected the idea that the work of God was mediated by ecclesiastical institutions" (Shogimen, "Wyclif's Ecclesiology and Political Thought," 221). In other words, as Wycliffe followed the neo-Platonic framework employed by Augustine, Wycliffe identified his contemporary church as a *permixta ecclesia*, which was ready to reform. Hus further developed this idea, which can also be identified in Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564). Regarding the reformers' ecclesiology, see Johannes Smit, "Martin Luther's Theology and Calvinistic Church Orders and

others, Kinghorn began to reflect on theological subjects while reading more broadly after his ordination. Particularly with the church, Kinghorn rejected both Donatism and *permixta ecclesia*.¹³ Instead, Kinghorn understood paedobaptists as erring Christians, and he distinguished the “Jewish church” from the Christian church.

In 1829, when a Norfolk Anglican clergyman published an attack on the dissenters, Kinghorn quickly responded though anonymously.¹⁴ Following his learned

Church Polity,” in *Luther and Calvinism: Image and Reception of Martin Luther in the History and Theology of Calvinism*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis and J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 101–22; David P. Daniel, “Luther on the Church,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther’s Theology*, ed. Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel, and L’ubomír Batka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 333–52; Georg Plasger, “Ecclesiology,” trans. Randi H. Lundell, in *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 323–32; Yosep Kim, *The Identity and the Life of the Church: John Calvin’s Ecclesiology in the Perspective of His Anthropology* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014).

¹³ Here I refer to later Donatist ecclesiology, which understood the church as “the collecta of Israel,” which in practice sought absolute purity of the gathered church. See Matthew Allen Gaumer, “The Evolution of Donatist Theology as Response to a Changing Late Antique Milieu,” *Augustiniana* 58, no. 3/4 (2008): 201–33. Also see William C. Weinrich, “Cyprian, Donatism, Augustine, and Augustana VIII: Remarks on the Church and the Validity of Sacraments,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1991): 267–96; Marcela Andoková, “*Fusca sum et decora*: The Influence of Tyconius on Augustine’s Teaching of the *Ecclesia Permixta*,” *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica* 2 (2015): 61–76; Francine Cardman, “The Praxis of Ecclesiology: Learning from the Donatist Controversy,” *Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings* 54 (1999): 25–37.

¹⁴ [Charles Campbell,] *An Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church, the Divine Commission of the Clergy, and the Necessity of a Regular Appointment to the Ministry; To Which are Added a Few Observations on Some of the Erroneous Notions of Dissent, and the Folly and Unprofitableness of Separating from the Established Church; in an Address to His Parishioners* (Swaffham, Norfolk: Skill, 1829). This pamphlet was not well circulated, as the only available copy is in the archive of the Millennium Library in Norwich, which appears to be Kinghorn’s own copy (Z 230.3). This bounded volume contains Campbell’s pamphlet, Kinghorn’s response (*Remarks on a “Country Clergyman’s Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church, the Divine Commission of the Clergy, &c.” Being a Defence of Dissenters in General, and of Baptists in Particular; On New Testament Principles* [Norwich: S. Wilkin, 1829]), two handwritten prefaces, and Campbell’s response to Kinghorn ([Campbell,] *A Reply to the Remarks of a Dissenter, on a Country Clergyman’s Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church, &c.* [Swaffham, 1830]). Though *An Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church* was published anonymously, there are two hints in the work to its authorship. First, it was published in Swaffham, Norfolk, and second, by the end of the pamphlet, the author signed “C. C.” ([Campbell,] *Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church*, 33). Thus, the author is identified as Charles Campbell (1791/1792–1887), the son of Charles Campbell (d. 1822). After trained school at Eton, Campbell went up to Cambridge and studied at Caius College (1809–1812). Upon graduation, Campbell served in the army for three years, and was ordained as a deacon in 1817 and a priest in 1818. Campbell succeeded his father as the vicar of All Saints, Weasenham, Norfolk, till his death. Geographically, Swaffham is the nearest post town to Weasenham. During his lifetime, Campbell was a controversial writer and apologist of the Establishment (Frederic Boase, “Campbell, Charles,” in *Modern English Biography Containing Many Thousand Concise Memoirs of Persons Who Have Died During the Years 1851–1900, with an Index of the Most Interesting Matter* [Truro, Cornwall: Netherton and Worth, 1906], 4:588–89). In his *Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church*, Campbell defended apostolic succession and criticised the dissenters being unlearned, unsent, and schismatic. Specifically, Campbell named the Ranters, Baptists, Methodists, Culamites (after David Culy [d. 1725?], an Anabaptist), and followers of Joanna Southcote (1750–1814). Significantly, Campbell connected Baptists and Socinians together by stating: “The Baptist, the Socinian, or denier of Christ’s divinity, each asserts that *he* alone preaches *the faith which*

opponent's definition of the church, Kinghorn stated:

Without discussing all the parts of the definition, or enquiring how far they would extend, I will take the last line or two as a common basis, that is church is a body of persons composed of those who are joined together in the "acknowledgment of *one Lord, one faith, one baptism*:" and I agree with him, that the present enquiry is not concerning the *invisible*, but the visible church, if the terms are properly understood.¹⁵

It appears that Kinghorn was in agreement with his opponent over the distinctions of the invisible and visible church.¹⁶ In fact, in 1796, when Kinghorn and his father discussed about the differences of denominations, David Kinghorn pointed out that "the essence of the Christian ch[urc]h as such, includes only professed Believers, unbelievers are of right excluded."¹⁷ Furthermore, the senior Kinghorn stated:

The essence of every Church, and that which constitutes the essential difference in all churches, is different articles of faith, and forms of worship. NB, I do not mean a Church as a single congregation, but including all the Congregations professing the same faith, and using the same forms of worship, as an aggregate Body. Believer and unbeliever was the essential difference between Jews and Christians at first and continues the same still, and will continue till the end of Time respecting all Men.¹⁸

In light of Joseph Kinghorn's confession and later works, the father and son agreed on the two-nature church, though such an idea experienced development and extension throughout his long pastoral career.¹⁹ The following sections, therefore, further examine

was once delivered to the Saints" ([Campbell,] *Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church*, 18).

¹⁵ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 5. Campbell defined the church as "body of persons dispersed throughout the world, of *every kindred, tongue, and people*, who are joined together in one fellowship, by a due admission into Covenant with Christ, and the acknowledgement of *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*" ([Campbell,] *Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church*, 2).

¹⁶ For Campbell, the difference between the visible and invisible church is "between the Church established by Christ on Earth and the *General Assembly and Church of the First-born, which are written in Heaven*" ([Campbell,] *Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church*, 2).

¹⁷ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 9, 1796, D/KIN 2/1796 no. 852, KPA, 1.

¹⁸ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 9, 1796, D/KIN 2/1796 no. 852, KPA, 1.

¹⁹ It may be argued that Kinghorn's view of the church could be called "conceoporeal theosis," which understood the Body of Christ as "the Body united to the Crucified and Risen Christ the Head, the Body of the Father's Election in Christ the Head, and the Body baptised by Christ the Head in the Spirit, and thus the Body which lives in the Trinity" (Jonathan Black, *The Theosis of the Body of Christ: From the Early British Apostolics to a Pentecostal Trinitarian Ecclesiology* [Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2020], 187).

Kinghorn's ecclesial spirituality according to the framework of a dualistic church.

Ecclesia Catholica

To understand Kinghorn's view of the invisible or catholic church is to explore the meaning of being a Christian. In fact, for Kinghorn, the unity of faith is essentially the characteristics of the catholic church. Nevertheless, Kinghorn understood that there is a "difference between essential articles & human conclusions."²⁰ For the former, it is the essence of being a Christian, as Kinghorn told his father early in his ministry: "none ought to be recd. as members who do not appear to believe the Essentials of Christianity & give endeavour of this being Christians."²¹ Later, in his letter to a friend about joining the Christian church, when Kinghorn asked, "Are you a Christian?," the Baptist minister explained that

I do not mean by this—do you believe the truth of divine revelation in general: but has the doctrine of Christ, as revealed in his Gospel, made a proper impression on your mind; so that you are led to that faith in him, and that obedience to him, which distinguishes the new testament description of the disciple of the Lord Jesus? Suffer me to lay before you a few serious questions: What is your view of *yourself*,—of *Jesus Christ*,—of his *Ordinances*,—of your *duty as a professor of Christianity*,—and what are your *wishes and hopes respecting your future conduct*?²²

In light of these questions, it seems that Christology, soteriology, and ecclesiology constitute the essence of Christian spirituality.

Trinitarianism and Christology²³

Besides his confession, Kinghorn's most systematic exposition of the doctrine of God can be found in his two published sermons. The first sermon was preached at the

²⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 15, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 977, KPA, 2.

²¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 19, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, KPA, 3.

²² Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 4.

²³ Part of this section has first appeared in Baiyu Andrew Song, "'When They Know Only or Chiefly Its Language, Not Its Spirit': Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832) and Socinianism," *Puritan Reformed Journal* 12, no. 2 (2020): 81–99. Minor revisions and additions have been made.

anniversary meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society on June 25, 1817, in which Kinghorn sought to defend the biblical mandate and legitimacy for the society to continue sending missionaries abroad.²⁴ The second sermon was published in a collection of sermons in 1831 and it is unclear where and when Kinghorn first preached it.²⁵ Significantly, early in Kinghorn's ministerial career, he understood the value of doctrinal sermons, as he explained:

I have oft thought the Theory of Christianity is little understood by many but that it might be placed on a basis of Scripture & so far supported by fact & argument as would at least not to be overturned easily and little as I have been given to Doctrinal preaching I think it now received attention for if we do not make some rigorous efforts to support what we think right men will forget & disbelieve first one thing & then another till even the most serious will hardly know what they believe & this will be so far from being an improvement in the religious world that it will only introduce a state of religious barbarism & ignorance.²⁶

Thus, these two sermons were aimed to remind the audience essential doctrines of Christianity.

In his anniversary sermon, which was based on Psalm 96:3, Kinghorn sought to place an emphasis on the subject of a missionary's message, as well as the biblical duty for such an enterprise. By examining the text, Kinghorn pointed out that the glory of

²⁴ Joseph Kinghorn, "Sermon. Preached by the Rev. J. Kinghorn, of Norwich, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, at Spa-fields Chapel, on Wednesday, June 25, 1817," *BM* 9 (September 1817): 324–33.

²⁵ Joseph Kinghorn, "Sermon XV. The Separate State," in *The British Preacher, Under the Sanction of the ministers Whose Discourses Appear in Its Pages*, ed. [James Marchant] (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1831), 2:217–30.

²⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 19, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, KPA, 3. In a following letter, Kinghorn told his father: "I have been lately preaching a few Doctrinal Sermons in which I stated the evidence of the principal parts of the Christian System—and pleaded for my own idea as well as I could. It has proved exercise for myself & I hope information (in a degree) for my people. I mean now to give them a few practice subjects which come in with more force & can be urged closer after the foundation has been laid in Doctrine than at any other time as it keeps people from suspecting your [*sic*] mean to undermine the Doctrines of religion—and opens the road more wider to the Heart" (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, July 14, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 838, KPA, 2).

On eighteenth-century pulpit, see Bob Tennant, "The Sermons of the Eighteenth-Century Evangelicals," in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon, 1689–1901*, ed. Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 114–35; James Downey, *The Eighteenth Century Pulpit: A Study of the Sermons of Butler, Berkeley, Secker, Sterne, Whitefield and Wesley* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969); O. C. Edwards Jr., "Varieties of Sermon: A Survey of Preaching in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joris van Eijnatten (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 3–56.

God includes “a display of the revealed name and character of God,” “a display of the way of salvation proclaimed in the gospel,” and the duty to “make known those wonders, or grand facts, by which the glory of God has been either exhibited or illustrated.”²⁷

Regarding God’s self-revelation, Kinghorn understood it in contrast to idolatry. Whereas the latter is complicated and “holds up to its votaries a list of superior and inferior deities,” the former is “a simple grandeur,” which is about the triune God.²⁸ For Kinghorn, the mystery of the Trinity is especially revealed in the practice of baptism, as every Christian is baptised in “the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”²⁹ Furthermore, these three are not deities of unequal qualities or ranks; instead, they are of “one common divine nature shines through the whole, and the glory of all is combined in the salvation of man.”³⁰ As the focal point of God’s revelation, the incarnated Son is particularly significant, as Jesus Christ

is not distinct in his being from his Father, but one with him; the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person: who came, not on a scheme of private aggrandizement; nor to conduct an enterprize in opposition to his Father’s pleasure; but according to a preconcerted purpose, to execute that grand design for the salvation of man, which from before the foundation of the world had been hid in God.³¹

By employing the term of “personage,” Kinghorn understood Jesus Christ as the second person of the Godhead—“God manifest in flesh.”³² Furthermore, though God reveals

²⁷ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 324, 326, 327.

²⁸ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 325.

²⁹ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 325. Regarding mystery, Kinghorn stated that “mystery is not always applied to truth, but sometimes to a system of iniquity, unknown, and working in secret. Mysteries may be revealed, and made known; but the term mystery does not signify any thing that is made known; but on the contrary, a thing which was not understood till it was made known” (Joseph Kinghorn, *Scripture Arguments for the Divinity of Christ, Addressed to the Serious Professors of Christianity. Second Edition. With an Appendix, containing Observations on the Rev. I. Perry’s Letters to the Author* [Norwich, 1814], 47).

³⁰ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 325.

³¹ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 325.

³² Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 325.

himself in both general and special revelations, nothing is comparable to Jesus Christ, as Kinghorn stated: “Idolatry may, and does resist the evidence of the truth, taken as a whole; but it is not armed with any peculiar weapon against the character of the Son of God.”³³ Through the Son, “the living and true God” reveals his character, which is

a God of power, who made and who upholds all things. A God of wisdom, which is seen in all his works, and which appears the more wonderful the more it is investigated. A God whose goodness is displayed in all parts of his dominion. A God who will judge the world in righteousness; but a God of compassion and mercy to all that call upon him with their whole heart; and whose holiness, shining through all the parts of his character, gives to each a peculiar lustre, and renders every attribute a real perfection. In the presence of such a Being, what reason is there to say, “Who is like unto thee, O Lord among the gods; glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders! Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool, for the Lord our God is holy.” [Exodus 15:11] ... in one word, that he is the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God: who dwelleth in light inaccessible to mortal eyes, and full of glory! How just, then, was the adoration of the prophet— “Who would not fear before thee, O thou King of nations, for unto thee it doth appertain!” [Jeremiah 10:7].³⁴

While affirming the doctrine of divine simplicity, Kinghorn understood that the person and work of Jesus Christ are inseparably at the centre of God’s self-revelation. In other words, the incarnated God is the indispensable foundation of Christianity.

In “The Separate State,” which was based on his exposition of 2 Corinthians 5:8, Kinghorn laid out the foundation of his argument upon the nature of God, as he acknowledged:

God is a spiritual, and not a material Being. The Source of all life, of all wisdom and power, of holiness, and of happiness, is a *spiritual Being*. He does not think through the medium of finely arranged matter; and matter itself owes its existence to Him who is a *Spirit*; and all the beauty and variety that is seen in the material world, is owing to the operation of *spirit*.³⁵

Following the Nicene doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*, Kinghorn rejected the idea of the

³³ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 325.

³⁴ Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 326. In a long letter written to a young friend in 1832, Kinghorn stated that God’s “being is so far raised above ours in its nature, that we see the things quite true in us are not so as they regard him; and that to judge of his existence by our own, would be to apply a rule utterly incompetent and fallacious” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 438). Unfortunately, this letter only exists in Wilkin’s memoir.

³⁵ Kinghorn, “Separate State,” 218.

soul's kinship with the divine and affirmed that God is the first cause.³⁶ Thus, Kinghorn not only affirmed the ontological distinction between the spiritual and the material, but more specifically, the distinction is between the Creator God and his creatures. Thus, as Andrew Louth summarised, the Nicene cosmology claimed that “the soul has nothing in common with God; there is no kinship between it and the divine. Its kinship is with its body, in virtue of their common creation, rather than with God.”³⁷ Such an ontological distinction led Kinghorn to turn his attention particularly to the third person of the Godhead. As God is the cause of everything, Kinghorn stated that “Spirit has existed and shewn its operations in the most splendid manner, without assistance from any material mediums; and that matter itself owes its existence to Spirit.”³⁸ Although Kinghorn seems to apply a Platonic contrast of idea (ιδέα) and form (εἶδος) here, it is better to understand Kinghorn to be thinking in a Nicene framework, which affirms the fact that the existence of all spiritual and physical substances and properties are caused by the Spirit *ex nihilo*. In other words, the Spirit is also God and the creator. Furthermore, by affirming both the Son and the Spirit are God the creator, it also helps to understand the relationship between the persons within the Godhead. For Kinghorn, although both the Son and the Spirit came from the Father, such a relationship did not necessarily mean that either the Son or the Spirit was created by the Father. To further explain the internal divine relations, Kinghorn later wrote:

Whatever may be the reasons why Jesus Christ is called the Son of God, there arise

³⁶ Though the doctrine of God as the first cause was well argued by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Kinghorn was probably under the direct influence of John Gill, about whose view, see John Gill, *A Body of Doctrinal Divinity: Or, a System of Evangelical Truths, Deduced from the Sacred Scriptures* (London, 1769), 1:70–76. Also see Steven Tshombe Godet, “The Trinitarian Theology of John Gill (1697–1771): Context, Sources, and Controversy” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2015). Kinghorn later argued: “In us, existence itself supposes a prior cause, in God it does not. This is enough to show that we are on very different ground when reasoning concerning our God, than when reasoning concerning ourselves” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 438).

³⁷ Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 75.

³⁸ Kinghorn, “Separate State,” 219.

from the representation itself, an impression, that from the same reasons, there is a fitness in the Father's holding a priority in name and authority. The Father is on the throne, because in working out the salvation of men the Son and Spirit are represented as coming from him; the agencies engaged in this labour. They are therefore said to be sent. But surely no one can suppose that they were sent, or even commissioned in the same way that a superior sends an inferior to do something which he would not think of doing till a command was laid upon him, unless the Son and Spirit are merely creatures; and if so, then you come to Unitarianism at once, and have what appears to me, the insurmountable difficulty of reconciling the language of that system with the terms of the new Testament ... although we do not know that anything like the power of creating was ever given to any creature; or that the power of governing the universe was ever communicated to a mere man; now both these are expressly ascribed to Jesus Christ.³⁹

In other words, the diversity in the Godhead cannot be understood in light of human perspectives or by reason; instead, such a diversity was revealed by the incarnated God in light of the different roles of the divine persons in the economy of salvation. Thus, Kinghorn closely associated God's person and work in his understanding of the Trinity by affirming the Nicene tradition. Such a statement echoed what David Kinghorn wrote back in 1791 that the Spirit is "not another God, nor a Created Spirit, nor a subordinate being, subordinate in nature to the Father but a distinct person in Deity."⁴⁰ In summary, regarding the doctrine of Trinity, Joseph agreed with his father that "We believe and we adore what to us is incomprehensible. viz. that the Father the Word or Son, and Holy Spirit are one God, One in nature three in person."⁴¹ As it has been displayed in these two sermons, Kinghorn was extremely concerned over classical trinitarianism and Nicene Christology, and his understanding of these doctrines developed since his ordination, especially through his struggle with Socinianism.

Kinghorn against Socinianism

During Kinghorn's lifetime, rationalism and its theological variant—Socinianism—swept the churches and academies like a hurricane. As a result, ample

³⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 440–441.

⁴⁰ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, November 26, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 695, KPA, 1.

⁴¹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, November 26, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 695, KPA, 1–2.

Anglicans and dissenters ceased to hold the trinitarian orthodoxy and merged with the Unitarians. Furthermore, since many dissenting academies applied Philip Doddridge's (1702–1751) pedagogical approach, these academies soon became the eye of the storm, and many graduated as an Arian or Socinian.⁴² Such a theological deterioration also occurred in the Baptist academy in Bristol. Though Caleb Evans (1737–1791) was a defender of the trinitarian orthodoxy, many of his students experienced the struggle of their age and found difficulties to agree with their tutor's doctrines.⁴³ Two of Kinghorn's classmates, Samuel Pearce (1766–1799) and Anthony Robinson (1762–1827), were examples of this theological confusion. Pearce, a life-long friend of Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) and later the minister at Birmingham, was perplexed after reading Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) and Daniel Whitby (1638–1726).⁴⁴ Unlike Pearce, Robinson—who was Kinghorn's roommate—never returned to the trinitarian orthodoxy. After claiming himself a convicted Unitarian in 1788, and became a close friend with Priestley, Robinson left the pastoral ministry and became a sugar refiner in London. In fact, as late

⁴² See Russell E. Richey, "From Puritanism to Unitarianism in England: A Study in Candour," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 41, no. 3 (1973): 371–85; Daniel E. White, *Early Romanticism and Religious Dissent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tessa Whitehouse, ed., *Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings, c. 1720–c. 1729*, The Queen Mary Centre for Religion and Literature in English, accessed November 17, 2019, <http://www.qmulreligionandliterature.co.uk/online-publications/dissenting-education>; Isabel Rivers, *The Defence of Truth through the Knowledge of Error: Philip Doddridge's Academy Lectures* (London: Dr Williams's Trust, 2003); Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780, Volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Doddridge claimed that he had inherited his approach from his tutor John Jennings (c. 1720–c. 1729), whose approach "was applauded by the most learned and judicious in these parts as preferable to any thing of the kind wch. they had an opportunity of being acquainted with" (Philip Doddridge, "An Account of Mr Jennings's Method of Academical Education with Some Reflections upon it in a Letter to a Friend who had some Thoughts of Reviving it Written in the Year 1728," in Whitehouse, ed., *Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings*, accessed on June 29, 2021, [http://www.qmulreligionandliterature.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Tessa/3\)%20Philip%20Doddridge's%20'Account%20of%20Mr%20Jennings's%20Method'.pdf](http://www.qmulreligionandliterature.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Tessa/3)%20Philip%20Doddridge's%20'Account%20of%20Mr%20Jennings's%20Method'.pdf), 1). As Doddridge believed the necessity of "freedom of enquiry" in theological discourses, he aimed to train students' intellectual capacities by equally presenting theological arguments from both sides. Later, at Daventry, Caleb Ashworth (1722–1775) and Samuel Clark Jr. (1728–1769) further developed their tutor's method, by solemnly presenting heretical arguments for students to respond.

⁴³ When Evans died, Kinghorn remarked that "Caleb Evans is a very rare character, and we have much reason to lament his loss" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 196).

⁴⁴ See Andrew Fuller, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Pearce*, The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller vol. 4, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 49–50, 123.

as 1791, David Kinghorn expressed his concern about his son's orthodoxy, as the father wrote: "I hope you never will read the NT with Socinian eyes," about which system the senior called "gross absurdities and perversion of Scripture."⁴⁵ The situation at Bristol was so severe that in a letter to Evans' successor, John Ryland Jr. (1753–1825), the London Baptist minister Abraham Booth (1734–1806) lamented that "I perceive [no] objections at all to your present plan of proceeding; but am sorry to find that any young man is admitted into the Academy, who is inclined to Socinianism."⁴⁶ To avoid the furtherance of Socinian penetration, Kinghorn suggested William Newman (1773–1835), principal of the newly founded Stepney Academy, to instruct the subjects of divinity systematically, as he stated:

It will be of great importance to impress the value of truth on the minds of the young, & consequently to state the evidence of what you feel to be of consequence, & to try to fix it in their hearts. I know the contrary way has some patrons, who say set before young persons both sides of a system, & without showing your opinion of the value of either, let them choose for themselves. But whoever acts on this place, either is indifferent to any thing, & thinks every sentiment may be equally useful, or he does not endeavour to do, what he might do for the cause of Truth. I believe it is known that very many of Dr. Doddridge's students imbibed opinions quite contrary to his; & surely this was in part owing to an error in their education.⁴⁷

Without denying its difficulties, Kinghorn correctly understood that Christology was a stumbling block for the Socinians. Nevertheless, for Kinghorn:

It has been asserted by some the Doctrine of the Trinity could not be proved even by a miracle—If that doctrine however be true how evidently it proves the Words of Xt.. apply to modern controversy as well as to ancient infidelity—if ye believe not Moses & the Prophets neither will ye be persuaded tho one rose from the dead.—I wonder what even a Socinian should make such an assertion.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, November 26, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 695, KPA, 1.

⁴⁶ Abraham Booth to John Ryland Jr. (November 11, 1793), G97 B Box A, MS 11/11/1793 (Bristol Baptist College). Though in the manuscript Booth wrote "perceive to objections," it appears to be a typo and it supposes to be "perceive no objections."

⁴⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to William Newman, May 13, 1811, no. 36, Wilkin Papers, MC 64/12, 508X8, NRO, [5]. Also see Baiyu Andrew Song, ed., "Joseph Kinghorn's Pedagogical Advice to William Newman," *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 5 (2022): 113–125.

⁴⁸ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, July 14, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 838, KPA, 2.

Thus, Kinghorn understood that the Socinian controversy overall was “not like those between other classes of professing Christians, for a single doctrine, or a statement of one or more particular points, or for a rite or point of discipline; but, like the contest of two nations, for existence: in fact, everything is connected with it.”⁴⁹ In other words, Christianity and Socinianism did not share the same root even in the ancient church. For Kinghorn, “the foundation of Arianism was certainly laid before the days of Arius, though he appears as its ostensible founder.”⁵⁰ He then linked the Arian errors with the second-temple Judaism. With reading the second-century Aramaic translation of the Torah, Targum Onkelos, Kinghorn observed that the language used to describe *memra* (מֵאִמְרָא, i.e., “word”) made it difficult for Jews to imagine “the word was made flesh.”⁵¹ Nevertheless, as Kinghorn sought to demonstrate in his sermon at the Jews’ chapel on December 16, 1810, there were “marks of the Messiah, by which he, and the time of his coming were to be distinguished” in the Old Testament.⁵² Thus, the divinity of Christ was not merely a New Testament doctrine. Instead,

⁴⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to John Pye Smith (November 18, 1812), in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 346. On the development of Socinianism in English nonconformity, see R. K. Webb, “The Emergence of Rational Dissent,” in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 12–41.

⁵⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 6, 1792, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 712, KPA, 1.

⁵¹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 274. Scholars argued that from Servetus onward, the antitrinitarian ideology had been rooted in post-biblical rabbinical writings. Thus, “Judaism was so much more than an amalgam or language and writings supporting their ideological positions: it was a way of life so close to that of the antitrinitarians that some chose to consider Jews and antitrinitarians as essentially indistinguishable. Rather than just influenced by Jewish sources, antitrinitarians began identifying with the Jewish people not only from a theological perspective but from a personal one as well. It is this complicated religious identity that instigated in its own way a reevaluation of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity” (Jay Solomon, “Loving Thy Neighbor as Thyself: The Place of Judaism in the Identity of the English Unitarians” [B.A. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2006], 4).

⁵² Joseph Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations Serious Considerations Addressed to the House of Israel. The Substance of a Sermon, Delivered at the Jews’ Chapel, December 16, 1810* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, 1811), 7. The Jews’ Chapel (or the Episcopal Jews’ Chapel) was a part of the ministry of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (LSPCAJ), which was formed on August 4, 1808 under the leadership Joseph Samuel C. G. Frey (1771–1850), a Polish Jewish convert. After his conversion, Frey was baptised in New Brandenburg on May 8, 1798, and he was convinced to become a missionary a few years later. In 1801, Frey arrived in London and wished to join the London Missionary Society. As he saw the large Jewish population in England, Frey decided to become a missionary to the Jews in England, thus began to form the LSPCAJ. About the mission of the new society, it was written: “Who can reasonably expect that a Jew will either attend upon the preaching of the Gospel, or send a child to a day school, to receive Christian education, whilst the old

As to the worship of Christ as Son of God, we plead for nothing more than what appears to us contained in your own Scriptures. Although the character of Christ was not fully displayed till after his resurrection and ascension, yet we think we see it pointed at, in your own prophets, in so distinguished a manner, that we conceive we have their authority for our sentiments and practice.⁵³

Therefore, to reject Jesus Christ was to reject the God of Abraham. From a historical perspective, Kinghorn argued that “your fathers never suffered the vengeance of God for rejecting heathenism ... But soon after they openly and generally rejected the Gospel, the vengeance of God burst on them like a mighty torrent.”⁵⁴ In his second sermon preached at the Jews’ Chapel, Kinghorn examined the rabbinic literature, *Toledot Yeshu* (ישו תולדות, Life of Jesus), and argued against its historical reliability. Kinghorn claimed that

law that if any man did confess that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the Synagogue, is more rigidly observed than ever. The word of God assures us that the fear of man, on account of this law, prevented many of the Pharisees, of the rulers, and of the rich, from making an open profession, notwithstanding their conviction of the truth of Christ’s Messiahship. The united testimony of history and experience, since the times of the Apostles, clearly evinces, that the fear of man is still a great snare, especially to the poor and ignorant amongst the Jews, who constitute by far the greatest part of that unhappy nation. To remove this apparently insurmountable obstacle, is one great design of the London Society” (Anonymous, “Origin of the London Society,” *The Jewish Repository* 1 [January 1813]: 28–29). When the society was organised, they used the Fournier Street chapel (formerly Church street) in Spitalfields, east London, as the society’s headquarter. The Fournier Street chapel was built by a Huguenot congregation. Later when the society built a new chapel, the Fournier Street chapel was leased by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1819. Interestingly, more than half a century later, the chapel became Spitalfields Great Synagogue in 1897, and in 1975, the building was transformed to a mosque (Christopher Wakeling, *Chapels of England: Buildings of Protestant Nonconformity* [Swindon, Wiltshire: Historic England, 2017], 52). Later a five-acre field was purchased on the Cambridge Road in Bethnal Green, east London, and along with a school and a training college, a permeant Jews’ chapel was opened in 1811. The five-acre field was later named Palestine Place. Baptists were active in this ministry and many Baptist ministers were invited to preach at the society’s gatherings. For instance, at the first public meeting of the London Society, John Sutcliff (1752–1814) of Olney preached from Isaiah 2:5 (Anonymous, “Origin of the London Society,” *The Jewish Repository* 1 [March 1813]: 102). Later Andrew Fuller was also invited to preach at the Jews’ chapel (see Fuller, *Jesus the True Messiah. A Sermon Delivered in the Jews’ Chapel, Church-Street, Spitalfields, on the Lord’s Day Evening, November 19, 1809* [London: The London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, 1810]). Also see Robert Michael Smith, “The London Jews’ Society and Patterns of Jewish Conversion in England, 1801–1859,” *Jewish Social Studies* 43, no. 3/4 (1981): 275–290; Mel Scult, “English Missions to the Jews: Conversion in the Age of Emancipation,” *Jewish Social Studies* 35, no. 1 (1973): 3–17; Michael R. Darby, *The Emergence of the Hebrew Christian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Leiden; London: Brill, 2010); John Mark Yeats, “‘The Time is Come’: The Rise of British Missions to the Jews 1808–1818” (PhD diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2004).

⁵³ Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations*, 12.

⁵⁴ Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations*, 14. This may refer to Jesus’ prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem (see Mark 13 and Luke 21:5–38) by Titus (39–81) and Tiberius Julius Alexander (fl. 1st century). On the interpretation, see Daniel Marguerat, “Le conflit des interprétations en histoire: Lecture juives et chrétiennes de la chute de Jérusalem,” in *Histoire et Herméneutique: Mélanges offerts à Gottfried Hammann*, ed. Martin Rose (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2002), 249–68; Lloyd Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1970); Charles Homer Giblin, *The Destruction of Jerusalem According to Luke’s Gospel* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985).

Jesus did not promote idolatry, as many accused him; instead, he claimed himself as the Son of “the God of your fathers,” “a partaker of his nature and glory, and one with him; though while here, he was humbled in the form of a servant, and clothed in the flesh.”⁵⁵ Therefore, as he pointed out in his letter, the first chapter of Colossians did not show favour to Arianism or Socinianism; rather, “It cuts it up by showing that something like an Arian system arose in the days of the apostles which they opposed.”⁵⁶

Regarding Socinianism, Kinghorn agreed that they shared the same root with Ebionism.⁵⁷ However, he rejected the notion that “the Ebionites were the successors and representatives of the Primitive Jerusalem Church.”⁵⁸ By quoting church fathers like Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165), Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–c. 202), Tertullian (c. 155–c. 240), Origen (c. 184–c. 253), and Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296/8–373), Kinghorn argued that

⁵⁵ Joseph Kinghorn, *The Miracles of Jesus not Performed by the Power of the Shem-Hamphorash. The Substance of a Sermon Preached at the Jews’ Chapel, August 18, 1811, Being the Seventh Demonstration Sermon... With an Appendix on Jewish Traditions and the Perpetuity of the Law of Moses* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, 1812), 28.

⁵⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 274.

⁵⁷ Gregg R. Allison summarised the major tenets of Ebionism as “(1) Jesus was an ordinary, though unusually holy, man who was born to Mary and Joseph in a normal way. (2) At Jesus’ baptism, the ‘Christ’ (the power and presence of God) came upon him. At that point, God ‘adopted’ Jesus as his son, conferring on him supernatural powers and rendering him the Messiah. (3) On the cross, as Jesus cried out, ‘Why have you forsaken me?’ the Christ withdrew from him” (Allison, “Ebionism,” *The Baker Compact Dictionary of Theological Terms* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2016], 62). Also see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Qumrân Scrolls, the Ebionites and Their Literature,” *Theological Studies* 16, no. 3 (1955): 335–72; Caterina Celeste Berardi, “La Primitiva Comunità Giudeocristiana di Gerusalemme: Note e Osservazioni,” *Vetera Christianorum* 41, no. 1 (2004): 49–60; Simon Claude Mimouni, “Les Nazoréens recherche étymologique et historique,” *Revue biblique* 105, no. 2 (1998): 208–62; Harris H. Hirschberg, “Simon Bariona and the Ebionites,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 61, no. 3 (1942): 171–91; Jarl E. Fossum, “Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 3 (1983): 260–87; Jacobus van Amersfoort, “The Ebionites as Depicted in the Pseudo-Clementine Novel,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 60, no. 1–4 (2008): 85–104; Andries G. Van Aarde, “Ebionite Tendencies in the Jesus Tradition: The Infancy Gospel of Thomas Interpreted from the Perspective of Ethnic Identity,” *Neotestamentica* 40, no. 2 (2006): 353–82; Michael Douglas Goulder, “Hebrews and the Ebionites,” *New Testament Studies* 49, no. 3 (2003): 393–406; Paul D. Molnar, “Some Dogmatic Implications of Barth’s Understanding of Ebionite and Docetic Christology,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 2, no. 2 (2000): 151–74; Claire Clivaz, “Except that Christ never said: ‘and the angel that spoke in me said to me’ (De Carne Christi, 14.30–41): Tertullian, Ebionism, and an Accident Perception of Jesus,” *Revue des études juives* 169, no. 3–4 (2010): 287–311; Alain Le Boulluec, “La polémique contre les hérésies dans les Homélie sur les Psaumes d’Origène (Codex Monascensis Graecus 314),” *Adamantius* 20 (2014): 256–74.

⁵⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 469.

If the Ebionites were right in their views, if we ought to receive no more than they received as the genuine New Testament, if all the rest is to be treated as of no authority, it will be granted that a complete revolution in opinion would instantly take place, and it would not be easy to settle what we ought to retain, and what to give up, but one thing would be evident, the inquiry would relate, not so much to the doctrine of the church at any period, as to the previous question, what are we to consider as our authority in matters of religion, is it our New Testament, or is it an unknown Ebionitish gospel?⁵⁹

Since the Socinians could not prove all ancient Christians were Ebionites, and Kinghorn had found direct evidence in numerous patristic works that consistently taught the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, the Socinians’—in particular, Priestley’s—historicist approach was invalid to prove their doctrinal legitimacy.

Regarding the Socinianism of his day, Kinghorn observed that “modern Socinianism is quite a different thing,” as it was “the fashion to exclude the idea of the miraculous conception entirely.”⁶⁰ Thus, he identified the theological battlefield being the sonship of Christ and his pre-existence. Though such teachings were biblical and logical—as “Jesus Christ is spoken of as man. Jesus Christ is spoken of as God. If so, Jesus Christ must have existed before he was born of the Virgin Mary; and the scriptures inform us that this was the fact”—Kinghorn reckoned the difference remained in the Socinians’ hermeneutics.⁶¹ Like John Gill, who defended the trinitarian orthodoxy in the previous generation, Kinghorn also appealed to the Christian traditions and argued the historicity of the trinitarian faith.⁶²

⁵⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 469. It is known that Kinghorn quoted extended passages from Tertullian’s *Against Praxeas* and Origen’s *Against Celsus*.

⁶⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, September 19, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 683, KPA, 1.

⁶¹ Joseph Kinghorn, *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ, Addressed to the Serious Professors of Christianity. Second Edition. With an Appendix, Containing Observations on the Rev. I. Perry’s Letters to the Author* (Norwich, [1814]), 6.

⁶² Gill wrote, “This article concerning the Sonship of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity, has been maintained by all sound Divines and evangelical churches, from the Reformation to the present time, as appears by their writings and harmony of confessions. So that upon the whole it is clear the church of God has been in the possession of this doctrine of the eternal generation and Sonship of Christ from the beginning of Christianity to the present age, almost eighteen hundred years” (John Gill, *A Dissertation Concerning the Eternal Sonship of Christ* [London, 1773], 561–62). For a summary of Gill’s Christology, see Richard A. Muller, “John Gill and the Reformed Tradition: A Study in the Reception of Protestant Orthodoxy in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697–1771): A Tercentennial Appreciation*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 63–67; Robert Edward Seymour, “John Gill, Baptist Theologian (1697–1771)” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1954). Unlike

At the same time, Kinghorn understood the problem of Socinian interpretation, as “they know only or chiefly its language, not its spirit.”⁶³ In other words, the Socinians did not understand the Bible as the divine revelation that centred on the incarnated Word of God. With pride and their “carnal mind,” the Socinians weighed human reason equal with divine revelation.⁶⁴ In consequence, they rejected the “simplicity of the apostolic age.”⁶⁵ For Kinghorn, since “The divinity of Christ is not a material object; we know nothing of it but from Revelation. It cannot be examined by our senses; it belongs to the nature and essential properties of a being whom no man hath seen or can see.”⁶⁶ Kinghorn then reaffirmed the doctrine of the Reformation—*sola scriptura*—by locating the authority of divine revelation over human reason and deduction.⁶⁷ Consequently, Kinghorn understood that “the ancient church did not run into every possible

Robert Hall Jr. and others, Kinghorn highly estimated Gill and his theological contributions, especially with Gill’s defence of classical trinitarianism.

⁶³ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, June 27, 1793, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 228.

⁶⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 272.

⁶⁵ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 272.

⁶⁶ Kinghorn, *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ*, 44. Later Kinghorn wrote: “Taking your own analogy of heavenly things to earthly, of Father and Son in heaven to father and son on earth: the father supposes the son, and exists not in the character of father, till he has a son. It is objected that the analogy supposes at least priority in the father’s existence. It does so in us, but we do not know that it does so in God. In us, existence itself supposes a prior cause, in different ground when reasoning concerning our God, than when reasoning concerning ourselves. If the representation of father and son be designed to point out that the origination of the son was from the father, yet if that origination was the result of the divine nature, so that God eternally and necessarily existed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, then the only terms intelligible to us which could give us an idea of the revealed character of God, would be those used in the New Testament. And yet these terms might not be designed to be applied in every direction, as they are among us, and evidently were not: for among men, the father supposes another being, viz. the mother, which, in the case now before us, no one admits and this is a proof that we must take the terms as analogous only in a degree. It deserves our consideration, whether the name Son of God, is not designed to point out also the relationship which marks a participation of the same nature; and if this is taken into the account the difficulty is reduced to nothing. The major part of those who contend for the derivation of the Son from the Father, do so for the purpose of exhibiting him as an inferior being, infinitely inferior, in fact a mere creature” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 438–439).

⁶⁷ As Johannes Zachhuber has recently pointed out, the so-called slogan or motto of the “five solas” (*sola scriptura*; *sola fide*; *sola gratia*; *solus Christus*; *solus Deo gloria*) are not separate entities. Instead, particularly for Martin Luther, the “absolute centrality of the person of Jesus Christ” is “the culmination of the other three”—*sola scriptura*, *sola fide*, and *sola gratia* (Zachhuber, *Luther’s Christological Legacy: Christocentrism and the Chalcedonian Tradition*, The Père Marquette Lecture in Theology [Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2017], 18).

absurdity.”⁶⁸ On the contrary, Christians should affirm the early church’s teachings on the person of Christ as they came from the same revelation in the scriptures.⁶⁹

Though Kinghorn could affirm Priestley’s notion that “Human perception and thought are never found in experience apart from, and are plainly dependent on, organized systems of matter,” the two departed in their epistemological approaches.⁷⁰

Kinghorn rejected Priestley’s empiricism and recognized that the “organized systems of matter” as the divine revelation.⁷¹ Without frameworks like materialism that Socinians applied, Kinghorn understood the core of the controversy was hermeneutics. With the influence of German scholars like Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791), Kinghorn investigated the philological and cultural determinants of the biblical texts.⁷²

Nevertheless, he did not wholly reject typology, and saw the New Testament as “the only standard to which we can appeal, respecting the truths of the Gospel Revelation.”⁷³ Thus, unlike most of the Socinians, who read the Bible literally, Kinghorn tied biblical interpretation closely with the Protestant doctrine, believing the absolute authority of the

⁶⁸ Joseph Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion at the Lord’s Supper*, 2nd ed. (Norwich, 1816), 147.

⁶⁹ For a detailed presentation on the divinity of Christ, see Kinghorn’s letter to an anonymous gentleman, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 437–42.

⁷⁰ James Dybikowski, “Joseph Priestley, Metaphysician and Philosopher of Religion,” in *Joseph Priestley, Scientist, Philosopher, and Theologian*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 101.

⁷¹ For instance, Priestley remarked, “The more we understand of human nature, which is an immense field of speculation . . . the more clearly, I doubt not, shall we perceive how admirably is the whole system of revealed religion adapted to the nature and circumstances of man, and the better judges shall we be of that most important branch of its evidence, which results from considering the effects which the first promulgation of it had on the minds of those to whom it was proposed, both Jews and Gentiles. Let us then study the *Scriptures*, *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Theory of the Human Mind*, in conjunction; being satisfied, that from the nature of the things, they must, in time, throw a great and new light upon each other” (Joseph Priestley, *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated; Being an Appendix to the Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit* [London, 1777], xv–xvi).

⁷² See Marcus Walsh, “Biblical Scholarship and Literary Criticism,” in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 4:758–77; Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁷³ Kinghorn, *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ*, iii.

revealed scriptures. Therefore, while Kinghorn recognised many corruptions and errors in the church throughout history, he rejected the proposal that Christian core beliefs such as Christ's mediatorship and substitutionary atonement were invented for political reasons such as the church's establishment.⁷⁴

In his sermon addressed to the students at Bristol Academy on August 3, 1814, Kinghorn stressed the points of holding "faith and a good conscience," and "to war a good warfare" in 1 Timothy 1:18–19 (KJV).⁷⁵ Under the first point, Kinghorn argued that a minister "should know [the doctrine of the gospel], and feel its value."⁷⁶ He then urged the students to know "systematic divinity," "scriptural criticism," and "the history of the Church."⁷⁷ Regarding the latter, Kinghorn explained:

By this means you will be led to mark the providence of God ... you will see what was the faith and practice of good men in different periods. You will thus be able to trace back the common sentiment and feeling of those who most eminently served God. You will observe their mode of reasoning, and the source of their mistakes. You will, in some instance, be charmed with their sincerity and ardour of mind;— and you will, in others, be surprized at their flexibility to the prevailing fashion of the day. You will be led to mark both the weakness and the strength of the human mind in different circumstances. You will learn to estimate the weight of the testimonies which antiquity affords, both to the doctrine and practice of the apostles; and you will thus, by historical deduction, revert with increasing satisfaction and confidence, to the pure records of the faith once delivered to the saints.⁷⁸

Kinghorn thus understood the proximity of divine providence and human history.⁷⁹ At the same time, he believed people played an active role in the making of history, as he

⁷⁴ On Priestley's understanding of the relationship between Christology and ecclesiology, see A. M. C. Waterman, "The Nexus Between Theology and Political Doctrine in Church and Dissent," in *Enlightenment and Religion*, 212–18.

⁷⁵ Joseph Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers. Two Sermons, Addressed Principally to the Students of the Two Baptist Academies, at Stepney and at Bristol. The First Preached June 23, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's Meeting, Carter-lane, Southwark; The Second, August 3, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Ryland's. Broad Mead, Bristol* (Norwich, 1814), 26.

⁷⁶ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 27.

⁷⁷ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 28–29.

⁷⁸ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 29.

⁷⁹ On the doctrine of divine providence, see Mark W. Elliott, *Providence Perceived: Divine Action from a Human Point of View* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Divine Providence a History: The Bible, Virgil, Orosius, Augustine, and Dante* (London: Continuum, 2012); Joost Hengstmengel, *Divine Providence in Early Modern Economic Thought* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire:

pointed out that ecclesiastical history provided both pious models to imitate, and malicious failures to avoid. Moreover, as people inquire about the doctrinal developments through church history, their “satisfaction and confidence” of primitive standards also increase.⁸⁰ Significantly, Kinghorn’s usage of “primitive standards” was different from many of his contemporaries.⁸¹ With the progressive rationalistic idea of “universal human progress and liberty through the benevolent spread of reason,” “primitiveness was viewed as a previously absent piece of an enlarged ‘great map of mankind’ rather than a threat to

Routledge, 2019), 13–54.

⁸⁰ In Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas’ classical study of primitivism, they distinguished two kinds of primitivism: chronological and cultural. “Chronological primitivism is one of the many answers which may be and have been given to the question: What is the temporal distribution of good, or value, in the history of mankind, or, more generally, in the entire history of the world? It is, in short, a kind of philosophy of history, a theory, or a customary assumption, as to the time—past or present or future—at which the most excellent condition of human life, or the best state of the world in general, must be supposed to occur” (Lovejoy, and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* [New York: Octagon Books, 1965], 1). Cultural primitivism, on the other hand, is “the discontent of the civilized with civilization, or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it. It is the belief of men living in a relatively highly evolved and complex cultural condition that a life far simpler and less sophisticated in some or in all respects is a more desirable life” (Lovejoy, and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, 7). At the same time, Lovejoy and Boas recognised that one may combine both kinds of primitivism. Though primitivism seems to promote thoughts contrary to the Enlightenment, Bracy Hill pointed out that “in practice ... the expression of the ‘primitive’ frequently employed traditional interpretations and modern practices, and the ‘primitive’ served as a model for a *new* expressions of art, literature, or religion. Indeed, primitivism was frequently espoused with a hope that a better situation or a *truth* might emerge through a ‘return’ to ancient practice or belief. Thus, such primitivism might serve as a tool of revolution as it provided arguments for the rejection of the *status quo*, the reversal of the degradation of society (or nature) in history, and the establishment of new (yet supposed old) norms” (Bracy V. Hill II, “The Language of Dissent: The Defense of Eighteenth-Century English Dissent in the Works and Sermons of James Peirce” [PhD diss., Baylor University, 2010], 207). For Baptist examples of this kind of “practical primitivism,” see Robert Robinson, *Ecclesiastical Researches* (Cambridge, 1792), and Robert Hall Jr.’s defence for open communion. Another example is Joseph Priestley, *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity, in two volumes* (Birmingham, 1782). On primitivism in the eighteenth century, see John Seed, “History and Narrative Identity: Religious Dissent and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 1 (2005): 46–63; S. J. Barnett, “Where Was Your Church before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism Examined,” *Church History* 68, no. 1 (1999): 14–41; Sophie Bourgault, and Robert Sparling, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, ed. Sophie Bourgault and Robert Sparling (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2013), 1–24; Ulich Muhlack, “German Enlightenment Historiography and the Rise of Historicism,” in *Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, 249–306; Noelle Gallagher, “The Beginnings of Enlightenment Historiography in Britain,” in *Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, 343–72; Sandra Rudnick Luft, “The Divinity of Human Making and Doing in the 18th Century,” in *Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, 401–36; Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1934); Peter France, “Primitivism and Enlightenment: Rousseau and the Scots,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 15 (1985): 64–79.

⁸¹ Fuyuki Kurasawa, “A Requiem for the ‘Primitive’,” *History of the Human Sciences* 15, no. 3 (2002): 7.

the legitimacy of society.”⁸² It explains the reason why many rational dissenters understood their mission was to bring light into the darkness by seeking the restoration of a “primitive Christianity,” deduced by reason, for the church that had inherited corruptions.⁸³ Kinghorn, however, did not accept the sole emphasis on doctrinal discontinuity. Particularly regarding the person of Christ, Kinghorn pointed out the consistent belief of a Nicene Christology, which began with the apostles in the primitive church.

Furthermore, Kinghorn’s response to Socinianism also affected his ecclesiology. In his letter to his parents, dated May 19, 1795, as Joseph Kinghorn discussed the matter of Christian unity, he proposed the following scenario to his father:

Suppose Dr. [Joseph] Priestley, Mr. [Theophilus] Lindsey (1723–1808), Mr. [Edward] Evanson [1731–1805] & a few other distinguished men were to become inhabitants of B[ishop] B[urton]. Suppose them convinced by your preaching in other things they remained as before—I know you would felt a great difficulty—but in what would the difficulty consist? Suppose in the conversation occasioned by the subject these Gentlemen shd. ask what right have you & your people to set up yourselves as judges of our faith and piety?—and does not your idea exclude us from what we think right & a privilege to commune with Christians tho we differ from them in opinion & thus partake of the like of persecution?⁸⁴

It is interesting to recognise that while Kinghorn disagreed with Priestley, Lindsey, and Evanson on the core belief of Christianity, he still respected them as “distinguished men” for their learning and political advocates.⁸⁵ However, regarding Christian fellowship and

⁸² Kurasawa, “A Requiem for the ‘Primitive’,” 7.

⁸³ For instance, Priestley wrote to his fellow Socinian Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808) and commented: “The gross darkness of that *night* which has for many centuries obscured our holy religion, we may clearly see, is past; the *morning* is opening upon us; and we cannot doubt but that the light will increase, and extend itself more and more, unto the *perfect day*. Happy are they who contribute to diffuse the pure light of this *everlasting gospel*. The time is coming when the detection of one error, or prejudice, relating to this most important subject, and the success we have in opening and enlarging the minds of men with respect to it, will be far more honourable than any discovery we can make in other branches of knowledge, or our success in propagating them” (Priestley, *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, 1:v).

⁸⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 19, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, KPA, 3.

⁸⁵ Kinghorn’s respect to ministers who held opposite views was consistent. When William Enfield (1741–1797), Unitarian minister of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, died in 1797, Kinghorn wrote to his father by stating: “Dr.. Enfield is dead ... a singular complain in his bowels carried him off in 8 days. I loved the man & lament his death, tho on religion we could have little intercourse, for he was very far gone in Socinianism, & of course a long way distant from me. O what a vapor in Life!” (Joseph Kinghorn to

communion, Kinghorn, along with other evangelical dissenters, had difficulty to justify their exclusion. At the core, it was about the balance between individual conscience and doctrinal confessions. Regarding the questions being proposed in the letter, Kinghorn distinguished Socinians from Christians, as the former were not baptised in the name of the triune God. As a result, by upholding the close-communion position, it was logical to exclude the unbaptised to the eucharist.

Soteriology

Though soteriology did not play a significant role in Kinghorn's publications, the Norwich minister seriously considered the nature of Christ's atonement, especially in the beginning of his pastorate. As Kinghorn stated in his confession: "It is through faith in this Jesus, as the Saviour of sinners, that we are justified from the condemnation of God's law; all the benefits of the death and resurrection of Christ being thereby imputed to our souls, by which we stand accepted before God, and enjoy a title to eternal life."⁸⁶ Here, Kinghorn explicitly expressed his belief in the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone as well as the imputed righteousness.⁸⁷ Furthermore, behind it was the underlying anthropology that understood oneself "as a sinner in the sight of God, who needs his mercy, and who without it must justly be condemned."⁸⁸ For Kinghorn, God is the active operator in people's salvation, as by applying the doctrine of appropriation,

David Kinghorn, November 14, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 932, KPA, 3).

⁸⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176.

⁸⁷ For the history and development of the doctrine of justification, see Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Avery Dulles, *The Assurance of Things Hoped For: A Theology of Christian Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 44–77; Mark S. Medley, "A Good Walk Spoiled?: Revisiting Baptist Soteriology," in *Recycling the Past or Researching History? Studies in Baptist Historiography and Myths*, ed. Philip E. Thompson, and Anthony R. Cross (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2005), 84–105. Also see Shawn D. Wright, "Justification by Faith Alone: The Perspectives of William Kiffin and John Owen," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 20, no. 4 (2016): 25–42; Chris Chun, *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2012), 183–208.

⁸⁸ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 4–5.

Kinghorn confessed that

God, in his own incomprehensible designs, from eternity hath chosen in Christ Jesus peculiar people for himself, to be to the praise of the glory of his grace; that these he influences according to his sacred good pleasure, first by bringing them to a knowledge of himself and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and afterwards in causing all the operations of his providence and grace to concur in fulfilling his purposes.⁸⁹

Therefore, Kinghorn understood that there were three “principal pillars of Christianity.”⁹⁰

First, “That the promise of Life was made (in Xt) before the World began Titus 1..2;”

second, “That by the deeds of the Law we cannot be justified;” and third, “That our Justification is by Xt. thro Faith & that the nature of Justification by Faith & by the deeds of the Law are so opposite that it is in vain to attempt to mingle them together. Gal 3..11,12.”⁹¹ In other words, Christ’s atonement was “the ground of your dependence for acceptance with God, seeing the blood of Jesus Christ alone can cleanse from all sin.”⁹²

Thus, all of those who have been saved would be “really humbled at the view of the greatness of the Father’s grace, and of the Saviour’s love, in coming to bring sinners near to God by ... his own *precious blood*.”⁹³ As people’s salvation depended on God’s salvific work, so it necessarily connected to the person of Jesus Christ. Furthermore, as it is indicated, Kinghorn took a supralapsarian view of the logical order of God’s decrees, yet without charging God the cause of evil.

Theologically, Kinghorn claimed to be a Calvinist, as early in his life, he believed that “Calvin [is] superior to any system-writer,” and “his Institutions (in Latin) I keep constantly by me, and very frequently read them, and set a very high value on

⁸⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 177.

⁹⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 31–February 1, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 651, KPA, 2.

⁹¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 31–February 1, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 651, KPA, 2.

⁹² Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 5.

⁹³ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 5.

them.”⁹⁴ The influence of the books by John Gill and Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758)

upon Kinghorn enabled him to hold and proclaim Calvinism, as he wrote later in 1795:

I am in many things a determined Calvinist—because I see if I was an Arminian I sh^d. have more difficulties to grapple with. But I do not the less see the difficulties in my own opinion. I am found to leave these things among the deep things of God for such is the limitation of my powers that I see difficulties arise on all sides without being able to reason them down & leave many with the hope a future world will explain them all. ... I can see very clear that one half of the Christian religion hangs on one point—Is religion in the heart the work of God’s Spirit?⁹⁵

As Kinghorn understood the limitation of human reason and the mystery of God’s revelation, when it came to the doctrine of election, Kinghorn disagreed with the high Calvinists. As Kinghorn later told Edward Bickersteth (1786–1850)—an evangelical Anglican clergyman and friend:

The doctrinal part of the gospel, in that view of it, often called Calvinistic, I cordially accept; but certain inferences which Hyper-Calvinists derive from the system, I, in common with yourself, reject. It appears to me that they set off wrong, and that they are frequently not opposed at the most important place. They are wrong in the beginning of their reasoning: if their first link is granted, the rest will follow.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 122. According to the catalogue (Lots 282–284, in [Simon Wilkin, ed.,] *Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Late Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* [Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1833], 10), Kinghorn obtained two copies of Calvin’s *Institutes*, one in Latin and the other in English. The Latin edition was published in Amsterdam in 1667. The English edition was translated by Thomas Norton (1532–1584) and published in 1582. Besides Calvin’s *Institutes*, Kinghorn also obtained a copy of Calvin’s response to Michael Sevetus (1509/1511–1553), *Declaration pover maintenir la vraye foy que tiennent tous Chirstiens de la Trinité des persones en un seul Dieu* (Geneva, 1554).

⁹⁵ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 27, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 824, KPA, 1.

⁹⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to Edward Bickersteth, January 21, 1817, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 360. Edward Bickersteth was born at Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, to Henry Bickersteth—a surgeon—and Elizabeth Batty. Because of his mother, Edward Bickersteth received his first communion in 1803, but as he later recalled: “My religious duties were cold, formal, and altogether lifeless, without meaning, done from fear, and as meritorious actions. I did not neglect private prayer, but it was short and ineffectual. My Sundays were spent in excursions and parties of pleasure. I paid no attention to the sermons which I heard, and seldom or ever read the Bible. I thought I would reform; and I thought I had but to set about it to succeed” (T. R. Birks, *Memoir of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Late Rector of Watton, Herts*, 2 vols [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851], 1:9–10). After failing all his moral and behavioural resolutions, “The flame of religion which seemed to have been kindled, gradually died away ... I grew worldly, sensual, and selfish; and for a time I seemed entirely to forget God and every thing serious” (Birks, *Memoir*, 1:14). After studying at the local grammar school, Bickersteth first worked in the post-office and then went to London in 1806 and entered the New Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery, attached to the Middle Temple. He first worked as attorney Mr. Bleasdale’s clerk, and then was called to the bar. While in London, Bickersteth experienced evangelical conversion under the influence of his employer, who was a devoted Christian and encouraged him to read the Bible. After serious self-examination, Bickersteth “had fully received the doctrine of free salvation through Christ” in May 1807 (Birks, *Memoir*, 1:34). After conversion, Bickersteth became aware of the temptations in the legal profession and especially in London. As he began

For Kinghorn, “systematically the high Calvinist is right [about election] yet practically we are all Arminians.”⁹⁷ Kinghorn believed that the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination was biblically and theologically grounded, as he pointed out that “my believing in Christ cannot alter his intentions nor the influence extent of his death: it cannot add one to the number he came to save.”⁹⁸ Later, Kinghorn was more explicit, as he argued that “Christ died to procure saving benefits for none but the elect, of whom none should be lost, and to whom not one can be added.”⁹⁹ Thus, as God designed from eternity, and knew “what he intended should be done in any one place, and respecting any particular people or individuals,” he “sent Jesus Christ to execute an important purpose, and that was the salvation of those that should believe, whom he foreknew, and whom he had predestinated to be conformed to the image of his Son.”¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Kinghorn understood that the doctrine of election did not stand by itself. Instead,

to question his vocation, Bickersteth desired to serve God’s people in the gospel ministry. After marriage, Bickersteth moved to Norwich and served as a solicitor from 1812 to 1815. While at Norwich, Bickersteth organised Sunday schools for poor children in the city, and later the school grew in numbers. When he left Norwich, due to his worry for the poor children, Bickersteth helped to organise a Benevolent Society, and “he continued personally to visit those in affliction and distress” (Birks, *Memoir*, 1:188). While at Norwich Bickersteth and Kinghorn became friends. Later, Bickersteth left Norwich and entered the Anglican ministry in 1815, and he served as the general secretary of the Church Missionary Society. On behalf of this evangelical Anglican mission, Bickersteth travelled overseas. He resigned his position in 1831 and served as a rector in Watton-at-Stone, Hertfordshire. While travelling on behalf of the CMS, Bickersteth wrote and published *A Help to the Study of the Scriptures, Designed to Assist in Reading Them Profitably* (Norwich, 1815). In 1816, as Bickersteth prepared to revise his book for the third edition, he wrote to Kinghorn and asked the Baptist minister’s advice. For excerpts of their correspondence, see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 358–364. Later when Bickersteth finished his *A Treatise on Prayer: Designed to Assist in Its Devout Discharge. With a Few Forms of Prayer* (London: L. B. Seeley, 1818), the Anglican minister sent a copy to Kinghorn and asked for “any hints and observations” from Kinghorn, as he stated, “I know their value by experience” (Bickersteth to Kinghorn, November 30, 1819, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 374). For Kinghorn’s reply, see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 376–378. On Bickersteth, also see Kenneth J. Stewart, *Restoring the Reformation: British Evangelicalism and the Francophone ‘Réveil’ 1816–1849* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006); Grayson Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals: Protestant Secessions from the Via Media, c. 1800–1850* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001).

⁹⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 14, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 928, KPA, 1. It is interesting that in one of Kinghorn’s later letters to Richard S. Foster Jr. of Cambridge on July 28, 1828, Kinghorn stated that “I am not an Arminian, I think that view of things unscriptural, and in its tendencies destructive of the great principles of divine truth” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 425).

⁹⁸ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 14–17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 928, KPA, 1.

⁹⁹ The quote came from notes of a sermon preached on July 26, 1807, in Terry Wolever, ed., *The Life and Work of Joseph Kinghorn* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2010), 3:337.

¹⁰⁰ Wolever, ed., *Life and Work of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:337–338.

The principle of this doctrine [election] pervades the whole system of the doctrines of grace, and that they stand or fall with it; that the tendency of the doctrine is according to godliness, that the apostles speak of it with a glow of mind, and show that they were not afraid of it; that it promotes humility and thankfulness, is peculiarly fitted to excite evangelical sentiments, to lead Christians to cultivate their Christian character, to encourage prayer, to be a support and direction in times of affliction and difficulty; and that far from being the discouraging doctrine which some have represented it, it has encouragements peculiarly its own.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, Kinghorn refused to believe faith as a condition or cause of salvation, as he argued, “It is true in the divine counsel & in the effect that Xt.. died for one & not for another; it is not true that our faith makes us objects for whom he died.”¹⁰² Instead, Kinghorn understood that “It is by faith in [Christ] that the relation between him and us is discovered & that the effect of it is produced in us & the comfort communicated to us.”¹⁰³ Thus, Christ and his salvific work—not oneself, one’s faith or one’s merit—are at the centre of human’s salvation. For Kinghorn, faith should be understood as “an assent to the Testimony delivered as true an approbation of it as good & an actual confidence in it as the testimony of a Faithful God we we expected to see fulfilled.”¹⁰⁴ With Jesus’ promise in Mark 16:16, Kinghorn argued that

It is not possible to separate appropriation from this faith because the whole testimony which is believed is that whosoever believeth shall be saved, and he who believes any thing about Christs character or work but does not believes this only believes a part of the gospel testimony. But he who believes this as well as the other parts of the Gospel declaration believes that we. ~~will be appropri~~ he will appropriate on believing; or if he does not believe any part of the gospel declaration, it will stand as a witness against him that he has not believed in Christ & therefore has no right to his salvan ... I think it very possible for a man to have a strong conviction of the understanding tis a reliance of the heart: now a man must reply for some end, if he relies on Christ for salvation, the very act of reliance supposes that he appropriates the promises of the gospel, and is not believing them as indifferent

¹⁰¹ Joseph Kinghorn’s letter to a female friend, who criticised one of Kinghorn’s funeral sermons preached at Diss, Norfolk on Hebrews 13:14, on April 29–May 1, 1826, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 451.

¹⁰² Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 14–17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 928, KPA, 1.

¹⁰³ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 14–17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 928, KPA, 1. It can be said that Kinghorn agreed with Andrew Fuller, as they understood that “the atonement, as to its nature, is infinite and sufficient for all; the atonement, as to its intent, is definite and efficacious for the elect” (Jeremy Pittsley, “Christ’s Absolute Determination to Save: Andrew Fuller and Particular Redemption,” *Eusebeia* 8 [2008]: 146).

¹⁰⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 6, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 712, KPA, 3.

truths on the mere dint of evidence.¹⁰⁵

Thus, Kinghorn concluded somewhere else that “Justification is not only by Xts. perfect work but also that the idea of Faiths being the cause of our Justification or the condition which when performed God will justify us is contrary to Gods word.”¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Kinghorn understood that the Christian faith was not an isolated concept, as it should be understood as an “experimental and practical godliness.”¹⁰⁷ In other words, an active faith demands actions. In his address, Kinghorn urged his friend to “see” Christ’s character; “contemplate” his atonement; be “humbled” by God’s overwhelming grace; consider one’s sinfulness; “rejoice” that “he is infinitely superior to your wants;” have “a confidence in him;” and pray to God for mercy.¹⁰⁸ All these actions are closely associated with one’s active faith.

If faith is gifted by grace as a token of one’s communion with Christ, then it is unreasonable to argue that ministers “ought not to preach the Gospel to sinners, for they are under the covenant of works, and ... they have no business with the Gospel.”¹⁰⁹ For Kinghorn, his response should not focus on the doctrine of election, as he stated that “since you cannot prove that any particular man is of the elect of God, you must prove, either that the covenant is altogether abrogated, or that it becomes so when the sinner acquires a certain portion of knowledge and conviction; you will then get into a difficulty about the Gospel being a relief only to sensible sinners, &c.”¹¹⁰ Instead, Kinghorn argued that the attention should be on Christ’s fulfilment of the covenants, as he stated:

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 14–17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 928, KPA, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 31–February 1, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 651, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 413.

¹⁰⁸ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 6.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to Edward Bickersteth, February 8, 1817, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 361.

¹¹⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 362.

Since the fall it never was the duty of any man to seek his salvation by the law of works, but that all that was ever said on the subject to men proceeded on another system, the consequence follows, either that it is not man's duty to seek his salvation at all, or that he must seek it in one way. And that all that was ever said to men, before as well as since the coming of Christ, was spoken to men in the same general situation, as not under the law of works, but under a dispensation of grace, though formerly less plainly discovered than now. By this means you cut off all that excuse, that what was said to Israel was said to men under the law, *i.e.*, the covenant of works, for on examination it proves to be no such thing. And thus you bring the whole of divine revelation, since Gen. iii., to bear on one point.¹¹¹

Thus, for Kinghorn, the great commandment in Matthew 28:19–20 was “a direct law for the spread of the gospel,” as “by his [the risen Christ's] authority the door of faith was opened to the whole world.”¹¹²

In March 1797, Joseph Kinghorn received an unexpected letter from the deacons of George Street Baptist chapel in Hull, which was the congregation he attended during his brief apprenticeship.¹¹³ The deacons informed Kinghorn that his former pastor William Pendered (1755–1832) intended to leave Hull for a congregation at Royston, Hertfordshire in April 1797. As the pastorate was in vacancy, the deacons asked Kinghorn to either become their minister or find someone qualified for that position. In particular, the Hull congregation was looking to “have a person of some literature & of good talents, orthodox yet liberal in his sentiments, as well as a lively zealous & affectionate preacher.”¹¹⁴ In a footnote, the deacons specifically indicated that the candidate ought to be as orthodox as “of Mr. [Andrew] Fuller's sentiments.”¹¹⁵ Though Kinghorn and Fuller later had an accidental and indirect clash over certain theological enquiries, Kinghorn told John Ryland Jr. that “with respect to general ideas of truth,

¹¹¹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 362.

¹¹² Kinghorn, “Sermon,” 330, 329.

¹¹³ John Carlill [or Carlisle], William Sedgwick, and John Beach to Joseph Kinghorn, March 23, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 903, KPA.

¹¹⁴ Carlill, Sedgwicks, and Beach to Joseph Kinghorn, March 23, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 903, KPA, 2.

¹¹⁵ Carlill, Sedgwicks, and Beach to Joseph Kinghorn, March 23, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 903, KPA, 2.

[Fuller] and I are more nearly agreed than he supposes, though, not being in the habit of bowing to human authority, I would not say that I should agree with him in all his speculations.”¹¹⁶ Though Kinghorn preferred not to be called a “Fullerite,” as if “Fullerism” was much different from the kind of orthodox Calvinism Kinghorn had believed and preached since his conversion, through his reading of divines such as Calvin, Jonathan Edwards, John Owen (1616–1683), and Robert Hall Sr. (1728–1791), Kinghorn’s soteriology was remarkably experiential and “Fulleristic.”¹¹⁷

The Church as a New Creation

Since the seventeenth century, the Jewish question evolved in Britain and later became a significant issue in both theological and political spheres. Judeo-centrism, as a

¹¹⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to John Ryland Jr., June 22, 1807, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 317–318. According to Wilkin, when Ryland visited Norwich, he had a conversation with Kinghorn, during which, Kinghorn promised three questions for discussion. These questions are: (1) “Since, on the present constitution of things, men never had a disposition to love and serve God, nor can it be produced by any circumstance in which they can be placed; how can they be accountable for what they never had, and without divine influence never can have?” (2) “If it be said, that man is accountable from his powers and constitution, and, therefore, that God requires of him perfect obedience and love as the result of his possessing a moral nature; still, how is it consistent with the goodness of God, to produce accountable beings in circumstances wherein their rebellion is certain, and then punish them for it?” (3) “If the reply to these difficulties be founded on the principle, that from what we see, we cannot conceive of a constitution which had not either equal or greater difficulties in it; is it not a confession that we cannot meet the objections and answer them in the direct way, but are obliged to acknowledge that the government of God is too imperfectly understood by us to know the principle on which it proceeds?” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 313). Understanding these questions’ difficulties, Ryland asked Kinghorn to write them down for him to consider. While writing these questions down on a paper, Kinghorn added a fourth question: “What is the love which God hath for those whom he hath not chosen to eternal life?” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 313). After Ryland’s departure, Kinghorn was surprised to find that three of his questions were published anonymously in Andrew Fuller’s *Dialogues, Letters, and Essays, on Various Subjects* (London, 1806). As Kinghorn was disconcerted, he wrote to Ryland and rebuked him for not seeking his consent before those questions were published, as well as asking if Fuller knew those questions came from him (see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 315–21). Kinghorn then wrote a longer letter to explain his intention for those questions, as he acknowledged the difficulties in those questions and he proposed them for theological discussion, not debates. In Ryland’s letter of August 28, 1807, the Bristol principal expressed his apology, as he wrote: “Before I begin, I will premise that I was sorry on reflection that I did not at first give [Fuller] some hint from what quarter, or at least what sort of a quarter, the queries came; and also that I consented to their being printed, without more reflection. I should not have been so hasty and careless if I had been aware that I had affixed a K— to them, but that I forgot, till I saw them in print” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 318). Kinghorn and Fuller later exchanged friendly thoughts.

¹¹⁷ In his letter to Richard S. Foster Jr. of Cambridge, Kinghorn suggested Foster read Abraham Booth’s *Reign of Grace, from Its Rise, to its Consummation* (Leeds, 1768) and Robert Hall’s *Help to Zion’s Travellers: Being an Attempt to remove various Stumbling Blocks out of the Way, relating to Doctrinal, Experimental, and Practical Religion* (Bristol, 1781). About the latter, Kinghorn commented: “Though I would not subscribe to every sentence in these works, yet you will find them the production of superior men; truly serious, and full of information, much of it doctrinal, much also practical. You will not complain of me for the recommendation, when you have read them” (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 425).

fluid political vision, helped to construct modern eschatological and national imaginations in the British Isles.¹¹⁸ Theologically, the Jewish question concerns the role of the Jewish people in the salvific plan, which ultimately questions the relationship between the old and new covenants. Since the civil wars, more British subjects were convinced that England was the central stage for God’s prophecies to be fulfilled, where “the first Jewish conversions would begin.”¹¹⁹ The increasing Jewish presence and their political activism for emancipation, thus, motivated many to rethink the relationship between the Jews and Christians in Britain.¹²⁰ For Kinghorn, the Jewish church and the Christian church are fundamentally two different entities.¹²¹ Though the Jews were God’s chosen people in the old covenant, they abandoned God in a manner similar to the Socinians. Thus, following approaches laid out by Phillipus von Limborch (1633–1712), Michaelis, and James Robertson (1714–1795), Kinghorn understood the subsequent

¹¹⁸ See Andrew Crome, *Christian Zionism and England National Identity, 1600–1850* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Crawford Gribben, *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–2000* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Stephen Spector, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁹ Crome, *Christian Zionism and England National Identity*, 105–62.

¹²⁰ Crome noticed that since the 1750s, there were two streams of Judeo-centrism, both scholarly and popular. For the former, theologians such as Joseph Priestley, Thomas Newton (1704–1782), and James Bicheno (d. 1831) began to develop theological treatise for their millennial beliefs, about which the “Jewish restoration was a necessary precondition of the millennium” (Crome, *Christian Zionism and England National Identity*, 173). With the French Revolution, Judeo-centrism became a concern for a wider audience. One example was Richard Brothers (1757–1824), who was known as the “Paddington Prophet,” who adopted “a pseudo-Jewish identity and claiming that he was poised to return the Jews to Palestine, he led critics and supporters to wrestle with questions of the definition of Englishness, what it meant to make claims to the holy Land, and the future of the chosen people” (Crome, *Christian Zionism and England National Identity*, 183). On Brothers, also see Crome, *Christian Zionism and England National Identity*, 183–207; Deborah Madden, *The Paddington Prophet: Richard Brothers’s Journey to Jerusalem* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). For Baptist discussion on the Jewish question, see John Coffey, “‘A Lovely Work’: Baptists, the Whitehall Conference, and the Intellectual Context of the Readmission of the Jews to England,” in *The Peoples of God: Baptists and Jews over Four Centuries*, ed. John H. Y. Briggs and Paul S. Fiddes (Oxford: Centre for Baptist Studies in Oxford, Regent’s Park College, 2019), 11–32; Larry Kreitzer, “William Kiffen and the Proposal of Menasseh ben Israel for the Readmission of the Jews (1655),” in *Peoples of God*, 33–72; Rodney Curtis, “Baptists and Jews in England 1720–1920: An Outline Survey,” in *Peoples of God*, 99–140.

¹²¹ In his criticism of paedobaptism, Kinghorn pointed out the connection between it and national churches. Thus, Kinghorn asked: “Is the Christian Church the same as the Jewish, saving only the difference of the rituals? Is it composed of some good men, of others who are openly wicked men, but still equally in the church; as was the case of old? Surely this cannot be admitted” (Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptist, Its Best Confutation: Being a Reply to Mr. Peter Edwards’s Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Anti-paedo-baptism, on His Own Ground* [Norwich, 1795], 24–25).

discontinuity of the old and new covenants. One of the practical consequences was for Kinghorn to understand the British Jewish community as a domestic mission field for the New Testament church.

Similar to his soteriology, Kinghorn's view of the covenants only occasionally appeared in his correspondence and some published works. In one of his letters to Edward Bickersteth, Kinghorn briefly explained his understanding of the divine covenants, as he stated:

A covenant generally supposes two parties, and when God is one party, it is rather a dispensation or declaration of mercy and goodness, than an agreement between two parties. We live under the New Covenant, or dispensation, whether we accept it or not; but we are not partakers of its blessings unless we do accept it ... A dispensation is that plan of providence on which God acts towards those who live under it. This, I think, will apply to the various displays which God has made of his will from Adam to the present time.¹²²

For Kinghorn, the incarnate Son of God is indispensable to understand the relationship between the old and new covenants. Although God made covenants with Adam and the Jews in the old dispensation, “the former dispensation was typical,” and “the nature of the Gospel dispensation is widely different from that which preceded it, and that the source of our information respecting it is the New Testament.”¹²³ By applying typology in his reading of the Old and New Testaments, Kinghorn understood that Christ transformed the old covenants by being their antitype, and created a new dispensation with new spiritual realities. In other words, the Mosaic “Law is abrogated” by Christ.¹²⁴ Thus, Kinghorn called the age of the new covenant a “spiritual dispensation” and supposed that “Abraham’s spiritual seed are now the members of the Christian church, and that they have a right to the spiritual blessings of the covenant of Abraham” in and through

¹²² Kinghorn to Bickersteth, February 19, 1821, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 376–77.

¹²³ Joseph Kinghorn, *The Argument in Support of Infant Baptism, from the Covenant of Circumcision, Examined, and Shewn to be Invalid* (London: John Offor, [1823]), 55.

¹²⁴ Kinghorn, “On the Perpetuity of the Law of Moses,” in *Miracles of Jesus*, 58.

Christ.¹²⁵ Therefore, all the promises to Abraham and his descendants were transferred to the New Testament Church.

By examining the circumcision of Abraham and his descendants in Genesis, Kinghorn referred to Galatians 3:7 and argued that since Abraham’s faith preceded his circumcision, so “no person can be admitted to be one of the spiritual seed of Abraham, till he has shown some evidence of being a son of Abraham *by faith*.”¹²⁶ Furthermore, Kinghorn distinguished the children of Abraham in terms of being a “spiritual seed” and a “carnal” descendant.¹²⁷ For the former, they believed God with the same faith of Abraham, which “was counted to him for righteousness, and was esteemed very acceptable before God.”¹²⁸ Thus, when God made the Abrahamic, Mosaic, and Davidic covenants with Israel, Kinghorn understood that “the Israelites were distinguished by the means afforded than for the purpose of keeping them to the acknowledgement of the only true God.”¹²⁹ In other words, the uniqueness of the Jewish people lies at their typological role of being spiritually faithful to God. As Kinghorn commented on Deuteronomy 5:25, if the Israelites faithfully followed God’s commandments, “They would live up to the spirit of that dispensation, be enrolled amongst them who wrought righteousness, and obtain a good report through faith, although they received not the promise.”¹³⁰ Furthermore,

¹²⁵ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 16.

¹²⁶ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 16.

¹²⁷ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 17.

¹²⁸ Joseph Kinghorn, “Observations on parts of the Pentateuch,” originally published in *BM* 32 (November 1840): 570–71, in Wolever, ed., *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:225.

¹²⁹ Joseph Kinghorn, “Jeremiah 35 v. 14, 15, The Rechabites and the Appeal of the Lord to Israel taken from them,” unnumbered sermon manuscripts, D/KIN 2/1832, KPA, 1. Along with one of Kinghorn’s baptism sermon, this sermon has been fully transcribed and published as Baiyu Andrew Song, ed., “An Uncatalogued Baptism-Sermon by Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832),” *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 2 (2021): 71–83.

¹³⁰ Wolever, ed., *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:224.

So far as faith in God and in His promises relative to futurity, and in the system of sacrifices which He appointed was in exercise, their righteousness would proceed from faith. The end of many passages in the New Testament is to take away the false idea of *merit* from obedience, but not the necessity of obedience to the will of God; in which sense, obedience was, or might be called righteousness, as it was the evidence of faith in God, and of devotedness to Him. Thus *the man that doeth these things shall live by them*, not by the merit arising from them, but as evidences of a state of mind which God accepted. Such was the way of salvation under the law; but under the gospel, the principles of the same salvation were clearly revealed, the system explained, and the people (liberated from the burden of the ritual of Moses) were directed to Christ; and, in opposition to the proud idea of merit, told that their justification in all things was of grace, both in its provision and its application: see Rom. x.¹³¹

However, since the admission of the Jewish people was by carnal circumcision, they failed to believe in God, keep the commandments, and thus their mission. Significantly, Kinghorn understood it as the fundamental error of the paedobaptists, who argued for infant baptism in light of the Mosaic circumcision. Kinghorn then argued that Christians of the new spiritual dispensation could not directly apply the Mosaic Laws; instead, they could only “apply the rule given to Abraham, as an explanation of the commission which Christ gave to his Apostles.”¹³² Thus, to become a member of the New Testament Church is like Abraham’s spiritual seed, which is by faith, not by carnal rituals—either circumcision or baptism.

Furthermore, as Kinghorn studied the rabbinical literatures, he understood that since Christ’s first advent, Jewish traditions made it harder for their people to believe Jesus’ messiahship and the New Testament’s testimony and authority. Kinghorn plainly told his Jewish audience that “we are aware that the whole weight of Rabbinical authority is against every attempt to lead you to consider our arguments.”¹³³ As a result, “The Jews who are prejudiced against the New Testament and not only exhortation & arg motives to amend their ways & turn unto God but arguments opposed to their prejudices & often to

¹³¹ Wolever, ed., *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:225.

¹³² Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 15.

¹³³ Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations*, 2.

their own views of the Old Testament to convince them that Jesus is the Christ.”¹³⁴ In other words, the rabbinical authorities subjugated the Jewish people’s mind and conscience. Thus, though the Jews received God’s revelation, they “strenuously uphold a system of tradition at the expence [*sic*] of the Bible,” and “while they seem to pay the greatest reverence to Moses and the prophets, they in reality subject them to the Talmud, and the rulers of the Synagogue.”¹³⁵ In private, Kinghorn told his father that “since I have known a little about the Jews I see they are so deeply entrenched in traditions & rabbinical authority that there is a great deal to be done before you can fairly come at them.”¹³⁶ In a similar manner, after reading the Mishnah (משנה), Kinghorn remarked that “There is no hope of converting the Jews till they give up their wise men as they call them ... Their religion is superstitious[,] their vanity enormous but I think their writings will be of use in understanding the New Testament as well as the Old.”¹³⁷

Consequently, as Abraham’s carnal descendants, contemporary Jews were significantly different from the “primitive Jews” of the Old Testament; instead, they were descendants of the Pharisees, following the rabbinical traditions. To explain it, Kinghorn pointed out that according to the medieval Sephardic Jewish philosopher Maimonides (1138–1204), “traditional laws were given at Mount Sinai, and that there has always been a traditional law explanatory of the written law ... God gave an interpretation of the law along with the text; that the text was committed to *writing*, and the explanation to *memory*.”¹³⁸ In other words, the oral tradition, or the Mishnah, is equally authoritative as the written texts of the Old Testament. For Kinghorn, such a claim is contrary to the

¹³⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 896, KPA, 1.

¹³⁵ Kinghorn, “On Jewish Traditions,” in *Miracles of Jesus*, 47.

¹³⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 896, KPA, 1.

¹³⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 25, 1796, D/KIN 2/1796 no. 887, KPA, 1.

¹³⁸ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 47.

Bible, as

The Old Testament is the only ancient document of the Jews; and all it says, concerns the *written* book of the law. Of the tradition it says *nothing*. Besides, there is no probability, that these traditions should continue pure, for such a length of time as intervened between the days of Moses, and the time of the compilation of the Mishnah. It is next to impossible, if such a body of traditions, so important as these are supposed to be, really existed, that they should not be mentioned or alluded to, by some of the historians or prophets, who wrote the Old Testament. In the history of other nations, we do not find floating traditions kept up with accuracy for such period. It is inconceivable that since they knew the art of writing, and felt its importance, they should not have committed these to writing before. It is fairly to be inferred, that as they had a *written* law by the authority of God, what was *not* written, neither God, nor the primitive elders of Israel thought worth preserving.¹³⁹

On the one hand, Kinghorn saw similar confusion of authority in Judaism as Martin Luther (1483–1546) saw it in the late medieval Roman Catholic Church.¹⁴⁰ Thus, Kinghorn followed the Reformation doctrine of *sola scriptura* and disqualified the self-claimed competing authority of the rabbinical interpretations. For Kinghorn, the oral traditions are not infallible and contain “a great variety of sentiments of the different Rabbies [*sic*] whose names are mentioned, but they are all of late date, and do not go back into the remote periods of Jewish history.”¹⁴¹ On the other hand, Kinghorn relocated the Mishnah’s authority to fallible and corrupted human invention, as the rabbis were not prophets even according to their own standards. Kinghorn thus pointed out that the overall principle of the oral tradition was that “nothing can be right which tradition and the Jewish wise men do not approve.”¹⁴²

In contrast, the New Testament is divinely inspired and is “the best

¹³⁹ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 48.

¹⁴⁰ Later Kinghorn wrote, “It is a singular thing, and deserves the attention of both Jews and Christians, that respecting the use and authority of Traditions, the Synagogue and the Roman Catholic church are agreed! Both admit traditions;—both represent them as important;—both consider the church as having in some things formed decisions by her own authority;—both explain the Scriptures by their traditions; and both give them so much weight, that they practically lessen he regard due to the pure word of truth. The same general causes produced both these result, one would suppose that each party might take the alarm, and seriously enquire, whether what they so clearly see in another, is not also as manifest in themselves” (Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 57).

¹⁴¹ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 49.

¹⁴² Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 54, 56–57.

authenticated book in the world. There is more evidence, both internal and external [e.g., Josephus (37–c. 100)], that it was written at the time to which it lays claim, than can be adduced for any ancient book whatever.”¹⁴³ Unlike the Mishnah, the New Testament shared the same authority with the Old Testament. Furthermore, since the two testaments are intimately related, “scarcely any one can be found who rejects the New Testament, and yet receives the law of Moses, except among” the Jews.¹⁴⁴ Kinghorn thus responded to Jewish objections to the New Testament’s divine authorship, by arguing, first, the progressive revelation is not contrary to divine immutability.¹⁴⁵ For Kinghorn, as God is perfect and wise, his divine revelation bears God’s character as divine wisdom. Nevertheless, Kinghorn denied that God revealed his complete will at once, as he explained that “The great principles of the love and fear of God which [the Law] enforces, are principles perfect in their kind, and of the highest importance for us to know and feel,” yet it “does not reveal all that a righteous man will know of God in a future world.”¹⁴⁶ As a matter of faith, such a righteous person “looks for something more than that which is now perfect.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, it is incorrect to assume that the New Testament alters God’s will or perfection, as “the coming of the Messiah might introduce a light, which should so enlarge [the righteous person’s] knowledge of the great truths of the Law, that former things would pass away.”¹⁴⁸ In addition, Kinghorn’s second point was to argue that the divine origin of the Mosaic Law did not make it immutable. As Kinghorn pointed out that even within the Old Testament, there were discontinuities

¹⁴³ Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations*, 16.

¹⁴⁴ Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations*, 14.

¹⁴⁵ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 59–60.

¹⁴⁶ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 60.

¹⁴⁷ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 60.

¹⁴⁸ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 60.

between the Abrahamic and Mosaic covenants, as “Abraham did many things at his pleasure, which a Jew after the time of Moses was forbidden to do.”¹⁴⁹ Instead of denying God’s immutability, Kinghorn pointed out that the alterations of the Law indicated that God “regulated the duties or gratifications of life by various rules, according to the different state of society and of his Church.”¹⁵⁰ Thus, thirdly, with the coming of the Messiah, the Mosaic Law was abrogated by “the introduction of a dispensation far superior.”¹⁵¹ For Kinghorn, the duration of the Law was limited. By examining the word עולם in its canonical contexts (Exod 21:6 and Pss 104:5, 148:6), Kinghorn indicated that “God established the Law, as he established the earth, for ever; so that as long as he continued them, they were both fixed and unchangeable; but both depend on his will, and his word tells us that both shall be dissolved.”¹⁵² In other words, by applying the Nicene cosmology, Kinghorn refused to acknowledge anything—even God’s works—is immortal, everlasting, or cannot expire. As long as such a thing—be it the heaven and earth or the law—was created, its duration and lifespan depend on the will and plan of the only immortal and life-giving creator God. Furthermore, like Jeremiah and others who had prophesised that the Mosaic Law “was not intended to continue for ever” (Jer 31:31–33; Isa 66:21; Ps 110; Mal 1:10–11), the ancient prophets pointed to the coming Messiah by calling him the great High Priest, who was to offer the final atoning sacrifice, so that the Mosaic Law was meant to be fulfilled and abrogated by him.¹⁵³ Thus, as Kinghorn

¹⁴⁹ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 61.

¹⁵⁰ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 61.

¹⁵¹ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 61.

¹⁵² Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 62.

¹⁵³ Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 63. In a footnote, Kinghorn stated: “It does not at first strike the mind, how large a part of the Jewish Law in general, is abrogated by God’s providence. All their Agricultural Laws, which were many and peculiar; and all their political regulations, which were to take place in their own land, cannot be obeyed when they have not a land of their own. By both these they were distinguished from all other people. All the laws concerning sacrifices, which are very numerous; all that relate to the tythes; all that concern that mode of worship which the Lord had appointed, are completely laid aside. These require that they should be in their own land, and that they should assemble in the place which the Lord should choose. In the same class we may place the principal part of the regulations

told his father earlier:

If good Jews saw thro their disputation & beheld behind the veil the intent of sacrifices & the nature of the Gospel Kingdom there will I think be some traces of it in the Jewish writings which tho different in language from what a Christian would use yet will ascertain the fact. I have looked into a few places of the Targum but I find nothing like it there as yet. That they allow many passages to refer to the King Messiah is true—but they apply them as far as I can find in a worldly sense & adapt the figurative language as well as they can. One of them [David Levi (1742–1801)] complains bitterly that the Christians take all the pleasing parts of the prophecies give them a spiritual sense & apply them to themselves—which they allow the Judgements to be literally fulfilled in the Jews which he says is not fair. The sense of prophecy is either literal or figurative in both its promises & threatenings & applies either to the Jews or not to the Jews.¹⁵⁴

Therefore, to his Jewish audience, Kinghorn extended the gospel invitation by calling:

And now, O Children of Israel! bear with us in our expostulation with you:—return unto the Lord your God, for you have fallen by your iniquity. Your state—your own writings—your sacred books all testify this ... Your captivity will never be turned till this great change is effected, and your prayer becomes not merely the repetition of a form, but an earnest heartfelt desire after the knowledge and love of God.¹⁵⁵

In other words, like the Socinians, the Jews needed to turn to and believe Jesus Christ as the Son of God, which was revealed and testified in the inspired New Testament.

respecting the three great yearly feasts, when the whole of their male population was to appear before the Lord, in the place which he should choose, and where no one was to appear empty; they were there to rejoice before him. Without going into a more minute examination, it is evident how large a portion of the Mosaic Law, was directed to these objects, and how strong the presumption is, that the Law is repealed, since for so many ages, God has not permitted his people to render obedience to what he himself had appointed” (Kinghorn, *Miracles of Jesus*, 69). Thus, unlike many of his contemporaries such as Richard Brothers, Joseph Priestley, and James Bicheno, Kinghorn was not convinced by Judeo-centrism. For him, as the Mosaic Law was abrogated in Christ, the New Testament Church became God’s Kingdom on earth. Thus, instead of believing the Jewish restoration as a significant means for Christ’s return, Kinghorn emphasised on the extension of Christ’s Kingdom by evangelism and foreign mission. See Crome, *Christian Zionism and English National Identity*, 163–207; Jack Fruchtman Jr., “The Apocalyptic Politics of Richard Price and Joseph Priestley: A Study in Late Eighteenth-Century English Republican Millennialism,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 73, no. 4 (1983): 1–125; Michael R. Darby, *The Emergence of the Hebrew Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2010), 35–96.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 896, KPA, 2. David Levi (1742–1801) was an English Jewish writer. After Joseph Priestley published his *Letter to the Jews; inviting them to an Amicable Discussion of the Evidences of Christianity* (Birmingham, 1786), Levi responded with publishing *Letters to Dr. Priestly, in Answer to those he addressed to the Jews; inviting them to an Amicable Discussion of the evidences of Christianity* (London, 1787), and later, a three-volume *Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Old Testament* (London, 1793–1800). The debate between Priestley and Levi stirred up others to join the pamphlet war. See Iain McCalman, “New Jerusalem: Prophecy, Dissent and Radical Culture in England, 1786–1830,” in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 316–33.

¹⁵⁵ Kinghorn, *Serious Considerations*, 16–17.

Overall, it is significant to recognise that besides the inherited Baptist covenant theology—mainly through divines such as John Gill—both Johann David Michaelis and Philippus van Limborch played significant roles in Kinghorn’s thought concerning the Jews.¹⁵⁶ For the Prussian Hebraist and philologist, the Hebrew language “died out roughly two thousand years ago, and we have nothing more of it from the period in which it was alive than a single book, or, actually, a very modest collection of books, namely the Hebrew Bible.”¹⁵⁷ As Michael C. Legaspi noticed that by assuming Hebrew as a dead language, Michaelis “created a separation between ancient Hebrew and the religion of Judaism.”¹⁵⁸ Thus, as Michaelis argued that the Jews

whose learning, untouched by the pleasant muses, was scholastic to the highest degree, and who are now distant from the beautiful sciences, have not, for hundreds of years, felt the impulses of that spirit which inspired the poets of old. They are distant from the golden age of the Hebrew language which yield the songs of Moses, the poignant laments of Job and Jeremiah, the psalms of David, and the poetry of the prophets.¹⁵⁹

Thus, philologically, modern Jews were different from the “primitive Jews” of the Old Testament; moreover, they “did not possess the spirit of the ancient Israelites.”¹⁶⁰ For

¹⁵⁶ On Baptist covenant theology, see Jonathan W. Arnold, *The Reformed Theology of Benjamin Keach (1640–1704)* (Oxford: Centre for Baptist History and Heritage, Regent’s Park College, 2014); Samuel D. Renihan, *From Shadow to Substance: The Federal Theology of the English Baptists (1642–1704)* (Oxford: Centre for Baptist History and Heritage, Regent’s Park College, 2018); Pascal Denault, *The Distinctiveness of Baptist Covenant Theology: A Comparison between Seventeenth-Century Particular Baptist and Paedobaptist Federalism* (Birmingham, AL: Solid Ground Christian Books, 2013); Matthew C. Bingham, Christ Caughey, R. Scott Clark, Crawford Gribben, and D. G. Hart, *On Being Reformed: Debates over a Theological Identity* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

¹⁵⁷ Johann David Michaelis, *Beurtheilung de Mittel, welche man anwendet, die ausgestorbene Hebräische Sprache zu verstehen* (Göttingen, 1757), §1, 2, as translated by Michael C. Legaspi, *Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*, 87. On Michaelis’ view of the Jews, also see James C. O’Flaherty, “J. D. Michaelis: Rational Biblicist,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 49, no. 2 (1950): 172–81; Karlfried Gründer, “Johann David Michaelis und Moses Mendelssohn,” in *Begegnung von Deutschen und Juden in der Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Jakob Katz and Karl Heinrich Rengstorff (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994), 25–50; Jonathan M. Hess, “Johann David Michaelis and the Colonial Imaginary: Orientalism and the Emergence of Racial Antisemitism in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Jewish Social Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000): 56–101; Anna-Ruth Löwenbrück, *Johann David Michaelis et les débuts de la critique biblique* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1986).

¹⁵⁸ Legaspi, *Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*, 87.

¹⁵⁹ Michaelis, *Beurtheilung de Mittel*, §6, 29, as translated by Legaspi, *Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*, 88.

¹⁶⁰ Legaspi, *Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*, 88. Regarding Michaelis’ influence upon Kinghorn, Wilkin commented that “the theological and critical works of the more orthodox

Kinghorn, Michaelis confirmed his understanding of the subsequent differences between the old and new dispensations, as well as his argument against the divine origin of the rabbinical literatures and the Jewish oral traditions.

On the other hand, Kinghorn's reading of Limborch's *Amica collatio cum erudite Judaeo* (1687) also helped him to emphasise the New Testament.¹⁶¹ For the Dutch Remonstrant theologian, the Old Testament "should be understood primarily within the

German divines also formed an important branch of Mr. Kinghorn's study. John David Michaelis especially was one of his favourite authors. He had large portion of his works, both German and Latin, in his library, and perused them attentively" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 449–50). According to a posthumously published catalogue of Kinghorn's library ([Wilkin, ed.,] *Catalogue*, 28–29), Kinghorn had 23 volumes of Michaelis' works, which were *Syntagma Commentationum* (Göttingen, 1759); *Compendium Theologiae Dogmaticae* (Göttingen, 1760); *Hebraische Grammatik* (Halle, 1778); *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica* (Göttingen, 1792); *Spicilegium Geographiae Hebraeorum exterae* (Göttingen, 1769); *Grammatica Syriaca* (Halle, 1784); *Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelehrtheit* (Göttingen, 1753); *Anfangs Grunde der Hebraischen Accentuation* (Halle, 1753); *Grundlicher Unterricht von den Accentibus prosaicis u. metricis oder Hebräischen Distinctionibus der Heil. Schrift A.T.* (Halle, 1755); *Chritisches Collegium* (Frankfort, 1759); *Commentationes Societate Regia Scientiarum Goettingensi* (Bremæm 1763–1769); *Einleitung in die gottlichen Schriften* (Hamburg, 1787); *Erklärung des Briefes an die Hebraer* (Frankfort, 1762); *Paraphrasis die Pauli Epistelen* (Bremen, 1769); item, *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* (Frankfort, 1771–1789); *Versuch über die Siebenzig Wochen Danielis* (Göttingen, 1771); *Übersetzung, des Alten und Neuen Testaments, mit Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte* (Göttingen, 1773–1790); *Einleitung in die Gottlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes* (Göttingen, 1788); two copies of *Gedancken über die Lehre der Heiligen Schrift von Sünde und Genugthuung, als eine der Vernunft gemässe Lehre* (Göttingen, 1779); *Dogmatik* (Göttingen, 1784); *Abhandlung von der Syrischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1786); *Mosaisches Recht* (Frankfort, 1793); and *Recueil de Questions proposées à une société de savants, qui par ordre de Sa Majesté danoise font le voyage de l'Arabie* (Frankfort, 1763). The catalogue also indicated that Kinghorn obtained an original letter from Michaelis to Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen (b. 1694). Another example of Michaelis' influence can be found in Kinghorn's observations of the Pentateuch, where Kinghorn consistently referred to Michaelis' books (see Wolever, ed., *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:220–25).

¹⁶¹ Philippus van Limborch, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae Amica Collatio cum Erudite Judeo* (Govdae, 1687). It appears that Kinghorn obtained a copy of Limorch's in the first few weeks of 1797, as he wrote to his father that "Lately I have not with a book for wc. I have been on the look out some years without being able to obtain a sight of it—Now it is mine. It is Limborch's Amica collatis cum Judaea erudio. The controversy was carried on the writing & each party explained his sentiments & the arguments on wc. they were built. I have not read much of it yet for it has only been mine a few days—but I expect much information from it" (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 17, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 896, KPA, 2). On Limborch, also see J. V. Fesko, *The Covenant of Works: The Origins, Development, and Reception of the Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 119–36; Kęstutis Daugirdas, "The Biblical Hermeneutics of Philip van Limborch (1633–1712) and its Intellectual Challenges," in *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God's World Questioned*, ed. Dirk van Miert, Henk Nellen, Piet Steenbakkens, and Jetze Touber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 219–39; J. V. Fesko, *The Covenant of Redemption: Origin, Development, and Reception* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015); Mark A. Herzer, "Adam's Reward: Heaven or Earth?," in *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates Within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Mark Jones (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 162–82; Jeremy F. Worthen, *The Internal Foe: Judaism and Anti-Judaism in the Shaping of Christian Theology* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009); Luisa Simonutti, "Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis* and the Pursuit of Toleration," in *Judaeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713)*, ed. Allison P. Coudert, Sarah Hutton, Richard H. Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer, 1999), 237–56.

context of their time” and the “Christian faith is grounded in the New Testament.”¹⁶² Thus, as Th. Marius van Leeuwen summarised, for Limborch, it is useless “to try to convince Jews of the truth of Christian dogma by pointing to texts from the Hebrew Bible;” instead, Limborch began with the New Testament, with which he sought to prove that the New Testament “with its confession that Jesus is the Messiah, is inspired by God, is divine revelation.”¹⁶³ Thus, instead of arguing about dogmatic constructions, Limborch made “the Bible and its unquestionable revelations” as the foundation of his arguments.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, unlike Limborch, who believed that the person of Jesus Christ could only be defended from the New Testament, Kinghorn believed the completeness of the divine revelation in the Old and New Testaments. Though Kinghorn followed Limborch’s method—to argue the divine origin of the New Testament, instead of doctrines such as the Trinity—Kinghorn emphasised the need to read the Old Testament Christologically or typologically. By abandoning their bondage to rabbinical thought, the carnal descendants of Abraham would be received by God “on their believing and obeying his gospel,” so the Jews could join the New Testament Church, which is Christ’s new creation and a kingdom of Abraham’s spiritual seeds in “the Christian dispensation.”¹⁶⁵

Ecclesia Loci

In comparison to his view of the invisible or catholic church, Joseph Kinghorn wrote extensively about the local congregation or the visible church. In particular, as he

¹⁶² Th. Marius van Leeuwen, “Philippus van Limborch’s *Amica Collatio* and its Relation to Grotius’s *De Veritate*,” *Grotiana* 35, no. 1 (2014): 163.

¹⁶³ van Leeuwen, “Philippus van Limborch’s *Amica Collatio* and its Relation to Grotius’s *De Veritate*,” 164.

¹⁶⁴ van Leeuwen, “Philippus van Limborch’s *Amica Collatio* and its Relation to Grotius’s *De Veritate*,” 165.

¹⁶⁵ Joseph Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion at the Lord’s Supper*, 2nd ed. (Norwich, 1816), 45.

told his father in 1791, “I feel more & more conviction that the cause of the Baptists is the Cause of God and I have no doubt that God will bless & protect those that from right motives attend to it & support it.”¹⁶⁶ In other words, as Kinghorn grew mature in his theological reflections, he was convinced that Baptist ecclesiology was closer to a biblical or apostolic vision of the New Testament. Thus, through sermons, pamphlets, and practices, Kinghorn taught and defended the Baptist tradition. The following section, thus, examines Kinghorn’s view of the local congregation and aims to reconstruct his Baptist ecclesiology with primary sources outside the communion controversy.

Church Practices

In Kinghorn’s confession, the 24-year-old pastor declared that among all Christian duties, “It is especially incumbent on Christians to unite together in a church state, to attend to the positive ordinances Christ has commanded,—Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper.”¹⁶⁷ In other words, for Kinghorn, the local congregation could be defined as a Christian community living by their divine duties.¹⁶⁸ Though Kinghorn only mentioned baptism and the eucharist in his confession, his view of a local congregation’s function was more complicated.

As Kinghorn stated, “every connection in life has its duties,” social responsibilities are, therefore, required for the constitution of a community.¹⁶⁹ For Christians, who were baptised after experiencing conversion, they voluntarily chose to “unite with others” as spiritual consanguinity and became mutually responsible for each

¹⁶⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 9, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 665, KPA, 2.

¹⁶⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176.

¹⁶⁸ According to Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), the word “state” as a noun could mean “the community; the public; the commonwealth (Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words are deduced from their Originals, Explained in their Different Meanings, and Authorized by the Names of the writers in whose Works they are found*, 3rd ed. [Dublin, 1768], [749–750]). It seems better to understand Kinghorn’s usage of “church state” meaning the church community, or commonwealth.

¹⁶⁹ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 8.

other's welfare.¹⁷⁰ Upon joining the congregation, one "may hope for [others'] affection and assistance in your journey towards Heaven; and they receive you as one with them, hoping that by you, their piety will be increased, and their hearts encouraged in the good ways of the Lord."¹⁷¹ In other words, membership in a local congregation ensures the exercises of Christian duties in a social context, by which Christians are benefited in their sanctification. In particular, Kinghorn delineated four outcomes of church membership. First, church membership helps professing Christians to fulfil their duty to not "forsake assembling with his fellow Christians."¹⁷² Second, it manifests Christians' discipleship and altruism, as it is a duty for Christians to give "themselves up to the Lord and to his people."¹⁷³ Third, it compels Christians to "carry forward a steady zeal for the worship of God."¹⁷⁴ Finally, church membership connects Christians together to form accountable fellowship, as they are responsible to "watching over one another in love."¹⁷⁵ With regard to this last outcome, Kinghorn understood that "every Christian is accountable to the whole" in moral conduct.¹⁷⁶ As fellow image-bearers of Christ, Christians ought to "love as brethren, to be pitiful, to be courteous, and to forgive if any man have a quarrel against any even, as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you" (Eph 4:32).¹⁷⁷

For Kinghorn, there were two forms of Christian gatherings: the church meeting and corporate worship. As to the former, Kinghorn explained that it was "appointed for social prayer, and an attention to any concerns that may be necessary for

¹⁷⁰ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 8.

¹⁷¹ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 8.

¹⁷² Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 9.

¹⁷³ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 9.

¹⁷⁴ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 9.

¹⁷⁵ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 10.

¹⁷⁶ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 10.

¹⁷⁷ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 10.

the members to consider.”¹⁷⁸ During Joseph Kinghorn’s pastorate in Norwich, the records in the church minute book were simple and brief, as Kinghorn did not record most of the church meetings.¹⁷⁹ Instead, Kinghorn only recorded disciplinary cases brought forward by the church and lists of memberships in the minute book. Nevertheless, it did not mean that the St. Mary’s congregation rarely had church meetings. As Kinghorn pointed out, “Usually when [church meetings] are neglected the Church declines,” as “the members feel less regard for each other than they did before; they become careless about the general interest of religion among them; coldness and indifferency succeed, and the end of vital godliness is at hand!”¹⁸⁰ Kinghorn highly valued church meetings as occasions for social prayer, and it seems that during Kinghorn’s pastorate, the church regularly gathered to pray, which explains why there were not much being recorded about these church meetings in the minute book.

Regarding the gathered worship, Kinghorn extensively discussed this element of church life in *Public Worship Considered and Enforced* (1800).¹⁸¹ For Kinghorn, the practice of worshipping God is a duty for the creatures to pay homage to their creator as well as a token of their “dependence and gratitude.”¹⁸² In other words, to worship God is to acknowledge the ontological relationship between the creator and creature. Furthermore, the way to worship God has been prescribed and revealed in scripture. As pointed out above, Kinghorn believed there was a discontinuity of the old and new covenants. He thus argued that in Christ, God

¹⁷⁸ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 9.

¹⁷⁹ The church book of the Bishop Burton congregation is now in the East Riding Archives. In this hand-sewn document, there are only twenty-one pages. With a 4-page confession of faith, the rest of the church contains list of members and subscriptions. See “The Church Book,” no. EB 1/100 (East Riding Archives, Beverley).

¹⁸⁰ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 9.

¹⁸¹ Joseph Kinghorn, *Public Worship Considered and Enforced* (Norwich, 1800).

¹⁸² Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 5, 7.

hath changed the dispensation of Moses for that of Christ; he hath abolished the day and the rituals of his former service; he hath called now the Gentiles of different nations to know his name; he hath excluded his ancient people from their privileges, and hath made strangers partakers of his favor; but still through all these changes, the obligation to attend to his worship is evidently considered as abiding in force.¹⁸³

As he explained, the gathered worship has been revealed for the benefits of the believers. The emphasis of Christian worship, thus, is God, as the central message and subject of worship are about his character and work.¹⁸⁴ By reminding Christians the greatness of God, the gathered worship helps Christians to grow “a deeper humility.”¹⁸⁵ As many during Kinghorn’s time came to church gatherings with a “cold and heartless” attitude by not focusing on God and his presence, they complained that they felt “little elevation of soul in the worship of God.”¹⁸⁶ For Kinghorn, the solution was not to create a transcendent atmosphere or grandstanding activities—such as the Roman Catholics. Instead, professing Christians ought to examine their hearts in order to avoid the “danger of forgetting God.”¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, Kinghorn emphasised on the heart-felt experience at

¹⁸³ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 7.

¹⁸⁴ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 8.

¹⁸⁵ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 8.

¹⁸⁶ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 10.

¹⁸⁷ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 10. It is difficult to locate when did the St. Mary’s congregation incorporated instrumental music in their public worship. However, the church minute book indicated that on July 4, 1751, the congregation agreed that “the church chose Bror. Fuller, & Bror. Francis Burril to read the Psalm” (“Norwich St Mary’s Chapel [Baptist], Church Records 1691–1778,” MS4282, NRO, [77]). While under the pastorate of Rees David, it was mentioned that in 1781, by the will of William Chamberlayne, a liquor merchant, the church received funds to purchase “Music and Psalms or Hymn Books” (as quoted by Betty M. Doughty, *St. Mary’s Choir Through the Years 1751–1994 & 1995–2003* [Norwich: St Mary’s Baptist Church, 1994], 2). After Kinghorn’s arrival, the church began to adopt hymn-singing in their corporative worship, as both the Evans-Ash hymn book and Isaac Watts’ *Psalms and Hymns* were introduced. Later in Kinghorn’s career, he also edited the ninth (*A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship. The Ninth Edition. With a Small Supplement* [Norwich, 1814]) and tenth (*A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship. The Tenth Edition. With a Small Supplement* [Norwich, 1827]) editions of his former tutor’s hymnal. In 1810, Simon Wilkin began to organise a choir, which was reorganized in 1829. Regarding its reorganisation, Wilkin wrote to Kinghorn: “I am requested by some of our friends at St. Mary’s to write to you o ask your consent to an alteration of the pulpit there in order to provide room for a singing sear: viz: to place the pulpit with a flat back ~~next~~ against the orale—and to construct the seats for singers in the centre—in front of the pulpit. I will however relate what has been done—at the meeting held in consequence of your notice—a subscription list was opened & Mr. David Mr Pratt & myself appointed a committee to form the choir with Mr. Hill and to form anew the collection of Hymns tunes. Under the general principles of preference for simple & aversion to fugue=tunes. The committee has struck out above 60 tuness—and our present appointments to the new Choir (under the premiership of Mr. Hill—are as follow: Mr. Hill—Leader Mr Widdows Senr. (on pension) Mr. Barwick—to be exceedingly drilled Mr. Sadler Jun., a tenor Mr. Pratt Mr. Sadler (the Senr.—a Bass) These—with the Boys—are to be invited to hold their first meeting for practice—~~at~~ in my drawing=Room on Thursday Evg

worship, as he supported his father in 1792, when David Kinghorn and William Borck—a deacon of the Bishop Burton congregation—clashed over the question that “whether a leader of the singing at a place of worship ought necessarily to be a pious man.”¹⁸⁸ For the Norwich minister,

Tho’ singing be only a modulation of the Voice yet what is the value of this modulation of voice in the worship of God if the mind is not engaged by the sentiments of religion. God is not pleased with sound or else he would never listen to our jarring congregations not is the sentiment expressed pleasing in his sight as coming from us where it is not the effusion of the Heart or the expression of what we believe agreeable to his will. The modulation of the Voice which makes good singing is excellent of itself independent of any thing to which it is applied But when the apostle says I will sing with the Spirit & with the understanding also—Is any merry let him sing Psalms—singing & making melody in your Heart to the Lord &c I think he must mean something more than either sing good Tunes or—take care & sing them well. The assertion that there is no more ~~tha~~ in singing than in reading excepting the modulation of the voice appears to me quite unfounded on just principle or at least what is much the same for this argument that it will not apply here with any success for if I was to take a Form of Prayer composed by a ~~man~~ Socinian expressing Sentiments I believe opposite to the Gospel & derogatory to Gods Glory & read it in the Family or at Meeting as my part of the Worship of God could I stand clear of blame—or be denominated a Worshipper of the Spirit Father in Spirit & in Truth?—Is it far different when applied to singing? I think not.¹⁸⁹

Therefore, the focal point of corporate worship is about experiencing God in truth and spirit.¹⁹⁰

at Seven” (Simon Wilkin to Joseph Kinghorn, June 15, 1829, no. 129, Wilkin Papers, MC 64/12, 508X8, NRO, 1–2). Also see C. B. Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979), 89–90; Baiyu Andrew Song, “The Sung Spirituality of St. Mary’s Baptist Chapel, Norwich, under Joseph Kinghorn’s Pastorate (1789–1832),” in *Life is Worship: A Festschrift in Honour of Douglas A. Thomson on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. David G. Barker and Michael A. G. Haykin (Peterborough, ON: Heritage Seminary Press, 2023), 197–228.

¹⁸⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 215.

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, December 18, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 749, KPA, 1.

¹⁹⁰ Such a sentiment and pursuit can be illustrated by Kinghorn’s visit to Anglican and Roman Catholic worships on the Good Friday of 1795. Kinghorn told his father that “That day I spent curiously—I went to Church in the morning to see how I liked that—I heard a sermon—I think a very useless one for to me it appeared to want the warm Spirit of Christianity. In the afternoon I went among the Roman Catholics to see whether I liked them better I heard a sermon founded on a very curious sentiment. The subject was the Love of Christ. The preacher laid it down as a maxim that could not be controverted that as the Character of Xt. was infinite every action had infinite value—every act of condescension therefore was infinite & consequently by any one act of condescension [*sic*] he could have saved man because in each there was infinite value One tear shed by such a being as the Son of God would have been sufficient to have washed away the sins of a World. He then considered the sufferings of Xt. as the effect of his Love—for tho Justice did not require so much yet such was the Love of Xt. that he could not be satisfied without giving men so wonderful a proof of it.—Hence a train of inferences were drawn in perfect unison with the leading idea—but which had nothing to do with the Love of Xt. as perfecting a way of Redemption. I was struck at hearing how he reasoned away the plain language of his bible & came from the infinite dignity of

Furthermore, corporate worship instructs and transforms Christians. For Kinghorn, ministers should take the opportunity to instruct the congregation with the scriptures, from which the congregation could be exhorted to obey God's will in both "the presence of God and his people."¹⁹¹ Furthermore, as Christians gathered together as the body of Christ, those who had been afflicted and suffered could seek comfort in public worship. For Kinghorn, "It is the glory of Christianity, that it has so much to offer to comfort those that mourn, to encourage the tempted and the feeble minded, and to sooth the Christian in his most complicated distress, by bidding him cast all his care on God, under the assurance that he careth for him."¹⁹² In this sense, Kinghorn moved from individual worshippers to the whole congregation, as at corporate worship, members function as priests to each other and mutually encourage and counsel each other.¹⁹³ Thus, the local church became a means of grace, as through public worship, God "has provided encouragement and assistance adapted to our weakness."¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, the union of

Xt.. to a conclusion nearly Socinian. Thus extremes may meet. But by the way it shews how little we are able to reason respecting infinite value & how much was necessary for the redemption of a finite race of creature" (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 20, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 831, KPA, 1–2). The first church Kinghorn mentioned was probably the Norwich Cathedral, which is the seat of the Bishop of Norwich. Thus, the sermon Kinghorn heard was preached either by Bishop Charles Manners-Sutton (1755–1828), who later became the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1805, or by Joseph Turner (1746/7–1828), who was the dean of the cathedral from 1790 to 1828, and later became the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University. The Roman Catholic Church Kinghorn attended was St. John Chapel at the Maddermarket theatre, which was less than a mile from St. Mary's chapel. St. John was established in 1794, as measures against the Roman Catholic Church began to relief under the adoption of a series of acts, such as the Relief Act of 1778 and the Act of 1782. The building was plain, and it "contains sittings for about 600 people. The services here are carried out with great solemnity, and with a strict adherence to the ritual of the Church of Rome" (A. F. Bayne, *A Comprehensive History of Norwich* [London; Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1869], 113–114). The minister of St. John was John Canon Dalton, who was sent as a missionary rector (*The Catholic Directory, Ecclesiastical Register, and Almanac, for the Year 1861* [London: Burns & Lambert, 1861], 132). Another Roman Catholic church was built in Willow Lane, which was called the Chapel of the Apostles, in 1828. On the English Roman Catholic Church in the late eighteenth century, see Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Eamon Duffy, *Peter and Jack: Roman Catholics and Dissent in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Dr. Williams's Trust, 1982); Ian Machin, "British Catholics," in *The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants: Minorities and the Nation State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and Stephen Wendehorst (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11–32.

¹⁹¹ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 19.

¹⁹² Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 20.

¹⁹³ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 20–21.

¹⁹⁴ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 21.

Christians in a social setting is quintessential to the Christian life. Kinghorn pointed out:

It is the Church of Christ, that Christians as a body obey their Lord. They cannot keep up an attention to his ordinance of breaking bread in remembrance of his but in society. They cannot love each other as brethren, supply each other's wants, watch over and provoke each other to love and good works, without society. Their faith in the mediation and authority of one common Lord unites them together that they may reverence and obey him. This union leads them to a farther acquaintance with each other; and to an attention to those who shew a wish to walk with them in the ways of God. It forms them into a body which renders the example of every individual of some consequence; gives to each a character to maintain, and places him in a situation in which he both receives the assistance of the friendship, advice, and encouragement of others, and in his turn, communicates the same advantages.¹⁹⁵

Though Kinghorn recognised the examples of Christians in solitary, he argued for the lasting benefits of the Christian community, particularly in their public gatherings.¹⁹⁶

Credobaptism

For Kinghorn, as Christians are united in a worshipping community, it is their duty to attend Christ's positive ordinances, which includes baptism. Thus, he explained it in his confession that "I believe to be only properly administered by immersion in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and to be administered to such, and *such only*, who make a credible personal profession of their faith in Christ, and attachment to him."¹⁹⁷ Such a definition is in conformity with both the First (1644/1646) and Second London Confessions (1677/1689), as Kinghorn understood immersion being the proper mode of baptism, and converted believers its sole subject. Moreover, though the English Baptist denomination did not exist until the seventeenth century, Kinghorn understood that their conviction of credobaptism by immersion could find its origin in the New Testament. As Kinghorn wrote in 1824, Baptists pled God's words as the "source of all authority,"

¹⁹⁵ Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 21–22.

¹⁹⁶ For Kinghorn, "A Christian, steady in his worship and obedience, and upright in his conduct, lives like an active member of society; his value is daily felt; he helps forward a vast system, and assists in handing to the next generation the knowledge of eternal life!" (Kinghorn, *Public Worship*, 22).

¹⁹⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176.

and as they refuse to appeal to any other quarter for their decision, so they are convinced that their opinions and their practice are of no importance, further than as they are supported by the authority of the Bible. They conceive that, according to the New Testament, the *law of baptism* is the commission which the Lord Jesus Christ gave to his Apostles; and that the best explanation of it is derived from their conduct, in the first planting of Christianity.¹⁹⁸

By examining the history of Christianity, Kinghorn understood that paedobaptism was neither “usual, or frequent” in the early ages, and it was not until the third century, baptism began to be called “the remission of sins; and if the child was removed by death, it was supposed to secure his salvation.”¹⁹⁹ Agreeing with his father, Kinghorn also believed that it was with Cyprian (c. 210–258), Ambrose (c. 340–397), Augustine (354–430), and Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), “the necessity of Baptism to salvation brought in Infant baptism by slow degrees.”²⁰⁰ After the Constantinian revolution in the fourth century, paedobaptism became “so connected with a National Church that they cannot be separated for it connects the world and church together and keep them together.”²⁰¹ Therefore, Baptists were to defend credobaptism for the purity and welfare of the Christian church. Among his Baptist predecessors, Kinghorn especially regarded John Gill with high approval and respect, as Kinghorn told his father:

I have a volume of tracts on Baptism now by me chiefly by Dr. Gill. The old defender of Primitive practice really in many things does it well. It was not fair for the Paedobaptists to attack the Dr.. they were so far overmatched that it could hardly be called a battle—I cannot help applying what is said of Samson to him Judges 14..5.6—and behold a young lion roared against him & the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him & he sent him as he would have sent a kid—He knew his Ground & his own strength too well to suffer himself to be beaten. Nor did the Pædobaptists do their own cause any good when they called on him to retract calling Infant Baptism a part & pillar of Popery. The sermon he preached at the Baptism of Mr. [Robert] Carmichael is very well but I think it by no means required a D.D. but some other things show the hand of a master. To say he wrote heavily & not with the playfull spirit of a [Robert] Robinson is only saying God had given him a very different set of abilities. To say he did not write equally well on all the parts of the

¹⁹⁸ Joseph Kinghorn, *A Brief Sentiment of the Sentiments of the Baptists on the Ordinance of Baptism* (Norwich, 1824), 2.

¹⁹⁹ Kinghorn, *Brief Sentiment of the Sentiments of the Baptists*, 14.

²⁰⁰ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, March 17, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 656, KPA, 1.

²⁰¹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, March 17, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 656, KPA, 2.

debate is only saying he was a man & therefore not perfect but much praise still is his due.²⁰²

It is curious to observe that following the example of Gill, the subject of baptism became so close to Kinghorn's heart that he defended credobaptism in his first publication in 1795, and he preached about it in his last baptism sermon, just a few months before his death in 1832.²⁰³

Though the reasons for Kinghorn's concern over credobaptism may be complicated, it is significant to observe that the religious environment in Norwich may also be a significant factor for his defence. When Kinghorn arrived at Norwich, there were only four Baptist congregations, two Particular Baptist ones, one General Baptist church, and the congregation of the Johnsonian Baptists.²⁰⁴ Besides St. Mary's, the other

²⁰² Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, June 27, 1793, no. 6, Wilkin Papers, MC64/12, 508X8, NRO, 2. The sermon Kinghorn mentioned was John Gill, *Baptism a Divine Commandment to be Observed. Being a Sermon Preached at Barbican, Octob. 9, 1765. At the Baptism of the Reverend Mr. Robert Carmichael, Minister of the Gospel in Edinburgh* (London, 1765). It was preached at the baptism of Robert Carmichael (d. 1774), a Scottish Anti-burgher Seceder minister, who became a Baptist after reading John Glas' (1695–1773) *Testimony to the King of Martyrs Concerning His Kingdom* (1729) in the 1750s. Carmichael came to London and was baptised by Gill on October 9, 1765. Later with Archibald McLean (1733–1812), Carmichael established the first Baptist chapel in Scotland. See Robert W. Oliver, "John Gill (1697–1771): His Life and Ministry," in *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697–1771): An Tercentennial Appreciation*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 36; Nathan Finn, ed., *Apologetic Works 5: Strictures on Sandemanianism*, The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller, vol. 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 13–14; Brian R. Talbot, *The Search for a Common Identity: The Origins of the Baptist Union of Scotland 1800–1870* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2003), 29–30.

²⁰³ Joseph Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism, Its Best Confutation: Being a Reply to Mr. Peter Edwards's Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Anti-paedo-baptism, on his own ground* (Norwich, 1795); Kinghorn, unnumbered sermon manuscripts, D/KIN/2/1832, KPA, [3–8]. The latter has been transcribed and published as Song, ed., "An Uncatalogued Baptism-Sermon by Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832)," 75–83.

²⁰⁴ The Johnsonians were a sect led by John Johnson (1706–1791), who became the pastor of the Byrom Street Baptist Chapel in Liverpool around 1741, and was dismissed by the congregation around 1747/8 due to his unconventional beliefs. Johnson was a high Calvinist and a form of Apollinarism, which believed the pre-existence and uncreated human soul of Christ. Under the influence of Johnson, Samuel Fisher (1742–1803) adopted the Johnsonian view and later was called to pastorate St. Mary's in Norwich. Though Fisher received criticism over his doctrines, he was dismissed for immorality in 1774. Fisher remained in Norwich and formed a new chapel with a few former members of St. Mary's. Due to lack of supports, that it was not until in the 1780s, they took over a Methodist building in St. Margaret's, which became known as the St. Margaret's chapel. See Kenneth Hipper, "The Johnsonian Baptists in Norwich," *BQ* 38, no. 1 (1999): 19–32; Edward Deacon, *Samuel Fisher: Baptist Minister of Norwich and Wisbech, England, 1742–1803; With Bibliography* (Bridgeport, CT: [Brewer-Colgan], 1911). When John Rippon (1751–1836) composed his directory, the London Baptists did not include the Johnsonian congregation in his list. See John Rippon, *The Baptist Annual Register, for 1790, 1791, 1792, and part of 1793. Including Sketches of the State of Religion among Different Denominations of Good Men at Home and Abroad* (London, 1793), 9.

Particular Baptist congregation was founded in 1788 under the leadership of Mark Wilks (1748–1819).²⁰⁵ The General Baptist congregation was formed under the leadership of Thomas Grantham (1634–1692) around the same time of St. Mary’s and they met in Priory Yard, on the eastside of Cowgate, till 1875.²⁰⁶ However, as Norwich was a city of churches, four Baptist congregations were not so impressive. In a survey of the diocese of Norwich conducted in 1735, it was reported that beside the Norwich Cathedral, there were thirty-five parish churches within the city wall.²⁰⁷ Later, the Methodists also began their work in Norwich in 1751, when James Wheatley (d. 1775), a Welsh cobbler and Calvinistic Methodist, arrived at Norwich and began to preach. Though Wheatley faced severe opposition and riot, he remained in Norwich and a new chapel called the Tabernacle was opened in 1755 at the site in Bishopsgate.²⁰⁸ In 1754, John (1703–1791)

²⁰⁵ On St. Paul’s, see Harold F. Oxbury, *From St. Paul’s to Unthank Road: Being a history of the Baptist Church formed at St. Paul’s, Norwich, in 1788, removed to St. Clement’s in 1814, and since 1875 meeting at Unthank Road* (Norwich: Unthank Road Baptist Church, 1925). On Wilks, see Sarah Wilks, *Memoirs of Rev. Mark Wilks, Late of Norwich* (London, 1821); Oxbury, *From St. Paul’s to Unthank Road*, 9–18.

²⁰⁶ See Clint C. Bass, *Thomas Grantham (1633–1692) and General Baptist Theology* (Oxford: Centre for Baptist Studies in Oxford, Regent’s Park College, 2019); John Inscore Essick, *Thomas Grantham: God’s Messenger from Lincolnshire* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2013); C. B. Jewson, “The Old General Baptist Church at Norwich,” *BQ* 9, no. 7 (1939): 430–32.

²⁰⁷ Anonymous, *A Description of the Diocese of Norwich: Or, the Present State of Norfolk and Suffolk. Giving an Account of the Situation, Extent, Trade, and Customs, of the City of Norwich in particular. And of the several Market-Towns in those two countries. According to Alphabetical Order* (London, 1735), 12.

²⁰⁸ On Wheatley’s mission in Norwich, see Elizabeth J. Bellamy, “Norwich Methodism in the 1750s,” in *Religious Dissent in East Anglia*, ed. E. S. Leedham-Green (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1991), 91–94; *item*, *James Wheatley and Norwich Methodism in the 1750s* (Peterborough: World Methodist Historical Society, 1994). Bayne, *Comprehensive History of Norwich*, 256. In 1750, James Wheatley, an itinerant preacher expelled from John and Charles Wesley’s connections, arrived at Norwich and began to preach under the trees on Tombland road, near the cathedral, upon the Castle Hill, and to the prisoners at the Castle Yard. Though the local newspapers published opposing reactions to Wheatley and his message, severe opposition did not occur until late November. With Wheatley’s growing crowds, members of the Hell-Fire Club conspired attacks on Norwich’s new dissenting body. On November 21, 1751, the first riot took place to obstruct Wheatley and his hearers. According to Richard Lodge, a rioter, the mob was paid and supplied with liquor. Being fully armed, one of the organisers, a Mr. Tinkler “called for a cork, and burnt it over the blaze of a candle, and blacked several of the men’s faces, and said, ‘my boys never fear, for I’ll stand by you all, and don’t spare for liquor’; and so a horse and bull’s hide was brought” forward and they marched to the Castle Hill and arrived at the wooden tabernacle erected for the Methodist meeting on Orfold Place. The mob “continued hallowing and blowing of horns for an hour and a half, and beating against the pales of the tabernacle, pulling them down, and using the people very ill, by shoving and crowding them against the walls as they came out.” Seeing Wheatley stayed fearless, they left with crying out “Church and King, and down with the Meeting-houses.” Though twelve butchers and weavers were arrested and tried two days later, as Wheatley returned to

and Charles Wesley (1707–1788) visited Norwich and later a Wesleyan Methodist chapel was built in 1769 in Cherry Lane.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, among the Norwich dissenters, there were also Congregationalists (the Old Meeting House), Presbyterian turned Unitarians (the Octagon Chapel), and Quakers.²¹⁰ Thus, it was necessary for Kinghorn to publicly present and defend the Baptist cause through both practice and publications, since the majority of Christians in Norwich were paedobaptists.

For Kinghorn, though he respected and acknowledged the paedobaptists' Christian faith and character, he could not consider their baptism valid, as Kinghorn stated:

Your Baptism was not obedience in you, you were ignorant of the matter; it was not obedience in your parents, if Jesus Christ did not require it of them; it was not Baptism in itself, it not only wanted the command and the end, but the very manner

Norwich from London in late January 1752, this riot was only the beginning of a series of organised violence (*A True and Particular Narratives of the Disturbances and Outrages That Have Been Committed in the City of Norwich, since November to the Present Time* [London, 1752], 3–5). For weeks, there were daily riots against the Methodists and dissenters on the street. At about seven o'clock in the morning of February 23, 1752, as Wheatley began the Sunday service, the tabernacle was mobbed and they kept Wheatley in the crowd for nearly an hour. Though the mob attempted to murder him, Wheatley managed to escape with “the loss of his hat and wig, and his coat torn in pieces,” while the hooligans cried out, “Church and King, and no law!” (see Bellamy, *James Wheatley and Norwich Methodism in the 1750s*, 44–47). The Court of Mayoralty saw these riots as serious threats. On March 13, Lord Mayor Timothy Balderstone (1680–1764) commanded stationed dragoons to restore peace. Though the mob violence died down by the summer, as Linda Colley pointed out, the Norwich anti-Methodist riots of 1751 and 1752 were “designed to provoke the Norwich city militia, the Honourable Artillery Company, which had a high nonconformist membership and a polarising role as local whig mafia” (Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714–60* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982], 156). Though physical violence came to an end, written mockery and oppositions toward Methodism and the dissenters continued for years. According to Elizabeth Bellamy's calculation, besides pamphlets, the *Norwich Mercury* published 35 letters directly criticising Wheatley over the period of sixteen months. In February 1752, the local newspaper published a ghost story, in which the anonymous gentleman complained how his cook Margery and butler John were poisoned by religious enthusiasm, and Margery's ghost appeared before the author insisting to sing “one of Mr. Wesley's hymns.” As Sarah Handley pointed out, whereas ghost stories were means of conversion, Margery's story served as a polemical satire, “embroiled in angry rhetoric and tarnished as products of enthusiasm” (Sarah Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Beliefs and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth-Century England* [London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007], 38–41, 134–35).

²⁰⁹ Bayne, *Comprehensive History of Norwich*, 257. Also see Norma Virgoe, “Cherry Lane Chapel, Norwich,” *My Methodist History*, accessed July 25, 2021, <https://www.mymethodisthistory.org.uk/chapels/norfolk/cherry-lane-chapel-norwich>.

²¹⁰ See Andrew Reed, *Congregationalism in Norwich Two Hundred Years Ago. Two Discourses delivered on the occasion of the Second Centenary, at the Old Meeting House, Norwich, on Lord's Day, February 27, 1842* (London: Thomas Ward, 1842); Stuart Andrews, *Unitarian Radicalism: Political Rhetoric, 1770–1814* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 127–35; Arthur J. Eddington, *The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich* (London: Friends' Historical Society, 1932); John Punshon, *Portrait of Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984).

was wrong. The Baptism of the New Testament certainly was not *sprinkling*. How then can such a baptism as yours be recognized, so as to be equivalent to a personal obedience to Christ's will in his own way; when in every thing it is so far from his appointment?²¹¹

In other words, the paedobaptists inherited an erroneous view of Christian baptism, particularly regarding its subject and mode. By defending paedobaptism, they failed to concern and practice the precept and precedent of credobaptism by immersion, which was found in the New Testament, as paedobaptism ignores the “command of Christ” and “the example in the practice of the Apostles.”²¹² Instead, Kinghorn argued that in the New Testament era, “the gospel, as addressed solely to those, who have their senses exercised to discern good from evil, and that those only ought to be the subjects of Christ's ordinances, who are able to understand them.”²¹³ In other words, intellectual or mental capacity is a main reason why infants are disqualified for baptism, as they are not capable to believe or understand what they confess. Furthermore, as an individual sign, token, and seal, baptism was instituted for those “having the grace of God in his heart, whereby he was enable to love God, to worship him, and to have no confidence in the flesh.”²¹⁴ In other words, baptism as “an act of worship” signifies the person's faith in the triune God, embodies the inner transformation, and consolidate the will to live in duty and obedience.²¹⁵ Therefore, baptism is explicitly individualistic, just as conversion was an act of individual regeneration and transformation that cannot be achieved either communally, or superseded by others (such as the godparents).²¹⁶ As Kinghorn explicitly expressed in his last extant sermon on baptism:

²¹¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 41.

²¹² Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 2.

²¹³ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 12.

²¹⁴ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 18.

²¹⁵ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 49–50.

²¹⁶ On godparents, see [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 27–33.

Your Baptism is a declaration of your trust in the death of Christ for life. this trust or rather faith unites us to him; we are therefore partaker of his death and as a declaration of it we are baptized in his name. Thus buried with him by submission to the ordinance which is ~~which is~~ the sign (?) of his death & burial and using from it as a declaration that your hope of eternal life and glory is through his resurrection with whom in the sign of {our} {your} baptism we use to newness of life.²¹⁷

Therefore, regarding the subject of baptism, Kinghorn rejected both the notions of baptismal regeneration and half-way covenant.²¹⁸ In light of baptism's meaning and function, Kinghorn argued that immersion was the only legitimate mode.

Throughout his pastorate career, Kinghorn published three works to defend credobaptism. In his first pamphlet, *Defence of Infant Baptism, Its Best Confutation* (1795), by responding to Peter Edwards (fl. 1785–1795), a Baptist-turned paedobaptist, Kinghorn substantially laid out his reasons for credobaptism by immersion.²¹⁹ Later when

²¹⁷ Kinghorn, unnumbered sermon manuscripts, D/KIN/2/1832, KPA, [5]; Song, ed., “An Uncatalogued Baptism-Sermon by Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832),” 79.

²¹⁸ Regarding the changes towards the end of the eighteenth century, see David Hart, “Baptism and Conversion Narratives in Eighteenth-century Methodism: A Norfolk Case Study,” *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 8, no. 1 (2016): 16–34.

²¹⁹ Peter Edwards served as the Baptist congregation in White's Row at Portsea from 1785 to 1794. The congregation came out from Joseph Horsey's (1737–1802) on Portsmouth Common, Meeting-house Alley in October 1782. As the second Baptist church in Portsea, John Collett Ryland (1723–1792) helped its formation. The new congregation accepted Ryland's recommendation and chose Henry Dawson to be their first pastor. Later in 1785, Edwards succeeded Dawson (See Timothy D. Whelan, ed., *Baptist Autographs in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1741–1845* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009], 45n6, 380). In late 1794, Edwards changed his sentiment about baptism and adopted a quasi-baptismal regeneration view of paedobaptism. He was then dismissed. To justify his change, he published *Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Antipaedobaptism* (London, 1795), in which he mainly engaged with Abraham Booth. Soon after its publication, Edwards' pamphlet initiated a round of quarrel, as two anonymous pamphlets were published by a “native of New York” (*The Baptism of Abortives Defended: By the Demonstrative Arguments of Mr. Peter Edwards, in his Candid Reasons, for Renouncing the Principles of Antipaedobaptism* [London, 1795]; item, *The Right of Infants to the Lord's Supper Defended: By the Demonstrative Arguments of Mr. Peter Edwards, in his Candid Reasons, for Renouncing the Principles of Antipaedobaptism* [London, 1795]) and one by “a plain countryman” (*The Candour of Mr. Peter Edwards Exhibited. And His Curious Reasons for Renouncing Antipaedobaptism, Examined* [London, 1795]). Besides Kinghorn's response, Joseph Jenkins, then minister to the Blandford Street congregation in London, also responded to Edwards and published *A Defence of the Baptists Against the Aspersions & Misrepresentations of Mr. Peter Edwards, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church, at Portsea, Hants. In his Book, entitled Candid Reasons, for renouncing the Principles of Antipaedobaptism. In a Series of Letters* (London, 1795). In 1796, Edwards chose to publish his response, in which he mocked his critiques and primarily engaged with Jenkins' pamphlet. Regarding Jenkins, Edwards wrote: “I was almost persuaded to pity and despise the Doctor, and to be angry at myself: to pity him as a man—to despise him as an author—and to be angry with myself for spending time upon a worthless piece” (Edwards, *Critical Remarks on Dr. Jenkins's Defence of the Baptists* [London, 1796], iii). As for Kinghorn, though Edwards did not deem to respond, the latter categorised Kinghorn as a follower of “Boothism” and a “stiff Baptist” (Edwards, *Critical Remarks*, 11, 79). By committing the fallacies of straw man and ad hominem, Edwards accused Kinghorn lack of modesty and criticised “his manner of flying off from the argument” (Edwards, *Critical Remarks*, 21–23, 80).

he published his two other pamphlets on the subject in 1823 and 1824, Kinghorn confirmed his earlier belief and extended his arguments by focusing on the covenant theology behind paedobaptism.²²⁰ For Kinghorn, the determination of different views of baptism lies at the relationship between the old and new covenants, and the two covenant markers—circumcision and baptism. For Kinghorn, circumcision and baptism are two different rites, as circumcision was never understood as a sign of “repenting and engaging to keep” God’s law, which baptism stood for.²²¹ Instead, circumcision was instituted as “a sign of the covenant which God made with Abraham, and a seal of the righteousness of that faith which [Abraham] had before he was circumcised.”²²² Thus, as a “seal of God’s approbation,” circumcision “was designed to be a mark of distinction, and a means of separating the Jews from the Gentiles.”²²³ Therefore, circumcision became “one of the leading causes of their enmity, against the uncircumcised Gentiles.”²²⁴ However, as Christ came as the fulfilment of the Abrahamic covenant, “there was no more occasion for the sign of the covenant then, than for the shadow when the substance was come.”²²⁵ Furthermore,

When the Jews rejected Christ, God rejected them. How then can infant church-membership be pleaded for, as continuing from the Jews to the Gentiles, when it was annulled with the old dispensation, and consequently the New Testament-Church could never have it without a never appointment? For the Jews rejected Christ before his crucifixion; God’s covenant with them was consequently broken, before the appointment of Baptism, as an ordinance of the Christian Church. The commission of Christ to his apostles, evidently supposed that this was the case: for it was a command to go to *all nations*, to preach the gospel to *every creature*; and

²²⁰ In Wilkin’s list of Kinghorn’s works, he did not indicate Kinghorn’s *A Brief Statement of the Sentiments of the Baptists on the Ordinance of Baptism* as a separate work. Instead, it was first written as an appendix to the third edition of his *Address to a Friend, on Church Communion* (Norwich, 1824). Later, it was published as a separate pamphlet.

²²¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 10.

²²² Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 5, 10–11.

²²³ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 6.

²²⁴ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 28.

²²⁵ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 28.

could not therefore be a continuation of the covenant of circumcision, which was confined to one family, had answered its end, and was then abolished. It was a part of the *hand-writing of ordinances, that was against us, and contrary to us*, which Jesus *took out of the way, nailing it to his cross*. He now went forward on new ground, and rendered all arguments from Jewish commandments useless and unjust.²²⁶

Moreover, circumcision was instituted as “an affair of authority,” which was essentially for “the state of the Jews, that upon it depended the enjoyment both of their civil and religious privileges.”²²⁷ By examining texts such as Genesis 17:2, Kinghorn pointed out that under the old covenant, the Jewish household and their permanent properties, such as slaves, ought to be circumcised without consent, as by so doing, “they were brought under obligation to submit to the worship and authority of the God of Israel, and were forbidden to worship any other God.”²²⁸ For Kinghorn, such an act of coercion contraries to the New Testament principle of the liberty of conscience. Moreover, by appealing to the “authority and power of the master of a family under Gospel Dispensation,” paedobaptists fostered the idea of national churches, which “makes ecclesiastical power the highest power on earth; justified force to increase the number of disciples; in a word it sends us to Abraham for our Religion, and to the Pope for our politics!”²²⁹ Nevertheless, as baptism is related to the eucharist, it would be logically consistent to open the table to infants as well, since a national church provide rights for all to access the table, as “the parties entered the church by baptism, as the Jews entered their civil and religious society by circumcision.”²³⁰ However, such was the cul-de-sac of most of the paedobaptists of Kinghorn’s days, as the Christian confession was compelled to the infant at baptism, yet

²²⁶ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 28–29.

²²⁷ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 7.

²²⁸ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 7.

²²⁹ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 33. Also see Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 11.

²³⁰ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 13.

parts of their membership privileges were taken until a later age.²³¹ For Kinghorn, the paedobaptists' wish and intention for their offspring are both good, as it is plausible to “train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, by endeavouring to inculcate those ideas and to form those habits which are calculated to promote their best interests.”²³² However,

Whereas if they had not this idea of having been baptized to depend upon, they would more strongly feel their situation; they would the more deeply consider religion as a personal thing: when they began to look unto Jesus they would recollect, there are two institutions of his, which faith in him and love to his name, call on them to obey. They would see the necessity of thoroughly investigating his Gospel, and their own characters; thereby they would learn that the duties of religion were required of them; and every part of their religious conduct would then have one of the just springs of action, it would be their own. This is not speculation, it is a fact to which all who have not been baptized in infancy, and afterwards have been baptized on the profession of their faith, are witness.²³³

On the other hand, Kinghorn understood that “the defence of infant baptism from the rite of circumcision favours the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.”²³⁴ In other words, it was supposed that at baptism, not only did infants receive privileges to enter the covenant of grace, but also that “some portion of grace, or some spiritual advantage, is given by baptism which would not be possessed without it.”²³⁵ Though Kinghorn's understanding of the nature of baptism was underdeveloped, he did not deny the significance of the ordinance, as it is not merely symbolic. Instead, in his response to a critique, Kinghorn pointed out that

A regenerate man, brought to believe in Christ, as the effect of regenerating grace,

²³¹ For instance, when Samuel Newton Jr. (1763–1822), the minister of the Old Meeting House, publicly proposed to open the table to all baptised children, Kinghorn commented that “this is consistent,” though he questioned that “does it not make the absurdity of Infant Bapm. appear great?” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 2, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 714, KPA, 2).

²³² Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 50.

²³³ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 51.

²³⁴ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 21.

²³⁵ Kinghorn, *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, 21. Also see Joseph Kinghorn, “Remarks on the Controversy in the Church of England respecting Baptismal Regeneration,” in Wolever, ed., *Life and Work of Joseph Kinghorn*, 246–68.

and baptized on a profession of his faith, may, in a figurative sense, be said to have his sins washed away; but how this expression can apply to the baptism of infants, and justify the terms used by Dr. [Isaac] Watts, I know not. Whether this is an insinuation that the efficacy of baptism depends on the age or size of the candidate, I leave any one to determine.²³⁶

In other words, Kinghorn shifted the focus from the baptismal font and the clergy to the candidate. Without denying the mystery and divine origin of regeneration, Kinghorn argued for an experience of conversion prior to baptism.²³⁷ Consequently, the rite of baptism did not bring a person into a covenanted community; instead, it functions as “a manifest profession of faith in Christ Jesus,” “a formal renunciation of all dependence on themselves, or on their own merits, for acceptance before God,” “a direct declaration that they are relying on the atonement made by him who died and rose again, for their justification before God,” “one part of their Christian obedience,” “a submission to the authority of Christ,” and “an evidence of their love to God.”²³⁸ Thus, Kinghorn understood that people “cannot be Christians without” baptism.²³⁹

Regarding the mode, Kinghorn briefly made the case for immersion in his response to Peter Edwards. Linguistically, Kinghorn pointed out Edwards’ insufficient knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, as in both cases baptism had to be understood as immersion, not sprinkling. Thus, Kinghorn argued that

One of the best proofs we can have of the meaning of the word, is that those early Christians who spake the Greek language, and consequently best understood the force of Greek terms, habitually administered Baptism by immersion; and when sprinkling came in, it was in a manner, that shewed every one was conscious, it was

²³⁶ Joseph Kinghorn, “Reply to an article in the *Congregational Magazine* of March, 1824, regarding a question raised concerning ‘A Hymn on Baptism,’ by Dr. Isaac Watts,” *BM* 16 (May 1824): 197–202. Also see Wolever, ed., *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:68–69. In his *Argument in Support of Infant Baptism*, Kinghorn quoted the 127th hymn, “Circumcision and Baptism (Written only for those who practise the Baptism of Infants,” in Isaac Watts’ (1674–1748) *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1779), 243–44, to prove Kinghorn’s point that infant baptism has the intention for baptismal regeneration.

²³⁷ Kinghorn, *Brief Statement of the Sentiments*, 12. This was the reason why Kinghorn did not encourage candidates to rush for baptism, see how he counselled a woman to seriously consider her faith and spiritual condition before baptism (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 6, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 712, KPA, 1).

²³⁸ Kinghorn, *Brief Statement of the Sentiments*, 12.

²³⁹ Kinghorn, *Brief Statement of the Sentiments*, 11.

not properly Baptism.²⁴⁰

For Kinghorn, the mode of baptism was significant, as it was not only set forth by the New Testament texts and modelled by the early Christians, but ignorance of it could also lead to scepticism and devaluation of the New Testament. If it was merely a difference of linguistic interpretations or pragmatic convenience, Kinghorn argued, people could apply the same principle to other doctrines and conclude that “The spirit was nothing but air, and body only appearance; that the resurrection was but a phantom; the atonement a mere Jewish mode of diction, and the whole character of Christ nothing more than a man, illuminated with a singular ray of genius.”²⁴¹

The Eucharist

Unlike his defence of baptism, Kinghorn’s reflection on the eucharist was modicum. At his ordination, Kinghorn understood the Lord’s Supper as a positive ordinance, which he stated that it “is a commemoration of his sufferings and death for the sins of his people, that they may be led more seriously to consider what he hath done for them, that their faith may be strengthened, and their minds comforted.”²⁴² Later in his defence of credobaptism, Kinghorn also called the eucharist “the commemorative ordinance of Christ”²⁴³ In his *Address to a Friend*, Kinghorn rejected the salvific nature of the Lord’s Supper and an emphasis on the “preparation for it and on the ceremony itself.”²⁴⁴ Instead, Kinghorn believed that the eucharist was instituted as “a memorial of the death of Christ,” by which, “those who believe in him ought to attend to it for the

²⁴⁰ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 43.

²⁴¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 43. Also see Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 2, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 714, KPA, 1–2.

²⁴² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 176. According to Johnson, the word “commemoration” means “an act of public celebration” (Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, [139]).

²⁴³ Kinghorn, *Defence of Infant Baptism*, 41. According to Johnson, the word “commemorative” means “tending to preserve memory of any thing” (Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, [139]).

²⁴⁴ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 7.

purpose of ‘*shewing forth the Lord’s death till he come*’; expressing thereby their belief that he came and died for sin, their hope in him as their Saviour through faith, in his name, and their expectation that *he will appear the second time without sin unto salvation.*”²⁴⁵ As a means to concentrate and contemplate Christ’s “unspeakable mercy,” participation to the table helps to encourage and strengthen believers and to motivate them to serve God.²⁴⁶ Thus, Kinghorn argued that when Christians attend the table, by which to fulfil their Christian duty, they need to participate “with great seriousness in the exercise of faith in Christ and love to him.”²⁴⁷ In practice, whenever Kinghorn conducted the eucharist, he frequently “looked round upon the assembled church, with the words, ‘Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you,’ and then would often go on to say, ‘Thus we are brought, by the good hand of our God upon us, through another month.’”²⁴⁸ As a witness recalled, the eucharist was a serious business for both Kinghorn and the congregation:

There was a pause before the commencement of the service till all minds were hushed, the thoughts composed and stillness reigned. Even at the commencement of the ordinance his feelings seemed to have more than usual animation and joy and towards the close, especially while dwelling on that second coming referred to in the words, “until he come,” he often seemed to me to be living in a triumph of expectation and joy which wrapped his soul and bore him and those around him for the present above all earthly things to the realisation of a degree of bliss known but there. The time of the observance [after the close of the afternoon service]—especially when, in the winter months, the shades of evening were added to stillness, broken only by his animated voice, increased the impression made on me, (when an observer only,) as he referred to the events of that night when the Saviour was betrayed. After administering the bread and wine to others he continued when partaking of it himself some little time in perfect quiet and meditation; and when he opened the hymn-book, placed it on one of the cups, and after some words of exhortation and comfort, read in a manner which uttered his whole soul some favourite hymn, the thrill of divine love and joy which it seemed to communicate deepest impressions of the blessedness of such a hope; and to have had a powerful effect in first awakening in me a love of Christ. His addresses to those who were

²⁴⁵ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 7.

²⁴⁶ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 8.

²⁴⁷ Kinghorn, *Address to a Friend*, 7.

²⁴⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 447.

received for the first time to this ordinance, were very short, but remarkable for adaptation of counsel, encouragement, and fervent welcome.²⁴⁹

It is interesting that among the hymns Kinghorn often used Joseph Stennett's (1663–1713) "Thus we commemorate the day" and Philip Doddridge's (1702–1751) "Come, condescending Savior, come."²⁵⁰ For the former, Stennett used the present tense to bid Christ's second coming while the gathered church commemorated his death. Doddridge, on the other hand, asked the presence of Christ, by asking the risen Lord to "fill our hearts with sacred peace" and "make us feel thy vital grace." In the third and fourth stanzas, the plea became much stronger, as Doddridge asked Christ to "enter our hearts" and "make them thine own," so that Christians might have the hope of resurrection.²⁵¹ Thus, though being a commemoration, Kinghorn did not see the eucharist as a funereal experience, or merely focused on the past; instead, as he sang with the hymnists, the eucharist is also about the present and future. Thus, the eucharist is an act of worship that transcends time and geographical location, as at the table, the congregation completely concentrate on Jesus Christ, the Saviour who is beyond time and space and came for their salvation in time and space.

Given the significance of the table, Kinghorn defended the relationship between the two positive ordinances. As "The Lords Supper is described as not only the effect of professed Faith but also consequent on that Examination which must necessarily be personal," thus only those who were baptised as believers by immersion could come and participate the table.²⁵² Thus, Kinghorn agreed with his father that "all that have a

²⁴⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 447–448.

²⁵⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 448. Joseph Stennett, "Hymn 380 A Sacramental Hymn," in Joseph Kinghorn, ed., *A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship*, 9th ed. (Norwich, 1814), 286; Philip Doddridge, "Hymn 211 The Presence of Christ desired," in Kinghorn, ed., *Collection of Hymns*, 166.

²⁵¹ Doddridge, "Hymn 211 The Presence of Christ desired," 166.

²⁵² Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 2, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 714, KPA, 2.

right to Baptism, have as good a right to the Lords Supper.”²⁵³ In other words, those who participate at the table ought to be regenerated disciples of Christ, as Christ instituted such a practice for his disciples on the night of his betrayal. The order of baptism prior to eucharist also became one of Kinghorn’s main arguments against open communion, about which it will be discussed in the next chapter in detail.

It is significant to point out that though Kinghorn understood the table as a commemoration and memorial, it is cursory and less nuanced to simply categorise Kinghorn as a “memorialist.” From the limited data, it can be observed that though Kinghorn rejected the notion of Christ’s real presence in the elements of the eucharist, he also disagreed with the Socinians that the table was *nuda signa*.²⁵⁴ Instead, it is better to describe Kinghorn’s view of the eucharist as that while he opposed the table as a sacrifice or mass, Kinghorn believed that certain aspects of renewal of Christ’s sacrifice could be communicated at the commemoration and celebration of the eucharist.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, it seems inconsistent and illogical for one who defended baptism as a term of communion to understand the table as merely symbolic with less or no spiritual values and impacts.

Church Polity

Regarding church polity, Kinghorn was a Congregationalist. Though there was not much on his view of congregationalism, it can be deduced from his correspondence with his father in 1798. Regarding the celebration of the eucharist, Kinghorn asked his father’s opinion on whether a congregation could have it among themselves when their

²⁵³ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 9, 1796, D/KIN 2/1796 no. 852, KPA, 2.

²⁵⁴ In Kinghorn’s tract, through the mouth of the Protestant “Richard,” Kinghorn stated that “the Lord’s Supper is designed to be a remember of Christ: remembrance supposes absence; but the Catholics want you to believe that Jesus Christ is not absent, but really *present* with his body, and that *they eat him*. And thus their doctrine contradicts the very spirit and intention of our Lord’s appointment” ([Joseph Kinghorn], *Arguments, Chiefly from Scripture, Against the Roman Catholic Doctrine. In a Dialogue* [Norwich, 1804], 11).

²⁵⁵ See how C. Anderson Scott nuanced Ulrich Zwingli’s (1484–1531) view of the eucharist (Scott, “Zwingli’s Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper,” *Expositor* 6, no. 3 [1901]: 161–71).

pastor was absent. In his reply, by comparing the pastoral office to a civil office, David Kinghorn argued that since every office power is “by Delegation, from the Supream [*sic*] Governor of the universe,” so in the church, “Jesus Christ has a deligated power, and every officer in the Church, acts under his authority.”²⁵⁶ In practice, “As the publick investiture of men into any ordinary office is by him [i.e., Christ] communicated to men, and generally rests in in the Choice of that Body of people among whom the office is to be executed.”²⁵⁷ Regarding the source of an individual’s authority, the senior Kinghorn argued that “The choice of the people gives him his right to execute his office among them; and their choice and his acceptance is the formal ground of his authority; and his ordination is no more than a publick ratification of their mutual agreement.”²⁵⁸ Thus, to answer his son’s original question, David Kinghorn differed with John Gill, who argued that only ordained officers could administer the table, by affirming the right and freedom of the congregation to celebrate the table without an ordained officer.²⁵⁹ In response, Joseph Kinghorn expressed his agreement with his father by stating that “Your argument in favour of their administering the ordinance are very strong, nor are they to be overturned without proving that the people have no power at all & that the ministers are quite a distinct body of men like the Levites of old.”²⁶⁰ For Kinghorn, the New Testament

²⁵⁶ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, October 6, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 963, KPA, 2.

²⁵⁷ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, October 6, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 963, KPA, 2.

²⁵⁸ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, October 6, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 963, KPA, 2.

²⁵⁹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, October 6, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 963, KPA, 2–3. Here David Kinghorn quoted extensively from Gill’s *Body of Divinity*, in which the latter argued that “the ordinance of the supper cannot be administered authoritatively but by an officer, since it is an act of office-power, and must be administered in the name of Christ, by one as a substitute of him; and if the church may delegate and substitute others for the discharge of all ordinances whatsoever, without them; which is contrary to Eph. iv. 11, 12. and, as Dr. [John] Owen further observes, it would render the ministry only convenient, and not absolutely necessary to the church, which is contrary to the institution of it; and such a practice would tend to make a church content without a pastor, and careless and negligent of seeking after one when without one” (Book II, chapter 3, and question 2 in Gill, *A Complete Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity; Or, a System of Evangelical Truths, Deduced from the Sacred Scriptures* [London, 1796], 3:259).

²⁶⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 23, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 964, KPA, 1.

did not particularly distinguish the ministers by granting special powers over the congregation; moreover, as he reasoned that since the table was frequently celebrated in the early church, “their Elders must have been few, who were at all superior to common Christian,—is it likely they wd. omit the Lords Supper, their daily practice, because their Elder was on a Journey—ill—or perhaps imprisoned?”²⁶¹ Furthermore, since public prayers were offered only by the priests in the Old Testament for the people, Kinghorn understood that “Christianity has abolished all that peculiarity & made the church a ‘Kingdom of Priests’.”²⁶² Thus, since Christ has granted the congregation of gathered saints their represented power, that same congregation is authorised to determine the church’s businesses, which include the acceptance, discipline, and expel of its members and ministers.²⁶³

At the same time, Kinghorn also believed the authority of the pastoral office. In his response to the Establishment, Kinghorn stated that the dissenters agreed with the

²⁶¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 23, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 964, KPA, 1.

²⁶² Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 23, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 964, KPA, 2.

²⁶³ Regarding church discipline, David and Joseph Kinghorn discussed its practical aspects especially in Joseph’s early pastorate (for instance, see David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, January 15, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 642, KPA, 1). One of the best examples to illustrate how David and Joseph Kinghorn subjected themselves to the authority of their congregations was during the senior’s clash with the Bishop Burton on a number of issues. As Joseph sought ways to comfort his elderly and sick father, neither Joseph or David doubted the authority of the congregation, though they expressed disagreement and disappointment toward those they have known and loved for decades. Nevertheless, as the situation at Bishop Burton became increasingly intense, Joseph counselled his parents to relocate to Norwich and live with him. Through the first few months of 1799, Kinghorn explained his plan for the relocation (for instance, Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 14, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 983, KPA; Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, June 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 987, KPA; Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, July 10, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 992, KPA) and assured his aging parents that he had enough to support them (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, January 31, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 975, KPA), as well as possible opportunities to serve in Norwich, if David so wished. Overall, as Kinghorn told his father: “on the plan of Providence it appears that God thinks it right to raise up man to serve society in very various ways whose labors are not extensively felt nor often long continued; yet if there was not utility ever in these transient labors, the all wise God would not act so often on the plan as he does, which is a practical proof we are not to estimate our utility in the manner we are wont to do. If the labors of those who think themselves useless or who may be thought to by others, were withdrawn, how would the case stand? Then I apprehend it would soon befell that there was an utility combined with their labors not acknowledged before” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 981, KPA, 1). Though Kinghorn’s comments seem to be over-optimistic, it reveals not only their faith in divine providence and their view of the pastoral ministry, but it also confirms that both Kinghorns believe the authority of the congregation came from God. As God is not self-contradictory, so the doctrine of divine providence helps wounded Christians to rely on God and his good plan.

Anglicans that Christ “chose Apostles, who ordained elders, and directed them to ordain others, and to take care, as far as in them lay, that they were persons qualified for the work of the ministry.”²⁶⁴ Kinghorn understood that the pastoral office was established to conduct the church in “regularity and order.”²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he disagreed with the episcopalian jurisdiction, as he argued that in the New Testament, “We find only two official characters [ἐπισκοπή and διάκονος] described as existing in the church, and that in a series of directions written for the express purpose of guiding Timothy’s conduct.”²⁶⁶ Though πρεσβύτερος and ποιμήν are also used by the New Testament writers—for instance in 1 Peter 5:1–2—it seems that there is not any difference between “an Elder, a Presbyter, and a Bishop,” as these terms are used “promiscuously,” and “there is no evidence that any of them meant a minister of higher order than the pastor of a single church.”²⁶⁷ Therefore, Kinghorn pointed out that ἐπισκοπή, or πρεσβύτερος, or ποιμήν, and deacons are “the only permanent official characters that the church of God is taught to recognize, according to the New Testament.”²⁶⁸

In addition, Kinghorn also disagreed with the notion of an “unbroken and entire” succession of the apostolic office.²⁶⁹ For Kinghorn and the dissenters, the Protestant Reformation discontinued and ended the “medium of corrupt Popes and corrupt Popish Bishops,” thus to claim the apostolic succession meant to overturn the Protestant principles and return to Rome.²⁷⁰ At the core of the appeal to unbroken chains

²⁶⁴ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 7.

²⁶⁵ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 7.

²⁶⁶ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 10.

²⁶⁷ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 11.

²⁶⁸ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 11.

²⁶⁹ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 12.

²⁷⁰ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 14–15. Elsewhere, Kinghorn summarised the Protestant sentiments as “the Bible is the source of all true religious sentiment; and that it is given to men for the purpose of their judging for themselves, according to their means of information, what is the will of God” (Joseph Kinghorn, “Review of J.W. Cunningham’s *The Velvet Cushion*, *The Baptist Magazine*, 1814,” in Wolever,

of succession was to claim the authority and esteem of the pastoral office. However, for Kinghorn, “No ministry in which the doctrine of Christ is preached, and by which the ordinances of the gospel are administered according to the New testament, should be ‘lightly esteemed and inconsiderately deserted,’ not on account of the succession of the men, but on account of the worth of the ministry.”²⁷¹ In response to the criticism of the dissenting ministers being “self-sent,” “unlearned and uneducated,” Kinghorn pointed out that the Anglican clergy lacked New Testament proofs for bestowing and receiving special power and authority at their ordinations.²⁷² For the dissenters, as they received the Holy Spirit at regeneration, they were divinely commissioned since their conversion to follow the New Testament examples, as being “not endued with extraordinary powers or learning should preach to others, if they have the opportunity, and especially if others are desirous that they should do so.”²⁷³ As Kinghorn told Baptist seminarians earlier, for Christians, “The best that we can do for God is so little, and that little is so imperfect, that if any valuable end be promoted by it, He alone ought to have the glory who has ‘wrought all our works in us’.”²⁷⁴ As Kinghorn understood that “The hardest part of” the pastoral labour “is to make the plain things of the Gospel impressive,” he had the following as his motto, “both as to the discipline of the church and the preaching of the gospel”: “Go as far as the apostles go, and stop where they stop.”²⁷⁵ Furthermore, as Christ’s disciples, those went to preach the word in the New Testament were not required

ed., *Life and Work of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:236). On Kinghorn’s view of the Roman Catholic Church, see [Kinghorn], *Arguments, Chiefly from Scripture, Against the Roman Catholic Doctrine*.

²⁷¹ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 14–15.

²⁷² [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 20–24.

²⁷³ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 19.

²⁷⁴ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, iii.

²⁷⁵ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 14, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 902, KPA, 3.

to be “ordained to any office in the church.”²⁷⁶ On the other hand, while Kinghorn defended the “unlearned” and “ignorant” dissenters’ legitimacy and right to preach the gospel—as he pointed out that “Peter and John were unlearned and ignorant man” (see Acts 4:14)—he, nevertheless, understood the usefulness of a learned ministry.²⁷⁷ For Kinghorn,

Ministers should read the scriptures as *Christians*, that their own souls may be nourished by the word of life; and as the servants of the church of Christ, they should read them carefully and diligently, that they may learn the truth in its simplicity, and have it engraven on their hearts, in the words taught by the Holy Ghost. It is an important thing to have a taste for the language and representations of the Bible, so that the faith which we profess, may be the evident impression of the words of inspiration; and the track of our thought, be the same with that in the sacred volume.²⁷⁸

To reach this goal, students were told to read the scriptures “in their original language,” and in so doing to “depend on no man’s learning and authority, but go to the fountain head of the stream, which makes glad the city of our God.”²⁷⁹ In his Bristol sermon, Kinghorn referred to this exercise as “scriptural criticism,” which “opens a large field of research.”²⁸⁰ By understanding the importance of language study for independent thought, Kinghorn urged students to begin their study early and persevere with diligence. Kinghorn provided reasons for such a labour, as reading the scriptures in original languages can illuminate the mind, which was an advantage to read “the displays of the

²⁷⁶ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 20.

²⁷⁷ [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 19, 23. For Kinghorn, “learning is useful, and in some cases necessary, particularly in those controversies which are, in any measure, to be decided by literary criticism, is acknowledged by all, and by none more freely than by the ‘uneducated and unlearned preachers of the word’” ([Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 25).

²⁷⁸ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 8–9.

²⁷⁹ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 10. The following paragraph first appeared in Baiyu Andrew Song, “Joseph Kinghorn’s (1766–1832) Educational Vision,” *Pacific Journal of Theological Research* 15, no. 1 (2020): 27–28.

²⁸⁰ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 28; [Kinghorn,] *Remarks*, 25. A similar term, “biblical criticism” was also used in Joseph Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers: The Substance of a Sermon Preached at Bradford, in the County of York; At the Annual Meeting of the Northern Baptist Education Society, August 27, 1817* (Norwich, 1817), 16.

glory of God as he himself made them known, and of beholding them without a veil.”²⁸¹ He continued, “We behold them stript of the garment in which modern expression [i.e., translations] has clothed them, and standing in that native simplicity, in which they were first exhibited by *holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*”²⁸² Kinghorn was ever conscious that “Piety will neither confer learning, nor powers of reasoning acutely; but other things being equal, that man is likely to discern the will of God with the most correctness, who imbibes the largest portion of the spirit of the gospel.”²⁸³ In other words, though the dissenting ministers could not graduate with a degree from either Oxford or Cambridge, in contrast to the clergy of the Establishment, the dissenters carefully studied and preached the scriptures in accordance with the Nicene orthodoxy, experienced piety, and heart-warming zeal.

Baptist Catholicity

Though the term “Baptist catholicity” seems to be an oxymoron, it summarises Kinghorn’s ecclesial spirituality. On the one hand, Kinghorn was convinced that Baptist ecclesiology was biblical and primitive, thus, he engaged in public debates and defended credobaptism, congregationalism, and close communion.²⁸⁴ On the other hand, Kinghorn refused to think the Christian church as a sectarian. During the communion controversy, many had criticised Kinghorn for being intolerant and bigoted, as one reviewer accused

²⁸¹ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 10.

²⁸² Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 10.

²⁸³ Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 38.

²⁸⁴ See Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 9, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 665, KPA, 2. In a letter to encourage the formation of the Baptist Tract Society, Kinghorn stated his view of teaching Baptist principles: “I think that if the institutions of Christ are worth anything, our regard for them should be superior to such reasons for inducing us to neglect them. We still might, and ought, to state what we had to say, with the meekness of wisdom. That which we believe belongs to Christ, is worth stating and defending. We ask no more for it than that it may have its proper place, and the best way of showing that we view it properly is to bring forward our views in detail, in practice, as well as in doctrine. I am afraid some persons think too lightly of what Jesus Christ thought proper to enjoin, if others may be found who have gone into the contrary extreme” (Joseph Kinghorn, “Joseph Kinghorn’s letter and prospectus on the formation of the Baptist Tract Society, 1822,” in Wolever, ed., *Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, 3:385).

Kinghorn misrepresented nonconformity, distorted the “perpetuation and extension of the Church of Christ,” and dragged the church to “a relapse into secularity, lethargy, and darkness.”²⁸⁵ Such a view misrepresented Kinghorn, as Charles Boardman Jewson (1909–1981) observed the change of St. Mary’s broader connections since Kinghorn’s pastorate:

When a newcomer to Norwich he had written that for a variety of reasons his church was remarkable for having scarcely any connection with neighbouring churches. In thirty years the picture had completely changed. A close relationship had been built up, a relationship which centred in Kinghorn himself. He had become de facto bishop of the Baptists in Norfolk and in a real sense their pastor pastorum. His support was sought in every need; his advice canvassed in every problem; his presence required in all important events of their church life.²⁸⁶

Beyond his own denomination, Kinghorn also established friendship with both the Establishment and other dissenting bodies. Though Kinghorn told his father that he was persuaded that “an Establishment is not the Church of Jesus Christ nor the best means of promoting his cause,” Kinghorn became a mentor to particularly two evangelical Anglicans, Edward Bickersteth and Thomas Bignold Jr. (1787–1867).²⁸⁷ Regarding Kinghorn’s influence, Jewson commented: “Kinghorn’s ‘methodism’ appealed to Bickersteth; it was his high Baptist churchmanship that influenced Bignold.”²⁸⁸ Moreover, Kinghorn also held a working relationship with Henry Bathurst (1744–1837), Bishop of Norwich. In 1813, while the parliament debated over the new charter of the

²⁸⁵ “Art. III. *Considerations addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, in Defence of those who maintain that Baptism should precede Communion*: occasioned by his Address to Correspondent in the Eclectic Review for December 1824. By Joseph Kinghorn. 8vo. pp. 38. Norwich, 1825,” *Eclectic Review* 33 (May 1825): 445, 442, 444.

²⁸⁶ Charles Boardman Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle* (unpublished manuscripts, D/KIN 8/2 Angus Library and Archives, Oxford), 229.

²⁸⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, August 22, 1797, D/KIN 2/1797 no. 923, KPA, 3. Bignold was born in Kent, who became a wine and spirit dealer at Norwich in 1785 after married Sarah Long. Later, Bignold took over much larger shares of Norwich Union Fire Society. Though being an Anglican, Jewson noticed that Bignold spoke warmly of Kinghorn’s friendship, as he wrote on September 14, 1814: “I cd not be a Baptist in sentiment and a Churchman by profession, yet I would rather remain as I am for a time even after my sentiments are decided than incur a charge in so important a matter of having acted precipitately. I have some dear friends in the Church of England and let what will happen have no fear but that I shall have them still” (Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, 199). Though Bignold’s wife Priscilla was baptised at St. Mary’s on June 28, 1815 and joined the church, he never joined St. Mary’s.

²⁸⁸ Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, 199.

East India Company, which by consequence would hinder the missionaries' work in Serampore, Kinghorn took the responsibility and wrote to the bishop to speak in the House of Peers on behalf of the missionaries. In his response, Bathurst spoke highly of the missionary enterprise, as he stated that "the conduct of these missionaries at Serampore has been uniformly such as to entitle them to the assistance and favourable opinion of every man who has more at heart the real interest of vital Christianity than the spread of his own peculiar opinions."²⁸⁹ Earlier, when Kinghorn involved in the formation of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society in 1811, Kinghorn again sought the bishop's participation. At its initial meeting, the Quaker Joseph John Gurney (1788–1847) recalled that "It was really delightful to hear an old Puritan and a modern bishop saying everything that was kind and Christian-like of each other," though theologically Kinghorn and Bathurst differed significantly.²⁹⁰

As with other dissenters, besides his friendship with Socinians at the Octagon chapel and Quakers such as J. J. Gurney, John (1761–1807) and Amelia Opie (1769–1853), Kinghorn was particularly close to the congregation of the Old Meeting House and their minister Samuel Newton (1763–1822) and William Hull (fl. 1809–1823).²⁹¹ In February 1811, St. Mary's building became overcrowded. The congregation raised a final total of £3,650 to demolish the old chapel and build a new one. During this period, Kinghorn received a friendly letter from William Hull, in which Hull indicated that the deacons agreed to welcome the Baptist congregation to share their building. In his letter, dated February 1, 1811, Hull pointed out: "we beg particularly to have it understood that,

²⁸⁹ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 350.

²⁹⁰ On Bathurst, see Henry Bathurst Jr., *Memoirs of the Late Dr. Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich* (London, 1837); Tryphena Thistlethwayte, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Dr. Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853); Johan Carel Hanekamp, "An Appeal for Justice: The Life of Dr Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich, 1744–1837" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 1992); Sara Slinn, *The Education of the Anglican Clergy, 1780–1839* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), 100–4.

²⁹¹ On Gurney's friendship with Kinghorn, see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 366–67, 451–53.

as our motive in accommodating Mr. Kinghorn's congregation is entirely friendly, we shall decline accepting any subscriptions on account of seats."²⁹² On February 17, 1811, the congregations of St. Mary's and Old Meeting House joined together in worship, as Kinghorn and Hull shared the pulpit in corporate worship until the new building was completed.²⁹³

Overall, as this chapter presents, the church played a significant role in both Joseph Kinghorn's spiritual formation and pastoral ministry. Furthermore, as ecclesiology sublimates doctrines such as Trinity, Christology, and soteriology, so Kinghorn's ecclesial spirituality is explicitly marked out by Christocentricity. Furthermore, in practice, Kinghorn also applied his conviction of duty and order in every area of his life, which could be observed particularly in his view of the life of a Christian gathered community. Through his dualistic view of the body of Christ, Kinghorn taught and defended the Baptist ecclesiology, while he welcomed and worked with those who disagreed over the polity and function of the visible church. In other words, Kinghorn was a catholic Baptist.

²⁹² Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 332.

²⁹³ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 333.

CHAPTER 5

“TO OBEY THE DIRECT LAW OF THE LORD,” NOT A “MODERN INVENTION”: THE HALL- KINGHORN COMMUNION CONTROVERSY¹

Μηδεις δε φαγετω μηδε πιετω απο της ευχαριστιας υμων,
αλλ' οι βαπτιθεντες εις ονομα κυριου (Didache 9:5)²

History is filled with irony.³ Neither Joseph Kinghorn nor his predecessors could imagine that after almost two hundred years of practising close communion and thirty-five years after Kinghorn’s death, St. Mary’s congregation would adopt open communion by votes of a marginal majority on March 11, 1857.⁴ Worse, a legal suit was filed on May 13, 1858, over the ownership of the church property, as William Norton (1812–1890), Simon Wilkin (1790–1862), Reuben Willis (1810–1895), and Richard Spalding (1824–1904), two trustees and two members of the church, believed that the congregation breached the original trust-deeds of November 24, 1746.⁵ Thus, by adopting

¹ Joseph Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion at the Lord’s Supper*, 2nd ed. (Norwich, 1816), iv, 7.

² Translated as “Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord” (Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007], 359).

³ More specifically, history is filled with circumstantial or dramatic ironies. On the concept of irony, see Roger Kreuz, *Irony and Sarcasm* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020); Timothy S. Yoder, *Hume on God: Irony, Deism and Genuine Theism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

⁴ On the church’s resolution, see William Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich. The Suit—Attorney-General versus Gould and Others, in the Rolls Court: Its Origin, the Proceedings, Pleadings, and Judgment* (London: J. Briscoe; Houlston and Wright, 1860), 22–25; 81.

⁵ Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 50. Norton argued that there were five areas that the St. Mary’s congregation had breached the original trust-deeds: “1. The separate free communion service instituted by Mr. [William] Brock [1807–1875] in 1845. 2. The resolution to admit Elizabeth Bayes to eat the Lord’s Supper with the church when unbaptized, ‘as a member,’ and her actual admission. 3. The resolution of March 11, 1857, to admit all believers to partake of the Lord’s Supper with the church: on which, two distinct varieties of practice were founded, that is:—4. The reception of any unbaptized believers, whether Independents, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, or of other views, to permanent

open communion and excluding protesting strict-communion members, their pastor George Gould (1818–1882) and the other seven trustees invented a “silent revolution,” which as a result, the strict-communion members were unable to attend the church meetings and “derive any benefit from any of the charities.”⁶ In their statements, both parties appealed to historical documents and traditions for their effort.⁷ They disputed

communion with this church in the Lord’s Supper (except once a month, when they were to be excluded); and 5. The admission to the Lord’s Supper of all persons who pleased to accept an invitation addressed ‘to members of all Christian churches;’ an invitation which did not except the members of any church called Christian, but addressed itself to the members of them all, even though not Particular Baptists, nor Baptists, nor, in some cases, persons by whom any evidence had been given that they had saving faith and were born again” (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 34). A counter account of the legal suit, see George Gould, ed., *Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich: Report of the Proceeding in Attorney-General v. Gould, Before the Right Honorable the Master of the Rolls, and His Honor’s Judgment Thereon* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1860); *item, The Baptists in Norwich & Open Communion. A Discourse Delivered in St. Mary’s Chapel, Norwich, on Sunday Morning, 3rd June, 1860; (Being the Sunday following the Judgment of the Master of the Rolls in Attorney-General v. Gould)* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1860).

⁶ Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 7, 105. The other seven trustees were: James Cozens (shoemaker in Sporle-with-Palgrave; received from Yarmouth by dismissal on September 13, 1804), James Cozens Jr. (tailor and draper; baptised on May 3, 1820 and joined the church on November 21, 1825), Henry Utting Culley (merchant and miller in Costesey; baptised on November 8, 1820), Josiah Fletcher (printer and bookseller; baptised on February 2, 1825), Robert Tillyard (esquire; probably owns Tillyard & Howlett, curriers & leathersellers, and Tillyard & Son, boot and shoemaker; baptised on February 8, 1824), Joseph Howse Allen (formerly a member of St. Clements’ and joined on July 25, 1831), and John Gooderson (beerseller in Marham; baptised on October 27, 1813). On the trustees’ occupation, see *Post Office Directory of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The Maps Engraved Expressly for the Work* (London: Kelly & Co., [1854]).

Norton believed that William Brock (1807–1875), successor of Kinghorn and predecessor of Gould, had sown the seed of a “silent revolution” during his pastorate (1833–1848) (see Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 7–14). Though Brock was called to St. Mary’s “on the proviso made by the church, ‘not to moot the question of communion’” at the church, Brock began to host a separate communion service at his house for the unbaptised, since March 1838 (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 8). When a protest was brought to the church, forty-two male members “denied that any ‘individual member, or any number of members, unauthorized by the whole church, [had] a right, according to the constitution of [their] society, to receive to the communion-table any person whatever; because, by so doing, he or they [did] infringe on [the] equal common right’ of the members, &c. They said, that such a practice was ‘needless in such a city as Norwich, which supplies accommodation for almost all modifications of religious opinions’” (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 9). The conflict did not settle, though the close-communionists seemed to claim victory, as Brock resigned his office in 1848, after facing strong opposition from the members. On Brock, see Charles M. Birrell, *The Life of William Brock, D.D. First Minister of Bloomsbury Chapel, London* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1878); William Brock, *The Behaviour Becoming the House of God* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1845); *item, The Baptism of the Heir Apparent. A Sermon, Preached on Lord’s Day Morning, January 23rd, 1842* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1842); *item, The Wrong and the Right Place of Christian Baptism: A Sermon Preached in Wycliffe Church, Birmingham, October 12, 1864, at the Autumnal Session of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Henry James Tresidder, 1864).

⁷ Among the historic documents the two parties referenced were five confessions: First London Confession of 1644, the Somerset Confession of 1656 (*A Confession of the Faith of Several Churches of Christ, in the County of Somerset, and of some Churches in the Counties near adjacent* [London: Henry Hills, 1656]), the Second London Confession of 1677, the Orthodox Creed of 1678 (*An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith. Being an Essay to Unite, and Confirm all true Protestants in the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, against the Errors and Heresies of the Church of Rome* [London, 1679]), and the Second London Confession of 1689. See Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s*,

particularly over the questions regarding if there were a majority of open communionists during Kinghorn's pastorate and if the church believed particular or limited redemption.⁸ After days of advocacy, cross-examination, and hearings, John Romilly (1802–1874), Master of the Rolls, gave his judgment on May 28, 1860. In his judgment, Romilly determined that the question of the case was whether Gould's "employment of the building" of St. Mary's chapel for administering "the sacrament to sincere and orthodox Christians professing the same faith, without regard to the circumstance of whether they have been baptized by immersion after a profession of faith," "is such a perversion of the objects and trusts for which it was established, that it is a violation of those trusts which this Court will interfere to prevent."⁹ As a result, Romilly ruled that "the case of the plaintiffs fails," as the members of St. Mary's "are entitled to adopt the practice of free communion, or of strict communion" *ad libitum*.¹⁰ Though the quarrel seems to be centred on the terms of communion—being an outcome and continuation of the unsolved theological debates between Robert Hall Jr. (1764–1831) and Joseph Kinghorn in the previous generation—at the core, this *cause célèbre* shifted the theological debate from the relationship between the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist to the relationship

Norwich, 106–8.

⁸ During the hearings, previous communion controversies (Bunyan-Kiffen; Ryland/Turner/Robinson-Booth; Hall-Kinghorn) were mentioned and explained with referring to their written arguments. The witnesses also argued for or against the practice of open communion in the earliest Particular Baptist churches in the seventeenth century. Regarding Kinghorn's view of redemption, Gould sought to distinguish particular redemption from limited redemption. Gould defined that particular redemption believed that "the atonement, ... in point of efficiency, will only be applied, by way of redemption to the subjects of Divine predestination to salvation." On the other hand, for Gould, limited redemption meant that "the atonement, ... in point of sufficiency was limited or defined, and made for the sins, not of the whole world, but only of the subjects of Divine predestination to salvation; to whom that atonement in point of efficiency will be applied by way redemption" (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 69). Accordingly, Gould argued that Kinghorn agreed with Andrew Fuller to hold the doctrine of particular redemption and did not believe the new invention of "limited redemption." On the contrary, Norton believed that Gould had perplexed the doctrine by distinguishing particular redemption from limited redemption; instead, Norton argued that the two terms were synonymous in both meaning and use. See Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 70–75.

⁹ Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 133.

¹⁰ Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 136.

between the table and church membership.¹¹ For Gould and his fellow open communionists, just as there was no substantial order or connection between the two sacraments, they also distinguished the eucharist and church membership under the framework of Christian communion.¹² The close communionists, on the other hand, sought to prove the complementary relationship between baptism and the eucharist, as well as their inseparable and organic relationship with church membership. In other words, as baptism is an initial ordinance, those who have been baptised as a believer, by default, are accessible to church membership, which is manifested at the table. To prove their position as a tradition of the St. Mary's congregation, the close communionists provided the example of an Edward Robertson.¹³ Though Kinghorn baptised Robertson on April 22, 1829, since the latter "applied for baptism only"—according to the

¹¹ See Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 55, 93.

¹² Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 93. Norton recorded that when leaders of the Particular Baptist denomination—Thomas Steffe Crisp (1788–1868), principal of Bristol Academy; Frederic William Gotch (1807–1890), tutor (later president) of Bristol and examiner of the University of London; James Acworth (1798–1883), president of Horton Academy (1835–1859), and later of Rawdon College (1859–1862); Samuel Gosnell Green (1822–1905), tutor at Horton Academy/Rawdon Baptist College; Thomas Pottenger (1806–1885), tutor of Rawdon college; Joseph Angus (1816–1902), secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society and later president of Baptist Union; Benjamin Davies (1814–1875), tutor of Regent's Park College; Edward Steane (1798–1882), minister of Denmark Place Chapel, Cumberwell, and later secretary of Bible Translation Society; John Leechman (1803–1874), minister of Hammersmith; Thomas Price (1820–1888), minister of the congregation in Devonshire Square, London; Frederick Trestrail (1803–1890), secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society and later president of the Baptist Union; Charles James Middleditch (d. 1870), secretary of the Baptist Irish Society; Charles Mitchell Birrell (1811–1880), minister of Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool, and later president of the Baptist Union; and Christopher Woollacott (1789–1879), secretary of the Baptist Building Fund and the Baptist Tract Society—were called to give witness in court, all but one were strict Baptist (i.e., Woollacott). According to the open communionists, the Lord's Supper and membership were distinct, as they stated that Particular Baptists "adopting open c[ommunion] in the L[ord's] S[upper] have ... always considered it 'to be entirely distinct from ... open membership;' but that c[ongregations] 'practising open membership always practice open c[ommunion]'" (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 93). The close communionists, on the other hand, argued the synonymy of church communion and membership, though occasional communions were commonly practiced on conditions. For George Moore, William Press (received on August 4, 1822, as he was baptised before and a member of Mr. A. Pye's church), William Alexander (baptised on June 2, 1829), Edmund Hastings (baptised on July 2, 1823), and John Spalding (baptised on October 3, 1827), as they remembered Kinghorn's pastorate, they stated that at the time "no person was admitted to permanent c[ommunion] in the L[ord's] S[upper] with [St. Mary's], who was not admitted thereto as a member of it" (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 87). Regarding occasional communions, these members testified that such a practice was on the condition that they "professed to be, and were received as, P[articular] B[aptists]; certainly none but persons baptized," and "it was customary to mention to the ch[urch] the name of the P[articular] B[aptist] ch[urch] of which they were members" (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 87).

¹³ Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 87.

witnesses—Kinghorn did not permit Robertson to “commune with this ch[urch] in the L[ord’s] S[upper], because he was not a member of this or any other ch[urch] recognized by it as duly organized.”¹⁴ Thus, for the close communionists, their opponents fundamentally destroyed the institution of credobaptism and secularised or individualised church membership—as if the church was a society joined by voluntary subscriptions.

Intriguingly, among the plaintiffs and defendants of the “Attorney-General versus Gould and others,” nine out of twelve persons were either taught or baptised by Joseph Kinghorn. Thus, it is reasonable to argue that the legal case partially concerned the legacy of St. Mary’s beloved minister, especially his ecclesial spirituality. This chapter aims to reconstruct and evaluate the decade-long Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy in light of Kinghorn’s life and thought and the debate’s historical, social, and theological background, which were laid out in the previous chapters. Instead of merely examining Hall’s and Kinghorn’s pamphlets during the controversy, this chapter seeks to present the theological and social tensions among English Particular Baptists in the larger historical context of the late Georgian era.

Growing Tensions

Whenever Baptists had internal strife over the terms of communion, the concept of a common Baptist identity was challenged. Nevertheless, they needed to regenerate and change as a mature denomination, as they began to play significant roles in domestic life and on the global stage.¹⁵ In every round of the communion controversies, the open communionists stroke the first bombard by publishing pamphlets

¹⁴ “Norwich St Mary’s Chapel [Baptists], Church Book, Members 1780–1830,” MS 4283, NRO, 70; Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary’s, Norwich*, 87.

¹⁵ For a brief overview of Baptists’ social contributions since the Regency era, see Roger Hayden, *English Baptist History and Heritage*, 2nd ed. (Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire: Baptist Union of Great Britain, 2005), 128–43; John H. Y. Briggs, “Baptists and the Wider Community,” in *Challenge and Change: English Baptist Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stephen L. Copson and Peter J. Morden (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2017), 123–46; James E. Bradley, “Baptists and National Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Challenge and Change*, 147–76.

to promote proto-ecumenism.¹⁶ Though the close communionists were the majority in number and kept their wide geographical and theological territories in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, their camp grew weary, as their arguments became outdated. While the social and theological winds changed direction, their fort soon crumbled and fell apart. Robert Hall Jr. and Joseph Kinghorn's debate might be the last straw that broke the camel's back. Were Hall and Kinghorn's debates the third round of Particular Baptist communion controversy? Or did they just pick up what their fathers' generation had left behind after a period of tacit armistice? It is, thus, vital to understand what happened among the English Particular Baptists between Robert Robinson's (1735–1790) response to Abraham Booth (1734–1806) in 1781 and the publication of Hall's *On Terms of Communion* in 1815.¹⁷

When Robert Hall initiated the communion controversy in 1815, the Leicester minister admitted that “Strict communion is the general practice of our churches, though the abettors of the opposite opinion [i.e., open communion] are rapidly increasing both in numbers and in respectability.”¹⁸ On the one hand, such a phenomenon could be

¹⁶ The term “ecumenism” is used here as “synonymous with the fullness and unity of the Church universal, comprising Christians of all nations as gathered and guided by the Holy Spirit.” Such a meaning “emerged in revival movements in the post-Reformation period and was also a crucial term at the founding meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846” (André Birmelé, “Ecumenism,” in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Ian A. McFarland, David A. S. Fergusson, Karen Kilby, and Iain R. Torrance [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011], 157).

¹⁷ On the Ryland/Turner-Booth communion controversy, see chapter 3. Robert Hall Jr., *On Terms of Communion, with a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Pædobaptists* (Leicester: Thomas Combe; London, 1815), in *The Works of Robert Hall, A.M.*, ed. Olithus Gregory, 3rd ed., 6 vols (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1834), 2:1–174. Shortly after its publication, a second edition of Hall's *On Terms of Communion* was printed and sold in Leicester and London in 1815. Two American editions were published in 1816 at Philadelphia and Boston. With its popularity, the work was reprinted in Manlius, New York in 1817. In 1820, a fourth edition was printed and sold in Leicester and London. The remaining chapter depends on Gregory's collection, unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁸ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:16–17. During the court hearings, it was stated that the whole number of Particular Baptist congregations founded before 1800 was about 346. According to the statistics about 208 congregations, 97 remained close communion after 1800, and 111 congregations had changed to open communion. 86 congregation changed their communion position once, 16 changed twice, 8 thrice, and 1 four times. “At first strict, 158; now so, 72; at first open in L[ord]'s S[upper], 31; now so, 105; at first open in full membership, 19; now so, 31. The whole at first open, 50; now open, 136” (Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 59).

explained by Abraham Atkins' (c. 1716–1792) legacy, which contributed to the rapid growth of open communion congregations in the kingdom by only financially sponsoring ministers and congregations of such a theological position.¹⁹ On the other hand, the overall theological trend of the Regency era also led many Particular Baptists, especially the younger generations, to adopt open communion. As a multifaceted phenomenon, the latter factor converged multiple sources of influence and set up the stage for an inevitable conflict.

Fullerism

In W. R. Ward's (1925–2010) classic study of the dissenters in the late Georgian era, Ward suggested Fullerism as a main factor that “greatly increased the pressure for open communion amongst the Baptists,” which he explained as a result of having “theological modernism and popular appeal ... go hand in hand.”²⁰ Ward, however, did not expand his claim, though he was correct to point out the connection between moderate Calvinism and the terms of communion.²¹ Though the “modern question”—as Stephen R. Holmes summarises, it concerns “whether unconverted sinners have a duty to believe in Christ”—began among the Congregationalists in Northamptonshire, many Particular Baptists began to deny the concept of duty-faith and

¹⁹ Ernest A. Payne, “Abraham Atkins and General Communion,” *BQ* 26, no. 7 (1976): 314–19. It is interesting to compare the influence of Atkins' fund to that of the London Particular Baptist Fund (1717). As Joseph Ivimey (1773–1834) pointed out that by the 1750s the London Particular Baptist Fund began “to produce a happy influence upon the state of the denomination, in offering pecuniary assistance to those ministers whose churches could not support them. Many young ministers, too, had received literary help, principally at Bristol ... Evangelical principles were thus maintained a holy discipline was in some good degree preserved; some pious people were constantly added to the churches and God heard their fervent and united prayers” (Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists: Comprising the Principal Events of the History of Protestant Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1668 till 1760; and of the London Baptist Churches, during That Period* [London: B. J. Holdsworth, 1823], 3:282–83). Also see Joseph Angus, *The Baptist Fund and Its Educational Work* (London: Yates & Alexander, 1875).

²⁰ W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790–1850* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1972), 19.

²¹ Also see W. R. Ward, “The Baptists and the Transformation of the Church, 1780–1830,” *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth, 1993), 212–14.

free-offer of the gospel, through John Skepp (1675–1721), John Brine (1703–1765), and John Gill (1697–1771), especially in their reaction against Arminianism and Methodism.²² Though Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) was not the first to respond high Calvinism, according to Paul Helm, Fuller was “the most outspoken and thorough opponent” of the “false Calvinism.”²³ Since his conversion, Fuller began to struggle with high Calvinism both doctrinally and spiritually.²⁴ By reading Jonathan Edwards (1703–

²² Stephen R. Holmes, *Baptist Theology, Doing Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 23. Also see Anthony R. Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival Among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017), 112–19; 268–373; Curt Daniel, “John Gill and Calvinistic Antinomianism,” in *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697–1771): A Tercentennial Appreciation*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 171–90; David Rathel, “A Pastor-Theologian in Search of a Faith Worthy of All Acceptation: The Theological Genealogy of Andrew Fuller and His Critique of It” (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 2018); Joshua Cook, “John Brine and the Glory of God’s Grace,” *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 2 (2021): 11–21; Peter Beck, “John Brine (1703–1765),” *The British Particular Baptists*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Terry Wolever (Springfield, MO: 2018), 5:211–35; Paul Helm, “The ‘Modern Question’: Hyper-Calvinism,” in *A New Divinity: Transatlantic Reformed Evangelical Debates during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Mark Jones and Michael A. G. Haykin (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 127–42; Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists: A Study of English Calvinistic Baptists from the Late 1600s to the Early 1800s* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2003), 164–204; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, “Northamptonshire and ‘the Modern Question’: A Turning-Point in Eighteenth-Century Dissent,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 16, no. 1 (1965): 101–23.

Curiously, Joseph Kinghorn told his father about his view of John Brine (1703–1765): “The arguments I mentioned in my last were not taken from Brine as I have been very little acquainted with his writings. Indeed you know he is far from a writer of my Taste even on subjects on which were perfectly agree & was especially so a few years ago. for it appears to me before a person reads Brine he ought to be a pretty stiff Calvinist. or else Mr. B. will be of little use to him” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 1, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 653, KPA, [2]).

²³ Helm, “The ‘Modern Question’: Hyper-Calvinism,” 136. Both Roger Hayden (1936–2016) and Anthony R. Cross (1962–2021) sought to argue that unlike Particular Baptists in London, Baptists in the western counties never fully embraced high Calvinism (examples include Andrew Gifford Sr. [c. 1641–1721], Bernard Foskett [1685–1758], and Benjamin Beddome [1717–1795]). See Roger Hayden, *Continuity and Change: Evangelical Calvinism Among Eighteenth-Century Baptist Ministers Trained at Bristol Academy, 1690–1791* (Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2006); Cross, *Useful Learning*, 19–27; Cross, “The Early Bristol Tradition as a Seedbed for Evangelical Reception among British Baptists, c. 1720–c. 1770,” in *Pathways and Patterns in History: Essays on Baptists, Evangelicals, and the Modern World in Honour of David Bebbington*, ed. Anthony R. Cross, Peter J. Morden, and Ian M. Randall (London: Spurgeon’s College; Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 2015), 50–77.

²⁴ On the struggle, see Michael D. McMullen and Timothy D. Whelan, eds., *The Diary of Andrew Fuller, 1780–1801*, *The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller*, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); Peter J. Morden, *The Life and Thought of Andrew Fuller (1754–1815)* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2015), 29–109. As Morden noticed that though Fuller rejected the doctrine of high Calvinism, he was under the influence of it for a number of years, as his diary indicated that Fuller “looked inside himself for evidence of growth in godliness and believed there was very little; rather his self-examination seemed to suggest he was a vile sinner, repeatedly and habitually rebelling against God” (Morden, *Life and Thought of Andrew Fuller*, 107). Due to the influence of high Calvinistic spirituality, “the years 1782–92 were very difficult for Fuller personally, with the period 1786–89 especially miserable” (Morden, *Life and Thought of Andrew Fuller*, 109).

1758), Fuller challenged the basic notions of high Calvinism by defining faith as both a duty and a gift.²⁵ By maintaining a distinction between natural and moral inabilities, Fuller deliberately struck “at the two pillars of high Calvinist ‘orthodoxy,’ contending that it was firstly, the duty of all to believe and secondly, the duty of ministers to offer the gospel to all.”²⁶ Though Fuller received criticism from both high Calvinists and Arminians—particularly William Button (1754–1821) and Dan Taylor (1738–1816)—moderate Calvinism, or Fullerism began to moisten a dry denomination.²⁷ Eight years later, Fuller told his friend that though there were still “4 or 5 Churches who embrace what is called the High-Calvinist Scheme” in Northamptonshire, “there has been of late some considerable increase” of moderate Calvinistic congregations, among which “Seven or Eight new Churches have been raised . . . within the last 20 Years.”²⁸ With the support

²⁵ Andrew Fuller, *The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation: Or the Obligation of Men Fully to Christ, and Cordially to Approve, Whatever God Makes Known. Wherein is Considered the Nature of Faith in Christ, and the Duty of Those Where the Gospel Comes in That Matter* (Northampton, [1785]). On Edwards’ influence upon Fuller, see Chris Chun, *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2012); D. Bruce Hindmarsh, “The Reception of Jonathan Edwards by Early Evangelicals in England,” in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*, ed. David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 201–21; Michael A. G. Haykin, “Great Admirers of the Transatlantic Divinity: Some Chapters in the Story of Baptist Edwardsianism,” in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 197–207; David Bebbington, “The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in Britain,” in *The Global Edwards: Papers from the Jonathan Edwards Congress Held in Melbourne, August 2015*, ed. Rhys S. Bezzant (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2017), 1–21.

²⁶ Morden, *Life and Thought of Andrew Fuller*, 50. Also see Ryan Rindels, *Andrew Fuller’s Theology of Revival: Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility in Spiritual Renewal* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2021).

²⁷ William Button, *Remarks on a Treatise, Entitled, the Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation: Or, the Obligation of Men Fully to Credit, and Cordially to Approve Whatever God Makes Known. By Andrew Fuller. Wherein the Nature of Special Faith in Christ is Considered, and Several of Mr. F.’s Mistakes Pointed Out: in a Series of Letters to a Friend* (London, 1785). Fuller responded to Button with publishing *A Defence of a Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation: Containing a Reply to Mr. Button’s Remarks and the Observations of Philanthropos* (Clipstone, 1787). Dan Taylor first wrote pseudonymously as he published *Philanthropos* [Taylor], *Observations on the Rev. Andrew Fuller’s Late Pamphlet Entitled the Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation* (London, 1788); Taylor, *Observations on the Rev. Andrew Fuller’s Reply to Philanthropos* (St. Ives, Cambridgeshire, 1788); Taylor, *The Friendly Conclusion Occasioned by the Letters of “Agnostos”* (London, 1790). Fuller replied Taylor with *Agnostos* [Fuller], *The Reality and Efficacy of Divine Grace; With the Certain Success of Christ’s Sufferings, in Behalf of all who are finally saved. Considered in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Andrew Fuller: Containing Remarks upon the Observations of the Observations of the Rev. Dan Taylor, on Mr. Fuller’s Reply to Philanthropos* (London, 1788). Also see Morden, *Life and Thought of Andrew Fuller*, 81–96.

²⁸ Geoffrey F. Nuttall, “The State of Religion in Northamptonshire (1793) by Andrew Fuller,”

of Caleb Evans' (1739–1791) and John Ryland Jr.'s (1753–1825) Bristol Academy, Fullerites (and proto-Fullerites) began to fill pulpits across the kingdom.²⁹

BQ 29, no. 4 (1981): 178.

²⁹ Caleb Evans was known as a benefactor of Jonathan Edwards' writings. As Roger Hayden pointed out that as early as in 1772, Evans began to use the Edwardsian concept of natural and moral inability (Hayden, "Evangelical Calvinism Among Eighteenth-Century British Baptists with Particular Reference to Bernard Foscott, Hugh and Caleb Evans and the Bristol Baptist Academy, 1690–1791" [PhD diss., University of Keele, 1991], 216–17). Particularly in Evans' *An Address to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity*, 2nd ed. (London, 1773), Evans distinguished "a natural and a moral inability to do the will of God," which was understood as "a distinction of more consequence to the right understanding of the divine dispensations towards fallen man, than many seem to be aware of" ([Evans,] *Address to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity*, 11–12). Hayden, probably used only the first edition of Evans' *Address*, as he guessed that Evans "could have derived this from Jonathan Edwards, but he does not so acknowledge it, which is unusual, since he gladly acknowledged Edwards in other writings" (Hayden, "Evangelical Calvinism Among Eighteenth-Century British Baptists," 216). However, in a footnote in the second edition, Evans explained: "The above paragraph was omitted in the first edition of the *Address* merely for the sake of brevity, as were several others. 'Tis now inserted because, upon a review of it, the author thinks it of considerable importance, and has the very great satisfaction to find the sentiment it establishes confirmed by such able and truly respectable writers as Dr. [James] Oswald [1703–1793] and the late President of New-Jersey College [i.e. Jonathan Edwards]. See Note under Article IV. and VI" (Evans, *Address to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity*, 11n*). Though this work was published pseudonymously, Fuller attributed its authorship to Evans in his 1785 edition of *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (Timothy D. Whelan, "Introduction," in *Diary of Andrew Fuller*, xxxin36; Chun, *Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller*, 42n40). Furthermore, in an advertisement, *Address to the Serious and Candid Professors* was listed along with six other works by Evans (Evans, *Redeeming the Time. A Sermon, Preached at Broadmead, Bristol, January 16, and at Little St. Helen's, London, April 6, 1774* [Bristol, 1774], [24]).

According to Kinghorn's catalogue of Bristol's library, the academy owned four works by Jonathan Edwards, which were *Original Sin* (1758), *Religious Affections* (1746), *Freedom of the Will* (1754), and *Life of David Brainerd* (1749). These books were numbered as the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th volume on shelf C (Joseph Kinghorn, *A Catalogue of the Books on the Library Belonging to the Bristol Education Society; In the Order in which they stand on the Shelves. Taken in April & May 1787, c/01/1787* [Bristol Baptist College, Bristol], [11–12]). It is interesting to observe that while works by authors like John Owen (1616–1683), Philip Doddridge (1702–1751), and John Gill are scattered on seventeen shelves (A to Q), Edwards' four works were the only ones located on the same shelf. Furthermore, Evans recommended four Edwards' works to his students, which are: *Freedom of the Will*; *Original Sin*; *Religious Affections*; and *Nature of True Virtue* (1765). In addition, Evans called Edwards "the most rational, scriptural divine, and the liveliest Christian, the world was ever blessed with" (Evans, "A Catalogue of a few useful Books for a young Minister—drawn up by the late Dr. Evans in the beginning of 1773, and given to one of his much loved Pupils then leaving the Academy," in John Rippon, *The Baptist Annual Register, for 1790, 1791, 1792, and Part of 1793* [London, 1793], 255). Thus, it could be concluded that Evans highly esteemed Edwards and his works.

On Ryland, see Christopher Ryan Griffith, "'Promoting Pure and Undeified Religion': John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825) and Edwardsean Evangelical Biography" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2017); Christopher W. Crocker, "The Life and Legacy of John Ryland Jr. (1753–1825), a Man of Considerable Usefulness: An Historical Biography" (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2018); Lon Alton Graham, "'All Who Love Our Blessed Redeemer': The Catholicity of John Ryland Jr" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2021); Jonathan Yeager, "A Microcosm of the Community of the Saints: John Erskine's Relationship with the English Particular Baptists, John Collett Ryland and his Son John Ryland, Jr.," in *Pathways and Patterns in History*, 231–54; Grant Gordon, "John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825)," in *The British Particular Baptists 1638–1910*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2000), 2:76–95; Haykin, *One Heart and One Soul: John Sutcliff of Olney, His Friends and His Times* (Durham: Evangelical Press, 1994), 69–84; Haykin, "John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825) and Theological Education," *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 70, no. 2 (1990): 173–91; L. G. Champion, "The Theology of John Ryland: Its Sources and Influences," *BQ* 28, no. 1 (1979): 17–29.

Unlike Strict and Particular Baptists of the late nineteenth century—which was a movement initiated and led by William Gadsby (1773–1844)—close communion and high Calvinism was not substantially related.³⁰ Nevertheless, as Ward suggested, one consequence of Fullerism’s flourishing was its demand for evangelistic actions, both at home and abroad. Such a demand existed in the contexts of the evangelical revivals (1730s–1740s) and Baptists’ “renewed concern to cooperate with non-Baptists in evangelistic projects.”³¹ Furthermore, as Roger H. Martin pointed out, the shared evangelical experience was “not a matter of theological reflection, but rather a general experiential crisis, rooted in a deep-seated sense of sinfulness and spiritual insufficiency and a thirst for assurance and personal salvation.”³² Therefore, Fullerism pressed moderate Particular Baptists to reconsider their relationship with paedobaptists, who confessed and preached the same faith, only without practicing credobaptism. The reactions to this inevitable pressure, however, differed.

Unity and Cooperation

If Fullerism opened the door for Particular Baptists to once again actively

³⁰ On William Gadsby and his influence, see B. A. Ramsbottom, *William Gadsby* (Harpenden, Hertfordshire: Gospel Standard Trust, 2004); Ian J. Shaw, *High Calvinists in Action: Calvinism and the City Manchester and London, c. 1710–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 111–52; Kenneth Dix, *Strict and Particular: English Strict and Particular Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society for the Strict Baptist Historical Society, 2001). Peter Naylor has examined the relationship between close communion and high Calvinism before the late nineteenth century, see Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*, 69–93.

³¹ R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and the Evangelical Revival 1760–1820* (Wheaton, IL: Richard Owen Roberts, 1989), 141. Also see David M. Thompson, *Denominationalism and Dissent, 1795–1835: A Question of Identity* (London: Dr. Williams’s Library, 1985); Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795–1830* (Metuchen, NJ; London: Scarecrow, 1983).

Such a desire can also be found in Andrew Fuller’s thought, as Fuller affirmed a “catholic zeal,” which “will nevertheless have the good of the universal church of Christ for its grand object, and will rejoice in the prosperity of every denomination of Christians, in so far as they appear to have the mind of Christ” (Nathan Finn, ed., *Apologetics Works 5 Strictures on Sandemanianism* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016], 153). On the other hand, Fuller argued against sectarianism, which he defined as “a being more concerned to propagate those things wherein we differ from other Christians than to impart the common salvation” (Finn, ed., *Strictures on Sandemanianism*, 153). Also see Lon Graham, “‘A Union of Sentiments in Apostolical Doctrines’: The Catholicity of Andrew Fuller,” *Journal of European Baptist Studies* 21, no. 1 (2021): 105–122.

³² Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 14.

engage in evangelistic activities, the spirit of unity and cooperation inspired them to look beyond their “walled gardens” to fulfil their passion for the gospel’s spreading in both the British Isles and the world.³³ Though earlier attempts to cooperate and unite among Particular Baptists had established regional associations such as the Berkshire Association (1652), the Midland Association (1653/1655) and the Western Association (1692), the corporate activity in the late seventeenth century was “rudimentary,” “limited, faltering and invariably inward looking.”³⁴ Renewed interest of unity began around the American Revolution (1765–1791) with the formation of the Northamptonshire Association (1765) and the renewal of other associations.³⁵ As Raymond Brown pointed out that the passion for associational life distinguished the Fullerites from high Calvinists since the 1750s and onwards, as:

The developing life of the associations gave regular expression to a less insular and evangelistically inhibiting type of theology. Circular letters and printed sermons

³³ Raymond Brown noticed that “the evangelical revival brought many Particular Baptists into direct contact with a form of Calvinistic theology which insisted on the importance not only of preaching to the unconverted ... but also of offering Christ’s mercy with uninhibited compassion” (Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, A History of the English Baptists 2 [London: Baptist Historical Society, 1986], 91).

³⁴ Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 30–31. Also see Brown, *English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, 40–41. Also see Henry R. Salt, *Gleanings from Forgotten Fields: Being the Story of the Berks Baptist Association 1652–1907* (Reading, Berkshire: Berks Baptist Association Committee, 1907).

³⁵ For instance, see Ian Sellers, ed., *Our Heritage: The Baptists of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, 1647–1987* (Leeds: Yorkshire Baptist Association; Lancashire and Cheshire Baptist Association, 1987); Ashley J. Klaiber, *The Story of the Suffolk Baptists* (London: Kingsgate, 1931); Charles Boardman Jewson, *The Baptists in Norfolk* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1957); William Stokes, *The History of the Midland Association of Baptist Churches* (London: R. Theobald; Birmingham: John W. Showell, 1855); Frank Buffard, *Kent and Sussex Baptist Associations* (Faversham, Kent, 1963); T. S. H. Elwyn, *The Northamptonshire Baptist Association* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1964); Ernest A. Payne, *The Baptists of Berkshire through Three Centuries* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1951); Clive Robert Jarvis, “Growth in English Baptist Churches: With Special Reference to the Northamptonshire Particular Baptist Association (1770–1830)” (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2001); Thornton Elwyn, “Particular Baptists of the Northamptonshire Baptist Association as Reflected in the Circular Letters 1765–1820,” *BQ* 36, no. 8 (1996): 368–381.

As Jewson noticed, though Baptists in Norfolk enjoyed a basic unity, prior to the Victorian era, they “had practically no inter-church organization although a few churches [Claxton, Great Yarmouth, Shelfanger, and Worstead were members from 1769/1700; Diss and Dereham joined in 1795] belonged to the Norfolk and Suffolk Association” (Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, 88–89). In 1834, the Norfolk and Norwich Association of Baptist Churches were organised, and it became affiliated with the Baptist Union in 1836. St. Mary’s Chapel, Norwich then joined the association under William Brock’s pastorate in 1838 (Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, 90).

continually held out the hope of a revived and more effective church life. The high Calvinists, on the other hand, became increasingly suspicious of associating, particularly, questioning its biblical warrant. It was not considered “particularly sanctioned by scripture example as to be necessary to the existence of churches,” but thought to have developed out of “a principle common to mankind.” Institutions, like the association, where moderate Calvinism was not only discussed but applied, were bound to be under suspicion.³⁶

At the same time, churches in the midst of decline fuelled their desire to pray for revival. When churches of the Northamptonshire Association experienced consecutive declines from 1782 to 1785, the ministers and messengers resolved to conduct monthly prayer meetings for revival.³⁷ In 1784, after reading Jonathan Edwards’ *Humble Attempt* (1747/8), John Sutcliff (1752–1814) of Olney proposed the practice of monthly concerts of prayer, in which members of congregations in different geographical locations might concurrently unite in prayers “to bewail the low estate of religion, and earnestly implore a

³⁶ Brown, *English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, 91–92.

³⁷ The decline seems to be sudden, though short, as the circular letters reported that since 1766, churches of the association experienced seventeen years of increase in numbers. However, from 1782 to 1785, the churches began to experience decline. A similar kind of decline only happened later in 1803 and 1804, as for the most part of the eighteenth century, the Northamptonshire Association experienced consecutive increase (For a chart, see T. T. Gough, *The Centenary of the Association. The Circular Letter from the Ministers and Messengers of the Several Baptist Churches in the Northamptonshire Association, Assembled at Rushden, on the 6th & 7th of June, 1865* [Northampton: J. Taylor & Son, 1865], 16–20). In the 1782 circular letter, it was stated that there were 39 joined the churches by “profession and experience,” 7 transferred by letters of recommendation, and 1 restored, 25 members died, 13 were dismissed to other churches, and 17 excluded by discipline (“Breviates,” in [Andrew Fuller], *The Excellence and Utility of the Grace of Hope, Considered in a Circular Letter from the Baptist Ministers and Messengers Assembled at Olney, in Buckinghamshire, June 4, 5, and 6, 1782* [Northampton, 1782], 13). In that same letter, the editor (probably Andrew Fuller, who served as the moderator that year) stated: “The state of our churches as above; the state of religion in general; and the state of our public affairs, as a nation; call us to humiliation and prayer.—O brethren, cry earnestly to him by who alone Jacob can arise when he is small, that he would indeed revive us again. It is proposed to your consideration, whether the first Wednesday in every month may not be a convenient time, for us unitedly to address the throne of grace, on these affairs” ([Fuller], *Excellence and Utility of the Grace of Hope*, 13). In the next year, there were 19 died, 6 dismissed and 7 excluded, which in total meant the church decreased with seven members (“Breviates,” in John Gill, *The Nature and Importance of Christian Love, Considered in a Circular Letter from the Baptist Ministers and Messengers Assembled at St. Alban’s, in Hertfordshire, June 10, 11, and 12, 1783* [Northampton, 1783], 7). In 1784, it was reported that 34 dead, 5 dismissed, and 2 excluded (Gough, *Centenary of the Association*, 16). In 1785, there were 23 dead, 3 dismissed, and 14 excluded. As the editor wrote after the statistics: “It was resolved, without any hesitation, to continue the meetings of prayer on the first Monday evening in every calendar month. We have heard with pleasure that several churches not in the association, and some of other denominations, have united with us in this matter. May God give us all hearts to persevere. If our petitions are not answered by any remarkable out-pourings of the Spirit, they may be a more gradual work; or if not in our time, they may in time to come; or if not at all, there is profit enough in the exercise itself to be its own reward. But God hath never yet said to the seed of Jacob, seek ye my face in vain” (“Breviates,” in Andrew Fuller, *An Enquiry into the Causes of Declension in Religion, with the Means of Revival; Being the Circular Letter from the Ministers and Messengers of the Baptist Association, Assembled at Oakham, May 17, 18, 1785* [n.p., 1785], 8).

revival of our churches, and of the general cause of our Redeemer, and for that end to wrestle with God for the effusion of his Holy Spirit.”³⁸ As Michael A. G. Haykin has pointed out, Sutcliff’s prayer call characterised the spirit of “evangelical catholicity” and global mission, as participants sought to pray for revivals in Christ’s kingdom—not just among the Calvinistic Baptists—and for conversion of those in “the most distant parts of the habitable globe.”³⁹ After the annual meeting, the association also published Andrew Fuller’s sermon, *Nature and Importance of Walking by Faith*, in which extensive explanations for the proposed monthly prayers were also presented in an appendix.⁴⁰ In the third point, as Fuller lamented the corrupted and melancholic “religious state of the world,” he urged his readers to pray, not only for heathens’ conversion, but also for “all the friends of God, and especially his ministers” to use “all possible means for the propagation of the gospel.”⁴¹ In other words, Fuller and his ministerial friends understood prayer as a means to restore a catholic vision, by which, every Christian denomination

³⁸ “Minutes,” in John Ryland Jr., *The Nature, Evidences, and Advantages, of Humility, Represented in a Circular Letter from the Ministers and Messengers of the Baptist Association, Assembled at Nottingham, June 2, 3, 1784* (n.p., 1784), 12. After reading Edwards’ *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God’s People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ’s Kingdom on Earth, Pursuant to Scripture-Promises and Prophecies concerning the Last Time* (Boston, 1747) in the final week of April 1784, John Ryland Jr. shared the book with both Fuller and Sutcliff. Its influence upon Fuller, Ryland, and Sutcliff were enormous, though Sutcliff did not fully agree with Edwards’ eschatology. See Haykin, *One Heart and One Soul*, 153–57; *item*, “‘A Habitation of God, through the Spirit’: John Sutcliff (1752–1814) and the Revitalization of the Calvinistic Baptists in the Late Eighteenth Century,” *BQ* 34, no. 7 (1992): 304–19; *item*, “‘The Lord Is Doing Great Things, and Answering Prayer Everywhere’: The Revival of the Calvinistic Baptists in the Long Eighteenth Century,” in *Pentecostal Outpourings: Revival and the Reformed Tradition*, ed. Robert Davis Smart, Michael A. G. Haykin, and Ian Hugh Clary (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016), 65–99; Kenneth W. H. Howard, “John Sutcliff of Olney,” *BQ* 14, no. 7 (1952): 304–9; Christopher W. Crocker, “John Sutcliff and His Northamptonshire Lord’s Day Epistle,” *BQ* 49, no. 1 (2018): 13–22.

³⁹ Haykin, *One Heart and One Soul*, 165; Ryland, *Nature, Evidences, and Advantages, of Humility*, 12.

⁴⁰ Andrew Fuller, “Persuasives to a General Union in Extraordinary Prayer, for the Revival and Extent of Real Religion,” in *The Nature and Importance of Walking by Faith: A Sermon Delivered at the Annual Association of the Baptist Ministers and Churches Met at Nottingham, June 2, 1784* (London, [1784]), 37–47.

⁴¹ Fuller, “Persuasives to a General Union in Extraordinary Prayer,” 44, 45. It is noticed that though Fuller’s call was catholic in nature, he viewed the Roman Catholics and the Eastern Churches as corrupt (Fuller, “Persuasives to a General Union in Extraordinary Prayer,” 44). Thus, it may be suggested that, for Fuller, Roman Catholic and Orthodox believers were also subjects of evangelism.

could participate in a kingdom mission—“make disciples of all nations” (Matt 28:19). Though the decline ended in 1785, the Northamptonshire Association renewed the prayer call in the next five years.⁴² As a result, the prayer call of 1784 initiated a movement of united prayers in England, as the Warwick Association, the Independents, and Baptists in Yorkshire later joined the effort.⁴³ In such a way, this prayer movement fostered “a spirit of ecumenical idealism tempered by a liberal dose of denominational realism,” through which the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) was organised on October 2, 1792.⁴⁴

In the fifth section of William Carey’s (1761–1834) *Enquiry*—which served as a blueprint for both the BMS and Carey’s work in India—as he explored Christian’s duty and means to promote overseas mission, Carey understood that “fervent and united

⁴² In 1785, while renewing the prayer call, it was reported that “we have heard with pleasure that several churches not in the association, and some of other denominations, have united with us in this matter” (“Breviates,” in Fuller, *Enquiry into the Causes of Declension in Religion*, 8). In 1787, the association agreed that “the monthly prayer-meetings, for the revival of religion, be continued” (“Breviates,” in Richard Hopper, *The Nature and Importance of Family and Closet Religion, Considered in a Circular Letter from the Baptist Ministers and Messengers, Assembled at Leicester, May 29, 30, and 31, 1787* [n.p. 1787], 8). In 1789, the association agreed to “continue the monthly prayer-meeting for the revival of religion. We hope that the tidings lately received of a blessed work of grace among the inhabitants of several of the United States of America, and particularly of the great increase of the baptist denomination in Virginia, and various other parts, will be a means of animating us to fervent prayer for our native country; that we may largely partake of the effusion of the Holy Spirit, which we wish to be poured out upon all flesh. O that all the ends of the earth may see the salvation of God” (“Breviates,” in Robert Hall Sr., *The Privilege and Duty of Communion with God, Considered in a Circular Letter from the Baptist Ministers and Messengers, Assembled at Spalding, June 2, 3, and 4, 1789* [n.p., 1789], 14).

⁴³ See E. A. Payne, *The Prayer Call of 1784* (Edinburgh, 1942); Matthew C. Bryant, *Constructing a Theology of Prayer: Andrew Fuller’s (1754–1815) Belief and Practice of Prayer* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2021).

⁴⁴ Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 21. Fifty years after the formation of the BMS, Francis Augustus Cox (1783–1853) understood that the 1784 prayer call was “the primary cause of the missionary excitement in Carey’s mind, and its diffusion among the Northamptonshire minister.” Cox continued: “at the meeting of the association in 1784, at Nottingham, it was resolved to set apart an hour on the first Monday evening of every month, ‘for extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and for the extending of Christ’s kingdom in the world.’ This suggestion proceeded from the venerable Sutcliff. Its simplicity and appropriateness have since recommended it to universal adoption; and copious showers of blessing from on high have been poured forth upon the churches” (Cox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society, from 1792 to 1842* [London: T. Ward & Co., and G. & J. Dyer, 1842], 1:10–11). On the formation of the BMS, see “Narrative of the First Establishment of this Society,” *Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society* 1, no. 1 (1800): 1–4; Stanley, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, 9–20; Ernest A. Payne, *The First Generation: Early Leaders of the Baptist Missionary Society in England and India* (London: Carey, 1936); E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793–1837: The History of Serampore and Its Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 1–26; William John Henderson, “Holding the Ropes,” in *The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792–1892*, ed. John Brown Myers, 2nd ed. (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1892), 3–39.

prayer” was the “most important of those duties,” through which all human efforts were built upon.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, though Carey advocated a catholic cooperation in foreign missions, he objected to the idea of creating a cross-denominational society for overseas mission, as he explained:

I do not mean by this, in any wise to confine it to one denomination of Christians. I wish with all my heart, that every one who loves our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, would in some way or other engage in it. But in the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work, than if they were to embark in it conjointly. There is room enough for us all, without interfering with each other; and if not unfriendly interference took place, each denomination would bear good will to the other, and wish, and pray for its success, considering it as upon the whole friendly to the great cause of true religion; but if all were intermingled, it is likely their private discords might throw a damp upon their spirits, and much retard their public usefulness.⁴⁶

In other words, though Carey understood the need for evangelical catholicity, he did not see Baptist polity and denomination being a stumbling block. Instead, before his arrival in India, Carey’s appeal primarily concerned internal unity and collaboration among the Baptists. As a result, though being inspired by the BMS and Carey’s work in India, evangelical paedobaptists formed the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795 as “a united evangelical enterprise in support of the global extension of the gospel message.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens. In which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings, are Considered* (Leicester, 1792), 77. For a broader context of Carey’s *Enquiry*, see Andrew F. Walls, “The Eighteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Awakening in Its European Context,” in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 22–44. On Carey’s missiology, see Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially His Missionary Principles* (Leiden, the Netherlands: A.W. Sijthoff’s Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1945); J. T. K. Daniel, “Missiology and Serampore Ethos,” *Indian Journal of Theology* 38, no. 1 (1996): 2–15; A. Christopher Smith, “A Tale of Many Models: The Missiological Significance of the Serampore Trio,” *Missiology* 20, no. 4 (1992): 479–500; Timothy C. Tennet, “William Carey as a Missiologist: An Assessment,” in *Expect Great Things, Attempt Great Things: William Carey and Adoniram Judson, Missionary Pioneers*, ed. Allen Yeh and Chris Chun (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 15–26.

⁴⁶ Carey, *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians*, 84.

⁴⁷ Timothy George, “Evangelical Revival and the Missionary Awakening,” in *The Great Commission: Evangelicals and the History of World Missions*, ed. Martin I. Klauber and Scott M. Manetsch (Nashville, TN: B&H, 2008), 54. It was reported that “a few months after Dr. [John] Ryland fixed his residence at Bristol, he received the first letters which had arrived from [William] Carey and [John] Thomas [1757–1801] in Bengal, and the intelligence they contained was so cheering, that he longed to communicate it as widely as possible. The Rev. David Bogue of Gosport [1750–1825], and [James] Steven [1761–1824], then of London, being at that time supplying at the Tabernacle, were invited to meet a few friends at the Doctor’s house on this interesting occasion; and when, after uniting in prayer and praise, these worthy ministers returned to their lodgings, they mutually expressed their desires to set on foot a

Meanwhile, as Baptists began to collaborate and financially support their missionaries in India, they also desired to enjoy broader and more structured unity with domestic Christians. With the “ecumenical idealism” of the BMS and LMS, evangelicals began to collaborate in models of the missionary societies for domestic evangelism. In 1796, when John Eyre (1754–1803)—an evangelical clergyman, a founder of the LMS, and editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*—told Samuel Greatheed (d. 1823) about the formation of the Village Itinerancy, or Evangelical Association for Spreading the Gospel in England, Greatheed was inspired to start a new church society for Bedfordshire.⁴⁸ For Greatheed, who was a fellow founder of the LMS,

there are pious persons of the Established Church, of the late Mr. [John] Wesley’s Connexion; of the *Unitas Fratrum*, usually called Moravians; and of several Independent Churches, both Pædobaptists and Baptists: all these, consistently with

Missionary Society among their connexions likewise. About the same time, Dr. Edward Williams [1750–1813], then of Birmingham, and other paedobaptist ministers of that district, were imbibing a similar spirit; and the result of these concurrent trains of thought and feeling was one in which ages unborn will have to rejoice—the establishment of the London Missionary Society in September 1795” (Anonymous, “Memoir of the Late Rev. John Ryland, D.D.,” *BM* 18 [January 1826]: 4–5). After attending the formation service of the London Missionary Society, Samuel Pearce (1766–1799) wrote to Carey and told him: “It was a Pentecost. The Brethren who compose the London Society publicly owned that *our* zeal kindled theirs, and it was God who first touched *your* heart with fire from His holy Altar. To Him be all the praise!” (Samuel Pearce to William Carey, January 1796, as cited by S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey, D.D., Fellow of Linnaean Society* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923], 177). Also see Chester Terpstra, “David Bogue, D.D., 1750–1825: Pioneer and Missionary Educator” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1959), 147–69.

Following the principles laid out by Melville Horne (c. 1761–1841), Thomas Haweis (c. 1734–1820) expressed his vision for this new society, which was a mission centre for Christians to “be united together, without respect to different denominations of Christians, or repulsive distance arising from the points in dispute between Calvinists and Arminians” ([Thomas Haweis,] “Review of *Letters on Missions; Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches*. By Melville Horne, late Chaplain of Sierra Leone, in Africa. 8vo. Pages 144. Price 1s. 6d. Bristol, printed by Bulgin and Rosser: London, sold by Button. 1794,” *Evangelical Magazine* 2 [November 1794]: 478). Also see David Bogue, *Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered. A Sermon, Preached at Tottenham Court Chapel, Before the Founders of the Missionary Society, 24 Sep. 1795* (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1811).

On the formation of London Missionary Society, see John Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society. A Jubilee Memorial* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1844); William Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 2 vols (London: John Snow, 1844), 1:46; Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895* (London: Henry Frowde, 1899); C. Silvester Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.* (London: London Missionary Society, 1904); Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 161–63; Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 40–60.

⁴⁸ See Morison, *Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, 9–46, 392–96; Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792–1850: The “Heathen” at Home and Overseas* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Jo Guldi, *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People*, 34–40.

their various views and principles, may unite for purposes that do not infringe upon the sentiments, the forms or discipline of their several societies.⁴⁹

With this vision of forming “a spiritual, cordial, and active union of all real Christians,” Greatheed invited ministers in Bedfordshire to meet on August 24, 1796.⁵⁰ At the meeting, these Baptist and Independent ministers agreed that “we need make no sacrifice of what is vital; for we aim at *union*, not uniformity; we wish to excite your *zeal*, not to alter your opinions; we long to promote your love to *all* fellow-Christians; not to lessen your attachment to those with whom you are immediately connected.”⁵¹ The delegates thus resolved in October 1797 to form a union of Christians “to promote by their joint exertions the knowledge of the Gospel.”⁵² Overall, as they expressed it in an open letter in 1798, the object of the Union was “to promote their mutual acquaintance, affection, and edification; and their general co-operation in extending the knowledge of the Gospel, according to the ability, and opportunities, which the Lord vouchsafes to impart.”⁵³

From its formation, Baptists actively engaged in the Bedfordshire Union.

Among the initial signers of the first compact, nine were Baptists, and John Foster (1765–

⁴⁹ As quoted by John Brown, “The Story of a Hundred Years,” in *The History of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians (Now Known as the Bedfordshire Union of Baptist and Congregational Churches)* (London: Independent Press, 1946), 17–18.

⁵⁰ Brown, “The Story of a Hundred Years,” 19. The following ministers were invited: Thomas Palmer Bull (d. 1859) of Newport (Independent); William Coles (1735–1809) of Maulden (Baptist; Andrew Fuller’s father-in-law; see William Coles, “Extract from a Memoir of the Late Rev. William Coles, of Ampthill, [Father-in-Law of the Late Rev. Andrew Fuller,] Written by Himself,” *BM* 9 [April 1817]: 121–27); Richard Davis (1768–1832) of Thorn (Baptist; Fullerite and close communionist; see John Davis, ed., *A Brief Memoir of the Late Rev. Richard Davis, of Walworth; with a Sketch of the Sermon Delivered on Occasion of his Death, by the Rev. F.A. Cox, LL.D. and Selections from the Manuscripts of the Deceased* [London: G. Wightman, 1833]); Thomas Hillyard (1746–1828) of Olney (Independent); Samuel Hillyard (1770–1839) of Bedford (Independent); John Scroxtton (1766–1854; deacon of the Baptist church in Bromsgrove; later became a minister in 1798 and was ordained on April 16, 1800); Thomas Wake (fl. 1789–1826) of Leighton Buzzard (Baptist); and William Wakefield of Cranfield (Baptist).

⁵¹ Brown, “The Story of a Hundred Years,” 19.

⁵² Brown, “The Story of a Hundred Years,” 27.

⁵³ Bedfordshire Union, “To all who believe with the Heart on the Lord Jesus Christ, and who have formed themselves into Associated Bodies, to promote his cause; the Union of Christians, formed at Bedford, with that Grace and Peace may abound [July 23, 1798],” *Evangelical Magazine* 6 (1798): 4 [574]. On behalf of the Union, nine ministers signed their names: William Coles; Richard Davis; John Foster (1765–1847) of Biggleswade (Baptist); William Foster (1769–1837) of St. Neots (Baptist brewer and banker); William Gordon (1728–1807) of St. Neots (Independent); Samuel Greatheed; Samuel Hillyard; Martin Mayle (1747/8–1822) of Blunham (Baptist); and John Sutcliff. Among the signers, six were Baptist.

1847), a Baptist deacon in Biggleswade, was elected as the treasurer.⁵⁴ It is interesting to observe that according to John Rippon's (1751–1836) *Register*, there were seventeen Baptist congregations in Bedfordshire by 1790, and among them, seven churches joined the Bedfordshire Union.⁵⁵ By 1896, more Baptist congregations had affiliated with the Union, and only five congregations refused to join it.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Baptist ministers of neighbouring counties were also invited to preach at their anniversary meetings, among whom were John Sutcliff (1799, 1806), Robert Hall Jr. (1800, 1817), Andrew Fuller (1801), and Joseph Kinghorn (1814).⁵⁷ For many Baptists outside of Bedfordshire, such a trans-denominational union was both a model and a test. After Robert Hall's first visit to the Bedfordshire Union in the spring of 1797, the Leicester minister told his friend Thomas Langdon (1755–1824) of Leeds about the Union:

I was much delighted a few weeks since by my attendance at the Bedford Union, of which you have undoubtedly heard. It appears to me an admirable institution: I wish it were imitated in every part of the kingdom. I would delight a heart like yours, to behold Dissenters, and Methodists, and Church people, and Moravians, blending together their affections, forgetting their differences, and uniting their endeavours to promote the great and common cause of Christianity ... Is not the growing harmony among different sects of Christians, the disposition to consider rather their points of correspondence than of disagreement, to be reckoned among the most pleasing appearances of the present time? May we not augur from it the design of Providence to extend the boundaries and increase the prosperity of the Christian church.⁵⁸

As "distinctive denominational convictions were no longer regarded as insuperable

⁵⁴ These were Richard Davis of Thorn; William Coles of Maulden; William Freeman (d. 1821) of Cotton End; Sir Egerton Leigh (1762–1818) of Little Harborough (see L. G. Champion, "The Preaching Baronet," *BQ* 10, no. 8 [1941]: 429–33); Martin Mayle; John Millard (fl. 1795–1802) of Steventon; William Pain of Gamlingay; Thomas Wake of Leighton Buzzard; and John Foster of Biggleswade (Baptist deacon and lay preacher) (Brown, "The Story of a Hundred Years," 27–28).

⁵⁵ Rippon, *Baptist Annual Register*, 3. Those congregations in Bedfordshire that did not join the Union were: Bedford; Carlton; Cayso; Cranfield; Dunstable; Little Storton; Luton; Ridgmount; Sharnbrook; and Southill. It is noticed that though Wakefield of Cranfield was invited to attend the initial meeting, it seems that Wakefield did not wish to participate in the proposed union. In 1790, the pastor of the Cranfield congregation became Ebenezer Keach.

⁵⁶ See Brown, "The Story of a Hundred Years," 88.

⁵⁷ Brown, "The Story of a Hundred Years," 70, 84.

⁵⁸ [Mary Langdon,] *A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Langdon, Baptist Minister, of Leeds; Including Numerous Hitherto Unpublished Letters of the Rev. Robert Hall, and Other Ministers* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1837), 145–46. The letter was dated April 29, 1797.

barriers to fellowship and service,” the Bedfordshire Union formed a common platform, not only for ministers of different denominations to enjoy mutual support, but also for Baptists holding positions of both open and close communion to join in a common cause.⁵⁹ Since there were more opportunities for Baptists to further engage in “ecumenical partnership” and “denominational integration,” it seemed inevitable for Baptists to dream for an extended and structured national denomination.⁶⁰

In order to create a national denomination, it was essential to first generate an imagined “shared” Baptist identity, about which three publications particularly contributed to such a goal.⁶¹ The first two works were published by John Rippon (1751–1836)—a Bristol-trained open communionist and successor to John Gill.⁶² In 1787, as Rippon sensed “the need for a comprehensive denominational hymn-book,” he published a new collection of hymns.⁶³ Though Caleb Evans and John Ash (1724–1779) had previously published a hymnal (the Bristol Collection) for the Baptists in 1769, Rippon’s hymn-book was significantly different in content, and much larger in size by including 588 hymns—which almost doubled the hymns in the Bristol Collection.⁶⁴ Furthermore,

⁵⁹ Brown, *English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, 139.

⁶⁰ Brown, *English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century*, 141.

⁶¹ Here I have applied Benedict Anderson’s concept of “imagined communities,” which understands any community that is larger than a primordial village of face-to-face contact is imagined. These communities are socially constructed and imagined by people who perceive themselves as part of a group. Furthermore, media is significant for its creation, as medias such as written words are significant to provide information to nourish the imagination. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006); Philip E. Wegner, *Imaginary Communities: Utopia, the Nation, and the Spatial Histories of Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2002).

⁶² On Rippon, see Sharon James, “John Rippon (1751–1836),” in *British Particular Baptists*, 2:57–76; Kenneth R. Manley, and Paul H. Ballard, “The Making of an Evangelical Baptist Leader: John Rippon’s Early Years, 1751–1773,” *BQ* 26, no. 6 (1976): 254–74; Manley, “Pattern of a Pastorate: John Rippon at Carter Lane, Southwark (1773–1836),” *Journal of Religious History* 11, no. 2 (2007): 269–88; Manley, “‘Sing Side by Side’: John Rippon and Baptist Hymnody,” in *Pilgrim Pathways: Essays in Baptist History in Honour of B. R. White*, ed. William H. Brackney and Paul S. Fiddes (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 127–63; Manley, “*Redeeming Love Proclaim*”: *John Rippon and the Baptists* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2004).

⁶³ Manley, *Redeeming Love Proclaim*, 7. John Rippon, *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts’s Psalms and Hymns* (London, 1787).

⁶⁴ Caleb Evans and John Ash, *A Collection of Hymns Adopted to Public Worship*, 3rd ed.

as Kenneth R. Manley pointed out, there were also a number of issues with Evans and Ash's hymn-book.⁶⁵ First, unlike his predecessors, Rippon designed his hymnal only as a supplement to Isaac Watts' (1674–1748) *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707), as the Carter Lane congregation frequently used the latter during their services and desired to have a more comprehensive collection of hymns.⁶⁶ Second, though the Bristol Collection sought to serve as a Baptist substitute to Watts', Evans and Ash's selections lacked hymns on doctrines such as the Holy Spirit, election, and perseverance. Furthermore, their hymn collections were outdated, as they had only "three on baptism, no general hymns for singing 'after the sermon,' and very few suited to the meetings for prayer, or association gatherings."⁶⁷ Though Evans and Ash's hymnal was popular among the Baptists—as Kinghorn later revised and published the ninth (1814) and tenth (1827) editions of the Bristol Hymns—Rippon's soon became an alternative and successful choice for evangelical Baptists in Britain.⁶⁸ As Rippon wrote in the preface, one of the guiding

(Bristol, 1778). On John Ash, see G. H. Taylor, "The Reverend John Ash, L.L.D., 1724–1779," *BQ* 20, no. 1 (1963): 4–22; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, "John Ash and the Pershore Church: Additional Notes," *BQ* 22, no. 5 (1968): 271–76; Karlijn Marianne Navest, *John Ash and the Rise of a Children's Grammar* (Utrecht, the Netherlands: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap, 2011).

⁶⁵ Manley, "Sing Side by Side," 130–31.

⁶⁶ Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs. In Three Books. I. Collected from the Scriptures. II. Compos'd on Divine Subjects. III. Prepared for the Lord's Supper. With an Essay towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody, by the Use of Evangelical Hymns in Worship, as well as the Psalms of David* (London, 1707). On Baptists' appreciation of Watts' hymns, see Manley, *Redeeming Love Proclaim*, 86–87. Rippon explained that people in his church found good hymns to sing, but had the difficulty to find them together. As they asked Rippon: "Why could we not have some of the best Hymns in all these Authors put together, and used with Dr. Watts?," Rippon took it as his primary reason to publish his *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors*, [ii].

⁶⁷ Manley, "Sing Side by Side," 130.

⁶⁸ In the ninth edition, Kinghorn modified the spelling and capitalisation, as he dropped off the long s (ſ) and used a minimum of capital letters throughout the hymn book. Kinghorn also abbreviated the metres to C.M. (common metre), L.M. (long metre), S.M. (short metre), and P.M. (peculiar metre). While maintaining Evans and Ash's selections, Kinghorn added 28 hymns in the supplement. Among the additions, nine were written by William Cowper (1731–1800), whose works were included in the Bristol Collection for the first time, which included "God moves in a mysterious way," "Oh! For a closer walk with God," and others. Nine more hymns by Anne Steele were added. For the remaining additions, Kinghorn chose one hymn from each of these writers: Joseph Addison, John Cennick (1718–1755), Philip Doddridge, Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), Charles Wesley, James Montgomery (1771–1853), William Shrubsole (1759–1829), Isaac Watts, Daniel Turner (1710–1798), and William Williams (c.1717–1791). Nevertheless, Kinghorn was unable to identify the authors of "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," which was written by William Williams in Welsh; "Lo! He comes with clouds descending," which was written by Charles Wesley; "Beyond the glittering starry globes," which was written by Daniel Turner and James

principles for him to edit it was evangelical catholicity:

It has given me no small Pleasure, to unite, as far as I could, different Denominations of Ministers, and Christians on Earth, in the same noble Work, which shall for ever employ them above. It has not been my Enquiry, whose Hymns shall I choose, but what Hymns; and hence it will be seen, that Churchmen and Dissenters, [Isaac] Watts and [Nahum] Tate [1652–1715], [John and Charles] Wesley and [Augustus Montague] Toplady [1740–1778], England and American sing Side by Side, and very often join the same Triumph, using the same Word.⁶⁹

In comparison, there were only ninety-one hymns used in both Evans and Ash's and Rippon's hymnals, among which thirty-four were written by Philip Doddridge (1702–1751).⁷⁰ Thus, while Evans and Ash sought to create a unique Baptist hymn-book, Rippon's hymnal sought to create a common evangelical theology for the Particular Baptists in the kingdom.⁷¹ Through Rippon's *Collection of Hymns* and its phenomenal success, Baptists were introduced to not only hymns written by leaders of the evangelical revival, but also a common evangelical piety.⁷² Therefore, Rippon established a common

Fanch (1704–1767); and “Bright as the sun's meridian blaze,” which was written by William Shrubsole.

In 1827, Kinghorn edited and published the tenth edition of the Bristol Collection. Though Kinghorn did not add new hymns, he separated the advertisements into three parts, written by Evans in 1786 for the fifth edition, by Isaac James (1759–1828) in 1801 for the eighth edition, and Kinghorn's for the ninth edition. Kinghorn also updated James' list of authors and substituted Roman numerals for the hymns with Arabic numerals.

⁶⁹ Rippon, *Selection of Hymns*, [vii].

⁷⁰ Other authors were Anne Steele (1717–1778), 14 hymns; Elizabeth Scott (1708–1786), 3 hymns; Thomas Scott (1705–1775), 1 hymn; Joseph Stennett (1663–1713), 3 hymns; Isaac Watts, 7 hymns; Charles Wesley (1707–1788), 3 hymns; Samuel Davies (1723–1761), 3 hymns; Daniel Turner (1710–1798), 3 hymns; Benjamin Beddome (1717–1795), 5 hymns; Simon Browne (1680–1732), 2 hymns; Joseph Addison (1672–1719), 1 hymn; John Wesley (1703–1791), 1 hymn; Robert Cruttenden (1690–1763), 1 hymn; John Cennick (1718–1755), 1 hymn; William Hammond (1719–1783), 1 hymn; Thomas Gibbons (1720–1785), 1 hymn; James Newton (1732–1790), 1 hymn; James Merrick (1720–1769), 1 hymn; and a Leech (“Death with his dread Commission seal'd”). Interestingly, among the “common hymns,” only Anne Steele, Joseph Stennett, Benjamin Beddome, Daniel Turner, and James Newton were Baptists.

⁷¹ For instance, see Joseph V. Carmichael, *The Sung Theology of the English Particular Baptist Revival: A Theological Analysis of Anne Steele's Hymns in Rippon's Hymnal* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2021). In his book, Carmichael used Anne Steele's hymns—as collected in Rippon's *Collection of Hymns*—as a case study, through which he sought to look “into the theological, spiritual, experiential, and evangelical tenor of Baptist life” (Carmichael, *Sung Theology of the English Particular Baptist Revival*, 9).

⁷² Manley, *Redeeming Love Proclaim*, 6, 7. According to the catalogue, Kinghorn owned three copies of Rippon's hymnals ([Simon Wilkin, ed.,] *Catalogue of the Entire Library of the late Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* [Norwich, 1833], 36–37); in addition, Kinghorn also owned two copies of Isaac Watts' *Hymns*, ed. John Rippon (Rippon, ed., *An Arrangement of the Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, of the Rev. Isaac Watts ... including [what no other volume contains] all his hymns, with which the vacancies in the first book were filled up in 1786, and also those in 1793: now collated, with each of the Doctor's own editions: to which are subjoined indexes, very much enlarged, both of scripture and of*

sung spirituality for Particular Baptists in the kingdom, regardless of their views of the terms of communion.

The second publication that aimed to ignite Baptists' desire for a national denomination was Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register*, which ran from 1790 to 1802. While preparing its publication, Rippon contacted Baptist ministers in the British Isles and abroad to provide a brief history and *status quo* of their congregations, as well as updates of publications.⁷³ To promote this project, Rippon pointed out its numerous advantages in an open letter, *An Account of the Baptist Annual Register*, among which Rippon believed that the *Register* "would accrue to the Baptist Interest at large," and would have "the whole denomination to cherish a religious acquaintance with each other, in the several parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and, if it were practicable, in America also."⁷⁴ For Rippon, though the association letters provided basic information about the condition of their churches, "multitudes of our Members never so much as hear of any other Association in the world, than that to which their own or some neighbouring church belongs."⁷⁵ Thus, Rippon argued that while the association letters are "beneficial only to

subjects [London, 1801]; Wilkin, ed., *Catalogue*, 37).

⁷³ For instance, in 1790, Rippon wrote to David Kinghorn and asked the latter to provide an account of the Bishop Burton congregation (see John Rippon to David Kinghorn, December 21, 1790, #4, Wilkin Papers, *NRC*). Rippon sent a letter to Joseph Kinghorn on January 14, 1791 and requested information about St. Mary's congregation. In his reply, Kinghorn wrote: "As an individual I like the plan of your Register but my people are not at all easer for ye information it will give. I did not read your proposals publicly not being streak with the propriety of such a step (at least in this place) and thou to whom I have mentioned the Register & who were in my view most likely to forward it did not seem particularly streak with it" (Joseph Kinghorn to John Rippon, January 27, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 649, KPA, 1).

In the letter sent to all Baptists, Rippon requested: "1. Your free Remarks, that I may avail myself of them before the Work goes to Press. 2. The Communication of such original Papers or other Materials as are likely to promote the Design. 3. The Title-pages of such Books or Pamphlets as you or the Brethren in your District have lately printed, giving me the whole Title, with the Price bound or unbound, and the Place or Places where sold. 4. If you see it to encourage this Publication, please to inform me speedily how many Copies your Church and Congregation will take, that I may know what Number should be printed" (Rippon, *An Account of the Baptist Annual Register*, in John Rippon to David Kinghorn, December 21, 1790, no. 4, Wilkin Papers, *NRC*, 1).

⁷⁴ Rippon, *Account of the Baptist Annual Register*, 1.

⁷⁵ Rippon, *Account of the Baptist Annual Register*, 1.

a few individuals,” his *Register* aimed to promote “the knowledge, purity, and joy of the whole denomination.”⁷⁶ Rippon stated that “the publication principally relates to this people [the Baptists],” and its production “boasts of no patronage, so high, as that of the whole body of Baptists.”⁷⁷ Like Captain James Cook’s (1728–1779) *Voyage* and later Carey’s *Enquiry*, Rippon’s *Register* placed the Baptists on a global stage as a maturing denomination. Thus, the *Register* did not only boost this English sect’s confidence, but also promote “a deeper mutual awareness among Baptists.”⁷⁸

The third publication was the *Baptist Magazine* (1809–1865), which was a monthly miscellany “initiated at the Western Association meeting” of 1808, and later was “officially recommended in constitution of Baptist Union” in 1813.⁷⁹ Though the *Baptist Magazine* was not the first monthly periodical for the Particular Baptists, it was certainly the first long-lived comprehensive journal for the denomination.⁸⁰ As Thomas Smith of Tiverton, the initial editor (1809–1814), explained in the first volume, the *Baptist Magazine* aimed to “open a door of communication with the Brethren of our own Denomination.”⁸¹ The editors then sought to use the magazine to primarily “illustrate and

⁷⁶ Rippon, *Account of the Baptist Annual Register*, 1.

⁷⁷ Rippon, *Baptist Annual Register*, vi.

⁷⁸ James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole, and Round the World. Performed in His Majesty’s Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* (London, 1777). Manley, *Redeeming Love Proclaim*, 7.

⁷⁹ Rosemary Taylor, “English Baptist Periodicals, 1790–1865,” *BQ* 27, no. 2 (1977): 56. On the Baptist Union, see Ernest A. Payne, *The Baptist Union: A Short History* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1958). In the initial constitution of the Baptist Union, article nine states: “That *The Baptist Magazine*, furnishing a most desirable medium of communication, respecting the state of our churches at home and providing a most seasonable aid to necessitous widows of deceased ministers to which purpose the whole profits are applied, is highly deserving the encouragement of the denomination; and that it be recommended to all our ministers and churches, to promote the circulation of it, to the utmost of their power” (as quoted by Payne, *Baptist Union*, 25).

⁸⁰ Besides Rippon’s *Register* and BMS’ *Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society* (1794–1818), there were two short-lived periodicals published by Particular Baptists before the *Baptist Magazine*, which were *The New Theological Repository* (1800–1802; later *The Theological Repository*, 1803–1808), edited by William Jones (1762–1846), and *The Biblical Magazine, Intended to Promote the Knowledge and Belief of the Sacred Scriptures* (1801–1803), edited by J. W. Morris (1763–1836).

⁸¹ [Thomas Smith,] “Preface,” *BM* 1 (1809): iii.

recommend that large portion of the Faith once delivered to the Saints which we hold in common with all evangelical Believers in the Son of God.”⁸² Thus, from its formation, the *Baptist Magazine* advocated evangelical catholicity or proto-ecumenism among the Particular Baptists, as the introductory verse stated: “Beyond the stretch of party fame,/ With one ambition sigh;/ Nor let the bason, and the flood,/ Divide the purchase of that blood,/ Where all must plunge—or die.”⁸³ At the same time, the *Baptist Magazine* also became the primary vehicle to promote denominational unity. With a post-millennial eschatology, the editors understood the missionaries’ success at Serampore were signs of Christ’s second advent. Thus, Smith wrote in 1811 that “we are anxious to see such a Union prevail in our Denomination as shall most effectually combine all our efforts in the cause of Truth and Righteousness at home, and give ten-fold vigour to our exertions on behalf of the heathen abroad.”⁸⁴ Furthermore, later in the same year, in an article entitled “Union essential to Prosperity,” the author Iota—which has been identified as Joseph Ivimey (1773–1834)—argued:

That a very considerable degree of unanimity prevails in our denomination on this subject is cheerfully admitted, and it is a cause for much gratitude to the God of Peace. But it is asked whether every mean has been adopted which is likely to increase and perpetuate it? Has all the benefit been obtained from this circumstance which it is calculated to produce? Does not the constitution of our churches which prevents all external interference, and therefore preserves them independent of each other, require some general bond of union? and in order to this, some mode of general association?⁸⁵

As Baptists began to seriously consider the formation of a national union, they also faced challenges, as one correspondent pointed out that contributors of the *Baptist Magazine*

⁸² [Smith,] “Preface [1809],” iii.

⁸³ [Thomas Smith,] “Introductory Verses,” *BM* 1 (1809): [v]. Also see [Smith,] “Dialogue between an Editor and his Friend,” *BM* 1 (January 1809): 1–4.

⁸⁴ [Thomas Smith,] “Preface,” *BM* 3 (1811): iii.

⁸⁵ [Joseph Ivimey,] “Union Essential to Prosperity,” *BM* 3 (June 1811): 235. Also see B. D., “An Address to the Baptist Denomination,” *BM* 3 (August 1811): 326–30.

disagreed doctrinally.⁸⁶ This H. P. (probably Henry Paice [fl. 1795–1817]), therefore, suggested that “Minor subjects should give place to those important doctrines and facts in which all are agreed,” which “would tend to promote evangelical liberality throughout the denomination, and might prove one mean of accelerating that General Union so ardently desired.”⁸⁷ But the question remained, who should determine which was a minor or major doctrine. It seems that the editors considered the terms of communion as a “minor subject,” and as a result, while Hall, Kinghorn, and others engaged in “pamphlet wars” on the subject, the *Baptist Magazine* remained silent and did not publish any opinion piece on the controversy, except brief announcement and reviews of the published works. It is also significant to notice that though Baptists shared the desire for unity and cooperation, only “a small number of individuals and churches” were actively interested in a national Baptist Union at this point.⁸⁸

With the spirit of unity, the dream of a national denomination was finally fulfilled, as about sixty ministers and delegates—both Hall and Kinghorn were absent—met at Carter Lane’s vestry in June 1812, and agreed that “a more general Union of the Particular (or Calvinistic) Baptist churches in the United Kingdom is desirable.”⁸⁹ The

⁸⁶ H. P., “Propriety of Avoiding Controversial Subjects,” *BM* 4 (March 1812): 92.

⁸⁷ H. P., “Propriety of Avoiding Controversial Subjects,” 93. Henry Paice was a high Calvinist, who at the time was the minister at Broseley, Shropshire. He later moved to High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire in 1824. While at Broseley, Paice published a collection of one hundred and sixty-nine hymns. From 1760 to 1810, Paice was engaged in the baptismal controversy. See Paice, *Thoughts on Divisions and Separations among Protestant Dissenters: Occasioned by “A Remedy for Schism,”* Published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, for July, 1807, in a Letter to a Friend (Liverpool: J. Lang, 1811); item, *Four Letters on Baptism, Addressed to Mr. John Stewart, Pastor of the Burgher Congregation, Silver Hill, Liverpool; in which His “Answers to Queries on the Mode of Baptism” are Examined; the Scriptural Account of the Mode of Administration is Considered, and the Proper Subjects of Baptism are Ascertained. To which are Prefixed, the Queries on the Mode of Baptism* (Liverpool: J. Lang, 1810); Anonymous, “An Index to Noble Baptists Whose Careers Began within the British Empire before 1850,” *TBHS* 7, no. 3–4 (1921): 223; Henry S. Burrage, *Baptist Hymn Writers and Their Hymns* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston, 1888), 127–28; Angela Platt, “Love Manifested as Unity and Division; Baptist Identity at Romney Street Baptist Church, 1815–1854,” *BQ* 51, no. 4 (2020): 142–62.

⁸⁸ Payne, *Baptist Union*, 13.

⁸⁹ As quoted by Payne, *Baptist Union*, 21. Also see Seymour J. Price, “The Early Years of the Baptist Union,” *BQ* 4, no. 2 (1928): 53–60. Payne noticed that neither Hall nor Kinghorn were present at the meeting in 1812 (Payne, *Baptist Union*, 21).

general assembly met again the next year and approved the formation of the Baptist Union, which was formed for “the promotion of the cause of Christ in general; and the interests of the denomination in particular; with a primary view to the encouragement and support of the Baptist Mission.”⁹⁰ As Particular Baptists became more institutionalised, the tension between catholicity and denominational identity extended.⁹¹

Prelude

Given the historical context described above, a debate over the terms of communion in the nineteenth century took off first among the missionaries in correspondence between Serampore and Kettering. In May 1799, when William Ward (1769–1823), Joshua (1768–1837) and Hannah Marshman (1767–1847), Daniel Brunsdon (1777–1801) and his new wife, a Miss Hirons of Fairford, and Dr. William Lewis Grant (d. 1807) and his wife left England, they boarded the American ship *Criterion*, piloted by Captain Benjamin Wickes (1746–1830), who was an evangelical Presbyterian and a ruling elder of the Third Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.⁹² It was

⁹⁰ As quoted by Payne, *Baptist Union*, 21.

⁹¹ It is observed by Kinghorn in the introduction of his *Baptism, a Term of Communion* that “The zeal which of late years has been excited for spreading the knowledge of God, and calling sinners to attend to the gospel of salvation, has united together good men of different denominations in mutual attachment and exertions; and eminently useful effects have thus been produced, both to the world, and to the parties themselves. But with this good feeling and Christian exertion, there has often been mixed a portion of bad reasoning; and it has appeared, as if some very excellent men were disposed to neglect the positive commands of the Lord, in their great zeal to unite all Christians in one body, and bury all party distinctions” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 1).

⁹² Elizabeth Wickes, “Memoir of the Late Captain Benjamin Wickes,” *Christian Advocate* 9 (January 1831): 15–20; *item*, “Memoir of Captain Benjamin Wickes (Continued from p. 20),” *Christian Advocate* 9 (February 1831): 75–80; *item*, “Memoir of Captain Benjamin Wickes (Continued from p. 80),” *Christian Advocate* 9 (March 1831): 135–40; *item*, “Memoir of Captain Benjamin Wickes (Continued from p. 140),” *Christian Advocate* 9 (April 1831): 192–99; *item*, “Memoir of Captain Benjamin Wickes (Continued from p. 199),” *Christian Advocate* 9 (May 1831): 251–54; *item*, “Memoir of Captain Benjamin Wickes (Continued from p. 254),” *Christian Advocate* 9 (July 1831): 353–60. Also see James Waddel Alexander, *The Life of Archibald Alexander, D.D.: First Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1854), 288. According to Elizabeth Wickes’ memoir, besides the missionaries and their wives and children, there were also “a single lady, a Miss Tidd; nine adults, and several children” on board (Wickes, “Memoir of Captain Benjamin Wickes [Continued from p. 140],” 196).

It was recorded that “In the month of April [1799], brethren [Andrew] Fuller and [William] Ward were in London, and agreed with Mr. F., supercargo of an American ship, the *Criterion*, for a passage. The Master of the ship, Captain Wickes, was not present at the agreement, but on being informed of it by the supercargo, he wrote to one of the Committee as follows—‘When I was informed by Mr. F—

reported that during their voyage, Wickes joined these English Baptists “in morning and evening prayer, and in his turn engaged; also that on the Lord’s day they had public worship on deck, where one of the brethren preached to the ship’s company, after the Captain had first addressed them on the subject, and recommended the acknowledging and worshipping of God in their voyage.”⁹³ Moreover, when they left England, both Marshman and Ward were open communionists.⁹⁴ Thus these missionary-designates celebrated the eucharist with Wickes during their voyage.⁹⁵ For Ward, who was trained by John Fawcett (1740–1817) at Ewood Hall, near Halifax, Yorkshire, their communion with evangelicals like Captain Wickes was legitimate and necessary.⁹⁶ Thus, when they

that the passengers we are to take out were Christian missionaries, truly my heart rejoiced. It brought strongly to my mind a desire which I had felt some years past, when this business was much talked of, that I might have the command of a ship that should convey some of these messengers of peace to the heathen. And now it seems God is about to grant me my desire. I am the master of the *Criterion*, sir, and am not ashamed to confess myself a lover of the gospel, and of them that preach it, provided they preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, of whatever denomination they may be. I have been several days preparing the ship for the reception of those passengers but little thought who they were. Tell them I will have every thing as comfortable as possible, and that they may be entirely separate from every other person of the ship, if they chuse it, except myself and two mates, who will be in the same apartment” (“An Account of the Sending Out of Four New Missionaries, with Wives and Children, in the Spring of 1799,” *Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society* 1, no. 6 [1800]: 505).

⁹³ “An Address from the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society to the Missionaries. Mat 7, 1799,” *Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society* 1, no. 6 [1800]: 522. Ward recorded in his journal that “after the cook had read . . . he listened attentively to the news of pardon—heaven—hell. I still hope some one or more may bless God in the eternal hallelujahs for the *Criterion*. Two of the sailors, Spencer and Lewis, worshipped with us in our room to-night. The latter says, he deserves hell—that he is very uneasy—and that those words in the life of Colonel Gardiner, ‘Sinner, have I suffered all this,’ &c. struck him very much” (Samuel Stennett, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Ward, Late Baptist Missionary in India; Containing a Few of His Early Poetical Productions, and a Monody to his Memory* [London: J. Haddon, 1825], 79). At another time, Ward recorded that “this evening we had a most precious hour at prayer. Captain Wickes read from the twelfth verse of the thirty-third chapter of Exodus, and then joined in prayer. Our hearts were all warmed. We shook hands with our dear captain, and could have clasped him to our bosoms. With what affection did he pray for us—for our missionary success—for every thing we could wish in our circumstances. The chapter was selected by himself, and was peculiarly applicable” (Stennett, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Ward*, 79–80).

⁹⁴ John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Embracing the History of the Serampore Mission*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859), 1:214.

⁹⁵ See E. Daniel Potts, “‘I Throw Away the Guns to Preserve the Ship’: A Note on the Serampore Trio,” *BQ* 20, no. 3 (1963): 115.

⁹⁶ William Ward joined the Salthouse Lane congregation in Hull when John Beatson (1743–1798) was the pastor. Later, the congregation moved to George Street, when William Pendered (1755–1832) succeeded Beatson. For Kinghorn, both Beatson and Pendered were friends, as when Kinghorn was at Hull and Newcastle (as Pendered transferred from Newcastle to Hull in 1790), Beatson and Pendered were Kinghorn’s pastors. It was also under Pendered’s influence, David Kinghorn agreed to send Joseph Kinghorn to Bristol. Ward moved to Hull by the end of 1795, when he sought to work as a printer and later

arrived at Serampore, the new missionaries sought to persuade the senior missionaries to embrace all genuine Christians, as “quarrels over form should not mar co-operation among Christians in a largely non-Christian environment.”⁹⁷ In one of his letters, when defended their action, Ward asked Andrew Fuller: “Do not the bounds of Scriptural communion extend to all who are real Xns, except they have embraced immorality, or dangerous heresy?”⁹⁸

In Fuller’s response, the secretary pointed out that there were three different grounds on which open communion was defended: first, “That baptism is not essential to church communion;” second, “That if it be, adult immersion is not essential to baptism;” and third, “That if neither of these be true, yet the right of judging what is and what is not bap^m lies in the individual, and not in the community.”⁹⁹ For Fuller, Ward’s question primarily falls under the first assumption, by which it questioned the necessity of baptism as an initial ordinance. By pointing out errors in Ward’s interpretation, Fuller reinstated the significance of credobaptism, as he defined it as “an act by which we declare before God, angels and men that we yield ourselves to be the Lords; that we are dead to the

became an editor of the *Hull Adviser and Gazette Exchange*. Around this time, Ward was baptised and joined the congregation. While at Hull, Ward began to engage in itinerant preaching around the villages. Around Christmas 1796, Ward went to Ewood Hall and began to study under Fawcett’s care. When Ward applied to join the BMS in 1798, the committee organised a formal interview on October 16, 1798, where Ward “was publicly engaged; and Full enquiry having been made into his character principles and qualifications, it was unanimously resolved that Mr. William Ward be accepted as a missionary to this society, and that preparations be made for his going out next spring” (*Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society* 1, no. 6 [1800]: 418–19). On Ward, see Stennett, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Ward*; Matthew Marvin Reynolds, “The Spirituality of William Ward” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2019).

It is interesting to notice that in 1798, David Kinghorn told his son: “I’ve seen a copy of a Letter from W. Ward, who we told you is designed as a missionary to Bengall, He speaking of Mr. R. Hall, who preached at Kettering October 16, at a missionary meeting, says, after hearing Hall, I could not help thinking, If I wee in heaven I should like to sit on some green and flowry mount to hear him preach. I had no Idea of a possibility of receiving greater pleasure. Feat, to as many as received him &c. This corresponds with your Ideas of Hall’s abilities: But I cannot help thinking that he [Ward] has either low thoughts of the happiness of heaven, or else he has exaggerated in his expressions” (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, December 29, 1798, D/KIN 2/1798 no. 970, KPA, 2).

⁹⁷ Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India*, 49.

⁹⁸ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 1.

⁹⁹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 1.

world, and as it were buried from it, and risen again into newness of life. Such a declaration is equal to an oath of allegiance in a soldier.”¹⁰⁰ By comparing baptism to an oath of allegiance, Fuller argued:

To dispense with bap^m as a term of visible communion is to connive at either a total neglect of an ordinance wh. is binding by the authority of Xt to the end of the world, or at a gross corruption of that ordinance; and in many cases at both: for there are great numbers who do not in their conscience believe themselves to be baptised according to the Scriptures, who yet content themselves with what they have. To connive at a known omission of the Will of Xt must be wrong, and render us partakers of other mens sins.¹⁰¹

In practice, “paedobaptism opened the door for the Romist apostasy,” as paedobaptism “first occasioned the fatal mixture” of both believers and unbelievers, and “national establishments of religion compleated [*sic*] it.”¹⁰² Ironically, the practice of open communion was inconsistent on two levels. On the one hand, by accepting paedobaptists at the table, open communionists “will not be able for any continuance, to secure your own principle, that none but ‘real christians’ should be admitted.”¹⁰³ On the other hand, it would be illogical to not open the table to baptised children, as they were “somehow members of the visible church.”¹⁰⁴ Therefore, Fuller insisted that the BMS mission station in Bengal to remain close communion. Though it was said that Ward “considered it his duty not to disturb the harmony of the church and mission” and decided to not initiate a controversy with a senior minister like Fuller, the latter failed to persuade Ward about the terms of communion.¹⁰⁵ Particularly after David Brown (1763–1812), the evangelical Anglican chaplain of the East India Company, permanently moved to

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 4.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 5.

¹⁰² Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 5.

¹⁰³ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 6.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, September 21, 1800, FUL, 6.

¹⁰⁵ Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, 214.

Serampore in 1803, an interest in open communion was revived.¹⁰⁶ Though at the time, the British East India Company opposed missionary activities and Serampore was under Danish control, evangelical Anglican clergy like Brown and Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815), despise their class differences, “aided the Baptists in a number of important ways” for the common cause of “making men Christians.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Brown—who was the provost of Fort William College—began to attend the Baptists’ services with his wife Frances Cowley. Brown then persuaded the Baptist missionaries to drop off the policy of close communion. In May 1805, the open communionists won a vote of majority. Though Carey continued to oppose such a change, later in a joint letter dated August 6, 1805, the missionaries reported that

no one has a right to debar a true Christian from the Lord’s table, nor refuse to communicate with a real Christian in commemorating the death of their common Lord, without being guilty of a breach of the Law of Love, which law is addressed to us as Christians, and not as Baptists or Paedobaptists ... We cannot doubt ... whether a [Isaac] Watts, an [Jonathan] Edwards, a [David] Brainerd, a [Philip] Doddridge, a [George] Whitefield, did right in partaking of the Lord’s Supper, though really unbaptized, or whether they had the presence of God at the Lord’s table?¹⁰⁸

In his response, Fuller paid attention to the whole interest of the mission. On the one hand, he pointed to Carey about his concern over open communion being a hinder

¹⁰⁶ On David Brown, see Charles Simeon, ed., *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown: With a Selection of His Sermons, Preached at Calcutta* (London, 1816); Anonymous, “The Reverend David Brown,” *Bengal Obituary; Or a Record to Perpetuate the Memory of Departed Worth: Being a Compilation of Tablets and Monumental Inscriptuons from Various Parts of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies. To which is added Biographical Sketches and Memoirs of such as have pre-eminently distinguished Themselves in the History of British India, since the Formation of the European Settlement to the Present Time* (London: W. Thacker; Calcutta: St. Andrew’s Library, 1851), 39–40.

¹⁰⁷ On the Danish East India Company, English East India Company, and their religious policies, see Robert Rouiere Pearce, *Memoirs of the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellsley*, 2nd ed. (London: Richard Bentley, 1847); Haig Smith, “‘God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of shem’: The Changing Face of Religious Governance and Religious Sufferance in the East India Company, 1610–1670,” in *The East India Company, 1600–1857: Essays on Anglo-Indian Connection*, ed. William A. Pettigrew and Mahesh Gopalan (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2017), 93–113; Ruchika Sharma, “‘Domesticity’ in Early Colonial Bengal,” in *The East India Company*, 126–38; Daniel O’Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601–1858* (London; New York: Continuum, 2012); Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion, 1698–1858* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2012); Saugata Bhaduri, *Polycoloniality: European Transactions with Bengal from the 13th to the 19th Century* (New Delhi, India: Bloomsbury, 2020). Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India*, 50–51.

¹⁰⁸ As quoted by Potts, “I throw away the guns to preserve the ship,” 116.

for applicants and supports from Scotland.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, Fuller sought ways to restore the original order without breaking their friendship and mutual trust. In his 1806 letter, Fuller informed Ward that he had omitted the latter's comments on open communion in BMS' periodical, as it contradicted to Carey's sermon preached on July 7, 1805.¹¹⁰ Fuller then briefly commented on the consequence of open communion, especially in the mission field, as there would be no need of "public profession from the natives," or "if any of them chuse to defer baptism, will admit them provided they judge their hearts are right to the L^{ds} supper."¹¹¹ Fuller thus asked Ward: "Have you not practically overturned bro^r Carey's sermon? Are you not off Xn growth and wandering in the mazes of carnal reasonings?"¹¹² It is interesting to observe that while remained a close communionist, William Carey told Fuller in his letter of May 15, 1806 about his proposal for a cross-denominational missionary conference at the Cape of Good Hope, about which Carey asked:

Would it not be possible to have a general association of all denominations of Christians, from the four quarters of the world, held there once in about Ten Years? I earnestly recommend this plan, let the first meetings be in the year 1810, or 1812 at furthest. I have no doubt but it would be attended with many important effects; we could understand one another better, and more entirely enter into one anothers views by two hours conversation than by two or three years epistolary correspondence.¹¹³

Fuller did not seem to disapprove Carey's proposal though doubted what could such a conference achieve. Nevertheless, neither Carey nor Fuller seem to be sectarian while advocating the necessity of administering credobaptism prior to the eucharist.

¹⁰⁹ In his letter to Carey, Fuller wrote: "I have at this time a Mr Young at my house, one of the Scotch Tabernacle baptists. He is a candidate for India: but I fear your mixed communion, when he comes to know it, will be a bar" (Andrew Fuller to William Carey, October 31, 1806, FUL, 3).

¹¹⁰ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, November 1, 1806, FUL, 1-2.

¹¹¹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, November 1, 1806, FUL, 2.

¹¹² Andrew Fuller to William Ward, November 1, 1806, FUL, 2.

¹¹³ William Carey to Andrew Fuller, May 15, 1806, as quoted by Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India*, 53.

A year later, the situation at Serampore began to change, as now Marshman began to question open communion.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, Ward still refused “the logic of keeping a person from one duty till he has performed another.”¹¹⁵ For Fuller, Ward’s confusion was the “natural consequence” of giving up “the connexion between Bap[tism] and the L[ord’s] Sup[per], and viewing the former as merely an isolated duty like other duties, which may as well be attended to after the Supper as before it.”¹¹⁶ Fuller then sought to explain the meaning of baptism to Ward, as he argued that baptism was an “initiating ordinance ... into the Catholic or visible kingdom of Xt,” and baptism was “always supposed to be the first act of public submission to Xt.”¹¹⁷ Ward was still not persuaded, as he wrote and published a pamphlet on baptism and open communion in 1807.¹¹⁸ Regarding this pamphlet, Fuller opened his letter in 1809 by asking Ward: “why must you print on Mixed Communion?”¹¹⁹ It seems that Fuller did not wish either to stir controversies among Baptists at home, or to publicly reveal the discords between the

¹¹⁴ Fuller wrote: “I find Bro^r Morris has got a Letter from you on open communion. I have not seen it: but I see the effects of the practice in your Journals. Bro^r Marshman it seems tho’t as Mr Derozio’s family were Baptists in judgement, they shd not be admitted to the Lords Supper till they had been baptized” (Andrew Fuller to William Ward, December 10, 1807, FUL, 2).

¹¹⁵ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, December 10, 1807, FUL, 2.

¹¹⁶ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, December 10, 1807, FUL, 2.

¹¹⁷ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, December 10, 1807, FUL, 2.

¹¹⁸ William Ward, *The Testimony of God: Being Every Syllable in the Bible Respecting the Subjects and Mode of Baptism* (n.p., 1807). Ward’s pamphlet was penned in November 1807, and in its preface, Ward clarified that “The following small treatise has been compiled, not for the sake of perpetuating dispute amongst true Christians, but for the use of those whose prayer, respecting the subject of baptism, may be, ‘Lord! what wilt thou have us to do’” (Ward, *Testimony of God*, [2]). Ward extensively quoted biblical texts in the first four pages and argued for the principle of biblicism, as he ascribed the scripture as the sole source of authority, and stated that “If these testimonies [about baptism], as they plainly lie in the word of God ... I shall never think it worth while to put merely human composition on baptism into any one’s hands” (Ward, *Testimony of God*, 8–9). By explaining the quoted biblical texts and writers in church history, Ward argued for credobaptism by immersion against paedobaptism by sprinkling. Nevertheless, Ward understood paedobaptism as “deficient,” not “erroneous” or “worthless.” Instead, Ward concluded that “The weight of Scripture evidence constrains me to believe, that in the administration of baptism they are mistaken respecting the will of their [paedobaptists’] Lord; nor can I say with some, that this is a trifling or unimportant mistake ... this is but *one* point of His will, and while we agree in so many others, and those of such importance, I cannot but embrace these brethren with the sincerest affection, and cordially unite with them, in every thing that can tend to advance the cause of the Redeemer” (Ward, *Testimony of God*, 18).

¹¹⁹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 1.

missionaries and the headquarter. Thus, as Ward's pamphlet provoked for an answer, Fuller sought to privately respond to Ward's criticisms, by which other missionaries might also be persuaded. For Fuller, the spirit of catholic unity lied at the sharing of one mind with Christ.¹²⁰ Thus, credobaptism does not prevent Christian unity; instead, as an initial sacrament, baptism is required for all to join the "general visible church of Christ."¹²¹ In the same manner, if baptism is "initiatory to the general visible church of Xt," then it should also be considered as "a prerequisite to communion in a particular church."¹²² Thus, by examining biblical texts such as 1 Corinthians 10:2–4, Fuller reaffirmed the substantial connection and order between baptism and communion, as Fuller stated that "There is the same proof that B[aptism] is connected with church communion that there is of Repent[ance] being connected with B[aptism]."¹²³ Regarding Ward's second point, which concerned the law of love, Fuller disagreed with Ward that "strict communion is a sin" since it "violates the law of love."¹²⁴ Instead, Fuller distinguished the subject of love to the love of God and of good men. As for Carey, Fuller, and other close communionists, the love of God "teaches me to regard his precepts more than the best man that lives, yea more than my own soul."¹²⁵ Fuller thus challenged Ward to re-examine his love, if his "love to good men be altogether consistent with the love of God."¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Fuller stated: "The question is not whether the object of Christ be to bring all his people to be one, but whether that object is to be accomplished any otherwise than by bringing them to be of one mind with himself. Nor is it any part of the question whether all the primitive believers were together; for supposing this to denote their union at the L[ord's] S[upper], yet there is the same proof of their having been baptized as of their having believed" (Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 1).

¹²¹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 1.

¹²² Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 1.

¹²³ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 2.

¹²⁴ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 2.

¹²⁵ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 3.

¹²⁶ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 3.

Overall, Fuller believed Ward's practice of open communion had, in reality, made baptism an unnecessary rite, as "at Serampore the young people are told that they 'had just been received into the church and were then to be 'baptized'.'"¹²⁷ Consequently, Ward adopted one of the paedobaptists' fundamental principles, which was "confounding moral obligations with positive institution."¹²⁸ For Fuller, the only two ordinances—or positive institutions—were baptism and the eucharist, which were to be practiced only by and among believers, being their "immediate duty" after conversion.¹²⁹ In other words, these two sacraments are deemed more special than other acts of worship, such as prayer and cooperate singing, as the latter two are not practiced exclusively by and with Christian believers.

Though Fuller failed to persuade Ward, his letter helped Marshman to overturn his position, and subsequently, the mission station returned to close communion. In his letter to Fuller on August 31, 1811, Marshman reported that "the Church of Christ at Serampore has restored its primitive and scriptural purity [*sic*] in point of communion, and I think is not very likely soon to lose it again."¹³⁰ Nevertheless, Marshman told Fuller that though Ward "candidly opposed it, yet w[ould] not break the peace of the church."¹³¹ Though the terms of communion were fixed on the mission field, this private exchange of opinions marked the tension between the two camps. It would only be a matter of time before this controversy would disturb the peace of the Particular Baptists at home.¹³²

¹²⁷ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 3–4.

¹²⁸ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 4.

¹²⁹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, July 16, 1809, FUL, 4.

¹³⁰ Joshua Marshman to Andrew Fuller, August 31, 1811, as quoted by Potts, "I throw away the guns to preserve the ship," 117.

¹³¹ Andrew Fuller to William Ward, October 7, 1811, FUL, 5.

¹³² Back in 1805, William Newman published *Baptism an Indispensable Pre-requisite to Communion at the Lord's Table* (London: James Cundee, 1805), in which he defended close communion and provided reasons for his belief that "unbaptized persons, should be refused admission to the Lord's Table" (Newman, *Baptism an Indispensable Pre-requisite*, [3]). In the advertisement, Newman indicated that "the Baptismal controversy has of late been renewed by the appearance of two pamphlets, and

The First Round (1815–1816)

Hall's *On Terms of Communion*

By the 1810s, it was not a secret that Robert Hall Jr., the celebrated son of Robert Hall Sr. (1728–1791) of Arnesby, began to advocate open communion among friends and in pulpit.¹³³ After his mental breakdown and resignation at St. Andrew's Street Baptist chapel, Cambridge, Hall came to the Harvey Lane congregation in Leicester, and became their pastor by the end of 1806.¹³⁴ With his vision for a united and

therefore, the Baptists, as usual, must act upon the defensive" (Newman, *Baptism an Indispensable Pre-requisite*, [3]). Though Newman did not mention these two pamphlets, they were probably Daniel Merrill's (1765–1833) *Open Communion with All Who Keep the Ordinances as Christ Delivered Them to the Saints. Eight Letters on Open Communion. Addressed to Rufus Anderson, A.M.* (Boston, 1805) and Peter Edwards' (d. 1833) *Baptism. Being an Address to Baptists and Paedobaptists* (Drayton, Somerset, 1805). Depended on Abraham Booth, Newman argued that both sacraments "are the two positive ordinances of the New Testament œconomy," which Christians are obliged to follow (Newman, *Baptism an Indispensable Pre-requisite*, 5). Newman understood such a proposition fundamentally challenged open communionists' presupposition, which "is grounded either upon ignorance of the true nature of positive institutions, or proceeds from inadvertency and inattention to their import and authority" (Newman, *Baptism an Indispensable Pre-requisite*, 7).

Newman's response reveals the tension among Baptists, especially regarding their understanding of the effect and meaning of credobaptism when paedobaptists began to question their distinction. However, neither Merrill (an American Baptist minister) nor Edwards (an Independent) responded to Newman, and the influence of Newman's pamphlet was limited. According to Simon Wilkin's catalogue, Kinghorn owned a copy of Newman's *Baptism an Indispensable Pre-requisite* (Wilkin, ed., *Catalogue*, 54), and Kinghorn did not own a copy of Edwards' *Baptism*. On Merrill and the baptismal controversy, see Ronald S. Baines, "Separating God's Two Kingdoms: Regular Baptists in Maine, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, 1780 to 1815" (PhD diss., University of Maine, 2020), 208–58.

¹³³ See Olinthus Gregory, *A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Robert Hall*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 6:102–3. Gregory stated: "For several years ... Mr. Hall's thoughts were greatly occupied upon the subject of 'Terms of Communion.' His first publication in reference to it appeared in 1815: but they who were admitted to his intimacy will recollect how often, three or four years before its appearance, he advocated a cautious revision of the practice of nearly all churches; and how successfully he refuted the arguments of those who favoured any narrow system of exclusion. He regarded the existence of a principle which made so many churches points of repulsion instead of centres of union, as a very serious evil; and often deplored it in language similar to that which commences his first production on the subject" (Gregory, *Brief Memoir*, 6:102).

¹³⁴ On Robert Hall Jr., see Gregory, *Brief Memoir*, 6:3–226; J. M. Chandler, *An Authentic Account of the Last Illness and Death of the Late Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. in a Letter to the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M.* (Bristol: J. G. Fuller, 1831); John Greene, *Reminiscences of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. Late of Bristol, and Sketches of His Sermons Preached at Cambridge Prior to 1806* (London: Westley and Davis, 1832); J. P. Mursell, *Robert Hall: His Genius and His Writings* (London: Arthur Hall and Co., 1854); J. W. Morris, *Biographical Recollections of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.* (London: George Wightman, 1833); E. Paxton Hood, *Robert Hall* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881); William Landels, *Baptist Worthies: A Series of Sketches of Distinguished Men Who Have Held and Advocated the Principles of the Baptist Denomination* (London: Baptist Tract and Book Society, 1883), 197–231; [Robert Hall Warren,] *The Hall Family* (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1910); George Jeter Griffin, "Robert Hall, 1764–1831, a Study of His Thoughts and Work" (PhD diss., Edinburgh University, 1948); Angus Hamilton MacLeod, "The Life and Teaching of Robert Hall, 1764–1831" (PhD diss., Durham University, 1958); Timothy Whelan, "'I am the Greatest of Prophets': A New Look at Robert Hall's Mental Breakdown, November 1804," *BQ* 42, no.

catholic Baptist denomination, and disagreement with Robert Robinson's brief response to Abraham Booth, Hall published *On Terms of Communion* around July 1, 1815.¹³⁵ Due to Hall's reputation and oratory ability, *On Terms of Communion* was soon sold out, and readers across the Atlantic demanded its reprint. Thus, as the *Baptist Magazine* announced, Hall prepared the second edition in September 1815, and later in November of the same year, this highly demanded second edition was published in both Leicester and London.¹³⁶ In the following years, Hall's *On Terms of Communion* became a bestseller, as it underwent two more editions (1816 and 1820) in England and a few more in the United States.¹³⁷ As Hall told Ryland, prior to its publication, "it is written, I hope in a Xⁿ spirit and is calculate to do good, rather it on harm."¹³⁸ Since Hall was convinced that "The strict communion is not a greater error than paedobaptism," it seemed necessary for him to use this book to preserve truth and "heal the breaches among

2 (2007): 114–26.

¹³⁵ Robert Hall Jr., *On Terms of Communion; with a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Paedobaptists* (Leicester, 1815). Many scholars mistook the date of its first publication. For instance, MacLeod believed that Hall published his *On Terms of Communion* in the autumn of 1815 (MacLeod, "The Life and Teaching of Robert Hall," 290). Others, such as Peter Naylor, had mistakenly used its first American edition and argued that Hall entered the controversy in 1816 (Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists*, 128). It is significant to recognise the date of publication of the first edition of Hall's *On Terms of Communion*, as it helps to understand why William Newman published Andrew Fuller's manuscript on the same subject, though it seems to be against the latter's initial will. In Hall's letter to John Ryland Jr., dated June 17, 1815, the Leicester pastor told his friend after discussing the potential successor of the late Andrew Fuller at the BMS: "My mixed communion will I trust be about in about fortnight" (Robert Hall Jr. to John Ryland Jr., June 17, 1815, DA20/1/1, Papers of R. Hall [Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Birmingham], 3). In Geoffrey F. Nuttall's comment, he recognised "my mixed communion" is Hall's *On Terms of Communion* (Nuttall, "Letters from Robert Hall to John Ryland 1791–1824," *BQ* 34, no. 3 [1991]: 129). Thus, as a fortnight equals two weeks, Hall's *On Terms of Communion* was probably printed and made available in the market around July 1, 1815.

¹³⁶ "Literary Intelligence. Preparing for Publications," *BM* 7 (September 1815): 389; "Literary Intelligence. Religious Books recently published," *BM* (November 1815): 432.

¹³⁷ The first American edition was based on the third England edition, and was published in Philadelphia: Hall, *On Terms of Communion: With a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Paedobaptists ... First American (from the Third English) Edition* (Philadelphia: Anthony Finley, 1816). In the same year, a Boston edition was published under the same title and based on the third English edition (Robert Hall, *On Terms of Communion; with a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Paedobaptists* [Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1816]).

¹³⁸ Robert Hall Jr. to John Ryland Jr., June 17, 1815, DA20/1/1, Papers of R. Hall (Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Birmingham), 3.

Christians.”¹³⁹

Though Abraham Booth had been dead for almost ten years when Hall penned his response, due to the comprehensiveness of Booth’s defence of close communion, Hall saw Booth and his fellow close communionists—such as Andrew Fuller, who passed away two months ago before its publication—departed from the primitive principle, which understood salvation as the only “indispensable condition of communion.”¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile, though Robert Robinson had responded to Booth, Hall understood that Robinson rested on “principles more lax and latitudinarian,” with which Robinson only appealed for toleration, rather than to “the distinction of fundamentals.”¹⁴¹ Thus, Hall believed that Robinson failed to specifically point out the errors of the close communionists, which are evincing “an inattention to some of the most important injunctions of scripture,” and to raise up “an invincible barrier to the propagation of their sentiments beyond the precincts of their own party.”¹⁴² In other words, Hall accused the close communionists being guilty of schism and sectarianism.

For Hall, the church could be simply understood as a “religious appellation,” which “occurs in two senses only”—“it either denotes the whole body of the faith, or

¹³⁹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:8.

¹⁴⁰ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:4. In the following page, Hall stated that he “can assure his readers, that none entertained a higher veneration for Mr. Fuller than himself, notwithstanding their difference of sentiment on this subject; and that, when he entered on this discussion, it was with the Fullest expectation of having his opposition to encounter. At that time his state of health, though not good, was such as suggested a hope that the event was very distant which we all deplore” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:5). Later, Hall stated that Fuller’s “attachment to [close communion] was not very strong, nor his conviction probably very powerful. Be this as it may, his sanction of the practice of exclusive communion, has no doubted contributed in no small degree to recommend it to the denomination of which he was so distinguished an ornament. They who are the first to disclaim human authority in the affairs of religion, are not always least susceptible of its influence” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:6–7). In a way, though Hall quoted Booth in his *On Terms of Communion*, the work seemed to be primarily a response to Andrew Fuller’s ecclesiology (See, for instance, Anonymous, “Article I. *On Terms of Communion* ... Art. 2. *The Admission of unbaptized Persons* ... Art. 3. *A Plea for primitive communion* ... Art. 4. *The essential difference* ... Art. 5. *The Decision of a general Congress* ... Art. 6. *Baptism a Term of Communion* ...,” *The New Evangelical Magazine, and Theological Review* 2 [April 1816]: 111–12).

¹⁴¹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:7.

¹⁴² Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:4.

some one assembly of Christians associated for the worship of God.”¹⁴³ By denying the notion of national churches, Hall emphasised the spiritual or catholic church, which “comprehends all genuine Christians without exception.”¹⁴⁴ As the body of Christ, this “universal church is nothing more than the collective body of the faithful, and differs only from a particular assembly of Christians, as the whole from a part, it is equally impossible to deny that a pædobaptist society is, in the more limited import of the word, a true church.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, by emphasising Christian unity, the spiritual essence of the mystical body, the “bond of charity,” and “a communion in spirit,” Hall denied the concept of *permixta ecclesia* and obfuscated the distinction between the empirical and spiritual churches.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in the same manner, Hall understood the eucharist as a token of communion among “spiritual consanguinity,” which was instructed in the New Testament as “the spiritual participation of the body and blood of Christ.”¹⁴⁷ Later in the treatise, Hall explicitly pointed out that the two-fold import of the eucharist were:

First a feast upon a sacrifice, in which we are actual partakers by faith of the body and blood of the Redeemer offered upon the cross. Considered in this view, it is a federal rite, in which we receive the pledge of reconciliation, while we avouch the Lord to be our God, and surround his table as a part of his family. In its secondary import, it is intended as a solemn recognition of each other as members of Christ, and consequently, in the language of St. Paul, “as one body, and one bread” ... with its import as a social act, or an act of communion, it implies neither more nor less than a recognition of their claim to that title.¹⁴⁸

For Hall, the communion of saints was a spiritual reality, which could be achieved by genuine Christians through various means such as prayer and the eucharist. By disqualifying the eucharist as a special rite, Hall accused the close communionists to set

¹⁴³ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:106.

¹⁴⁴ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:107.

¹⁴⁵ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:107.

¹⁴⁶ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:9–11.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:13. In a footnote, Hall particularly referred to 1 Corinthians 10:16 as a proof for his point.

¹⁴⁸ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:87–88.

up “the line of demarcation, the impassable barrier, to separate and disjoin the followers of Christ.”¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, Hall argued:

He who admits his fellow-christian to share in every other spiritual privilege, while he prohibits his approach to the Lord’s table, entertains a view of that institution diametrically opposite to what has usually prevailed; he must consider it, not so much in the light of commemoration of his Saviour’s death and passion, as a religious test, designed to ascertain and establish an agreement in points not fundamental. According to this notion of it, it is no longer a symbol of our common Christianity, it is the badge and criterion of a party, a mark of discrimination applied to distinguish the nicer shades of difference among Christians.¹⁵⁰

Hall then distinguished John’s baptism and Christian baptism, by which he argued that when Jesus instituted the eucharist before his crucifixion, those who participated were not baptised by a Christian standard.¹⁵¹ Thus, Hall denied credobaptism as “an indispensable prerequisite to the Lord’s table.”¹⁵²

After explaining his thesis, Hall divided his book into two subsections, where he first examined close-communication claims and propositions, and then provided positive justifications for open communion. Hall thus began by pointing out that the close communionists had established their claims of the order of the sacraments’ institutions upon two false assumptions. First, it was assumed that there was an undeniable fact that “the priority in point of time of the institution of Christian baptism, to that of the Lord’s supper.”¹⁵³ In addition, the second assumption was to identify “John’s baptism with that of our Lord.”¹⁵⁴ For Hall, the first assumption is a logical consequence of the second. Thus, by proving the qualitative distinction between John’s and Christ’s baptisms, those arguments that were built upon the first assumption would also collapse. In other words,

¹⁴⁹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:14.

¹⁵⁰ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:14–15.

¹⁵¹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:20.

¹⁵² Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:16.

¹⁵³ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:20.

¹⁵⁴ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:20.

since “the eucharist was appointed and celebrated before Christian baptism existed,” the close communionists’ appeal to an undeniably substantial order of the sacraments doomed to be false.¹⁵⁵ Hall then provided reasons for his claim arguing that John’s baptism was a distinct institution. First, Hall pointed out that these baptisms had different origins, as Christian baptism came from Christ’s “express command,” but John’s came from the Father.¹⁵⁶ Second, whereas John’s was a baptism of repentance, Christian baptism required its candidate the profession of “an historical faith, a belief in a certain individual.”¹⁵⁷ The third difference was Christian baptism’s requirement of being administered in the name of Jesus.¹⁵⁸ Here, Hall appealed to the “messianic secret” in John 10:24–25, and argued that Jesus “had not ... publicly and explicitly affirmed himself to be the Messiah” until a later time; thus, Hall stated that “if we suppose John to baptize in [Jesus’] name, we must suppose what is equivalent to an explicit declaration of his being the Messiah.”¹⁵⁹ For the fourth reason, Hall pointed out the different effects of

¹⁵⁵ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:20.

¹⁵⁶ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:21.

¹⁵⁷ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:22. Moreover, Hall argued that this faith “required by the apostles included a persuasion of all the miraculous facts which they attested, comprehending the preternatural conception, the deity, incarnation and atonement, the miracles, the death, and resurrection of the Lord Jesus. In the one, was contained a general expectation of the speedy appearance of an illustrious person under the character of the Messiah; in the other, an explicit declaration that Jesus of Nazareth, whose life and death are recorded in the evangelists, was the identical person” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:23).

¹⁵⁸ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:24.

¹⁵⁹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:26, 27. The term “messianic secret” was not used until the publication of William Wrede’s (1859–1906) *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* in 1901, which was subsequently translated by J. C. G. Greig into English in 1971 and published as *The Messianic Secret* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1971). Wrede argued that the title “messiah” was only attributed to Jesus after his death by his disciples, as Jesus never self-claimed the title in his life. For Wrede, the “messianic secret” is a “crucial idea, the underlying point of Mark’s entire approach” (Wrede, *Messianic Secret*, 68). Recent scholarship has challenged Wrede’s thesis, for instance, see David F. Watson, “The ‘Messianic Secret’: Demythologizing a Non-Existent Markan Theme,” *Journal of Theology* 110 (2006): 33–44; James D. G. Dunn, “The Messianic Secret in Mark,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 21 (1970): 92–117; Steven Weitzman, “He That Cometh Out: On How to Disclose a Messianic Secret,” in *Rethinking the Messianic Idea in Judaism*, ed. Michael L. Morgan and Steven Weitzman (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2015), 63–92; Michael F. Bird, *Are You the One Who Is to Come? The Historical Jesus and the Messianic Question* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2009). However, the term “messianic secret” is being used here without any association with Wrede and his thesis. Instead, the term is used to summarise a major thesis employed by Robert Hall in his distinction of John’s and Christian baptisms, which is specifically based on his observation of Jesus’ command to not make his name known

these two baptisms, as John's baptism was "a mere immersion in water," or "naked ceremony," without "comprehending the remission of sins, or the donation of the Spirit."¹⁶⁰ Though Hall rejected the concept of paedobaptismal regeneration, he believed that it was the New Testament pattern that the baptism of the Holy Spirit effused with water baptism under the Christian economy.¹⁶¹ In light of the different effects, Hall then used the Ephesian believers' rebaptism (Acts 19:5) as his fifth reason to distinguish the two baptisms. Lastly, Hall pointed out the different receptions of these baptisms, whereas John's baptism was celebrated by the Jews, Jesus' and his apostles' were less welcomed. Therefore, Hall concluded that John's baptism belonged to the old economy for mere repentance, and Christ established the Christian baptism as a rite for the new economy, only after the day of Pentecost.¹⁶² Hall, thus summarised, as John's baptism symbolised "a peculiar dispensation, which was neither entirely legal nor evangelical, but occupied an intermediate station," the Pentecost after Christ's ascension marked a distinctive dispensation, in which "our Lord incorporated the same rite into his religion, newly modified, and adapted to the peculiar views and objects of the Christian economy, in conjunction with another positive institution, the rudiments of which are perceptible in

until later in his earthly ministry.

¹⁶⁰ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:28–29, 31.

¹⁶¹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:29, 31, 74–78, 144–45. On Hall's view of baptism, see Stanley K. Fowler, *More Than a Symbol: The British Baptist Recovery of Baptismal Sacramentalism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002), 59–63; Anthony R. Cross, "Dispelling the Myth of England Baptist Baptismal Sacramentalism," *BQ* 38, no. 8 (2000): 367–91.

Regarding Baptists' view of baptismal regeneration, Fowler argued that "Early Baptist authors consistently argued against any kind of sacramentalism which posits an automatic bestowal of grace through baptism, but they did not deny that baptism has an instrumental function in the application of redemption. It is crucial to note that Baptist refutation of baptismal regeneration were almost always stated in reference to infant baptism. The point which they insisted on is that regeneration is always connected to active faith in the recipient, so that it is meaningless to speak of the regeneration of passive infants by baptism or any other means. Therefore, Baptist protests against baptismal regeneration did not necessarily deny that baptism is instrumental in some way in the experience of spiritual rebirth by confession believers" (Fowler, *More Than a Symbol*, 31–32).

¹⁶² Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:38–39.

the passover.”¹⁶³ Therefore, chronologically, “Baptism, considered as a Christian institution, had no existence during the personal ministry of our Saviour ... [and] ... the original communicants at the Lord’s table, at the time they partook of it, were, with respect to Christian baptism, precisely in the same situation with the persons they exclude.”¹⁶⁴ Intriguingly, Hall inconsistently assumed that the seder that Jesus and his disciples shared before the former’s arrest was identical to post-Pentecost Christian eucharist. Thus, for Hall, Pentecost as a dispensational marker, was only applicable to baptism, but not to the eucharist.¹⁶⁵

Regarding the close communionists’ claim that baptism was mentioned in the “great commission” (Matt 28:18–20) with a specific order—after μαθητεύω and before διδάσκω—Hall insisted that the two sacraments were “independently obligatory.”¹⁶⁶ Since the eucharist was not mentioned in the “great commission,” the close communionists’ claim of word orders was merely based on a false syllogism and “fanciful analogies.”¹⁶⁷ As baptism and the eucharist were not the equivalence of circumcision and the Passover seder in the new economy, Hall argued that “The communion has no retrospective reference to baptism, nor is baptism an anticipation of communion.”¹⁶⁸ Moreover, these two rites were “enjoined at different times, and

¹⁶³ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:40, 41.

¹⁶⁴ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:43. Here, Hall assumed that all Christ’s disciples received John’s baptism, as the New Testament did not explicitly indicate that they received baptism from Jesus. Hall thus pointed out that “my deliberate opinion is, that, in the Christian sense of the term [baptism], [the apostles] were not baptized at all” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:41).

¹⁶⁵ For instance, Hall argued that “the day of Pentecost changed the scene, the power of the ascended Saviour began to be developed ... it is manifest from the whole tenour of the Acts, that the baptismal rite was universally administered to the converts to christianity subsequent to the day of Pentecost” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:38, 39).

¹⁶⁶ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:50.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:51.

¹⁶⁸ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:51.

appointed for different purposes.”¹⁶⁹

Furthermore, in response to the close communionists’ appeal to the apostolic tradition, Hall explained the mechanic of his reasoning: to deny any dependency patterns between the two sacraments, and to reject any notion of “authoritative precedent” of the apostolic age.¹⁷⁰ Specifically, regarding the latter point, Hall argued from a legal perspective and stated that “nothing is of the nature of law but what emanates from the will of the legislator.”¹⁷¹ In other words, it seems that Hall challenged the legal doctrine of *stare decisis* and questioned its motivation.¹⁷² For Hall, there are “two guides in religion, reason and authority, and every man must form his belief, either by following the light of his own mind, or the information and instruction he derives from others.”¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:51.

¹⁷⁰ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:56.

¹⁷¹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:56.

¹⁷² *Stare decisis* (“let the decision stand”), or the principle of precedent is a legal principle in the common law system, which ensured judges to uphold consistent legal rulings, as it requires “the judges in a later case to follow decisions in analogous situations in previous cases” (David Ibbetson, “Precedents—Doctrine of Precedent,” in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History*, ed. Stanley N. Katz [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 377). Though the doctrine had occurred since the Middle Ages, *stare decisis* only became a binding doctrine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, “as the law grew and diversified, the need for stability and certainty became more pressing” (Ayelet Ben-Yishai, *Common Precedents: The Presentness of the Past in Victorian Law and Fiction* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 33). Particularly in England, William Murray, Lord Mansfield (1705–1793) advocated the doctrine of *stare decisis*. For Lord Mansfield, “precedents serve to illustrate principles,” (*Jones v. Randall* [1774], Cowp. 37 at 39, 98 E.R. 954 at 955). Thus, Lord Mansfield understood that the court ought to stay true to previous decisions, and the way to change the settled law is through parliamentary legislation. For instance, see Lord Mansfield’s judgment in *Bishop of London v. Ffytche* (1783), where he stated that “if there be only grounds to suspect such practices [i.e. simony], a bill may be filed for a discovery; and it was admitted that, when such illegal facts are alleged and proved, such a bond cannot be enforced in a court of justice. But the courts of justice never interfere upon possibilities; they never interfere but when such abuse appears, and it specified and alleged in the pleadings, in order to be proved if denied” (*Bishop of London v. Ffytche* [1783], in *The English Reports Volume 1 House of Lords* [Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1900], 896). Also see Thomas R. Lee, “Stare Decisis in Historical Perspective: From the Founding Era to the Rehnquist Court,” *Vanderbilt Law Review* 52, no. 3 (1999): 648–735; Edward B. Whitney, “The Doctrine of Stare Decisis,” *Michigan Law Review* 3, no. 2 (1904): 89–107; Ian Williams, “Early-Modern Judges and the Practice of Precedent,” in *Judges and Judging in the History of the Common Law and Civil Law: From Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Paul Brand and Joshua Getzler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 51–66; Stephen Waddams, “Authority, Precedent, and Principle,” *The University of Toronto Law Journal* 59, no. 1 (2009): 127–33; Charles J. Reid Jr., “Judicial Precedent in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: A Commentary on Chancellor Kent’s *Commentaries*,” *Ava Maria Law Review* 5, no. 1 (2007): 47–112; Frederick G. Kempin Jr., “Precedent and Stare Decisis: The Critical Years, 1800 to 1850,” *The American Journal of Legal History* 3, no. 1 (1959): 28–54. Also see Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:60–61.

¹⁷³ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:58.

While understanding the significance of obeying to authority, Hall questioned its source.¹⁷⁴ Explicitly, the only authority in Christian practice is not the apostolic precedent but “on account of [one’s] evincing a spirit totally repugnant to the mind of Christ.”¹⁷⁵ In other words, Hall recapitulated John Bunyan’s (1628–1688) emphasis of spirit over form and connected it with the freedom of conscience, as genuine faith is the “only authority ... for the direction of conscience, and the termination of doubts and controversies.”¹⁷⁶ Thus, Hall rhetorically distinguished the close and open communionists as “their conformity is to the letter, ours to the spirit; theirs circumstantial and incidental, ours radical and essential.”¹⁷⁷ Since paedobaptists are genuine Christians with “actual possession of spiritual life, in consequence of their union to the Head of the church,” they

¹⁷⁴ Hall distinguished reason and authority as two polarised epistemologies. Nevertheless, at the core, Hall embraced Lockean empiricism and viewed reason as an essential human faculty. In her study of William Blake (1757–1827), Jennifer Jesse provides three categories of communities in light of their understanding of reason and religion, who are those who viewed reason as definitive, destructive, or redemptive of religion. The first category include Deists (such as William Paley [1743–1805], Thomas Paine [1737–1809], and François Marie Arouet Voltaire [1694–1778]), who advocated natural religion by rejecting the necessity of supernatural revelation, and theologians of the Established Church (such as Joseph Butler [1692–1752], Richard Watson [1737–1816], and Samuel Johnson [1709–1784]), who “emphasized ethical precepts over matters of doctrine, ecclesiastical organization, or liturgical practice,” and “preached a prudential morality based on the principles of reason” (Jennifer Jesse, *William Blake’s Religious Vision: There’s a Methodism in His Madness* [Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2013], 38). The second group, who viewed reason as destructive of religion, has been identified as the religious radicals, such as Richard Brothers (1757–1824), Joanna Southcott (1750–1814), the household of Faith, remnants of the Ranters, Seekers, Muggletonians, and other sects. These groups rejected reason, as “the heart of radical religion was its repudiation of that which sanctioned the establishment’s power and authority” (Jesse, *William Blake’s Religious Vision*, 40–41). Thus, reason has been understood as the beast to vanquish “in order to restore the true faith given by God to their prophets” (Jesse, *William Blake’s Religious Vision*, 41). The third group understands reason as redemptive of religion, who are identified as evangelicals such as John Wesley (1703–1791), George Whitefield (1714–1770), some Congregationalists, Baptists, and evangelical Anglicans. As *via media*, they neither rejected nor endowed reason; instead, they brought “passion and conviction back into religion by appealing not to historical and objective evidences ... but to the internal witness of faith” (Jesse, *William Blake’s Religious Vision*, 41). Thus, Christian belief “relied not only on the assent of reason, but on an even surer foundation, the inner testimony of the heart ... They acknowledged what they understood to be the legitimate prerogatives of reason, but only as grounded in and informed by personal experience of divine revelation. They emphasized spiritual renewal, studying the scriptures, and dedicating one’s life to Christian service” (Jesse, *William Blake’s Religious Vision*, 41). Hall stands in the tradition of the last category, as he understood the importance of both reason and faith. Later in his *On Terms of Communion*, Hall accused his opponents of interposing their position “by authority, instead of reason, where authority can avail nothing, and reason is all in all” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:127).

¹⁷⁵ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:59.

¹⁷⁶ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:59.

¹⁷⁷ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:61.

are entitled to the “Christian privilege” of sharing the eucharist, which is not “a mere commemoration,” but “a federal rite in which, in token of our reconciliation with God, we eat and drink in his presence.”¹⁷⁸ Hall pointed out that the dispute concerns not the authority but the “legitimate interpretation” of the scriptures.¹⁷⁹ Different from Bunyan, Hall believed the only difference he has is that the open communionists “have fellowship, in another ordinance, with those members of the body of Christ whom [the close communionists] reject,” while both parties believed the legitimacy of credobaptism.¹⁸⁰

Thus, in the second part, Hall accused the close communionists being guilty of intolerance and schism.¹⁸¹ For Hall, his opponents erroneously sought to preserve the purity of Christian worship by avoiding “an active cooperation” with paedobaptists.¹⁸² Furthermore, by enforcing uniformity, they violated the freedom of conscience and attacked on “the liberty of others.”¹⁸³ By discriminating paedobaptism, the close communionists denied the freedom of conscience through the means of authority, not reason, and sanctioned “the improper conduct of the parties with whom we unite.”¹⁸⁴ Applying 1 Cor 1:13, Hall argued that ecclesiastical solecism as a divine precedent ought to be exercised in the church, as “those whom [Christ] forms and actuates by his Spirit, and admits to communion with himself, are sufficiently qualified for the communion of morals.”¹⁸⁵ Based on his view of the church, Hall then advocated for the plurality of

¹⁷⁸ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:63–64.

¹⁷⁹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:69.

¹⁸⁰ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:67.

¹⁸¹ Hall defined schism as “a causeless and unnecessary separation from the church of Christ, or from any part of it; and that secession cannot urge the plea of necessity, where no concurrence in what is deemed evil, no approbation of error or superstition, is involved in communion” (Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:109).

¹⁸² Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:109–10.

¹⁸³ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:110, 111, 134–35.

¹⁸⁴ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:127, 128–33.

¹⁸⁵ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:114.

baptisms within the church according to individual freedom of conscience.¹⁸⁶ Close communionists, thus, should forbear “every diversity of judgment, not incompatible with salvation,” with “the exercise of free inquiry.”¹⁸⁷ On the contrary, close communion exacerbated sectarianism and became “an impassable barrier” between Baptists and other Christians, preventing unity and collaboration.¹⁸⁸ Like William Hogarth’s (1697–1764) prints “Beer Street” and “Gin Lane” (1751), Hall compared the open and close communion congregations, by describing the former as

The attendance ... are not of our sentiments, meeting with no discouragement, is often extensive; baptists and pædobaptists, by participating in the same privileges, become closely united in the ties of friendship; of which the effect is uniformly found to be a perpetual increase in the number of the former, compared to the latter, till in some societies, the opposite sentiments have nearly subsided and disappeared.¹⁸⁹

In contrast, the close communion congregation is described as:

Almost entirely composed of persons of our own persuasion, who are so far from requiring an additional stimulus, that it is much oftener necessary to restrain than to excite their ardour; while the only description of persons could be possibly benefited by instruction are out of its reach; compelled by this intolerant practice to join societies, where they will hear nothing but what is adapted to confirm them in their ancient prejudices.¹⁹⁰

With images like these, Hall’s advocacy for open communion was celebrated, especially among the Socinians, as reviewers across the Atlantic praised Hall’s *On Terms of Communion*.¹⁹¹ One reviewer concluded that “The whole Treatise bears the stamp of the

¹⁸⁶ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:125–35.

¹⁸⁷ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:135, 150.

¹⁸⁸ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:161, 162.

¹⁸⁹ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:162. On Hogarth’s prints, see Samuel Felton, *An Explanation of Several of Mr. Hogarth’s Prints* (London, 1785), 65–70. These prints were created in support of the Gin Act (1751).

¹⁹⁰ Hall, *On Terms of Communion*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:162.

¹⁹¹ For instance, in the Independent minister Robert Winter’s (1762–1833) sermon to the congregation at John Yockney’s (1790–1852) ordination in November 1815, while urging Yockney to uphold diverse views in “form, order, [and] discipline” in the church, Winter commented later in the published sermon that “The author cannot but avail himself of this opportunity, to express the high satisfaction, with which he has read—‘Thoughts on Terms of Communion, by Robert Hall, A.M.’ as an appeal to Anti-pædobaptists it primarily relates to their denomination; although, even in this view, every enlightened and liberal Christian, whatever are his views of baptism, must rejoice to witness so vigorous an

mind from which it has emanated, and we earnestly hope that its efficacy will be more extensive, in introducing right notions of Christian Communion, than his most sanguine hopes anticipate.”¹⁹² Furthermore, for his American readers, Hall’s treatise brought the “light of the sun of righteousness, or the sun of peace” upon the “tribunals” and “inquisition” of close communion, as the reviewer rejoiced that “the reign of darkness is drawing to a close.”¹⁹³ Curiously, Hall’s witty rhetoric brought a derisive tone into the debate, as *On Terms of Communion* exuberated later open communionists to negligently label their opponents as “bigots.”¹⁹⁴

Andrew Fuller, George Pritchard’s *Plea*

& Hall’s Response

Within a month of the publication of Hall’s *On Terms of Communion*, William

effort to break down walls of separation, which Christ never raised. But the aspect and influence of the book are adapted to extend far beyond the limits of one denomination. For if the principles of Mr. Hall be just, then *every* obstacle to communion among those who are united in the great essentials of Christianity, is as unscriptural as that particular limitation to which his thoughts are chiefly directed” (Robert Winter, *A Sermon*, in *Discourses Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. John Yockney, to the Pastoral Office, at Lower Street, Islington, November, 1815* [London: Josiah Conder, 1816], 95).

¹⁹² “Art. III. *On the Terms of Communion*, with a particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Pædobaptists. By Robert Hall, M.A. 8vo. pp. 198. Price 5s. Button and Son. 1815,” *Eclectic Review* 4 (October 1815): 354.

¹⁹³ “Notice of a Pamphlet ‘On the Terms of Communion’—By Rev. Robert Hall,” *Christian Disciple* 4, no. 6 (June 1816): 183, 187. Notice that the *Christian Disciple* was a Socinian periodical (see Frank Luther Mott, “The *Christian Disciple* and the *Christian Examiner*,” *New England Quarterly* 1, no. 2 [1928]: 197–207).

¹⁹⁴ On bigotry, G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936) commented on March 7, 1925 that “the homeless intellectualism of an unhappy age often uses the terms [bigot and fanatic] for anybody who is sure that he is right and other people are wrong” (Chesterton, *The Illustrated London News 1923–1925*, ed. Lawrence J. Clipper, The Collected Works of G. K. Chesterton [San Francisco, CA: Ignatius, 1990], 33:315). For instance, in Andrew Gunton Fuller’s (1799–1884) memoir of his father, commented on Andrew Fuller’s posthumous tract on close communion, the son wrote: “this publication, though not without marks of that shrewd and penetrating judgment which distinguished his controversial writings, is not remarkable for the most conclusive reasoning; and though it were too much to admit the justice of Mr. [Robert] Hall’s insinuation, that his mind was not fully made up on the subject, there is perhaps reason to suppose that a more ample discussion would have effected a considerable alterations in his views. The charge of bigotry, however, made against him, and others cherishing the same sentiments on this subject, says little for the understanding or charity of those who prefer it. True charity will never require the surrender of a man’s principles as an evidence of his candour; and happy they who have learned that an honest refusal to unite in the partial use of some minor tokens of affection may consist with the exercise of the tenderest feelings of Christian love” (Andrew Gunton Fuller, *Memoir*, in *The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, ed. Joseph Belcher [Reprint, Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle, 1988], 1:100).

Newman (1773–1835) published Andrew Fuller’s letter as a response.¹⁹⁵ As Newman wrote on July 25, 1815, Fuller entrusted his manuscript to Newman in a parcel sent on January 16, 1814, and instructed Newman that he desired “none to see it but yourself, and that no mention be made of it. If any thing be written on the other side, it may, if thought proper, be printed, but not else.”¹⁹⁶ In Fuller’s posthumous response, the Kettering minister addressed two questions related to open communion, which are the connection between the two sacraments, and Christian forbearance.¹⁹⁷ Similar to William Kiffen (1616–1701) and Abraham Booth, Fuller believed that credobaptism is the “initiatory ordinance of Christianity” into “the body of professing Christians,” instead of “a particular church.”¹⁹⁸ Thus, it must “belong to the Church to judge whether the candidate

¹⁹⁵ Andrew Fuller, *The Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, Inconsistent with the New Testament. A Letter to a Friend, (in 1814)* (London: H. Teape, 1815).

¹⁹⁶ Fuller, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper*, [2–3]. For an annotated edition, see Michael A. G. Haykin, ed., “The Admission of unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, inconsistent with the New Testament,” *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 17, no. 2 (2013): 68–76. In his final response to Hall, Kinghorn recalled his conversations with Fuller: “During about the last twelve months of [Fuller’s] life, [Kinghorn] met him in different places four times, and they had much free conversations on various topics. On one of these occasions the subject of communion was brought forward, when Mr. Fuller said he had written a pamphlet upon it, which lay by him in manuscript. He was asked if he would not publish it? He replied, ‘No; it would throw our churches into a flame.’—he evidently seemed to think, that while they were at peace it was not right to disturb them. I then asked him if he would permit me to see his manuscript? To this he consented, on the condition that it should not be shewn to other persons. A promise was given, and the manuscript sent. After it was returned I saw him again, and told him I had taken a copy in shorthand, but added, it should be destroyed if he did not like that it should remain; but he freely permitted me to preserve it. In the course of conversation on the subject, nothing occurred that left the most distant suspicion that he was not satisfied with the truth of what he pleaded for in his pamphlet; the impression left by his conversation was altogether of the opposite kind; and it was very surprising that any one should suspect him, who has any acquaintance with his character, and who has read only the first sentence of his work” (Joseph Kinghorn, *Arguments against the Practice of Mixed Communion, and in Support of Communion on the Plan of the Apostolic Church; With Preliminary Observations on Rev. R. Hall’s Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion* [London: Wightman and Cram; Norwich: S. Wilkin, 1827], 23–24). According to Wilkin’s catalogue, Kinghorn owned a copy of Fuller’s *Admission of Unbaptized Persons with his Open Communion Unscriptural; A Letter from the Late Rev. A. Fuller, of Kettering, (Dated Sept. 21, 1800) to the Rev. W. Ward, Missionary at Serampore* (London, 1817). See Wilkin, ed., *Catalogue*, 54.

¹⁹⁷ Fuller, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper*, 9; Haykin, ed., “The Admission of unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, inconsistent with the New Testament,” 70.

¹⁹⁸ Fuller, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper*, 16; Haykin, ed., “The Admission of unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, inconsistent with the New Testament,” 72. Here Fuller used Kiffen’s metaphor to compare baptism with a soldier’s oath of allegiance. Fuller argued that “Baptism is that divine ordinance by which we are said to put on Christ, as the king’s livery is put on by those who enter his service ... To admit a person into a Christian church without it were equal to admitting one into regiment who scrupled to wear the soldier’s uniform, or to take the oath of allegiance” (Fuller, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper*, 16–17; Haykin, ed., “The Admission of unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, inconsistent with the New Testament,” 72). See William Kiffen, *A Sober*

has been baptized or not” before participating the eucharist, which is a Christian ordinance.¹⁹⁹ Regarding forbearance, Fuller ended with calling the open communionists to bear equal responsibility, as they ought to allow close communionists to practice “from a conscientious persuasion of its being the mind of Christ,” especially if it came from their “inquiries to the precepts and examples of the New Testament.”²⁰⁰ Though Fuller’s letter summarised his thoughts on the terms of communion, it failed to respond to Hall’s challenges, especially his new arguments. As one reviewer generously commented:

Though [Fuller’s letter] anticipates some of Mr. Hall’s principles and reasonings, and states the *general* grounds on which he would oppose them, and in those respects shews him to have fully accorded with Mr. Booth, yet it cannot be expected to have entered much into the controversy, and is chiefly valuable as containing the *Protest*, or may we say, the dying testimony of that great man against the practice of mixt communion; and in this respect it is a valuable document. We may further add, that it exhibits all the characteristic excellencies of Mr. Fuller’s style.²⁰¹

By the end of 1815, George Pritchard (1773–1840), minister of Shouldham Street, London, anonymously published *A Plea for Primitive Communion* as a response to Hall.²⁰² According to William Harris Murch (1784–1859), though Pritchard had always

Discourse of Right to Church-Communion. Wherein is proved by Scripture, the Example of the Primitive Times, and the Practice of All that have Professed the Christian Religion: That no Unbaptized person may be Regularly admitted to the Lords Supper (London, 1681), 19–20.

Curiously, Isaiah Birt (1758–1837), minister of Canon Street Baptist chapel and a friend of Fuller, began to argue in the 1790s against the notion of that baptism was an initiative rite. For Birt, baptism is “a duty to be observed by those who are already members of Christ, not as a service to make us such” (Isaiah Birt, *A Vindication of the Baptists, in Three Letters, Addressed to a Friend in Saltash* [Bristol, 1793], 23–24). In other words, baptism is understood as an act of trinitarian worship, faith-driven repentance, and an “emblem” of Christian sanctification, not an initiative rite (Birt, *Vindication of the Baptists*, 24–27). Also see Isaiah Birt, *A Defence of Scripture Baptism: In Answer to a Pamphlet Addressed “To Those Who Esteem the Essence of Religion of More Importance than the Forms and Ceremonies”* (Plymouth, [1793]).

¹⁹⁹ Fuller, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper*, 24–25; Haykin, ed., “The Admission of unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, inconsistent with the New Testament,” 74.

²⁰⁰ Fuller, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper*, 29; Haykin, ed., “The Admission of unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper, inconsistent with the New Testament,” 75.

²⁰¹ “Article I. *On Terms of Communion* ... Art. 2. *The Admission of unbaptized Persons* ... Art. 3. *A Plea for primitive communion* ... Art. 4. *The essential difference* ... Art. 5. *The Decision of a general Congress* ... Art. 6. *Baptism a Term of Communion* ...,” *The New Evangelical Magazine, and Theological Review* 2 (April 1816): 111.

²⁰² [George Pritchard,] *A Plea for Primitive Communion, Occasioned by the Rev. Robert Hall’s Recent Publication on “Terms of Communion.”* &c. (London, 1815). When it was first published, probably in November or December 1815, Pritchard chose to omit his name. As the first edition was quickly sold out, the printer published a second edition, appending his name, “without his consent” (W. H. Murch,

practiced close communion, Hall's *On Terms of Communion* inspired him to examine the subject matter, which turned out to be the close communionists' first response directly to Hall's famous pamphlet.²⁰³

In his response, Pritchard summarised Hall's arguments into fourteen points, and identified two leading propositions, which were: first, John's and Christ's baptisms are "two distinct and different institutions," and second, open communion has "the sanction of the New Testament; and is calculated to advance the interests of truth and charity."²⁰⁴ Specifically to the first proposition, Pritchard questioned the source of Hall's

"Memoir of the Late Rev. George Pritchard," *BM* 45 [January 1853]: 6). Another clue to the authorship can be found by the end of Pritchard's biography of William Newman, as the printer had *A Plea for Primitive Communion* listed as one of Pritchard's works (see George Pritchard, *Memoir of the Rev. William Newman* [London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1838], 451). Regarding its date of publication, *Baptist Magazine* announced in November 1815 that *A Plea for Primitive Communion* was ready for publication (see "Preparing for Publication," *BM* 7 [November 1815]: 476).

Pritchard and his wife received credobaptism from John Martin (1741–1820) and joined the Keppel Street congregation in London in 1796. With pastoral calls, Pritchard moved to minister the Baptist congregation in Colchester, Essex in 1803, where his ordination took place on July 26, 1804. In 1812, Pritchard resigned from Colchester due to church conflicts, and he was called to minister at Shouldham Street in London from 1812 to 1816, and later was called to Keppel Street from 1817 to 1837. His ordination at Keppel Street took place on August 26, 1817. When he was called to Keppel Street, he was strongly opposed by a significant number of members. A series of votes took place: "first 89–53, then 102–58, and finally 103–76" (Ernest A. Payne, "John Linnell, the World of Artists and the Baptists," *BQ* 40, no. 1 [2003]: 24). As a result, a group of members left and formed the Burton Street congregation on September 17, 1817 (Joseph Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists* [London: Isaac Taylor Hinton; Holdsworth & Ball, 1830], 4:399). On Pritchard, see Murch, "Memoir of the Late Rev. George Pritchard," 1–11; Henry Spyvee, *Colchester Baptist Church—The First 300 Years, 1689–1989 Now Worshipping at Eld Lane and Blackheath* (Colchester: Colchester Baptist Church, 1989), 41–45. Also see John Martin, *The Gospel of Our Salvation: A Sermon, Preached at the Opening of the New Meeting, in Store-Street, Bedford-Square* (London, 1796); Anonymous, "Ordinations. Keppel-Street, London," *BM* 9 (September 1817): 359–60.

²⁰³ Murch, "Memoir of the Late Rev. George Pritchard," 6.

²⁰⁴ [Pritchard,] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 18. Hall's fourteen arguments are: "1. That the baptism of John and of Jesus Christ were *two* different institutions;" 2. "That a considerable number of the primitive Christians were *twice* baptized;" 3. "That the apostles never partook of Christian baptism;" 4. That our Lord's commission to his apostles, 'Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you,' is quite consistent with receiving unbaptized persons into church fellowship;" 5. "That the order in the original appointment of the two positive institutions, baptism and the Lord's supper, is directly contrary to existing practice;" 6. "That, in the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper, the apostles inverted the order of the original appointment of these institutions;" 7. "That though the order in which the positive institutions of the New Testament are now observed, is in direct opposition to original appointment, it is nevertheless to be regarded;" 8. "That Christian baptism is not necessary either in order to a participation of the Lord's supper, or church communion;" 9. "That though the apostles admitted none to church-fellowship previously to their being baptized, yet those churches are most in conformity to apostolic precedent which, in relation to many of their members, omit baptism altogether;" 10. "That though the New Testament affords no example of such a practice, yet *truth* and *charity* are best promoted by an association of persons into church fellowship, who so greatly disagree, as to one of the positive institutions, that their conduct, in relation to that ordinance, has no manner of resemblance;" 11. "That to receive our Pædobaptist brethren into church fellowship under the persuasion that they are criminally

argument, as it distinguished the Son from the Father in their salvific work.²⁰⁵ Pritchard, thus, understood that both John's and the apostles' baptisms were commissioned by the same Saviour, as John knew the "dignity of [Christ's] character, and his existence in our nature" and was sent by him, though without "a personal interview with him."²⁰⁶ Furthermore, since both John's and the apostles' baptisms required faith, Pritchard argued that the object of that faith was the same—"the faith of John's disciples was to view as approaching, while the faith of those baptized by the apostles embraced them as having actually occurred."²⁰⁷ By identifying John's and the apostles' baptisms as the same, he pointed out Hall's assumption, which is to "assume that water baptism, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit are the same; or that the later, invariably, followed the former."²⁰⁸ For Pritchard, the latter was "a miraculous communication of divine influence, imparted to the apostles and others, in some measure even before the death of

erroneous, of which too they are to be frequently reminded, is a more decided evidence of our affection towards them than delaying such a relation till a nearer approach to agreement in faith and practice is effected;" 12. "That the ordinance of believers' baptism is most effectually promoted by admitting unbaptized persons to church communion;" 13. "That in the violation of acknowledged order, the plea of eminent talents and piety is of some consideration;" and 14. "That whatever may be the eccentricities of faith or practice, it is incumbent on us to receive into church fellowship every one that we have reason to hope is a partake of salvation" ([Pritchard.] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 9–17). In response, Hall criticised that "several of these, disguised by a little variety of language, are identically the same; some grossly misrepresented; and all of them expressed, not in the terms of the author, but in such as are adapted to give them as much of the air of paradox as possible" (Robert Hall, *The Essential Differences between Christian Baptism, and the Baptism of John, More Fully Stated and Confirmed; In Reply to a Pamphlet, Entitled "A Plea for Primitive Communion"* [Leicester, 1816], in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:201).

²⁰⁵ [Pritchard.] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 21. Here Pritchard seems to suggest that Hall's distinction came from either Socinians or Roman Catholicism, as both explicitly distinguished the two baptisms. For instance, Johannes van der Kemp (1747–1811) explains that "the Papists maintain that the waterbaptism of Christ accomplisheth and effects the thing itself, to wit the washing away of sins, and that the baptism of John purified the body only, but not the soul, and only disposed a person to conversion. The Socinians ascribe no virtue at all to baptism, but think that the baptism of John was a necessary ecclesiastical duty for the Jews, as all the ecclesiastical duties of the church law of Moses were; but that the baptism of Christ was a mere badge of the Christian church for a short time, in order to distinguish it from Jews and Gentiles, and that baptism is no longer necessary now, since the general establishment of Christianity" (van der Kemp, *The Christian Entirely the Property of Christ, in Life and Death: Exhibited in Fifty-Three Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism*, translated by John M. Van Harlingen, 2 vols [New Brunswick, NJ, 1810], 2:41). Also see, for example, Abraham Anderson, *Lectures on Theology* (Philadelphia: Wm. S. Young, 1857), 645–47.

²⁰⁶ [Pritchard.] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 20.

²⁰⁷ [Pritchard.] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 23.

²⁰⁸ [Pritchard.] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 29.

Christ; but more abundantly on the day of Pentecost; and after that, during what is generally denominated the apostolic age.”²⁰⁹ In other words, while water baptism is a normative exercise of the church since the apostolic age, the baptism of the Holy Spirit is occasional and miraculous, and not for everyone. Regarding the rebaptism of Ephesian disciples in Acts 19:1–7, Pritchard argued that while “John’s was true baptism,” the apostle Paul urged them to be baptised in the reality of what John prophesied, which was to baptise “with the Holy Ghost and with fire.”²¹⁰ Regarding Hall’s second proposition, Pritchard argued that baptism, not the eucharist, is the “first positive institution” upon “cordially embrac[ing]” the gospel.²¹¹ Thus, “unbaptized persons are not to be admitted to the Lord’s supper.”²¹²

Hall’s Response to Pritchard

Though one reviewer treated Pritchard’s *Appeal* as a work written “with an air of confidence and petulance, of which we hope that the author is now deeply ashamed,” another understood that Pritchard wrote with a “very commendable spirit,” as he “entered into the very heart of the controversy.”²¹³ Regarding Pritchard’s objection of distinguishing John’s and Christian baptisms, Robert Hall quickly produced a response in two or three months. Writing on February 14, 1816, Hall felt being obliged to supplement his argument by answering Pritchard’s criticism, especially his view of John’s baptism.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ [Pritchard,] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 29–30.

²¹⁰ [Pritchard,] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 32.

²¹¹ [Pritchard,] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 41.

²¹² [Pritchard,] *A Plea for Primitive Communion*, 41.

²¹³ “On *Terms of Communion*. By R. Hall.—Admission of *unbaptized Persons, &c.* By A. Fuller.—*Plea for Primitive Communion*.—Difference between *Christian Baptism and the Baptism of John*. By R. Hall.—Baptism, a *Term of Communion*. By J. Kinghorn,” *The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle* 24 (May 1816): 179; “*A Plea for Primitive Communion, occasioned by the Rev. R. Hall’s recent publication on ‘Terms of Communion.’* 8vo. 1s. 6d. Button,” *New Evangelical Magazine, and Theological Review* 1 (December 1815): 374.

²¹⁴ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:177.

Furthermore, as the *Baptist Magazine* announced Kinghorn's plan to publish a reply in January 1816, Hall saw *Essential Differences Between Christian Baptism, and the Baptism of John* as a prelude to his debate with that "person of distinguished reputation," with whom he wished to "terminate his part of the controversy."²¹⁵

In this short response, Hall restated his thesis and responded to Pritchard's arguments. For Hall, Pritchard only proved the chronological order of the sacraments' formation, instead of making any connection or moral duty by following that order.²¹⁶ As Hall accused the close communionists' arguments of being founded on "a chronological deduction of positive rites," Hall chose to expand on the interpretations and enjoyment of these sacraments.²¹⁷ He pointed out that the fundamental difference between John's and Christian baptism is the presence of the Holy Spirit, as John's statement (Matt 3:11; John 1:27, 33) refers to "that redundance of prophetic and miraculous gifts, which were bestowed on the church, after the effusion of the Spirit."²¹⁸ In other words, water baptism is understood as one of the "usual and expected concomitants" of the "preternatural endowments" of the Spirit.²¹⁹ Later, Hall argued against Pritchard's distinction of baptisms of water and the Spirit by stating that these two "stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect."²²⁰ Though Hall denied the assumption that "the

²¹⁵ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:177. In January 1815, it was announced that "The Rev. Josiah Kinghorn, of Norwich, has committed to the press, A Treatise on Communion, occasioned by The Rev. Robert Hall's recent publication on that subject" (Anonymous, "Literary Intelligence. Preparing for Publication," *BM* 8 [January 1815]: 32). It is certain that "Josiah" is a typo. Shortly after Kinghorn's response was published, William Button (1754–1821) told Kinghorn that in his conversation with Hall, the latter told him that "he was pleased to say that he could not be replied to by a more respectable man than Mr. Kinghorn; what he would write would be worth reading . . . he should pay the utmost attention to it; and, if Mr. Kinghorn did not overpower him with argument, he should certainly give him an answer" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich*, 355–356).

²¹⁶ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:180.

²¹⁷ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:180, 182.

²¹⁸ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:184.

²¹⁹ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:184.

²²⁰ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:217.

communication of miraculous gifts *invariably* accompanied baptism,” he understood it as a proof of the inferiority of John’s baptism. Furthermore, the “spiritual import of Christian baptism” also distinguished itself from John’s baptism, as the purpose of Jewish baptism was for purification, and Christian baptism contains the “sublime mysteries” of baptising into Christ’s death and resurrection.²²¹ As John’s disciples were ignorant of Jesus’ death and resurrection and they were not baptised in Jesus’ name, they were not baptised into Christ (cf. Rom 6:3).²²² To prove this last point, Hall appealed to the “messianic secret” and pointed out the inconsistency of Jesus forbidding his disciples to make known of his name during his earthly ministry and baptism in Jesus’ name before the Pentecost.²²³ Hall thus disagreed with Pritchard’s claim that John’s disciples were baptised in the name of the Trinity, as it lacked textual instances.²²⁴ Furthermore, Hall argued that John was sent by the Father, not the Trinity or Christ.²²⁵ Hall claimed:

There is a union subsisting betwixt the personages in the blessed Godhead as constitutes them one living and true God, instead of inferring from thence, the impropriety of distinguishing their operations ... that the chief advantage resulting from the doctrine of the Trinity is, that it facilitates our conception of the plan of redemption, in which each of these glorious persons is represented as assuming distinct, though harmonious, offices and functions; the Father originating, so to speak, the Son executing, and the Spirit applying the several parts of that stupendous scheme. The Father, accordingly, is uniformly asserted to have sent the Son, the Son to have assumed the office of Mediator, and the Spirit to be imparted by both, to enlighten and sanctify the elect people of God.²²⁶

By maintaining the distinguished personages and functions in the Godhead, Hall argued that “John’s commission is ascribed to the Father, and to him alone.”²²⁷ Since John’s

²²¹ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:188–89.

²²² Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:189.

²²³ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:185–86.

²²⁴ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:213–14.

²²⁵ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:192–93.

²²⁶ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:193.

²²⁷ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:194.

baptism of Jesus is understood as the latter's inauguration to his office of "the legislative function," nothing can be qualified as a Christian rite beforehand.²²⁸

For Hall, as John's baptism functions as a prophetic rite, it is not "a demand of present faith in any known individual, but was limited to a *future* faith on a certain personage who was about to evince his title to the character he assumed by his personal appearance and miracles."²²⁹ Though Pritchard argued that John's and Christian baptisms required the same faith, Hall maintained their differences, as he seems to suggest that faith is closely related to understanding of its object.²³⁰ He thus distinguished "a sincere belief in the truth of inspiration" and "an explicit knowledge of its contents."²³¹ Though Hall acknowledged that "the Saviour of the world is, in every period, and under every economy, the sole object of saving faith," he argued that those under the Old Testament dispensation, including the prophets and pre-Pentecost apostles, failed to comprehend "the true import" of their predictions and even Jesus' instructions.²³² Thus, he introduced

²²⁸ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:190, 194.

²²⁹ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:187.

²³⁰ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:196–202. Here Hall repeatedly used words like "understand" and "comprehend" to disqualify John's disciples and Old Testament believers of sharing the same faith with Christians.

It is interesting to observe that as early as 1794, Kinghorn preached a sermon on the same subject, regarding the rebaptism at Ephesus, and he told his father an interpretation similar to Pritchard's that "The disciples that were found at Ephesus were Johns disciples who knew not Jesus Christ are called disciples because they were serious men who kept together and whose minds were prepared for receiving the Apostles doctrine. who believed the Christ was either come or soon to be manifest but who knew little more of him" (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 793, KPA, 1).

²³¹ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:198.

²³² Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:195–96, 198–99. Regarding the Old Testament prophets, Hall wrote: "Many of the most important predictions were involved in a total obscurity; others were designed to excite a vague but elevated expectation, without ascertaining the features of a future event; none were designed to make that clear and determinate impression upon the spirit, which is effected by their accomplishment. From the necessary obscurity of prophecy, combined with the ignorance and prejudice which obstruct its operation, it is impossible, in any case, by appealing to a prediction to ascertain the sentiments entertained even by good men antecedently to its fulfilment. The only clew to conduct us in this inquiry, is derived from the assertions of the evangelists, which as clearly confute the vain surmises and conjectures of this writer as if they had been recorded for that purpose" (Hall, *Essential Differences*, 2:204). Furthermore, Hall wrote: "if we read the ancient prophecies with attention, we shall perceive, that the atonement made by the Saviour is scarcely exhibited in a single passage, except in the fifty-third of Isaiah, with respect to which the Ethiopian eunuch was at a loss to determine whether 'the prophet spoke of himself, or of some other man:' we shall perceive that in the practical and devotional books, such as the Psalms, the promise of pardon to the penitent, and of favour to the righteous, are expressly and repeatedly propounded, though with respect to the *medium* of acceptance, a profound silence

the distinction of “the *fact*, and the *doctrine* of the atonement.”²³³ For the former, God’s atonement is considered as “a transaction” towards God, and its “operation is essential, unchangeable, eternal.”²³⁴ The latter, however, directs toward people, and its operation is “moral, and therefore subject to all the varieties incident to human nature.”²³⁵ The doctrine of the atonement, as its moral impression is capable “of being secured by the institution of sacrifice” for “penitential sorrow, and humble submission,” it only functions as a type to the fact of atonement, which is the cross—“the meritorious basis of acceptance, the only real satisfaction for sin . . . the centre around which all the purposes of mercy to fallen man have continued to revolve.”²³⁶ Following the tradition laid out by Phillipus von Limborch (1633–1712), Hall emphasised the discontinuity between the New and Old Testaments.²³⁷ Thus, for Hall, John’s disciples only possessed the “spirit of faith,” as “genuine faith, considered as a principle, is characterized, not so much by the particular truths which it embraces, as by its origin, its nature, and its effect.”²³⁸

Throughout the pamphlet, Hall primarily engaged with the book of Acts and Pauline epistles. By examining the history of the interpretation of Acts 19:1–6, Hall argued that his defence of open communion is a “revival of an ancient” opinion, as he found support in works by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Henry Hammond (1605–1660),

is maintained” (Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:206–7).

²³³ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:208.

²³⁴ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:208–9.

²³⁵ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:209.

²³⁶ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:209.

²³⁷ Th. Marius van Leeuwen, “Philippus van Limborch’s *Amica Collatio* and its Relation to Grotius’s *De Veritate*,” *Grotiana* 35, no. 1 (2014): 158–67. Later in an article on the Jews, Hall explicitly pointed out that “the position in which Christianity stands towards modern Jews is very different. Their knowledge of it must be derived almost entirely from the New Testament, and the causes which may, in many instances, be supposed to divert their attention from it, are very dissimilar to those which originated the incredulity of their ancestors” (Robert Hall, “The Spiritual Condition and Prospects of the Jews” (1826), in *Works of Robert Hall*, 4:464.

²³⁸ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:212.

Daniel Whitby (1638–1726), Philip Doddridge (1702–1751), William Chillingworth (1602–1644), and others.²³⁹ In contrast, Pritchard’s argument echoes the “Anabaptists at Munster.”²⁴⁰ Furthermore, Hall turned to Pritchard and accused him of advocating antinomianism, as the latter “disclaims the notion of meritorious conditions” of salvation.²⁴¹ As Hall emphasised the seriousness of antinomianism, his attack appears to be *ad hominem*. Without expanding Pritchard’s claim, Hall accused his opponent of being “at a loss to conceive on what principle, or for what reason, dangerous concessions are due to antinomianism; that thick-skinned monster of the ooze and the mire, which no weapon can pierce, no discipline can tame.”²⁴² Hall, therefore, concluded with justifying his defence of open communion against Pritchard’s pamphlet, as at the core, he was opposing antinomianism.²⁴³

Kinghorn’s Development & Response

It was unclear when did Kinghorn receive and read Hall’s *On Terms of Communion*, as Kinghorn’s common book is missing and his correspondence with his

²³⁹ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:225. Notice that Whitby was a Socinian and Chillingworth was an Arminian.

²⁴⁰ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:225. On Münster Anabaptists, see Joseph Kinghorn, “Articles Relating to the Münster Anabaptists. Submitted to *The Baptist Magazine*, January–June 1830,” in *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, ed. Terry Wolever (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2010), 3:149–80; George B. von der Lippe and Viktoria M. Reck-Malleczewen, eds. and trans., *A History of the Münster Anabaptists: Inner Emigration and the Third Reich* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Hermann von Kerssenbrock, *Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness: The Overthrow of Münster, the Famous Metropolis of Westphalia*, trans. Christopher S. Mackay (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2007); Ralf Klötzer, “The Melchiorites and Münster,” in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*, ed. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2007), 217–56; Klötzer, “Münster and the ‘New Jerusalem’,” in *T&T Clark Handbook of Anabaptism*, ed. Brian C. Brewer (New York: T&T Clak, 2022), 117–32; Inseo Song, “Baptism,” in *T&T Clark Handbook of Anabaptism*, 271–86.

²⁴¹ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:230.

²⁴² Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:230. Later, Hall also states that “at almost every age of the church is marked by its appropriate visitation of error, so little penetration is requisite to perceive that antinomianism is the epidemic malady of the present, and that it is an evil of gigantic size, and deadly malignity” (Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:232).

²⁴³ Hall, *Essential Differences*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 2:232.

parents generally stopped since 1800.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Kinghorn had wrestled with the question of the terms of communion as late as 1789. On December 1, 1789, almost seven months after his ordination at St. Mary's, Kinghorn wrote to his father and enquired the latter's opinions, as he asked:

Pray what do you think of mixed communion? Is baptism a term of communion? Ought we to refuse those the table of the Lord here whom we confess we think fit for his kingdom above? Have we any right to judge the consciences of those who think they have attended to baptism? I acknowledge myself oftentimes puzzled with objections of this kind, particularly the two last; however, the people here are, I believe, quite opposed to a mixed communion.²⁴⁵

Though Martin Hood Wilkin did not record David Kinghorn's reply, from Joseph's letter to his father, dated December 22, 1780, it seems that David failed to convince his son, as the younger Kinghorn had "no doubt either as to the *mode* or *subject* of baptism," he did not "entirely [have] a decided mind" over the terms of communion.²⁴⁶ Moreover, Kinghorn told his father: "I do not yet appear as the advocate for mixed communion, nor am I likely to be called to it."²⁴⁷ Five years later, as Kinghorn prepared a manuscript in response to the Portsea Independent minister Peter Edwards' (d. 1833) attack on credobaptism, Kinghorn told his father that he was still unclear about the terms of communion.²⁴⁸ He complained: "What I chiefly want is some reason for action either this

²⁴⁴ Simon Wilkin recorded that Kinghorn owned a copy of Hall's *Terms of Communion* (#1482), which was published in Leicester in 1815. He also owned a copy of Hall's reply to Kinghorn (1818), in which Kinghorn wrote his initial observations. See Wilkin, ed., *Catalogue*, 49.

²⁴⁵ Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander, 1855), 165. According to St. Mary's confession of faith, which was probably drafted and adopted in 1691, the congregation practiced close communion. In article 10, the congregation acknowledges that "the ordinance of Water Baptisms is a Gosple [*sic*] ordinance which is to be administered to non but believe it being the plaine positive comand of God to make disciple by teaching of them and then Baptizing them. We believe that Christ have Instituted severall ordinance & laws delivered to the Church, as what ordinance of the Lords Supper by which wee shew forth Christ death till he romoy the building up of one another in a most holy faith glorifying God with one mouth & one heart" ("Norwich St Mary's Chapel [Baptists], Church Book, Members 1691–1778," MS 4282, NRO, [3–4]).

²⁴⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 165.

²⁴⁷ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 165.

²⁴⁸ Kinghorn's response was later published as *A Defence of Infant Baptism, Its Best Confutation: Being a Reply to Mr. Peter Edwards's Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Anti-Pædo-baptism, on His Own Ground* (Norwich, 1795). Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 793, KPA, 3. From David Kinghorn's reply, it seems that there were discussions

way or [the] other, for I should like to see a clear road before me and not to have to give up any opinion to any body.”²⁴⁹ Besides Kinghorn’s education at Bristol under Caleb Evans, who advocated open communion, it seems the complication of the question also caused Kinghorn’s befuddlement, for while he was convinced of the necessity of credobaptism, he was troubled with the lack of sufficient reasons to separate among evangelical dissenters without committing schism and sectarianism. In fact, as David Kinghorn told his son on February 22, 1794, the father also admitted that the question is “a very difficult part to determine after I have considered the question in a variety of lights.”²⁵⁰ Though David told his son that “I confess my own mind has been hurt in reflecting upon this subject sometimes,” he provided reasons for refusing paedobaptists to communion, which refers to both the Lord’s table and church membership.²⁵¹ David saw the core problem is the double-mindedness of some “half Baptists” or “hublers,” who “thinking their own Baptism sufficient, yet are not satisfied or persuaded in their own minds that Infants have a Scriptural right to Baptism.”²⁵² Nevertheless, David still wished

over the question of terms of communion among the St. Mary’s congregation, as the father wrote: “I am sorry to hear that it is likely to be proposed in your church to admit of mixt Communion, as I fear it will have a tendency to cause a division among you, let the question be considered on as it may” (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 1).

²⁴⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, February 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 793, KPA, 3.

²⁵⁰ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 1. David Kinghorn held the position of close communion. His main sources of arguments are the “great commission” and John Gill. David deduced that it would be inconsistent for Baptists to welcome paedobaptists into communion without recognising the validity of their baptism. Furthermore, “it must be affirmed, either that [credobaptism] is no part of the counsel of God, or else that such as rejected it, reject the counsel of God against themselves in this Instance” (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 2). While advising his son that “love to good men should prevail above every other motive in joining in communion,” David Kinghorn also pointed out the difficulty to let love to good men exceed love to God and truth. Therefore, Kinghorn counselled his son to remember the Baptist principle of conscience that he ought to love God and truth in good conscience (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 2). Kinghorn then pointed out two practical solutions. First, “it would be better in my opinion to admonish [paedobaptists who wish to join a Baptist church yet without renounce their infant or sprinkling baptism] to frequent prayer and reading the Scriptures in order to satisfy their own mind, than admitt them to communion;” and second, to distinguish occasional communion and “full communion as members of the same church” (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 3).

²⁵¹ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 2.

²⁵² David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 3.

his son to contemplate the question, as he wrote: “As I do not wish you to set up my judgment or opinion, as a standard either to you or [the St. Mary’s congregation], I have given you my opinion with some difficulties which occurred & leave you to judge for yourself, as this point like many others is not without difficulties.”²⁵³

In his reply, Joseph Kinghorn told his father that no one in the congregation had yet brought up the question of open communion, as he believed that his “being undecided stopt it.”²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, though he was willing to raise objection against such a proposal, he believed that “This would not be fair while I was not fully convinced of their real strength, for Baptists as giving up a good deal for their opinion would naturally there is a danger of straining at a Great & swallowing a camel and this makes me more favorable to mixt Communion.”²⁵⁵ Though still unconvinced, Kinghorn told his father that “I have really thought of taking your plans & enlarging upon on it by collecting all the arguments I could meet with so as to canvass the subject as well as I could as this

²⁵³ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, February 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 794, KPA, 3. Later David Kinghorn confirmed his attitude and wrote: “As I do not wish to Dogmatize, I leave these questions to your own judgment. Only observing that such is our ignorance where we have not an infallible rule to guide us we may easily err. And I confess if we must judge from reason, and be liable to err, I think it safest to err on the side of charity, for we know that it is our Duty to love the Brethren, and should be ready to do every kind office for them in our power, tho we and they differ in opinion” (David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, March 22, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 796, KPA, 2).

²⁵⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 795, KPA, 2.

²⁵⁵ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 795, KPA, 3. In this letter, Kinghorn confirmed his conviction of credobaptism and told his father that “an Independent minister candidly confessed to some time since—that ~~in~~ our Churches had a greater proportion of the serious people that attended our Meetings than theirs, and the reason he thought to be that stated above that on our principles 2 Ordinances were neglected w^c. Seriously called for their attention” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 795, KPA, 2). Nevertheless, Kinghorn raised a common objection: “When we consider such men as Jonathan Edwards Dr [Isaac] Watts Dr [John] Owen Mr. [Haweis] &c we consider them as Christians in so high a sense it becomes a difficulty to say how one could plead conscience in refusing to take them in with us when we look on their piety as so exalted that all we wish for is to have a portion with them above” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 795, KPA, 2). In a later letter, Kinghorn even questioned the validity of conscience, as he asked: “Can we follow a better guide than conscience? Indeed as God himself bears with the errors & weaknesses of men it is evident he tolerates many Errors in us and this is a strong reason why we should tolerate our brethren, If every punctilio of Truth was of all that importance which are reasoning would make it no flesh could be saved, and yet as something is of consequence which are reasoning would say when the line is to be drawn” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 8, 1794, no. 7 [797], Wilkin Papers, NRC, 2).

might be a means of my understanding it better.”²⁵⁶ For Kinghorn, there are two extremes in the debate: “the liberal plan” and “the strict plan.”²⁵⁷ For those who advocate the former, they receive anyone who “acknowledge Jesus Christ is the Son of God,” whereas the latter “sets up a human & consequently fallible explication as the sense of scripture which is the term of communion & there is no saying to what extent this may be carried.”²⁵⁸ Bearing in mind the principles of catholicity and tolerance, Kinghorn was afraid to make credobaptism “the highest importance,” and to place “Baptism and Christianity on the same ground & allowing no difference of character.”²⁵⁹ Thus, it seems to Kinghorn that all who wish to join the Baptist congregation ought to affirmatively answer these two questions: “Are you Christian & are you Baptists.”²⁶⁰ However, Kinghorn believed that such a requirement bears the characteristic of intolerance, and frankly he said, “Really I do not know how to defend it,” especially in light of the dissenters’ separation from the intolerable Establishment.²⁶¹

Five years later, in 1799, Joseph Kinghorn re-examined the subject of baptism after baptising a zealous believer, probably a Lucy Gaze, on “one very cold night,” and reading John Gill’s *Dissertation Concerning the Baptism of Jewish Proselytes* (1771) and works by William Wall (1647–1728), Moses ben Maimon (or Maimonides, 1138–1204),

²⁵⁶ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, March 11, 1794, D/KIN 2/1794 no. 795, KPA, 2.

²⁵⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 8, 1794, no. 7 [797], Wilkin Papers, NRC, 1.

²⁵⁸ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 8, 1794, no. 7 [797], Wilkin Papers, NRC, 1.

²⁵⁹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 8, 1794, no. 7 [797], Wilkin Papers, NRC, 2. Kinghorn also expressed this idea in his *An Address to a Friend Who Intends Entering into Church Communion* (1800), as he urged his reader that “It is important above all things to be convinced, that what we are doing professedly in the name of Christ, is agreeable to his will; and that we have just notions of the ends he intended us to keep in view. It ought not to be considered as the condition by which you become a member of a Christian Church; but as the evidence of faith in Jesus, and of devotedness to his cause. Every person who is baptised, ought to consider his baptism as expressive of a death to sin, and of a life to righteousness; of a desire to live in the hope of enjoying the benefit of the death and resurrection of Jesus, and of being raised by him at the last day and introduced into glory” (Kinghorn, *An Address to a Friend Who Intends Entering into Church Communion* [Norwich, 1800], 6–7).

²⁶⁰ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 8, 1794, no. 7 [797], Wilkin Papers, NRC, 2.

²⁶¹ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 8, 1794, no. 7 [797], Wilkin Papers, NRC, 2.

John Lightfoot (1602–1675), and John Owen (1616–1683).²⁶² Kinghorn then told his father that “I have lately been more stuck than before with some doubts whether our conduct as Baptists will bear examination in not admitting others to communion.”²⁶³ Though the term of communion was not a question at St. Mary’s, Kinghorn sought different ways to explore the topic and scrutinise his thought, as he also had “some conversations with one or 2 friends” about it.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, he was “not satisfied with either argument” from both sides.²⁶⁵ Curiously, in his reply, David Kinghorn told his son that he “was thinking on the same subject” around the same time, “perhaps while you

²⁶² According to St. Mary’s minute book, this person seems to be Lucy Gaze, who was baptised on April 3, 1799, which was the first baptism since May 9, 1798, when Kinghorn baptised William Hawiman, William Kinyon, and Eliz Gunton. The next baptism was performed on July 17, 1799 at Aylsham. See “Norwich St Mary’s Chapel [Baptist], Church Records 1780–1830,” MS4283, NRO, 30–31.

Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 981, KPA, 2. John Gill, *A Dissertation Concerning the Baptism of Jewish Proselytes: In Which are Shewn, Who they are of the Proselytes of the Jews, said to be baptized; what the occasion of this Dissertation concerning the Baptism of them; what proof there is of any such custom among the Jews, before, at, or near the times of John the Baptist, Christ and his Apostles, or any age after, before the Third and Fourth Centuries of the Christian aera; that the only proof of such a practice is from the Jewish Talmuds and Talmudic Authors; and that therefore Christian Baptism cannot be taken from, and founded upon, Proselyte-Baptism among the Jews* (London, 1771). While applauding Gill’s treatise, Kinghorn pointed out that his fifth chapter contains weaknesses. In it, Gill tried to provide “the reasons why Christian Baptism is not founded on, and taken from, the pretended Jewish Baptism of Israelites and Proselytes” (Gill, *Dissertation Concerning the Baptism of Jewish Proselytes*, 64). Kinghorn commented that “Tho on the whole it appears from the Drs. Statements & reasonings that Paedobaptists have taken untenable ground. Particularly should it be pressed home that if Christian Bm. be from Proselyte Bapm. then Baptism itself is no institution of Christ, nor to be continued in the Church, & thus Inft. Baptism sinks completely and tho we are overthrown by the argument, yet we fall not alone, the whole comes down together. I know this is not passed over compliately [*sic*] by Dr. Gill but it is only slightly mentioned; it ought to have been put in the fore front of the Battle, & held up in so conspicuous a light that every eye might have seen ^that^ the establishment of Proselyte Baptism was the ruin of Christian Baptism in all its parts, except in the few instances which occur in a century where Heathens are brought to believe in Xt. and at any rate it’s a reflection on Xt. if the true view & origin of one of his ordinances, depends on a Jewish rite not in the old Testament, not explained in the new, only known by late rabbinical writings, & after all so uncertain in point of fact as to depend on a hesitating *if*. And this is I think the truth of the case” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 981, KPA, 2). The other works Kinghorn mentioned are William Wall, *The History of Infant-Baptism, in Two Parts* (London, 1705); Moses ben Maimon, משימ *Mischna sive Totius Hebraeorum Juris, rituum, antiquitatum ac legume oraliu systema cum rabinorum Maimonidis et Bartenoral commentariis integris latinitate donavit ac notis illustravit G. Surenhusius* (Amsterdam, 1698); John Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Qvatuor Evangelistas, cum Tractatibus Chorographicis Singulis suo Evangekustae Praemissis* (Leipzig, 1743); John Owen, ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΙΑ *sive, de Natura ortu, progressu, et studio Verae theologiae libri* (Oxford, 1661).

²⁶³ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 981, KPA, 2.

²⁶⁴ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, June 11, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 985, KPA, 2.

²⁶⁵ Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, April 16, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 981, KPA, 3.

were writing.”²⁶⁶ As the father and son exchanged thoughts on the question, David even pointed out that “Nothing ought to determine mind in respect to religious practice, but either precept or precedent or inferences drawn from a general rule applicable to particular cases included in that rule, or precedent example set before us.”²⁶⁷

Nevertheless, it is evident that both Kinghorns’ minds were not settled on the terms of communion.²⁶⁸ In other words, it is false to assume that Joseph Kinghorn had always firmly believed close communion and debated Robert Hall with absolute surety.

Furthermore, given the fact that Kinghorn and Hall were friends, it is also wrong to see the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy as a clash of personality.²⁶⁹

It is uncertain if David and Joseph discussed about the terms of communion again after the senior Kinghorns relocated to Norwich. It seems that Kinghorn revisited the unsettled question again as late as in 1811 when the St. Mary’s congregation decided to build an enlarged building on the same site. According to C. B. Jewson,

²⁶⁶ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, April 27, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 982, KPA, 3.

²⁶⁷ David Kinghorn to Joseph Kinghorn, May 25, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 984, KPA, 2.

²⁶⁸ By the end of his reply, Kinghorn stated, “after all my mind like yours is not settled” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, June 11, 1799, D/KIN 2/1799 no. 985, KPA, 3).

²⁶⁹ For instance, in his letter to James Phillips, an Independent minister at Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, dated May 26, 1801, Hall told his friend: “I am just going to see my old friend Kinghorn, at Norwich, where I shall be absent one, possibly two, sabbaths” (Robert Hall, “Letter VIII To the Rev. James Phillips,” in *Works of Robert Hall*, 5:423). John Fawcett (1739–1817) mentioned to Kinghorn that “several persons mentioned your name, and spoke much in your favour, among whom was Mr. [Robert] Hall, who gave such an account of your talents, dispositions, &c., as made impression on all present” (John Fawcett to Joseph Kinghorn, August 2, 1804, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich*, 302).

Several times in his letters to his father, Kinghorn praised Hall and his gift. For instance, on July 1, 1791, Kinghorn told his father that “I am happy to see [Hall] makes a firm stand against Socinianism he considers it as contrary to Scripture & that its general tendency is opposite to the growth of Religion & real piety” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, July 1, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 669, KPA, 2). A few days later, Kinghorn wrote: “[Hall] makes a firm stand against Socinianism. One of his talents is capable of combating that pernicious Doctrine with arguments brought from the same source from where they bring theirs to support it” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, July 9, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 672, KPA, 1). In 1808, after touring Cambridge, Kinghorn praised Hall and told his parents that “it will be a very difficult thing for the people here to get suited with a minister fit to follow Robinson and Hall” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, July 23, 1808, in Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich*, 325). In the introduction, Kinghorn acknowledged that “I have for many years known him [Hall], and acknowledge myself under great obligations to him. His ‘works praise him in the gate;’ his pre-eminent talents are confessed; his praise is in all our churches” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 2).

Thomas Brightwell [1786–1868] had given £350 towards the building, the largest single gift save that of his brother-in-law Simon Wilkin. Ever since his marriage he had been a regular worshipper here but when the Lord's Supper was to be observed his wife [Mary, neé Wilkin] would be expected to partake while he not being a Baptist, must leave or remain only as a spectator. A conference on the matter was held in the vestry in 1812 where James Cozens, J. S. Brewer and Thomas Theobald advocated open communion, while Kinghorn with Mr. [John] Culley and others supported the status quo and it was determined that no change should be made.²⁷⁰

This vestry conference probably pressed Kinghorn to find convincing arguments to defend the congregation's practice of close communion. Without any doubt, he would have had long conversations with his father, and this might have prompted him to enquire of ministers like Andrew Fuller on that same subject.²⁷¹ A few years later, Kinghorn

²⁷⁰ Charles Boardman Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle* (unpublished manuscripts, D/KIN 8/2, KPA), 182. About Thomas Brightwell, Jewson wrote: "Thomas Brightwell, the lawyer and husband of Mary Wilkin was a regular member of the congregation though not of the church. Not being a Baptist he did not qualify for church membership at St. Mary's and Kinghorn advised his joining the Congregationalists at Old Meeting. This at length he did but he continued to attend worship at St. Mary's until Kinghorn's death. His daughter Cecillia Lucy [1811–1875] tells that he learned enough Greek from Kinghorn to be able to read the Testament. Kinghorn she says, made a great point of this and when preaching would quote a passage and then say 'Those who can read the original will be glad to follow me here'—There were a goodly number who did so. Cecilia also left an account of the religious practice that governed the Brightwell's home life. ... Later on Thomas Brightwell was to become a very prominent man in the city. He was Mayor in 1836" (Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, 195). Mary Snell Wilkin was baptised on June 15, 1808 and had been a member of the congregation till her death ("Norwich St Mary's Chapel [Baptist], Church Records 1780–1830," MS4283, NRO, 59). On Brightwell, see Cecilia Lucy Brightwell, *Memorials of the Life of Mr. Brightwell, of Norwich* (Norwich, 1869). Brightwell recalled his first encounter with Kinghorn, probably shortly after his meeting of Mary in 1806: "My first interview with him took place at his own house, and I had to undergo a pretty close examination from the guardian of my lady-love. In short, he put down the plumbline (to use a favourite expression of his own) so mercilessly, that finally my patience was exhausted, and I cut short the inquisition as to the extent of my reading, by the exclamation, 'I am really too young, Sir, to have read everything!'" (Brightwell, *Memorials of the Life of Mr. Brightwell*, 25–26). Kinghorn taught Brightwell Greek, and in 1822, Brightwell accompanied Kinghorn for an expedient tour of Scotland to raise fund for the Baptist Missionary Society. In Kinghorn's will, he left £200 to Brightwell for the education of his daughter ("Will of Reverend Joseph Kinghorn, Dissenting Minister of Norwich, Norfolk," October 4, 1832, PROB 11/1806/381 [The National Archives, Kew], 1). Also see C. B. Jewson, *Simon Wilkin of Norwich* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979).

Thomas Theobald was baptised by Kinghorn on October 22, 1806. The church minute book recorded that he "has withdrawn" from the membership later, yet without providing a date ("Norwich St Mary's Chapel [Baptist], Church Records 1780–1830," MS4283, NRO, 58). John S. Brewer was admitted to membership on January 5, 1812, as it is noticed that he was "baptised some years before and a member of the chh. at Amersham, recd. from our personal knowledge, & his profession, with the approbation of his brethren at Amersham" ("Norwich St Mary's Chapel [Baptist], Church Records 1780–1830," MS4283, NRO, 60). John Culley was baptised on April 24, 1805 and he had been a member of the congregation till his death ("Norwich St Mary's Chapel [Baptist], Church Records 1780–1830," MS4283, NRO, 68). The vestry conference was not recorded in the church minute book.

²⁷¹ See Kinghorn, *Arguments against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 23–24. It is also interesting to observe that the meaning of baptism was also debated among Anglicans in 1815, as pamphlets were published against Richard Mant's (1776–1848) notion of baptismal regeneration in his *Two Tracts, Intended to Convey Correct Notions of Regeneration and Conversion, According to the Sense of Holy Scripture, and of the Church of England. Extracted from the Bampton Lecture of 1812, and Published in a Form Adapted for Circulation among the Community at Large, at the Request of the Salop District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1815). As the chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mant had expressed his understanding of baptismal regeneration earlier in his

seems to be unprepared to believe the speed and numbers of English Baptists adopting Hall's position, as William Hawkins (1790–1853), who at the time accepted a call from New Hall Street, Birmingham, reported in 1815 that “Hall is certainly inclining that way & probably his influence will have great effect with many. ... his sentiments are not thoroughly opposed. Many at Olney are inclining that way.”²⁷² Furthermore, soon after reading Hall's *On Terms of Communion*, two of Kinghorn's close friends, Simon Wilkin, who was his former ward, and Hawkins, a former pupil, also switched to open communion, though they defended Kinghorn's position after his death.²⁷³ It is possible to argue that Kinghorn began to draft his response to Hall as late as November 1815, especially after reading Hawkins' report. Thus, Kinghorn's *Baptism, a Term of Communion* was probably published by the end of March and definitely before April 10, 1816.²⁷⁴ Though Kinghorn's work was not as welcomed across the Atlantic as Hall's, *Baptism, a Term of Communion* became popular in Britain, as he published a second

An Appeal to the Gospel, or an Inquiry into the Justice of the Charge Alleged by Methodists and Other Objectors, that the Gospel is not Preached by the National Clergy (Oxford, 1812). See Anonymous, “Art. XXIII. The Baptismal Controversy,” *British Review, and London Critical Journal* 7, no. 14 (May 1816): 513–61; Sean Farell, “Building Opposition: The Mant Controversy and the Church of Ireland in Early Victorian Belfast,” 39, no. 154 (2014): 230–49; Grayson Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals: Protestant Secessions from the Via Media, c. 1800–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 132–47.

²⁷² William Hawkins to Joseph Kinghorn, November 3, 1815, no. 65, Wilkin Papers, NRC, 3. New Hall Street Baptist Chapel, Birmingham separated from Cannon Street under the pastorate of Isaiah Birt (1758–1837). On Hawkins, see Charles B. Jewson, “William Hawkins, 1790–1853,” *BQ* 26, no. 6 (1976): 275–281.

In January, Hawkins asked Kinghorn: “When will your book be out against Mr. Hall? It has been anxiously inquired after by many. For my own fact I cannot help thinking Mr. Hall has made out a strong case for mixed communion but I am not acquainted with your arguments, they may upset his system” (William Hawkins to Joseph Kinghorn, January 8, 1816, no. 66, NRO, 3).

²⁷³ Jewson, *Joseph Kinghorn and His Circle*, 242.

²⁷⁴ The *Baptist Magazine* announced in March that Kinghorn's “Baptism, or Terms of Communion at the Lord's Supper” would shortly be published (“Literary Notice. Shortly will be published,” *BM* 8 [March 1816]: 122), and in April, the same magazine announced that Kinghorn was “preparing a Second Edition of his work, entitled, Baptism, a Term of Communion at the Lord's Table” (“Literary Intelligence. Preparing for Publication,” *BM* 8 [April 1816]: 168). Other journal also affirms the time of its publication, as the *Monthly Repertory of English Literature* listed Kinghorn's work as one of those published “from January 10 to April 10, 1816” (“List of New Books,” *Repertory of English Literature, Arts, Sciences, etc* 21, no. 89 [1816]: 478). Also see “List of New Works Published from January 10 to April 10, 1816,” *British Review, and London Critical Journal* 7, no. 14 (May 1816): 568.

edition by the end of April of the same year, in which he acknowledged that “I have taken the opportunity of making a few verbal corrections and alterations in this edition, but none of them affect the main argument.”²⁷⁵ Since its publication, the Norwich minister received positive responses from Baptists of different backgrounds, as he wrote in shorthand in June 1816 that “A considerable portion of attention was often directed by those whom I conversed, to the late controversy on mixed communion; and I very unexpectedly received the thanks of many for my reply to Mr. Hall. By these means I learned their opinions.”²⁷⁶ William Burls (1763–1837), a wealthy London merchant and a deacon at Carter Lane, Southwark, wrote on May 27, 1816:

I feel much obliged to you, & I am certain many others do, for your excellent Book in ansr. to Mr. Hall—I have read it with much Interest. I wish [any?] writer on controversial subjects would imbibe the spirit in which you have written, I wish Mr Hall may do it in his promised answer, if he publishes an answer—I am sure the spirit of the works he has hitherto published on the subject is very different, & appears to me by no means calculated to do good.²⁷⁷

Even Hall expressed his compliments to Kinghorn’s response. On April 30, 1816, James Hinton (1761–1823) of Oxford, who ministered at an open-communion congregation, told his schoolmate and friend that “I heartily thank you for your well-written book. Mr. Hall says to me, ‘It is probably the best defence of which the prevailing practice is capable.’ You are the idol of my stricter brethren.”²⁷⁸ Later, on July 1, 1816, William Hawkins, now at Portsea, told Kinghorn that “Your name has acquired celebrity by the late controversy & any thing coming from your pen would be sure to be read with

²⁷⁵ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, iv.

²⁷⁶ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich*, 357.

²⁷⁷ William Burls to Joseph Kinghorn, May 27, 1816, no. 67, Wilkin Papers, NRO, 1. On Burls, see Timothy D. Whelan, ed., *Baptist Autographs in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1741–1845* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 362–63; Ernest A. Payne, *The Excellent Mr. Burls* (London: Kingsgate, 1943). A reprint of Payne’s biography can be found as Ernest A. Payne, “The Excellent Mr. Burls: First London Member of the Committee and Third Treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society: First Treasurer of the Irish Baptist Society,” *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 6 (2023): 23–31.

²⁷⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich*, 356.

interest. It would have an extensive sale both in this place & in Norwich, as I am so well known there & here.”²⁷⁹ Intriguingly, Kinghorn was aware of the danger of fame, as he reminded himself that “pride is the great sin of human nature, and as much defiles the minds of ministers as any other class of persons whatever.”²⁸⁰

Baptism, a Term of Communion

As Kinghorn stated in the introduction, *Baptism, a Term of Communion* was designed primarily as “an explanation and defence of the principles and conduct of the strict Baptists in general, than as a reply to the whole detail of [Hall’s] observations.”²⁸¹ Nevertheless, Kinghorn engaged Hall’s treatise and responded to the latter’s arguments. For the Norwich minister, open communion is a modern invention in both principle and practice, and is strictly a Baptist question.²⁸² At the core, the terms of communion concern the “constitution of the Church of Christ,” as the whole question is “whether persons who are acknowledged to be unbaptized ought to come to the Lord’s table.”²⁸³ Kinghorn observed that though Hall denied the connection between the two sacraments, he believed that believers are the only “proper subjects of Christian baptism.”²⁸⁴ Hall then appealed to individual conscience, as he argued that Baptists should be “willing to accept [paedobaptists] on that footing” that they believe they have been baptized, “leaving it to their own consciences to decide, whether they have received such baptism as the word of

²⁷⁹ William Hawkins to Joseph Kinghorn, July 1, 1816, no. 69, NRO, 2.

²⁸⁰ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich*, 358.

²⁸¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 2.

²⁸² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 2, 13–14. Regarding baptism, Kinghorn pointed out that the difference between paedobaptists and Baptists is not “what is the principle of church membership; but solely, what is the baptism required in the New Testament?” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 16). For Baptists of both open and close communion, their common ground is that “both parties believe that infant baptism is of no validity” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 16).

²⁸³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 7, 10.

²⁸⁴ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 12–13.

God enjoys.”²⁸⁵ In response, Kinghorn begins with the “great commandment” in the New Testament, which he understands it provides both the divine precept and apostolic precedents.²⁸⁶ Baptism, accordingly, is a divinely appointed “visible and ritual observance” that serves as “the evidence of faith” in Jesus Christ.²⁸⁷ Though baptism is “not a term of membership with any particular church,” it is “essential to salvation” as a “mark of Christian profession,” and “*once* necessary to communion.”²⁸⁸ Furthermore, baptism is understood as “a visible evidence of connexion with the Christian church” for both paedo- and credo-Baptists.²⁸⁹ Thus, open communion leads to the disuse of baptism, which also deviates paedobaptist principles.²⁹⁰ Regarding the apostolic precedents, Kinghorn disagreed with Hall and argued that if “the apostolic injunction does not apply to our present circumstances,” then it “is of no real consequence.”²⁹¹ In light of the “great commandment,” Kinghorn understands that the apostolic precedents are exercises of a “positive command,” as “the direction to baptize believers ‘emanates from the will of the legislator’,” which “possess the ‘nature of law’.”²⁹² Thus, the apostolic precedents are not merely traditions; instead, they are precedents enforced by divine precepts. In other words, to use Hall’s legal language, Kinghorn pointed out that precedents are “*expositions* of the law,” which are “numerous,” “uniform,” and “inspired.”²⁹³ By

²⁸⁵ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 15.

²⁸⁶ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 17.

²⁸⁷ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 18, 19.

²⁸⁸ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 19, 20.

²⁸⁹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 21, 22.

²⁹⁰ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 23. For an example of paedobaptists arguing for close communion, see Anonymous, *To Those Who Esteem the Essence of Religion of More Importance than the Forms and Ceremonies* (n.p., [1793]); Herbert Mends, *The Baptism of Infants, Authorized by Scripture, and the Practice of the Church of Christ in Every Age. In Reply to Mr. Birt’s Pamphlet, Entitled, A Defence of Scripture Baptism* (Plymouth, 1797).

²⁹¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 24.

²⁹² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 25.

²⁹³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 25. Though Hall argued that primitive

arguing for the applicability and authority of the apostolic precedents, Kinghorn states that open communion is not a New Testament practice.²⁹⁴ In other words, close communion is a “decided, universal, apostolical precedent,” and “communion, without baptism, is as great a deviation from the principles of the New Testament, as it is acknowledged to be a departure from primitive fact.”²⁹⁵

Kinghorn examined the last supper and pointed out that it was not a binding example, as it was not considered as the “term of their Christian profession,” which should be “distinctly prescribed, and illustrated by numerous cases.”²⁹⁶ Though the last supper was designed as “a precedent for future ages,” it was not accompanied with “any directions to the disciples respecting futurity.”²⁹⁷ The eucharist is, therefore, a “standing ordinance in the Christian church” (1 Cor 11:23ff), which is exercised with the expectation of the participants’ first initiation and inclusion in the community.²⁹⁸

Kinghorn then argued that Paul did not only connect the two sacraments (1 Cor 10:1–5; 12:13), but also stated the importance of the initiative sacrament (i.e., baptism) to the body of Christ (Eph 4:3), which made baptism “one of the essentials of a Christian church.”²⁹⁹ Furthermore, since the King James Version translated *παραδόσεις* as “ordinances” in 1 Cor 11:2 and “traditions” in 2 Thess 2:15, Kinghorn understood that it

uniformity was circumstantial, Kinghorn pointed out that “since the church at that time in circumstances which secured a correct attention to the will of Christ” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 26). Therefore, the primitive example can serve as a guidance and model for churches afterwards.

²⁹⁴ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 23.

²⁹⁵ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 27, 31.

²⁹⁶ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 26.

²⁹⁷ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 26, 27.

²⁹⁸ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 27. Kinghorn observed that Paul’s instruction on the eucharist lacked prescription of details such as the bread’s kind, time and place, and exclusivity of ethnical groups. In contrast, Christ explicitly instructed the mode, subject, and purpose of baptism in the “great commission.”

²⁹⁹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 28. Regarding Eph 4:3, Kinghorn pointed out that in the list, “only one body, and one baptism were visible things: all the others were invisible,” which proves the significance of the initiative sacrament (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 28).

referred to “the directions which the apostle delivered to the churches for their regulation,” which included baptism, a sacrament “expressly enjoined by the Lord, before his ascension, and distinctly recorded in the history of his life.”³⁰⁰ Such directions assume the connection “between baptism and the whole of the succeeding Christian profession” and understand baptism as “the first visible mark of Christian profession which the Lord commanded, and the apostles required.”³⁰¹ Building on such a premise, Kinghorn argues that even without explicit apostolic teachings on the terms of communion, since baptism is the “first act of Christian obedience,” it is “of course succeeded by the rest; and the required acknowledgement of our faith in Christ, in the nature of things, ought to precede the enjoyment of the privileges, which arise from faith.”³⁰²

After establishing the foundational principle that baptism is one of Christ’s direct and positive commands that ought to be obeyed, Kinghorn then examines some of Hall’s appealing arguments.³⁰³ Regarding tolerance of diverse opinions and forbearance of weaker Christians, Kinghorn acknowledged the argument’s effectiveness while arguing that the “ground on which the measure of toleration and forbearance is enforced, is totally inapplicable to the case of mixed communion.”³⁰⁴ As Kinghorn distinguishes the catholic and local churches, he understands that there are many excellent Christians in different denominations, though impossible to become members of the same congregation. It seems that for Kinghorn, these denominations do not limit to the

³⁰⁰ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 29.

³⁰¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 30.

³⁰² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 30. Interestingly, Kinghorn compared baptism to military oath of allegiance and “a matriculation on being admitted a member of a public body” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 30). Since “it is legally required,” baptism is a necessary act (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 31). Regarding the absence of apostolic teaching on the terms of communion, Kinghorn explained that “the New Testament does not prohibit the unbaptized from receiving the Lord’s supper, because no circumstance arose which rendered such prohibition necessary” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 32).

³⁰³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 41.

³⁰⁴ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 49.

dissenting body—such as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, General Baptists—but also to Quakers, Church of England, Scottish Presbyterians, “foreign Protestant divines,” and Roman Catholics.³⁰⁵ While recognising their genuine faith and achievements, denominational identities and the concept of local communities should not be sacrificed for the sake of visible catholicity. Kinghorn pointed out: “While we thus felt ourselves introduced into elevated society, enjoying the luxury which the union of talents, literature, and piety produced, we have often found that those whom we admired and revered, admitted a system which we could by no means adopt. . . . so that more intimate communion was a hopeless thing.”³⁰⁶ Instead, catholicity should be built upon “obedience to the directions of the Lord” or “walk in common in the ways of Christ.”³⁰⁷ Thus, contrary to latitudinarianism, mutual love, tolerance, and forbearance should not become reasons for each party to surrender their biblically-founded convictions.³⁰⁸ By examining Rom 14–15 and Phil 3:15, Kinghorn pointed out that there is a tension between the principle of toleration and the principle of obedience to Christ’s “direct, positive commands.”³⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Kinghorn argued that the context of Rom 14–15 did not apply to the terms of communion, as Paul urged Christian tolerance and forbearance in the absence of divine precept, which was food code in this case. Thus, whenever there is lack of explicit command in the New Testament, Christians are allowed to hold “private opinions” over issues such as the food code or sabbath-keeping, and “uniformity of conduct” is not morally required.³¹⁰ Furthermore, it is incorrect for Hall to

³⁰⁵ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 37.

³⁰⁶ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 38.

³⁰⁷ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 39.

³⁰⁸ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 39–40, 50.

³⁰⁹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 41.

³¹⁰ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 42.

identify ἀσθενοῦντα (“being weak,” Rom 14) and ἐτέρως (“differently,” Phil 3:15) as synonym to “being erroneous” (πλανωμένοις). For Kinghorn, “Weakness of faith leading men to do what was not enjoined, or to avoid what was not forbidden, is very different from opposition to the least of those things which were enjoined: and the cases differ not merely in degree, but in their nature.”³¹¹ In contrast to the early Jewish Christians who questioned the applicability of Old Testament food law in Christian practices, baptism as a term of communion is directly commanded by Christ as a New Testament law to obey. Thus, while the weak Christians’ speculations may be “vexatious” but “are not infractions of the divine law,” but Baptists cannot say the same about paedobaptists.³¹² In other words, “neither toleration nor forbearance, nor any thing else can be a substitute for obedience, in any instance whatever,” as long as a law is in force, not repealed, thus, ought to be followed.³¹³

In a similar manner, as Kinghorn understood Baptists were following the guide of the New Testament, their exclusion of unbaptised believers in Christian communion also justified their separation from Rome and the English Establishment.³¹⁴ As the “end of all reformation in the church” was for “the purposes of fulfilling the will of Christ,” Baptists’ separation from the Establishment became justifiable.³¹⁵ However, for both paedo- and credo-Baptists, open communion altered the constitution of the church.³¹⁶ Recognising the essential role of baptism, it was logically consistent to exclude the unbaptised. Close communion does not intend to exclude paedobaptists, as the latter

³¹¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 44, 46.

³¹² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 47, 49.

³¹³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 54. Here Kinghorn used the geocentric model and general elections as analogies to argue his case (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 49–54).

³¹⁴ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 55–56, 62–63, 119–31.

³¹⁵ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 58–59.

³¹⁶ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 58.

know and confess that “If the Baptists act consistently with their principles, strict communion must be adopted ... and it is not *felt* as a punishment” or excommunication.³¹⁷ Understanding the eucharist as a practice of the local congregation, Kinghorn pointed out that since paedobaptists, who could not voluntarily join a Baptist church by submitting “to its terms,” were not in the congregation, they could not be excommunicated.³¹⁸

Nevertheless, regarding the argument that Christians should “unite in communion, on the common ground, that each conscientiously believes [baptism] has been complied with,” Kinghorn pointed out that such a plan of appealing to private conscience “would practically annihilate all regulations for the admission of members into any society, either civil or religious.”³¹⁹ It is common sense that the society determines the qualifications for admission, regardless of the candidate’s opinion.³²⁰ Thus, it is the right of the congregation to determine if a candidate is qualified for church communion, which includes the validity of the candidate’s baptism. Furthermore, if such an individualistic approach were adopted, it would be impossible to maintain Christian orthodoxy and practice, as a Socinian or antinomian did not seem to deny “any particular

³¹⁷ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 60.

³¹⁸ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 61. Later Kinghorn argued that “A farther observation is necessary, which is, that *should* a Roman Catholic ask for communion in the Church of England, he would *ipso facto* renounce the main part of his Popery: and *should* a Churchman solicit communion with a church of Pædobaptist Dissenters, he also would give up the chief points by which a Churchman and a Dissenter are distinguished; but if a Pædobaptist ask for communion among Baptists, he necessarily asks for one of these two things; either, that they would give up their opinion respecting baptism, by admitting him *as baptized*; or, that they would give up the idea, that baptism is a pre-requisite to communion. Thus, *they* are to surrender *their sentiments*, while *he* surrenders nothing” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 63–64).

³¹⁹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 79, 80.

³²⁰ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 80–81. Regarding admission to religious societies, Kinghorn explained that the body need to “hear the profession of his faith, and his reasons for desiring to be admitted among them; and then they *always* decide whether they ought to receive or reject him, on the grounds of the profession which he has made, the knowledge that they themselves have of his character, or the credible testimony of others on which they can reply” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 81).

doctrine,” but “only gives his own explanation of it.”³²¹ For Kinghorn, the fundamental difference between credo- and paedo-Baptists was not about “a mere circumstantial in the administration” but the meaning of baptism.³²² For the former, paedobaptists were “entirely wrong,” as their view and practice of paedobaptism do not have “the authority of Christ and his apostles.”³²³ It affirms the basic principle that unbaptised persons do not have access to communion. Such a discussion over the freedom of conscience was further elaborated in the sixth chapter, where Kinghorn employed legal languages to argue against Hall’s insistence of the duty to admit unbaptised persons to communion.³²⁴ At the core, the argument revealed a larger legal context of the latter part of the long eighteenth century, as emphasis of jurisprudence began to shift.³²⁵ By arguing for the principle of the

³²¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 83.

³²² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 85.

³²³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 85.

³²⁴ Kinghorn’s interest and knowledge of English legal system can be observed from his library collection. According to Wilkin’s catalogue, Kinghorn owned the following legal titles: William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England. In Four Books*, 5th ed. (Dublin, 1773); *The Deed of Settlement of the Society for Equitable Assurances on Lives and Survivorships, as the same is enrolled in His Majesty’s court of King’s Bench at Westminster. With the Bye-laws of the Society, and Six Addresses Delivered at Six Different General Courts of the Society, by Mr. Morgan, the Actuary* (London, 1820); William Nelson, *The Rights of the Clergy of that Part of Great-Britain, Call’d England; as Established by the Canons, the Common Law, and the Statutes of the Realm ...*, 2nd ed. (London, 1712); Heneage Finch, *An Exact and Most Impartial Account of The Indictment, Arraignment, Trial and Judgment (According to Law) of Nine and Twenty Regicides, the Murderers of His Late Sacred Majesty of Most Glorious Memory ...* (London, 1660); Thomas Foxwell Buxton, *Speech on the Bill for Mitigating the Severity of Punishment in Certain Cases of Forgery* (London, 1820); Samuel Favell, *A Speech on the Propriety of Revising the Criminal Laws: Delivered Dec. 10, 1818, before the Corporation of the City of Law* (London, 1819); Joseph Smith, *Observations on the Statute of the 1 William and Mary, Chap. 18. Commonly Called the Toleration Act; and on the Statute of the 19 Geo. III. Chap. 44. Intituled “An Act for the Further Relief of Protestant Dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters;” In Reference to Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Congregations and Others, Applying to Qualify Themselves under the Said Acts* (Bristol, 1804); William Wrenford, *An Abstract of the Malt Laws, Containing All the Regulations Affecting Maltsters, and Dealers in Malt; and including the Provisions of the Act of 7 & 8 Geo. IV. Chap. 52, Called the Malt Consolidation Act; with a Copious Index* (London, 1827).

³²⁵ See David Lemmings, *Law and Government in England During the Long Eighteenth Century: From Consent to Command* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Jean-Louis Halpérin, *Five Legal Revolutions Since the 17th Century: An Analysis of a Global Legal History* (New York: Springer, 2014); Antonio Padoa-Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); David Dyzenhaus, “Thomas Hobbes and the Rule by Law Tradition,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Rule of Law*, ed. Jens Meierhenrich and Martin Loughlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 261–77; John Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Harry Potter, *Law, Liberty and the Constitution: A Brief History of the Common Law* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2020).

“rule of law,” Kinghorn appealed to the authority of the law over the freedom of individual conscience.³²⁶ By referring to Charles II (1630–1685) and James II (1633–1701), two Stuart kings who oppressed nonconformity, Kinghorn argued that “the exercise of authority” should abide “the plain direction of statute law,” and “duty always attends the evident expression of the divine will.”³²⁷ Kinghorn resembled Thomas Hobbes’ (1588–1679) argument in his *Leviathan* (1651), where he argued for duty acted on public conscience instead of private conscience.³²⁸ As S. A. Lloyd summarises, according to Hobbes, “an action done *only* in obedience to a command one is obligated to obey is the act of the authority who commanded it ... it is the sovereign’s will that is being acted on when obeying a law, with the obedient subject being used as the means ... by which that will is carried out.”³²⁹ Though Hobbes’ view reflected the shift from *ancien*

³²⁶ Before the nineteenth century, the “rule of law” was understood as the rejection of the concept of divine right of kings; instead, the sovereign became legitimated through social contracts. As the idea developed, especially after 1750, the legal courts represented the sovereignty and became independent of the monarch in their interpretations and judgements. In a sense, the “rule of law” could be understood as strictly obedience to laws and precepts by all citizens. See Michael Stolleis, “Judicial Interpretation in Transition from the *Ancien Régime* to Constitutionalism,” in *Interpretation of Law in the Age of Enlightenment: From the Rule of the King to the Rule of Law*, ed. Yasutomo Morigiwa, Michael Stolleis, and Jean-Louis Halperin (London: Springer, 2011), 8–18.

³²⁷ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 91.

³²⁸ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill* (London, 1651). Though Kinghorn did not own a copy of Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, the Hobbesian influence probably came from John Locke (1632–1704), as Kinghorn owned *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1694) and his two-volume works published in between 1710 and 1731 (Wilkin, ed., *Catalogue*, 26). In addition, Kinghorn also owned works by known Lockean writers such as Henry Grove’s (1684–1738) *Sermons and Tracts: Being the Posthumous Works of the late Reverend Mr. Henry Grove, of Taunton*, ed. Thomas Amory (London, 1740) and *A Discourse of Secret Prayer: Together with two essays on prayer concerning the rational grounds of prayer in general, and concerning the qualifications necessary to render prayer an acceptable service* (London, 1742), as well as works by George Benson (1699–1762).

³²⁹ S. A. Lloyd, “Hobbes on the Duty Not to Act on Conscience,” in *Hobbes on Politics and Religion*, ed. Laurens van Apeldoorn and Robin Douglass (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 263. On the influence of Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, see Jeffrey R. Collins, *In the Shadow of Leviathan: John Locke and the Politics of Conscience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Jon Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan: The Reception of the Political and Religious Ideas of Thomas Hobbes in England 1640–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Alan Cromartie, “Hobbes, Calvinism, and Determinism,” in *Hobbes on Politics and Religion*, 95–115; Jon Parkin, “The Reception of Hobbes’s *Leviathan*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes’s Leviathan*, ed. Patricia Springborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 441–59; Jeffrey R. Collins, “Silencing Thomas Hobbes: The Presbyterians and *Leviathan*,” in *Cambridge Companion to Hobbes’s Leviathan*, 478–500.

régime to constitutionalism, which emphasised on the judges' role as interpreters of the law and representatives of the sovereignty, there were increasing demands to centre on "the realm of personal freedom"—including the freedom of individual conscience—especially after the 1750s.³³⁰ It seems that Hall represented the new intellectual trend, while Kinghorn maintained the importance of dutiful obedience to precepts and authorised interpretation of the law. Thus, Kinghorn reaffirmed his fundamental principle that as a positive precept, "believers should profess their faith by their baptism," which by logical deduction, it eliminated the possibility to receive unbaptised persons into church communion.³³¹

In the remaining chapters, Kinghorn examined the history of the church and particularly traced the practice of paedobaptism in the patristic era.³³² By surveying teachings of early modern Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic writers, Kinghorn reaffirmed that baptism "is essential to the salvation of the individual Christian, that he repent and believe the gospel," though at the same time "It is not essential to his salvation, that he be baptized and be a member of a church, since it is a possible case that he may have no opportunity of fulfilling either of these duties."³³³ In other words, Kinghorn shared Hall's twofold understanding of the sacraments, yet placed greater emphasis on the initiative sacrament, particularly in the argument against open communion. Regarding the nature of John's baptism, though Kinghorn believed Abraham Booth had provided a sufficient response, since Hall's distinction of John's and Christian

³³⁰ Michael Stolleis, "Judicial Interpretation in Transition from the *Ancien Régime* to Constitutionalism," in *Interpretation of Law in the Age of Enlightenment: From the Rule of the King to the Rule of Law*, ed. Yasutomo Morigiwa, Michael Stolleis, and Jean-Louis Halperin (London: Springer, 2011), 9. Also see Rudolf Schlögl, *Religion and Society at the Dawn of Modern Europe: Christianity Transformed, 1750–1850*, trans., Helen Imhoff (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

³³¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 92.

³³² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 143–54.

³³³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 162.

baptisms had caused many to think “it forcible in favour of mixed communion,” Kinghorn explained his view.³³⁴ Kinghorn identified John’s baptism as a Christian baptism, by merit.³³⁵ For him, John’s baptism is “a divine institution” with authorised message or value, as people “were baptized on a profession of their faith in all the truth which God had at that time revealed.”³³⁶ As an exercise of faith and repentance, John’s baptism was designed “to bring forward the Messiah to the observation of the people; and thus make his person, and ultimately his whole character known to Israel; that those who were baptized might be led to believe in him.”³³⁷ While denying a radical discontinuity of the old and new dispensations, Kinghorn pointed out three observations. First, John’s was a temporal “positive right,” especially after “Jesus also baptized, by means of his disciples.”³³⁸ Thus, Christian baptism was practiced prior to the “great commission,” as probably most of the disciples were baptized by John and themselves became baptisers during Jesus’ earthly ministry. Second, both the baptism and the eucharist, as the apostles received, were “marked with the ignorance of the time.”³³⁹ In other words, like the paschal meal, which was established before Israelites’ experience of exodus, the last supper, established as a “commemoration,” was first celebrated by the apostles, who “could not surround the table of the Lord ... with the sentiments and feelings which they enjoyed on subsequent occasions.”³⁴⁰ Thus, despite the imperfection of both sacraments experienced by the apostles, “both were enriched and rendered more significant and impressive, by the additional light and glory with which they were afterwards

³³⁴ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 132.

³³⁵ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 132.

³³⁶ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 133.

³³⁷ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 133.

³³⁸ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 134.

³³⁹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 136.

³⁴⁰ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 137.

invested.”³⁴¹ In other words, Kinghorn followed the Augustinian or Anselmian tradition of *fides quaerens intellectum* and understood the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as a means of escalation of the quality of faith, instead of its initiation. In addition, as the apostles were not rebaptised after the resurrection, Kinghorn deemed their baptism to be sufficient and authentic, as “they were baptized by John on their professing that they would believe on him who was to come, and when he did appear, they received him.”³⁴² John’s baptism helped the apostles to achieve the end of baptism, and “the Saviour acknowledged them as his disciples.”³⁴³ Third, regarding the rebaptism of believers in Ephesus, Kinghorn borrowed Johann David Michaelis’ (1717–1791) explanation, which distinguished John’s baptism of repentance and baptism into John’s baptism.³⁴⁴ Thus, while John’s baptism was valid, those who were baptised into John and his baptism were in fact unbaptised and needed to receive a Christian baptism.

Overall, Kinghorn’s argument in *Baptism, a Term of Communion* is simple, which is baptism is a divinely-commanded profession of faith, and it is necessary to obey this precept and apostolic precedents to refuse admitting unbaptised persons into the local congregation. It is interesting to observe that Joseph Kinghorn had adopted some of David Kinghorn’s previous counsels and arguments. As the father was alive until two years after the publication of Kinghorn’s second response to Hall, it can be assumed that the senior Kinghorn provided suggestions and insights into the production of the Norwich minister’s work.

³⁴¹ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 137.

³⁴² Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 137.

³⁴³ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 137.

³⁴⁴ Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 138–140. See Johann David Michaelis, *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* (Frankfurt, 1771). Kinghorn translated that for Michaelis, “John’s baptism was baptism *into Christ*, as he said that the person baptized should believe on him who should come after him, but *this*, was merely baptism *into John*, by a kind of implicit faith, and was not Christian baptism” (Kinghorn, *Baptism, a Term of Communion*, 139).

Aftermath

Though both Hall's and Kinghorn's works were widely circulated among Baptists in the British Isles, few published on the same topic around this time. Besides Welsh Baptist Christmas Evans' (1766–1838), *The Decision of a General Congress*, which was published in March 1816, a bit earlier than Kinghorn's response, none of the open communion Baptists published to either support and supplement Hall or criticise Kinghorn.³⁴⁵ Instead, two Arian writers published shorter works to advocate open communion on the basis of liberty in the second half of the year.³⁴⁶ Later in February 1817, William Newman published Andrew Fuller's *Open Communion Unscriptural*.³⁴⁷ This pamphlet was originally Fuller's letter to William Ward, written on September 21, 1800. Nevertheless, the question over the terms of communion did not stop on an intellectual level; instead, many began to enquire their position and some churches began to practise open communion in different degrees. For instance, in 1816, shortly after the annual meeting of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Association on June 5 and 6, 1816, the church where Charles Gray of Blackburn ministered, Islington chapel, vigorously debated over the terms of communion, and even left the association in the same year.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Christmas Evans, *The Decision of a General Congress, Convened to Agree on "Terms of Communion:" Occasioned by the Rev. Robert Hall's Pamphlet on That Subject* (London, 1816).

³⁴⁶ These are Joseph Francis Burrell of Eschol Chapel, *Water Baptism, Circumcision, and the Lord's Supper, Dissected and Analyzed; Shewing the Danger of Resting in Those Signs; the spiritual Substance, and Import of Them, Opened up in an Experimental Way. To which is Added, a Concise History of the Anabaptists, or Baptists, Calculated to Establish Weak Believers, and to Rescue Them from the Power of the Devil, from Errors, and False Teachers. The Whole Being the Substance of Several Discourses, Preached on Baptism, and Written in Consequence of Special Impression from God* (London, 1816), published in June 1816, and Thomas Williams, *Religious Liberty Stated and Enforced on the Principles of Scripture and Common Sense. In Six Essays, with Notes and an Appendix* (London, 1816), published in October 1816. Neither work engaged Hall or Kinghorn.

³⁴⁷ Andrew Fuller, *Open Communion Unscriptural; A Letter from the Late Rev. A. Fuller, of Kettering, (Dated Sept. 21, 1800) to the Rev. W. Ward, Missionary at Serampore* (London, 1817). Joseph Ivimey later issues a second edition in September 1824.

³⁴⁸ W. T. Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography Volume II* (London: Kingsgate, 1922), 2:96. Some members left the church under the influence of William Gadsby in 1818, as some of them could not "live on the general preaching of the day" (i.e., Fullerism and open communion) and later rejoined the church when John Worrall (d. 1844), a Gadsbyite became the pastor of the Islington congregation in Blackburn (Kenneth Dix, *Strict and Particular: English Strict and Particular Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* [Didcot, Oxfordshire: Strict Baptist Historical Society, 2001], 52). Also see "A Brief Account of the Rise,

Furthermore, Robert Hall began to persuade the Harvey Lane congregation to adopt open communion. Though the congregation did not adopt such a position until the pastorate of Hall's successor, James Phillippo Mursell (1799–1885), Hall established “a little church” for paedobaptists to host “its sacramental service ... on the morning of the same sabbath on which the ‘strict communion’ church held its corresponding service in the afternoon.”³⁴⁹ Such a “two church” model was not Hall's invention, as it has been practiced by the Broadmead congregation in Bristol long ago. John Ryland Jr. described in a letter, later published in June 1829, that he invited John B. Romeyn (1777–1825), a New York Presbyterian minister, “To sit down at the Lord's table with a little pedobaptist [*sic*] church to which I break bread in the morning of the second Lord's day in the month, and in the afternoon I administer to the Baptists, some of whom object to mixed communion.”³⁵⁰ Later, after William Brock (1807–1875) succeeded Kinghorn, the new pastor also separated the St. Mary's congregation and held the eucharist for the strict communionists on the first Sunday of the month, and one for the open communionists on the third Sunday.³⁵¹

The Second Round (1818–1825)

Though Hall did not publish his response until two years later, his mind was industriously engaged with Kinghorn's arguments. On March 12, 1817, Hall told Thomas

Progress, and Present Position of the Particular Baptist Chapel, Islington, Blackburn (1864),” *Christian's Monthly Record* (1881): 234–39, 267–71.

³⁴⁹ Gregory, *A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Robert Hall*, in *Works of Robert Hall*, 6:108. Sheila Mitchell, *Not Disobedient: A History of United Baptist Church, Leicester, including Harvey Lane 1760–1845, Belvoir Street 1845–1940 and Charles Street 1831–1940* (Leicester: United Baptist Church, 1984), 51.

³⁵⁰ “Original Letter of Dr. Ryland,” *Spirit of the Pilgrims* 2, no. 6 (June 1829): 344.

³⁵¹ See Charles M. Burrell, *The Life of William Brock, D.D. First Minister of Bloomsbury Chapel, London* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1878), 121–22; Norton, ed., *Baptist Chapel, St. Mary's, Norwich*, 12–13; George Gould, *Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich: Report of the Proceedings in Attorney-General v. Gould, Before the Right Honorable the Master of the Rolls, and His Honor's Judgment Thereon* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1860), 33–35.

Langdon and commented on his progress:

I am far advanced in my answer to Mr. Kinghorn, and expect it will be in the press in a very few weeks. I am afraid it will be a more hasty performance than I wish. It is exactly as you say: there is more difficulty in disentangling his arguments than in replying to them. He is unquestionably a clever man. I hope, however, that I have succeeded in showing the utter fallacy of the far greater part of his reasoning; but the public must judge.³⁵²

Five months later, Hall told John Ryland Jr. that “I am engaged in [publishing] my answer to Kinghorn, which demands [daily?] attention.”³⁵³ It seems that Hall had repeatedly edited his initial draft, even after sending a manuscript to the press, as in September 1817, the *Baptist Magazine* announced that Hall’s reply to Kinghorn was in the press.³⁵⁴ However, Hall’s *A Reply to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn* was only published in April 1818, and even so, a second edition was printed a month later.³⁵⁵

Hall’s Reply

In his *Reply*, Hall expressed his disappointment with Kinghorn’s treatise, as he believed that Kinghorn had “infused . . . some novelty in the discussion,” though many of his arguments “bear an original stamp;” nevertheless, he praised his friend for the latter’s honoured character, esteemed manner, and gentle intelligence.³⁵⁶ Throughout his *Reply*, Hall rejected the distinction between the visible and invisible church; instead, like many nineteenth-century theologians, he understood the church inasmuch as its “historical existence” and “ideal essence,” which was due to the influence of Johann Lorenz von

³⁵² Hall, “Letter LV,” in *Works of Robert Hall*, 5:512.

³⁵³ Robert Hall Jr. to John Ryland Jr., August 3, 1817, DA20/1/1, Papers of R. Hall (Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Birmingham), 1–2.

³⁵⁴ “Literary Intelligence. In the Press,” *BM* 9 (September 1817): 353.

³⁵⁵ “Literary Intelligence. Just Published,” *BM* 10 (April 1818): 150; “Literary Intelligence. In the Press,” *BM* 10 (May 1818): 192. Notice that W. T. Whitley made a mistake, as he recorded that Hall’s reply was first published in 1817 and a second edition was published in 1818 (Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, 2:103). Robert Hall Jr., *A Reply to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn: Being a Further Vindication of the Practice of Free Communion* (Leicester, 1818). The following section will use the second edition.

³⁵⁶ Robert Hall Jr., *A Reply to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn: Being a Further Vindication of the Practice of Free Communion*, 2nd ed. (Leicester, 1818), 69, xxi.

Mosheim (1693–1755).³⁵⁷ For Hall,

³⁵⁷ Kristine A. Culp observes that “In the nineteenth century, theologians transmuted the distinction between the visible and invisible church into the contrast between Christianity’s historical existence and its ideal essence. This antithesis provided the dominant logic of modern ecclesiology and arguably of theology, where it converged with a modern restatement of Chalcedon’s two-natures Christology. The nature of the church and of God’s relation to the world were both interpreted in terms of the relation between historical existence and ideal essence. The antithesis and the relation between its terms provided a way to formulate the nature of Christian unity, the holiness of the church, the relation of the church and world, and ecclesial authority” (Kristine A. Culp, *Vulnerability and Glory: A Theological Account* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2010], 73). Peter C. Hodgson noticed that such a view emerged in the context of the Enlightenment historiography, particularly advocated by Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755) and Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791), who “viewed history in a pragmatic, functionalist, nonsupernaturalist way, distinguished between true religion (‘spiritual, moral, free’) and church doctrine, construed the church as an association on a par with other human societies such as the state, and stressed the principle of individuality and subjectivity” (Hodgson, *Revisioning the Church: Ecclesial Freedom in the New Paradigm* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], 53). On Mosheim, see Lewis Spitz Jr., “Johann Lorenz Mosheim’s Philosophy of History,” *Concordia Theological Monthly* 20, no. 5 (1949): 321–39; Karl Heussi, *Johann Lorenz Mosheim. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1906); E. P. Meijering, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Theologie im Urteil J. L. von Mosheims* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1995); Martin Mulsow, Ralph Häfner, Florian Neumann, and Helmut Zedelmaier, eds., *Johann Lorenz Mosheim (1693–1755): Theologie im Spannungsfeld von Philosophie, Philologie und Geschichte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997). On Semler, see Trutz Rendtorff, *Church and Theology: The Systematic Function of the Church Concept in Modern Theology*, trans. Reginald H. Fuller (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 28–58; William Baird, *History of New Testament Research Volume One From Deism to Tübingen* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 117–27; Gottfried Hornig, *Johann Salomo Semler: Studien zu Leben und Werk des Hallenser Aufklärungstheologen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996).

Both Hall and Kinghorn were familiar with Mosheim and Semler. Hall wrote to Newton Bosworth (1778–1848) on April 23, 1813 and told his friend that “I am much delighted with reading a new translation of Mosheim’s Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before Constantine. It appears to me one of the most instructive theological publications that has appeared for a multitude of years” (Hall, “Letter XXXVII,” in *Works of Robert Hall*, 5:484). Kinghorn mentioned Mosheim several times in his correspondence with his father, as the Norwich minister first got hold of Mosheim’s *Ecclesiastical History* in Latin in December 1791, about which he wrote: “I am now in possession of a treasure of curious Information which is perhaps the sweeter because very few in the Kingdom are in this respect equally rich” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, December 10, 1791, D/KIN 2/1791 no. 701, KPA, 3). A few months later, Kinghorn told his father that “I have lately got 6 vols of Mosheims Works principally on Ecclesiastical Histry. The other parts on Divinity so that I have another pretty long piece of work to unravel his crabbed Latin which I think by no means a model of good writing only it contains valuable information. One of his Volumes is *Elementa Theologia Dogmaticæ* written with a clearness of idea I have seldom if ever seen. I see on the subject of Election he is an Arminian tho I think as near a Calvinists as an Arminian can be” (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 28, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 720, KPA, 2). Later on October 2, Kinghorn discussed Mosheim’s argument of academies in the Patristic period (Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, October 2, 1792, D/KIN 2/1792 no. 741, KPA, 1–2). Kinghorn’s library catalogue also indicated that he owned nine of Mosheim’s works, which are *Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium volumen. Accedit Michaellis Gerdessii martyrologium protestantium hispanorum Latine versum ex Anglico* (Altonaviae, 1733); *De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum magnum commentarii* (Helmstadii, 1753); *Institutiones Historiae Christianae Majores saeculum primum* (Helmstadii, 1739); *Institutiones Historiae Christianae Antiquioris* (Helmstadii, 1737); *Vindiciae Antiquae Christianorum Disciplinae: adversus celeberrimi viri Jo. Tolandi, Hiberni, Nazarenus ...* (Hamburg, 1722); *Dissertationum ad Sanctiores Disciplinas Pertinentium Syntagma. Accedunt Gualtheri Moylii et Petri Kingii dissertationes de legione Fulminatrice ex anglico latine versae, additis observationibus* (Lipsiae, 1733); *Elementa Theologiae Dogmaticae in academicis quondam praelectionibus proposita et demonstrata*, ed. Christian Ernst von Windheim (Norinbergae, 1758); *De Beghardis et Beguinabus commentarius. Fragmentum ex ipso ms, auctoris libro edidit, duplici appendice notis et indice locupletavit Georgius Henricus Martini* (Leipsig, 1790); and *An Ecclesiastical History, ancient and modern, from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the eighteenth century ...* trans., Archibald Maclaine (London, 1806). See Wilkin, *Catalogue*, 30. Kinghorn also owned six works by Semler, which are: *Paraphrasis in primam Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam cum notis, et Latinarum translationum excerptis* (Halaë, 1770); *Paraphrasis in Primam Ioannis Epistolam: cum prolegomenis et animadversionibus* (Regiae, 1792); *Paraphrasis epistolae*

we must either seek a church such as it not to be found upon earth, or to be content to associate with men compassed with infirmities; prepared to exercise towards others the forbearance and indulgence which we need, and to exhibit on every occasion the humility becoming those who are conscious that in “many things we all offend.”³⁵⁸

Emphasising on the spiritual nature of the gathered society, Hall argued that Christian salvation ought to be the basis of communion, as in the church, everyone ought to see each other as “pardoned sinners, washed in the same fountain, sanctified, though imperfectly, by the same Spirit, and fellow-travellers to the same celestial city.”³⁵⁹ Hall identified that the point of disagreement was not primarily concerning the sacrament of baptism, as in its nature, mode, subject, and manner; instead, it was about the close communionists’ claim of the “necessary dependence of” the two sacraments.³⁶⁰ Since the disagreement only existed among Baptists, the only question to consider was “whether those who are acknowledged to be unbaptised ought to come to the Lord’s table.”³⁶¹ For Hall, the disagreement was caused by the close communionists’ inconsistency in principle and practice, as by confining “the profession of Christianity” to themselves, they made “practice distinction betwixt the participation of the Eucharist, and other duties

Iacobi: cum notis et Latinarum translationum varietate (Regiae, 1781); *Paraphrasis in epistolam II. Petri, et epistolam Judae* (Regiae, 1784); *Paraphrasis epistolae ad Galatas: cum prolegomenis, notis, et varietate lectionis Latinae* (Regiae, 1779); and *Commentarii Historici de Antiquo Christianorum statu* (Halae Magdeburgicae, 1771). See Wilkin, *Catalogue*, 39.

It is unclear the source of Hall’s adaption of the antithesis of the church’s historical existence and its ideal essence. However, based on the popularity of Mosheim’s works and the influence of rationalism and empiricism, it could be argued that Hall’s understanding of the church was influenced by the Enlightenment historiography.

³⁵⁸ Hall, *Reply*, 104–5.

³⁵⁹ Hall, *Reply*, 103. In chapter eight, Hall stated: “the mystical body of Christ is *one* and *one* only, and that all sincere believers are members of that body, is so clearly and unequivocally asserted in the sacred Scriptures, that it would be trifling with the reader to enter into a formal proof of proposition, so obvious and so undeniable ... It is equally certain that the term church, whenever it is applied to denote the whole number of believers diffused over the face of the earth, is identified in scripture with the body of Christ ... In the language of scripture, two classes of men only are recognised, believers and unbelievers, the church and the world; nor is it possible to conceive, in consistency with the dictates of inspiration, of a third. All who are in Christ are in a state of salvation; all who belong to the world, in a state of spiritual death and condemnation. ... If we allow ourselves to imagine a description of persons, who, though truly sanctified in Christ and united to him, as their Head, are yet no parts of his church, we adopt a Utopian theory, as unfounded and extravagant as the boldest fictions of romance” (Hall, *Reply*, 190–91).

³⁶⁰ Hall, *Reply*, 16.

³⁶¹ Hall, *Reply*, 4, 1.

and privileges.”³⁶² In response, Hall accused Kinghorn and the close communionists of being sectarian and had enforced intolerance upon others.

In a legal manner, Hall stated his overall principle in the case, which was to act “according to the comprehension of our charity,” as Hall believed that Rom 15:7 was the “comprehensive precept” for Christians to obey.³⁶³ In other words, Hall presupposed that the scriptures permitted a toleration of diverse opinions in the absence of specific precept, about which there should be no need for “an absolute uniformity.”³⁶⁴ Such a principle reflects the dissenters’ socio-political contexts, especially their nonconformity and political advocacy during the Georgian era. Employing logical terminologies, Hall pointed out the necessity to distinguish the medium and the position, as “the medium of proof, or confutation, should contain some proposition, about which both parties are agreed.”³⁶⁵ Thus, Hall criticised Kinghorn for *πρότον ψεύδος*, which in logical syllogism points to the fact that false premises necessarily lead to false conclusions, despite the soundness of intermediary reasonings.³⁶⁶ Hall pointed out that the premises of open communion Baptists “acknowledge baptism to be a duty” and they “do not invariably demand it as a preliminary to church fellowship,” do not lead to the conclusion of either breaking the divine law or dispensing a sacrament, unless it is assumed that baptism to be a prerequisite to Christian communion.³⁶⁷ Hall, therefore, challenged his opponent to

³⁶² Hall, *Reply*, 76.

³⁶³ Hall, *Reply*, 6, 100.

³⁶⁴ Hall, *Reply*, 100–1.

³⁶⁵ Hall, *Reply*, 102. According to Johnson’s dictionary, the word “medium” could mean “any thing used in ratiocination, in order to a conclusion; the middle term in an argument, by which propositions are connected” (Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* [London, 1824], 2:120). When Hall used the term “medium of proof,” it did not seem he was using a legal terminology, which specifically referred to evidence in the case law. Nevertheless, it is significant to recognise the distinction between “evidence” and “proof” in law, as “evidence is only the medium of proof; proof is the effect of evidence” (Alexander M. Burrill, *A Law Dictionary and Glossary: Containing Full Definitions of the Principal Terms of the Common and Civil Law*, 2nd ed., 2 vols [New York: John S. Voorhies, 1860], 2:346).

³⁶⁶ Hall, *Reply*, 110.

³⁶⁷ Hall, *Reply*, 102–3.

prove the assumption of baptism being “a necessary preliminary to the Lord’s supper.”³⁶⁸ Only by doing so, the close communionists could “continue obstinate, load us as much as you please, with the opprobrium of abrogating a divine command.”³⁶⁹ Nevertheless, since Hall believed that Kinghorn and the close communionists could not prove their case, he believed the question became a matter of interpretation, which was not restrictive, as he stated: “The interpretation of a rule is, to him who adopts it, equally binding with the rule itself, because every one must act on his own responsibility; but he has no authority whatever to bind it on the conscience of his brother, and to treat him who receives it not, as though he were at direct issue with the legislator.”³⁷⁰ By comparing the close communionists to the papacy, Hall argued that the core of his opponents’ problem was the desire to “control the sentiments and conduct of others” by their own standards.³⁷¹

In considering Hall’s empiricist definition of the church, he distinguished erroneous or mistaken Christians from those who conscientiously disobey. For Hall, all paedobaptists had “failed in a certain part of their duty,” thus, they were unbaptised; but since they were “supposed to mistake the nature of an institute” instead of “avowedly” neglecting baptism, paedobaptists should be understood as erroneous or “mistaken Christians.”³⁷² Furthermore, Hall believed that the paedobaptists’ error was caused by “involuntary prejudice, or mistake.”³⁷³ Due to their “conscientious adherence to known

³⁶⁸ Hall, *Reply*, 109.

³⁶⁹ Hall, *Reply*, 109. Hall asked: “Is there a single word in the New Testament which, fairly interpreted, can be regarded as a prohibition of the admission of unbaptised persons to the Lord’s supper?” (Hall, *Reply*, 69).

³⁷⁰ Hall, *Reply*, 110.

³⁷¹ Hall, *Reply*, 112. Later in the treatise, Hall accused Kinghorn and the close communionists of using arrogant languages to assume the infallibility of their views and suggested that their position and attitude resembled sectarianism (Hall, *Reply*, 21).

³⁷² Hall, *Reply*, 6, 17. Hall stated: “to misinterpret is surely not the same thing as wilfully to contradict” (Hall, *Reply*, 20).

³⁷³ Hall, *Reply*, 12.

duty” and “the general tenor of [their] conduct,” “the mere absence of baptism” should not be considered as “a sufficient bar to communion.”³⁷⁴ On this ground, open communionists received paedobaptists as “sincere followers of Christ” without acknowledging the validity of their baptism.³⁷⁵ Put negatively, the paedobaptists’ disqualification to communion should not rely on their “non-compliance with a law.”³⁷⁶ Hall then dissociated baptism and Christian faith by arguing against Kinghorn’s central thesis that baptism is an essential and necessary confession of faith. By using “confession” and “profession” synonymously, Hall affirmed that baptism was “an essential term of profession,” while rejecting the idea that it was also “necessary to salvation.”³⁷⁷ If the latter were true, argued Hall, the rejection of communion would mean the exclusion from salvation.³⁷⁸ Appealing to the “development of the gospel scheme,” Hall maintained that though “the conditions of salvation, under the gospel” remain unchanged, it can only mean in the sense of arguing that faith and repentance as “indispensable prerequisites” to justification, and it cannot be applied to “every particular, connected with the faith and practice of Christians.”³⁷⁹ Thus, Hall argued:

There are certain parts of Christianity, which as they exhibit the basis, and propound the conditions of the new covenant, belong to its essence; certain doctrines which are revealed because they are necessary; and others which are necessary only because they are revealed: the absence of which impairs its beauty, without destroying its being. Of this nature are its few and simple ceremonies. But while this distinction is admitted, it will not be denied that the wilful perversion of the least of Christ’s precepts, or the deliberate and voluntary rejection of his instructions in the

³⁷⁴ Hall, *Reply*, 12.

³⁷⁵ Hall, *Reply*, 12.

³⁷⁶ Hall, *Reply*, 17–18.

³⁷⁷ Hall, *Reply*, 33–36, 43.

³⁷⁸ Hall, *Reply*, 38–39.

³⁷⁹ Hall, *Reply*, 46, 44. Here, Hall curiously argued that even the doctrine of atonement, though significant and became essential to salvation, “could previously subsist without it” (Hall, *Reply*, 46).

smallest instance, would betray an insincerity utterly inconsistent with the Christian character.³⁸⁰

For Hall, though baptism “was necessary to salvation” in the apostolic age, such a condition was circumstanced and could not serve as a precedent.³⁸¹ Directed by the Holy Spirit, the apostles acted against unbaptised persons rather than Christians.³⁸² Hall understood that the apostles used John 8:31 and 15:14 to emphasise the nature of Christian discipleship, from which the “voluntary omission of the baptismal ceremony” was understood arising from “a contumacious contempt of a divine precept, of which no sincere Christian could be guilty.”³⁸³ As for the paedobaptists, their “only crime consists in mistaking their meaning in one particular.”³⁸⁴ Thus, the circumstances had changed, as Hall stated: “If the ancient Christians had received a person without baptism, they would have received a false professor: but when we at present receive one whom we judge to be in a similar predicament, we receive a sincere, though mistaken, brother; we receive him who is of that description of Christians whom we are commanded to receive.”³⁸⁵ Hall then used the question of eating blood and laying on of hands as examples to further illustrate that it was impossible to argue for close communion from the apostolic precedent, as “To be unbaptised at present is in a moral view a very *distinct thing*, and involves very different consequences, from being in that predicament in the times of the Apostles.”³⁸⁶

Regarding the relationship of the two sacraments, Hall believed that they were “separate ceremonies” though “they emanate from the same source, and are prescribed to

³⁸⁰ Hall, *Reply*, 45.

³⁸¹ Hall, *Reply*, 23, 43.

³⁸² Hall, *Reply*, 24.

³⁸³ Hall, *Reply*, 24.

³⁸⁴ Hall, *Reply*, 26.

³⁸⁵ Hall, *Reply*, 26.

³⁸⁶ Hall, *Reply*, 29, 50–52.

the same description of persons.”³⁸⁷ Since there was no “positive prescription,” the “inherent and essential connection” appeared to be “the mere coincidence of time and place.”³⁸⁸ Insisted on “literal interpretation,” Hall refused to allow illusions and examples serving as positive precepts.³⁸⁹ Referring to Andrew Fuller’s comments on 1 Cor 10:1–4, 12:13 in his posthumous work, *Admission of Unbaptized Persons*, Hall criticised Fuller’s lack of consideration of the unique circumstances in the apostolic age and stated that Fuller’s “posthumous pamphlet on communion, will unquestionably be considered as the feeblest of all his productions.”³⁹⁰ Consequently, Hall argued that by making equal of baptism to Christ’s moral precepts, Kinghorn deviated the ancient precedent.³⁹¹ Furthermore, by comparing Kinghorn’s argument with the *opus operatum* of the Roman Catholic Church, Hall accused his opponent of elevating a ceremony and a form, as “regeneration and faith are supposed to exist in the absence of the ceremony, but to be deprived of their prerogatives.”³⁹² As regarding the accusation that open communion infringed on “the legitimate principles of dissent,” Hall appealed to the “comprehensive precept” of love and distinguished toleration and practice.³⁹³ While recognising paedobaptism as “invariably and absolutely forbids” by “the law of God,” Hall argued the necessity to tolerate such a practice, as intolerance required “an absolute agreement respecting every branch of practice.”³⁹⁴ In other word, Hall argued for Christian

³⁸⁷ Hall, *Reply*, 62.

³⁸⁸ Hall, *Reply*, 62, 65.

³⁸⁹ Hall, *Reply*, 78.

³⁹⁰ Hall, *Reply*, 68.

³⁹¹ Hall, *Reply*, 78.

³⁹² Hall, *Reply*, 88–89, 91–93. Later, Hall explained that “Every believer is first united to Christ, and received by him, before he is entitled to the external communion of his church; that his right to the latter is founded on the credible evidence he gives of his interest in the first of these privileges” (Hall, *Reply*, 158).

³⁹³ Hall, *Reply*, 100, 114.

³⁹⁴ Hall, *Reply*, 114, 115.

communion and unity without conformity. He then laid out Kinghorn's argument in a syllogism:

[Premise I] To practise human rites and ceremonies in the worship of God is sinful;
[Premise II] But the advocates of mixed communion suffer to remain in the church,
persons who practise a certain ceremony of human invention; [Conclusion]
Therefore *their* conduct is sinful.³⁹⁵

Based on the principle of toleration and liberty, Hall argued that the second premise was irrelevant to the first. Even regarding the Establishment, Hall insisted that open communion would not require Baptists to practise or endorse paedobaptism.³⁹⁶

Furthermore, as Kinghorn acknowledged the sincere faith and pious examples of many Anglican and Roman Catholic believers, Hall pointed out that it should be "lawful to acknowledge a pious Prince as Head of the Church, and to allow him to model its worship as he pleases."³⁹⁷ While affirming the Establishment's error and corruption as a reason for dissenting, Hall criticised Kinghorn's assumption that a ceremony like baptism

³⁹⁵ Hall, *Reply*, 115.

³⁹⁶ Hall, *Reply*, 115–116.

³⁹⁷ Hall, *Reply*, 120. Hall probably refers to King George III (1738–1820), as many dissenters considered the king as a pious Christian and dissenters in the British Isles enjoyed significant freedom, though the king and the dissenters became mutual alienated during the latter part of his reign. Nevertheless, dissenters still praised the king as a defender of religious liberty (see G. M. Ditchfield, *George III: An Essay in Monarchy* [Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002], 103–6). When the king died on January 29, 1820, various Baptist preached and published funeral sermons in honour of the king. For instance, Joseph Jarrom (1774–1842), a General Baptist, published *The Goodness of God to His Late Majesty George the Third: A Sermon, the Substance of which was Delivered in the Baptist Meeting-House, Ely Place, Wisbech, on Wednesday the 16th of February, 1820* (Wisbech, 1820). Particular Baptists such as John Mockett Cramp (1796–1881) of Dean Street, Southwark, James Hinton of Oxford, Joseph Ivimey, George Pritchard, Samuel Saunders (1780–1835) of Frome, among others also published their sermons to commemorate King George III. For a list of these sermons, see Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, 2:115. The dissenters honoured the King, as Saunders wrote: "The liberal sentiments that were cultivated by His late Majesty, contributed extensively, to the diffusion of truth. Aware, that, under his sceptre, no restraint would be imposed on the generous exertions of any denomination of Christians, good men of all descriptions were encouraged to unite their energies, and bring them to bear on the empire of idolatry and vice. Under the protection of those principles which our Sovereign held as sacred as the most valuable prerogatives of his crown, Societies were instituted for Missionary labours, whose benevolent designs were as extensive as the miseries of human nature: Schools were established, on the most generous principles, under his own immediate patronage, for the gratuitous instruction of the poor: and *The British and Foreign Bible Society*, engaging in its mighty operations the wealth, the talent, and the piety, of the country, rose like a gigantic warrior, and extended its conquests over a wider region than that which submitted to the prowess of the Macedonian hero. These events which will immortalize the reign of George the Third, and induce posterity to regard it as the era of Christian munificence" (Saunders, *The Greatness of God Contrasted with the Frailty of Man. A Sermon, Preached in the Baptist Meeting House, Badcox Lane, Frome, February 13, 1820; on the Death of His Late Majesty, George the Third* [London, 1820], 38–39). Also see Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England 1787–1833* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2007).

could “impress a character,” which for Hall, resembled the doctrine of transubstantiation.³⁹⁸ For Hall, baptism by immersion “leaves no permanent corporeal mark” and it does not substantively affect one’s “understanding,” “heart,” and “imagination.”³⁹⁹ In other words, Hall’s view of baptism is empirical instead of sacramental. Furthermore, Hall pointed out that Kinghorn’s defence of credobaptism, in reality, “divide and distract a common cause, by encumbering it with the debate on baptism, and the verbal subtleties of strict communion.”⁴⁰⁰ Therefore, Hall stated that it was possible to receive pious Roman Catholics as “an acknowledgement of [their] being a member of Christ,” yet without practicing the Roman rites.⁴⁰¹ Referring to Martin Luther (1483–1546), Hall stated that the necessity for the reformer’s dissent was due to

³⁹⁸ Hall, *Reply*, 124, 125.

³⁹⁹ Hall, *Reply*, 124.

⁴⁰⁰ Hall, *Reply*, 126.

⁴⁰¹ Hall, *Reply*, 129. The question of Catholic emancipation was a major issue debated around this time. See, for instance, Antonia Fraser, *The King and the Catholics: England, Ireland, and the Fight for Religious Freedom, 1780–1829* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2018). For example, the *Baptist Magazine* reported that “at a meeting of the Protestant Union, (formed January 22, 1813, under the auspices of the late venerable Granville Sharp, Esq. for the defence and support of the Protestant Religion, and the British Constitution, as established at the glorious Revolution, 1688.) held at the London Tavern, April 17, 1819. Stephen Cattley, Esq. in the chair, fourteen excellent Resolutions were entered into, declaring their disapprobation of what is *falsely* called Catholic Emancipation, but which ought rather to be called the Conferring of Political Power,—the power of undermining, if not overturning, the Constitution of these realms and the Protestant succession, and of undermining, and perhaps eventually destroying our civil and religious liberties, and rekindling the flames of Smithfield; and also exhibiting the reasons upon which their disapprobation of the conferring of such power is founded, for which we must refer our readers to the printed Resolutions” (“Catholic Emancipation,” *BM* 11 [June 1819]: 214). Both Kinghorn and Hall took interest in the matter. Robert Hall, in his speech at the seventh anniversary of the Leicester Auxiliary Bible Society, on July 15, 1817, told his audience that though the public opinion has been divided over the matter of Catholic emancipation, he argued that “however our sentiments may vary on the subject of emancipation, considered in a political light, we are unanimous in desiring to bestow that moral emancipation which is of infinitely greater value, and which will best ensure the wise improvement of liberty catholics possess, as well as of the power they aspire to. We are most solicitous to emancipate them from that intolerable yoke of superstition and priestcraft, under which reason is crippled and made dwarfish, conscience is oppressed, and religion expires. We are perfectly convinced, that nothing will so essentially contribute to raise our fellow-subjects in Ireland to their just, intellectual, and moral elevation, as the wide and unimpeded circulation of the sacred Scripture” (Hall, “A Speech Delivered at the Guildhall, Leicester, on Tuesday, July 15, 1817, at the Seventh Anniversary of the Auxiliary Bible Society,” in *Works of Robert Hall*, 4:397). Kinghorn’s interest was less political. Besides his visit to the Roman Catholic St. John Chapel at the Maddermarket theatre in Norwich in April 1795, Kinghorn also wrote an anonymous pamphlet in 1804, entitled *Arguments, Chiefly from Scripture, Against the Roman Catholic Doctrine. In a Dialogue* (Norwich, [1804]). In the latter work, Kinghorn desired to use this pamphlet as a means of evangelism and noticed in the advertisement that “he can assure the Catholics, that no personal dislike to any one is at the bottom of his mind” ([Kinghorn,] *Arguments, Chiefly from Scripture, Against the Roman Catholic Doctrine*, [3]).

the corruption of the Roman church; nevertheless, Hall reasoned that “If a Catholic, of whose piety he entertained no doubt, had offered himself for communion with him, without recanting Popery on the one hand, or proposing to innovate in the worship of God on the other, on such a supposition, if Luther had refused to receive him, his conduct might have been justly censured.”⁴⁰² As Christians are “bound by an express law to tolerate in the church those whom Christ has received,” Hall then moved on to argue that close communion was an unjust punishment on sincere Christians.⁴⁰³

In conclusion, Hall dismissed the accusation of leading a “speedy or sudden revolution;” instead, he saw the movement of open communion as a generational mission to correct prejudice and an irresistible swing.⁴⁰⁴ As he quoted Roman poet Horace (65 BC–8 BC), “labitur, et labetur, in omne volubilis ævum” (the stream flows, and will go on flowing forever), Hall pointed out that “The younger part of our Ministers are generally unfavorably disposed to the cause [Kinghorn] has attempted to defend.”⁴⁰⁵ Though Hall acknowledged that Kinghorn rooted his argument in the ecclesiastical history, the Leicester minister’s language suggested a sense of mockery for bigotry. Furthermore, while he praised Kinghorn’s talent and character throughout the treatise, Hall frequently employed *ad hominum*.⁴⁰⁶

Responses from Cox and Agnostos

It is uncertain why Kinghorn published his reply to Hall two years later in

⁴⁰² Hall, *Reply*, 130.

⁴⁰³ Hall, *Reply*, 116, 197–215.

⁴⁰⁴ Hall, *Reply*, 271–72.

⁴⁰⁵ Hall, *Reply*, 272.

⁴⁰⁶ See, for instance, Hall, *Reply*, 43, 80, 93, 273. Hall referred Kinghorn to Icarus and wrote: “Our author has attempted a flight beyond ‘the diurnal orb,’ but approaching too near the sun, his pinions are melted; and his fall will be conspicuous, in exact proportion to the elevation to which he has aspired ... his treatise, like the little book in the Apocalypse, be ‘sweet in the mouth, and bitter in the belly’” (Hall, *Reply*, 93).

1820, though it is possible that Kinghorn's increasing involvement in the BMS prevented a quick reply. Kinghorn joined the BMS central and eastern committees in 1815 after years of collecting subscriptions for the society. In June 1818, the central committee requested Kinghorn to substitute Robert Hall to join a tour of Scotland with William Steadman (1765–1837).⁴⁰⁷ Later when Kinghorn and Steadman arrived at Dumfries, John Birt Jr. (1787–1863) of Hull joined and accompanied them to Glasgow and Edinburgh.⁴⁰⁸ On June 4, 1818, a few days before the trip, Steadman wrote to Kinghorn and discussed details about their expedition, in which, Steadman, a close communionist, wrote: "The side you have taken in the controversy with Mr. Hall, will I think, be an advantage rather than otherwise in Scotland."⁴⁰⁹ Before examining Kinghorn's response in 1820, it is necessary to review two open-communion responses—by Francis Augustus Cox (1783–1853) and an "Agnostos"—as Kinghorn mentioned both works in his response to Hall.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ On Kinghorn's Scottish trips, see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 368–73. The BMS committee minute book records that in March 1818, it was resolved that "In compliance with the earnest & repeated desires of our friends in Scotland, our brother Robt. Hall be requested to visit the cities of Glasgow & Edinburgh, some time in the course of the summer, on behalf of the Mission" and "the following brethren were nominated to undertake the regular journey in Scotland, it being understood that Mr. Hall's state of health was such as not to permit the commc. To hope that he could extend his aid beyond the places previously mentioned. Dr. Steadman & Mr. Kinghorn in case of failure Mr. Morgan & Mr. Winterbatham" ("An Account of the Proceedings of the Baptist Missionary Society since the Vote Passed at Luton, May 16, 1815," Acc No 4 GEN/CTTEE 4 Miceo 1 [Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, Oxford], 42–43).

⁴⁰⁸ Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 369. John Birt was the son of Isaiah Birt (1758–1837). From June 1798 to January 1800, Steadman assisted Isaiah Birt as the co-pastor of the Baptist congregation in Plymouth Dock. The congregation then decided to separate, as Birt took over the Morice Square congregation and Steadman served the Pembroke Street congregation. According to the minute book of Pembroke Street Baptist Church, two questions were brought forward on February 26, 1799, if the church should keep both meeting places open and if they should divide into two churches. Prior to the church meeting, Birt and Steadman met privately and agreed that they should form separate churches. At the meeting, the minute book recorded that a majority of about 10 to 1 to divide the church. On January 2, 1800, the Pembroke Street congregation met and drafted a covenant. By counting the signers, there were 26 men and 32 women in the Pembroke Street congregation. Steadman stayed at Plymouth Dock until 1806, when he was called to minister to the congregation at Bradford, Yorkshire, and serve as the president of the Northern Baptist Education Society and the principal of Horton Academy.

⁴⁰⁹ William Steadman to Joseph Kinghorn, June 4, 1818, no. 73, Wilkin Papers, *NRC*, 2.

⁴¹⁰ In June 1819, William Newman published his response, *Moral and Ritual Precepts Compared. In a Pastoral Letter to the Baptist Church, at Bow, Middlesex: Including Some Remarks on the Rev. Robert Hall's "Terms of Communion"* (London, 1819). Newman's work is not considered here, as Newman primarily examined "the difference between moral precepts and positive institutions" and argued that the moral law "evidently binds all rational creatures" (Newman, *Moral and Ritual Precepts Compared*, 4). Thus, Newman pointed out, since "your rule of conduct is the moral law," the terms of communion fall under this requirement (Newman, *Moral and Ritual Precepts Compared*, 5). Consequently, close

F. A. Cox

Since 1811, Cox moved from Cambridge and became the pastor of Shore Place, Hackney, where a year later, the congregation built a new chapel in Mare Street.⁴¹¹ While in London, Cox managed the *Baptist Magazine* (established in 1809) and advocated for several societies, including the BMS, the Baptist Society for Promoting the Gospel in Ireland (1814), and the General Body of Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations residing in and near London and Westminster.⁴¹² In April 1818, Cox penned his short letter, which served as

An earnest solicitation from a respectable quarter, to compress the most important parts of the argument into a narrow space for the sake of an extensive circulation ... [and] the friendly litigation of the subject which has recently occurred among yourselves, and which has been highly honourable to you as the avowed disciples of him who was “meek and lowly of heart.”⁴¹³

With two parts, Cox presented his positions. First, Cox rejected any substantive connection between baptism and the eucharist.⁴¹⁴ While acknowledging the “precedence or priority” of baptism to the eucharist in the “primitive age,” Cox argued that it “does not necessarily imply connexion.”⁴¹⁵ For Cox, baptism as an initiative rite should be

communion is argued from the perspective of the moral law.

⁴¹¹ On Cox’s life, see Daniel Katterns, *Maturity in Death Exemplified: A Funeral Sermon, Occasioned by the Decease of F. A. Cox* (London, 1853); *item, Ripe for the Harvest: A Funeral Sermon Preached in the Baptist Chapel, Mare Street, Hackney, on Sunday Morning, Sept. 18, 1853: On the Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Francis Augustus Cox D.D., Forty-Two Years Minister of the Chapel* (London, 1853); Henry John Gamble, *Fidelity Recognized and Rewarded. A Sermon Preached ... on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. F. A. Cox* (London, 1853); F. A. Cox, *The Time to Come. A Discourse Delivered on Lord’s Day Morning, March 8th, 1846* (London: Houlston & Stoneman, 1846); [T. C. Emonds,] “Reminiscences of the Late Rev. Francis Augustus Cox, D.D., LL.D.,” *BM* 45 (October 1853): 610–14; John H. Y. Briggs, “‘Active, Busy, Zealous’: The Reverend Dr. Cox of Hackney,” in *Pilgrim Pathways: Essays in Baptist History in Honour of B. R. White*, ed. William H. Brackney, Paul S. Fiddes, and John H. Y. Briggs (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 223–41; Briggs, “F. A. Cox of Hackney,” *BQ* 38, no. 8 (2000): 392–411.

⁴¹² [Emonds,] “Reminiscences of the Late Rev. Francis Augustus Cox,” 611.

⁴¹³ F. A. Cox, *A Letter on Free Communion, from a Pastor to the People of His Charge: Containing a Concise View of the Argument*, 2nd ed. (London, 1818), 6.

⁴¹⁴ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 8.

⁴¹⁵ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 8.

understood as being “expressive of [the converts’] renunciation of the system or the practices which they had hitherto regarded, and their adoption of the new system of faith receiving thus publicly the pledge of their adherence.”⁴¹⁶ Due to the change of circumstances, the Bible does not provide determinative rules in the case of paedobaptism, as Cox stated:

In the instance of paedobaptism, we have a case of a *novel* character, with regard to which we have to exercise our judgment, without the guidance of any specific regulation—a form of error (for as such, we must of course, as Baptists, consider it) with which we have to treat, conformably to the dictates of the spirit of Christianity, which is a spirit of forbearance, conciliation, and love; and agreeably to the most natural and obvious deductions to be made from the *general principles* of the evangelical code, and the particular application of those principles in apostolic practice, in cases of similar partial aberrations, or mistakes.⁴¹⁷

In other words, for Cox, while paedobaptism was a mistake, since it was practiced with sincerity, Baptists should not exclude them from the table, as to do so means excommunication.⁴¹⁸ Without proving his argument that “The Lord’s Supper is certainly not founded on Baptism, nor does it recognize a single circumstance belonging to it,” Cox turned to the consequence, as he believed that the alleged sacramental connection lacked beauty or demonstrable excellence, as one could not argue that “the denial of the Lord’s Supper, is any disqualification for Baptism.”⁴¹⁹

Cox’s second argument echoed Hall’s, as he believed that “the Spirit of Christianity requires the admission of all real Christians to the table of the Lord.”⁴²⁰ Since strict communion meant excommunication, to refuse the table then meant “virtually to place [the paedobaptists] out of the pale of the Christian church, and as much to deny *their* right to the richest privileges of their profession, as that of the heathen or the

⁴¹⁶ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 8.

⁴¹⁷ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 10.

⁴¹⁸ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 12.

⁴¹⁹ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 14.

⁴²⁰ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 16.

mahometan.”⁴²¹ Cox ascribed liberty of conscience and inclusive tolerance to the core of Christianity.⁴²² Thus, the mode and subject of baptism became a matter of “non-essential differences of judgment,” which for Cox needed to be solved with “the utmost forbearance, and a forgetfulness of the subjects of difference, in order that as much as possible, Christians might be united.”⁴²³

Agnostos

A year later, in May 1819, an anonymous author “Agnostos” published a response in London. In this lengthy undivided essay, the author self-identified as a “by-stander,” who “is not enlisted under the banners of either contending parties.”⁴²⁴ Thus, “Agnostos” criticised both sides of the communion controversy by arguing that baptism was an “ordinance of proselytism, of which, if continued at all, Missionaries are the only proper administrators, and Proselytes the only proper subjects.”⁴²⁵ In other words, in a “very partially civilized” society, like England, baptism was not only “not so necessary or important,” much like a “sadly torn, soiled and disfigured” garment, it should also be abolished.⁴²⁶ In contrast, the Lord’s supper is understood as a means “to promote

⁴²¹ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 17.

⁴²² Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 17, 19.

⁴²³ Cox, *Letter on Free Communion*, 20, 21.

⁴²⁴ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism, as an Ordinance of Proselytism; Including Observations on the Controversy Respecting Terms of Communion* (London: Pewtress, Low, & Pewtress, 1819), 7. It is significant to notice the Pewtress family, who were the publisher of the *Baptist Magazine*. See W. T. Whitley, “John Barber Pewtress, 1756–1827,” *BQ* 7, no. 8 (1935): 374–377.

⁴²⁵ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 88.

⁴²⁶ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 87, 90. By contrasting the past and present, the author stated that “Though idolatry still lamentably prevails over a large portion of the habitable globe, it is over that portion only which is sunk in barbarism, or, at best, very partially civilized: and the diffusion of general knowledge, together with Christian principles, has so direct a tendency to expose the absurdity of the system, as effectually to prevent its regaining its former ascendancy over the minds of men” (Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 86–87). On the concept of “civilised” and British imperialism, see, for instance, Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2018); Damien Tricoire, ed., *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann, eds., *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem, 2004); Simon Gikandi, *Slavery*

Christian unity” in consanguine benevolence.⁴²⁷ Whereas the Protestant Reformation diversified the practice of baptism, the author noticed that the eucharist was “generally administered according to its original design; and, where civil or political authority is not allowed to interfere, it appears in its original simplicity.”⁴²⁸ Though this “bold and novel publication” has been qualified as a work of “antibaptists,” or mission-oriented ecumenism *avant la lettre*, the author’s arguments and frameworks were similar to Bunyan’s antiformalism.⁴²⁹

With a postmillennial orientation, the author assumed that Christian unity in missionary enterprise was a chief means for the advancement of the Christian kingdom.⁴³⁰ “Modern baptism” thus became an obstacle for the church’s mission. Particularly, the author engaged two interrelated frameworks in the argument. For “Agnostos,” there is a radical difference between the old and new dispensations. Whereas

and the Culture of Taste (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); Moritz Fischer and Michael Thiel, eds., *Investigating on the “Entangled History” of Colonialism and Mission in a New Perspective* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2022); Dana L. Robert, ed., *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008); Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, 2nd ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2009). On the BMS and colonialism, see Peter Morden, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *Apology for the Late Christian Missions to India*, The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller vol. 11, ed. Morden (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 30–34.

⁴²⁷ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 105, 36. The author further indicated that the “Lord’s supper was instituted for the Lord’s people. It is the birthright of those who are the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ; a privilege from which none of their brethren have any right to exclude them, except (as much always be excepted) when they are chargeable with denying the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, or acting in a manner grossly inconsistent with their Christian profession. With this exception only, we have every reason to believe that primitive Christians never denied access to the Lord’s table, to those whom they considered as belonging to the household of faith; nor is there any reason why we should” (Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 131). With much praise, one reviewer singled out this latter point and criticised it being antinomian (Anonymous, Review of *Thoughts on Baptism as an Ordinance of Proselytism; Including Observations on the Controversy Respecting Terms of Communion*, by Agnostos, *The Imperial Magazine; Or, Compendium of Religious, Moral, & Philosophical Knowledge* 3, no. 25 [March 1821]: 289).

⁴²⁸ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 65–66.

⁴²⁹ Anonymous, Review of *Thoughts on Baptism as an Ordinance of Proselytism; Including Observations on the Controversy Respecting Terms of Communion*, by Agnostos, *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* 27 (September 1819): 371; Thomas Williams, *A Dictionary of All Religions, and Religious Denominations, Antient and Modern, Jewish, Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian: Also of Ecclesiastical History*, 3rd ed. (London, 1824), 39–40. Curiously, Williams distinguished the “antibaptists” from the Quakers, who also rejected the rite of water baptism (Williams, *Dictionary of All Religions*, 39).

⁴³⁰ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 3–4, 8.

the old covenant is an “external, carnal and worldly” dispensation, the new and present dispensation was “altogether spiritual.”⁴³¹ Thus, the old dispensation was characterised by “carnal ordinances,” as “rites and ceremonies were essential,” and “they were interwoven with its whole texture, and constituted its very being.”⁴³² However, the new dispensation, or the “religion of Christ” consist in “righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.”⁴³³ Since the “evangelical dispensation” was “of the spirit which giveth life,” the Christian ordinances are “the means of communicating the grace which God has promised, and the means of improving and strengthening the grace which he has imparted.”⁴³⁴ For “Agnostos,” the “gospel dispensation” was “one altogether new,” which substituted the old without any continuity.⁴³⁵ Thus, “gospel ordinances” cannot be considered as “positive institutions” in legal sense, and Christians have no perpetual obligations to adhere to rites such as baptism. Furthermore, like Bunyan, “Agnostos” distinguished the “outward and visible” from “inward and spiritual.”⁴³⁶ The former are matters of senses, and the latter of faith.⁴³⁷ By focusing on the power of the Spirit, the author even distinguished the apostolic and present ages. Since the world of the apostles were of paganism and less “civilised,” baptism was “originally the distinguishing badge of Christianity.”⁴³⁸ In contrast, “God bestows the gifts and graces of his Spirit alike upon the baptized and the unbaptized” in the present age.⁴³⁹ Furthermore, unlike the apostles,

⁴³¹ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 49–50.

⁴³² Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 49.

⁴³³ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 50.

⁴³⁴ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 53, 51.

⁴³⁵ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 60.

⁴³⁶ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 88.

⁴³⁷ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 88.

⁴³⁸ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 97.

⁴³⁹ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 45.

whose call to proselyte and baptise Jews and pagan were “accompanied with the gift of miracles,” modern ministers in general “have no scriptural warrant for performing that work.”⁴⁴⁰

Turning to modern baptism, “Agnostos” believed both paedobaptism and anabaptism were deviations of the primitive practice.⁴⁴¹ Though Baptists were right about credobaptism, they turned it to a means of sectarianism.⁴⁴² Frankly, “Agnostos” acknowledged the necessity of arguing for close communion for the sake of the Baptist denomination, as he indicated:

The strict Baptists are fully aware of this, and have felt, as might have been expected, tremblingly alive to the interests of their denomination; well knowing that in proportion as Mr. Hall’s system prevails, the cause which they have espoused must sink. Stripped of its importance, bereft of its utility, and no longer subservient to any valuable purpose; it would soon, like a worn out garment be totally laid aside. No wonder, then, that they should take the alarm, summon all their forces, and dispute every inch of ground; when one, who is a host of himself, brings the whole weight of his mighty artillery to bear, not merely on their outworks, but on the very citadel of their strength; threatening, at least in their esteem, should his efforts be crowned with success, to deprive them of that which is peculiarly dear to them. For what can be supposed to hold a much larger place in the affections of Baptists than Baptism? The zeal which they have ever manifested in its defence sufficiently evinces the reality and strength of their attachment ... Their denomination is the Baptist denomination; their ministers are Baptist ministers; their churches are Baptist churches; their societies for propagating the gospel at home and abroad, are Baptist societies; and their magazine is the Baptist magazine. In short, you may as well expect a Christian to renounce Christianity, as a Baptist to give up Baptism.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 86, 85.

⁴⁴¹ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 91–96. Regarding anabaptism, the author used smallpox as an illustration and argued that baptism should never be repeated: “The feeling which they cherish on this occasion, is very similar to that of a person who has had the small-pox; whether in the natural way, by inoculation or by vaccination, in infancy or at mature age, he considers himself as secure from the complaint, at any future period of his life, and that he may, therefore, safely dismiss the subject from his thoughts” (Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 96).

⁴⁴² Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 97. The author pointed out: “This is the principle on which the Baptists proceed, their conduct sufficiently evinces. They hold no communion with any churches but those of the *same faith and order* with themselves. They give no dismission to them, and receive no dismissions from them. Nor is the operation of this act of exclusion from Christian fellowship confined to Pædobaptists. It extends to churches of their own denomination who allow of free communion. In their esteem, the admission, into such a connexion, of a single individual, who has not been baptized as they have been baptized, is sufficient to contaminate the whole body, and render the society, of which he forms a part, unworthy to be designated a church of Christ, or treated as such” (Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 97–98).

⁴⁴³ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 112–13.

Though “Agnostos” advocated open communion, the author criticised Robert Hall’s reservation for baptism. For the author, since baptism was no longer a necessary rite, the communion controversy was, at the core, “a contest between *Christian* principles and *Baptist* principles.”⁴⁴⁴ Thus, the choice was “either the letter of the law of Baptism must be sacrificed, or the spirit of the gospel of Christ must be violated.”⁴⁴⁵ The author therefore concluded that the only way to reconcile credo- and paedobaptists was to “clear away the rubbish” and abolish the ordinance of baptism.⁴⁴⁶

Kinghorn’s Response

According to its preface, Joseph Kinghorn finished his response by September 1820.⁴⁴⁷ Though several periodicals acknowledged its publication, there was only one brief review in the *Baptist Magazine*, according to which, only a concise summary of this “elaborate and argumentative performance” was provided.⁴⁴⁸ Among Kinghorn’s responses, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion”* was the largest in length and the most scholastic in approach. After the 23-page preface, Kinghorn followed the structure of Robert Hall’s *Reply to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn* and analysed and responded to Hall’s statements. Thus, it is difficult for those who were unfamiliar with both Hall’s and

⁴⁴⁴ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 101. This is the point Kinghorn contested, as he wrote in the response that the issue was for him to prove that “‘*Baptist* principles’ are *scriptural*, and then the subject is at rest, till it is proved to be also *scriptural* that we should form a church of persons *unbaptized*” (Joseph Kinghorn, *A Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion.” In Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall’s Reply* [Norwich, 1820], xix).

⁴⁴⁵ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 101.

⁴⁴⁶ Agnostos, *Thoughts on Baptism*, 123, 124.

⁴⁴⁷ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* xxiii.

⁴⁴⁸ Anonymous, Review of *A Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,” in Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall’s Reply*, by Joseph Kinghorn, *BM* 12 (December 1820): 509. Periodicals mentioned the publication of Kinghorn’s responses include: Anonymous, “New Publications in Theology and General Literature,” *Monthly Repository* 15, no. 179 (November 1820): 676; Anonymous, “New Publications in Theology and General Literature,” *Monthly Repository* 16, no. 186 (June 1821): 366; Anonymous, “List of New Publications,” *Investigator* 2 (January 1821): 210; Anonymous, “Art. III. List of Works Recently Published,” *Eclectic Review* 14 (October 1820): 299; Anonymous, “Works Lately Published,” *London Magazine* 2 (October 1820): 463. It should be noticed that the *Monthly Repository* was a Unitarian periodical, founded by Robert Aspland (1782–1845), a graduate of Bristol Academy under Caleb Evans.

Kinghorn's previous works to read and understand its content. Such was probably the reason for an anonymous author to complain two years later that the communion controversy "has become voluminous and expensive; so much so, as to render it inaccessible to the great mass of Christians, who can neither afford the purchase nor the time."⁴⁴⁹

Throughout the response, Kinghorn reaffirmed the credo-congregationalist tradition, as he believed that it was necessary for public confession before joining a local congregation, though the mode of that profession might vary.⁴⁵⁰ Furthermore, since the Christian church is an institution appointed by Jesus the King, all his laws require Christians' obedience, since they are "the terms required by the Lord."⁴⁵¹ Furthermore, these divine regulations remain the same since the apostolic age and cannot alter due to the change of circumstances. More specifically, Kinghorn stated that "according to the New Testament, a profession of faith and baptism on that profession, took place *previous* to a person's being considered as a Member of the church."⁴⁵² Regarding the communion controversy, Kinghorn believed that Hall was producing "a revolution in the Christian world of *an unexampled nature*," which, if followed, "the basis of nearly all the churches of which it is composed will be *overturned*."⁴⁵³ Though Hall advocated for the inclusion of the paedobaptists, Kinghorn pointed out that the critical question does not concern the validity of paedobaptism; instead, the problem was "ought we to give up *Baptism* as no

⁴⁴⁹ Anonymous, *The Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination, Especially in the Present Period; With Some Notices of the Writings of Messrs. Booth, Fuller, and R. Hall, on This Subject* (London, [1822]), 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Kinghorn, *Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion,"* 2.

⁴⁵¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion,"* 2. By examining John Bunyan's arguments, Kinghorn pointed out that the question "is not, whether a person ought to act hypocritically; but, whether we are compelled by the word of God to receive those as members, who in our estimation, do not fulfil its directions, and give this as a reason, 'we have no light therein'" (Kinghorn, *Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion,"* 14).

⁴⁵² Kinghorn, *Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion,"* 3.

⁴⁵³ Kinghorn, *Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion,"* 158, 25.

longer necessary to communion with the Christian Church; or, ought we to maintain it in its original institution.”⁴⁵⁴ Regarding the latter question, both credo- and paedobaptists acknowledged that “communion in the Lord’s supper always supposed the previous baptism of the parties.”⁴⁵⁵ Thus, Hall was not only “in avowed friendship with those who oppose his own denomination,” at the core, he was also “attacking the permanency of baptism.”⁴⁵⁶

For Kinghorn, Hall’s logic challenged the exercise of biblical authority in the church, as all what the strict communionists pled was that Christians could never give up the principle that “we ought to follow that infallible rule as our guide.”⁴⁵⁷ In other words, the Christian church, regardless of its denominational traditions, ought to be formed “according to the New Testament.”⁴⁵⁸ Regarding the case of admitting unbaptised persons into the church communion, Kinghorn argued that the church ought to maintain the New Testament rules, which specifically indicated that baptism is “an ordinance of perpetual obligation” for “every believer,” and it is “esteemed essential to communion” since the apostolic age.⁴⁵⁹ However, for Hall, his objection was threefold. First, the connection of the two sacraments depends on proving the hypothesis that “either of the ordinances was prescribed *with a view* to each other.”⁴⁶⁰ In other words, “Neither the authority by which they enjoined, nor their perpetuity, nor the obligation to attend to

⁴⁵⁴ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 4, 46.

⁴⁵⁵ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 6.

⁴⁵⁶ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 8, 9.

⁴⁵⁷ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 16. Later, Kinghorn claimed that the infallible authority of the New Testament and their substantial approach to the New Testament was also the essential arguments for their churches’ independence and the “exercise of any species of discipline” (Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 52). In other words, the infallible authority of the scriptures was fundamental to the existence and ecclesiology of the Baptists and the dissenting body.

⁴⁵⁸ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 16–17.

⁴⁵⁹ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 49, 19.

⁴⁶⁰ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 31.

both, nor the order in which they are placed, nor the constant practice of the whole apostolic church, either separately or united, justify us in requiring what the apostles required.”⁴⁶¹ Such an approach, for Kinghorn, was to reject the regulative principle of worship, which also meant to reject the authority of the New Testament. More specifically, since “the *law* of baptism establishes a correspondent duty,” close communion ought to be practiced according to the inspired precedent.⁴⁶² In contrast, Hall seems to advocate the normative principle, as the reason for admitting unbaptised to communion was because “it is not prohibited.”⁴⁶³

Second, Hall distinguished the primitive and the present churches in the sense that the New Testament rules were not applicable to the present age.⁴⁶⁴ For Kinghorn, the commission to baptise disciples “was designed to be a guide to the Apostles, as Ministers of Christ” and to the “succeeding Ministers ... to follow its directions.”⁴⁶⁵ However, it seems that Hall redirected the orientation and argued “As if the debate related to a question of obedience to the whole *moral law*, and as if perfect obedience was the required condition of membership.”⁴⁶⁶ Instead, Hall argued that the apostolic practice could not serve as a precedent, as “we are not in the same circumstances.”⁴⁶⁷ Following Hall’s argument, Kinghorn observed the different approaches to the New Testament,

⁴⁶¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 31.

⁴⁶² Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 38.

⁴⁶³ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 32.

⁴⁶⁴ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 31. It seems that Kinghorn had the biblical accommodation debate in mind while criticising Hall’s approach. Though Hall might not be influenced by German scholars such as Johann Salomo Semler, the approach as Kinghorn described bore the impression of the historical-critical approach advocated by Semler and some Socinian scholars. While limiting the biblical authority to only salvific issues, Semler argued that one of the hermeneutical skills was being able to “speak today of these matters in such a way as the changed times and circumstances of our fellow-men demand” (Hoon J. Lee, *The Biblical Accommodation Debate in Germany: Interpretation and the Enlightenment* [Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017], 110).

⁴⁶⁵ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 40, 94–98.

⁴⁶⁶ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 41.

⁴⁶⁷ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 43.

whereas Hall saw it as exhibitions of “Antiquities of the Christian Church,” Kinghorn saw it as “an example [of] how the Apostles followed Christ and how we are to follow them.”⁴⁶⁸ Like the case laws, Kinghorn believed that the apostles’ “repeated examples” were interpretations of “a general and perpetual rule of their Lord,” or the “will of Christ.”⁴⁶⁹ Thus, Kinghorn could claim that since baptism was designed as a term of communion in the New Testament, anyone “who alters the terms of communion, changes the *fundamental laws* of Christ’s kingdom.”⁴⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Kinghorn pointed out the dangerous outcome of Hall’s approach, as it “can remove an institution of Christ from its place, and throw it into the back ground, may effect any other change that might be desired; and the whole practice of the Christian church may be put on a new footing, and modelled according to the taste of time!”⁴⁷¹

Third, by connecting baptism with salvation, Hall urged for the reception of those who are “conscientious in refusing to be baptised” on the ground of them being “weak in the faith.”⁴⁷² For Kinghorn, while baptism was “the appointed, visible manner in which Christ directed the Christian professor to testify his faith in him,” it was never “essential to salvation.”⁴⁷³ Baptism served as an evidence of Christians’ “union to Christ by faith,” which alone led to salvation.⁴⁷⁴ Nevertheless, baptism was an essential profession of the “reception of the truth” and “obedience to the will of Christ arose from it.”⁴⁷⁵ In other words, baptism was only essential to salvation in the sense that “it is

⁴⁶⁸ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 44.

⁴⁶⁹ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 44, 47, 49.

⁴⁷⁰ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 54.

⁴⁷¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 57.

⁴⁷² Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 31.

⁴⁷³ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 65–66, 70.

⁴⁷⁴ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 70, 83–91.

⁴⁷⁵ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 70.

essential to correct obedience, and to the testimony of a good conscience, in every instance in which the permanency of the institution is admitted.”⁴⁷⁶

Overall, Kinghorn accused Hall of misrepresentation and misinterpretation. For instance, by comparing Hall’s quotations and Kinghorn’s work, the latter pointed out that Hall’s omission and blending of sentences.⁴⁷⁷ In other occasions, Kinghorn accused Hall of fabricating arguments.⁴⁷⁸ Though Kinghorn helpfully defined the two Baptist parties as “Some oppose the admission of Pædobaptists to communion, because they consider them to be unbaptised, and believe, that admitting the unbaptised is not according to the direction of Christ, and the practice of his Apostles; others are willing to admit them, and plead for their admission by various argument,” he failed to provide a definition of the church.⁴⁷⁹ Accordingly, Kinghorn seems to have the local congregation in mind, as he focused on the diversity of Christian ecclesiology.⁴⁸⁰ For Kinghorn, “a separation of communion is unavoidable,” as Christians ought to “unite where you can; differ, only when you are compelled by your views of the New Testament pattern of a Christian church.”⁴⁸¹ By focusing on the local communities, Kinghorn prophetically pointed out, “Churches composed of persons whose sentiments widely differ, never continue long in peace, except one of the parties is so decided a minority as to be kept entirely in the back ground.”⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 71.

⁴⁷⁷ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 105.

⁴⁷⁸ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 110–11, 153–56.

⁴⁷⁹ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 20.

⁴⁸⁰ For instance, see Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 10.

⁴⁸¹ Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 24, 115.

⁴⁸² Kinghorn, *Defence of “Baptism a Term of Communion,”* 18.

Aftermath

Much like a revolution, many joined the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy by publishing their opinions without fully understanding the essence of the disagreement. For instance, an anonymous English author published a short pamphlet around August 1822, entitled *The Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination, Especially in the Present Period*. Following Hall's arguments, the author primarily engaged with the works of Abraham Booth and Andrew Fuller. By arguing that "The church militant and church triumphant, are ... not two churches, but one church," the author believed that believers ought to be received "as members of Christ's mystical body."⁴⁸³ Like Hall, the author believed the radical distinction of the old and new economy and argued that baptism was "necessary both to communion and salvation."⁴⁸⁴ Thus, open or catholic communion guaranteed that "the laws of Christian love and liberty are maintained; the most tender consciences are not wounded, by sitting at table with their less enlightened brethren; and the Lord of the feast is pleased to give his presence to both."⁴⁸⁵ It is uncertain if the anonymous author was a Baptist, but it is curious that the author ignored Kinghorn and his arguments by only engaging two deceased authors. As Hall later indicated, the controversy in the mid-1820s periphrastically concerned the ecclesial legacy of Andrew Fuller.⁴⁸⁶

On the other hand, the close communionists became apprehensive for the spread of the new "revolution," as William Newman told Kinghorn in a letter that "the

⁴⁸³ Anonymous, *Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination*, 24.

⁴⁸⁴ Anonymous, *Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination*, 11.

⁴⁸⁵ Anonymous, *Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination*, 48.

⁴⁸⁶ Robert Hall Jr., *A Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1826), iv–vii.

friends of mixt communion are increasing fast in London if not in the country. My expectation is that if we live a few years we shall be in the minority.”⁴⁸⁷ On March 3, 1824, Joseph Ivimey published his first book-length response, entitled *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, in which the London minister primarily responded to Hall and Cox.⁴⁸⁸ Unlike Kinghorn, Ivimey focused on a different angle, as he began with the legitimacy of dissenting from the Roman Catholic Church and the English Establishment. By using Lord Mansfield’s speech in the House of Lords regarding the case *Chamberlain of London v. Evans* (1767) against Judge William Blackstone’s (1723–1780) previous legal commentary, Ivimey observed the change of legal reasonings, as both the Anglicans and dissenters became “equally *established*, and as really *protected*.”⁴⁸⁹ Thus, “It is on account of their having asserted the rights of private judgment merely in resolving to make the Scriptures alone

⁴⁸⁷ William Newman to Joseph Kinghorn, June 23, 1824, no. 85, NRO, 3.

⁴⁸⁸ Joseph Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table: Or, Considerations Designed to Expose the Erroneous Practice of Departing from the Original Constitution of the Christian Church, by Founding Open Communion Baptist Churches, Especially in Those Neighbourhoods Where Evangelical Congregational Churches Already Exist. Including Animadversions on the “Preface &c.” of the Rev. Robert Hall’s “Reply” to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn’s Work on “Baptism a Term of Communion”* (London: John Offor, [1824]). Two years ago, Ivimey preached a sermon on the same subject, which was published as *A Preference for a Sect, Not Inconsistent with the Most Ardent Attachment to the Whole Church of Christ, in All the Denominations into which It is at Present Divided. A Sermon, in which, by an Appeal to Facts, the Baptists are Vindicated from the Charge of Sectarianism; Preached at Eagle Street Meeting, London, November 24, 1822* (London, 1822).

⁴⁸⁹ Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 4. Whereas Blackstone J. explained that the “crime of non-conformity” was the “sin of schism,” Lord Mansfield in his speech claimed that since the Act of Toleration (1689), “It is now no crime for a man, who is within the description of that Act, to say he is a Dissenter; nor is it any crime for him not to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England: Nay, the crime is, if he does it contrary to the dictates of his conscience” (Lord Mansfield, *The Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Mansfield in the House of Lords, in the Cause between the City of London and the Dissenters* [Belfast, 1774], 11). Also see William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1769), 4:51–59. On the differences between Mansfield and Blackstone, see Wendell Bird, *The Revolution in Freedoms of Press and Speech: From Blackstone to the First Amendment and Fox’s Libel Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 19–76; Julian S. Waterman, “Mansfield and Blackstone’s Commentaries,” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 1, no. 4 (1934): 549–71; Joshua Getzler, “Faith, Trust, and Charity,” in *Judge and Jurist: Essays in Memory of Lord Rodger of Earlsferry*, ed. Andrew Burrows, David Johnston, and Reinhard Zimmermann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 559–74; Charles Mullett, “The Legal Position of the English Protestant Dissenters, 1689–1767,” *Virginia Law Review* 23, no. 4 (1937): 389–418; *item*, “The Legal Position of the English Protestant Dissenters, 1767–1812,” *Virginia Law Review* 25, no. 6 (1939): 671–97.

the rule of faith and practice.”⁴⁹⁰ In other words, the only reason for dissenting was to maintain the purity of divine ordinances, by which principle alone, “Baptists can be justified in forming a separate congregation in any neighbourhood where the gospel is faithfully preached, by a *pious Paedobaptist congregational minister* of unimpeached integrity and irreproachable conduct.”⁴⁹¹ In contrast, Hall’s open communion position undermined nonconformity’s legitimacy.⁴⁹² As a Baptist historian, Ivimey argued from a historical perspective that

There are no Protestants, (with the exception of the people called Friends or Quakers) who deny that Baptism, as an ordinance appointed by Christ, should be observed by all his followers; nor are there any, except those Baptists who practice mixed communion, that deny it to be the duty of the disciples of Christ to observe it, *as the first public act of homage to his authority*, and antecedent to their becoming members of his church, and their being admitted to commemorate his dying love at his table in fellowship with his people.⁴⁹³

Unlike the open communionists, Ivimey employed typology and argued that circumcision and the Passover have “prefigured the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord’s supper; and consequently may be fairly supposed to have been their exact prototypes, not only as to the things signified by them, (viz. regeneration, and living by faith upon our blessed

⁴⁹⁰ Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 3.

⁴⁹¹ Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 5.

⁴⁹² According to Ivimey, “Believing as they do, that *infant sprinkling is not Christian baptism*; and that the *immersion of a person in water upon a profession of his faith* is essential to the validity of that ordinance, and consequently to his scripturally avowing his allegiance to the authority of Christ; they are under the necessity either of sacrificing truth and conscience, or by founding another church publicly to acknowledge the supreme and sole headship of Jesus Christ in his church. The principles which lead them as Baptists to protest against popery, and to dissent from the national church, necessarily induce them to form a separate congregation for maintaining and propagating their distinguishing principles” (Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 5–6).

⁴⁹³ Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 12. Ivimey continued that “if the command of Christ, and the practice of the Apostles be the authority Christians should observe, and the pattern which they should imitate; then admit none but baptized persons to the fellowship of the church;—but if Jessey, and Gifford, and Bunyan (excellent ministers it is admitted, but not infallible guides) are to be your models, then conclude, that whether Christians have been baptized or not, they are equally qualified, and equally entitled to become members of a Christian church, and to partake, in common with baptized Christians, of the Lord’s Supper” (Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 23).

Redeemer,) but also as to the order in which they were to be observed.”⁴⁹⁴

Kinghorn and the *Eclectic Review*

Before concluding the second round of the communion controversy, it is necessary to examine a forgotten quarrel between Kinghorn and the reviewer—probably Josiah Conder (1789–1855)—of the *Eclectic Review* in 1825.⁴⁹⁵ From 1814 to 1837, the Congregationalist bookseller Josiah Conder served as the editor of the prestigious literary journal, the *Eclectic Review*.⁴⁹⁶ In May 1824, Conder moved to Watford, Hertfordshire, where the nearest dissenting body he could join was the Beechen Grove Baptist chapel.⁴⁹⁷ However, due to the practice of close communion, which he called “a strange communion,” Conder was excluded from the eucharist, as “the preacher [William Copley], after instructing his worthy Baptist brethren from the Word of God and leading their devotions, having to go and sit in the vestry, while they celebrated around ‘*their table*’ the communion of saints.”⁴⁹⁸ From a poem he later wrote on November 9, 1824, Conder seems to believe that close communion was similar to clerical celibacy, though

⁴⁹⁴ Ivimey, *Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 15.

⁴⁹⁵ It is acknowledged that during the editorship of Conder, he “contributed extensively to its pages, often writing at least half of the Review and occasionally the whole issue” (Mary Ruth Hiller, “The Eclectic Review, 1805–1868,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 27, no. 3 [1994]: 181). Also see Eustace R. Conder, *Josiah Conder: A Memoir* (London: John Snow, 1857), 126, 210, 255, 256, 260.

⁴⁹⁶ On Conder, see Michael Ledger-Lomas, “Conder and Sons: Dissent and the Oriental Bible in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” in *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c. 1650–1950*, ed. Scott Mandelbrote and Michael Ledger-Lomas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 205–32; David M. Thompson, “Finding Successors to ‘the Poet of the Sanctuary’: Josiah Conder in Context,” in *Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 124–50. On the *Eclectic Review*, see Hiller, “The Eclectic Review, 1805–1868,” 179–283.

⁴⁹⁷ See Conder, *Josiah Conder*, 235. Special thanks to Professor John Briggs for correcting me that the congregation Conder mentioned was not the Baptist congregation in Chenies, Buckinghamshire. On the Beechen Grove congregation, see Walter Bennewith, *The Beechen Grove Story: A History of Beechen Grove Baptist Church, Watford* ([Watford], 1987); John Stuart, *Beechen Grove Baptist Church, Watford: Memorials of Two Hundred Years and More* (London: Kingsgate, 1907); William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts. Being Lectures upon the Nonconforming Worthies of St. Albans, and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in All the Parishes of the County of Hertford* (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, 1884), 361–2.

⁴⁹⁸ Conder, *Josiah Conder*, 245.

the latter was “far worse.”⁴⁹⁹ Thus, the editor was not a friend of the close communionists.

In September 1824, Conder published a review of John Howard Hinton’s (1791–1873) memoir of his father James Hinton.⁵⁰⁰ In the review, Conder compared the life and ministry of Hinton with the close communionists who followed the authorities of Abraham Booth, Andrew Fuller, and Joseph Kinghorn.⁵⁰¹ The reviewer accused the latter of being filled with “an intolerant and a malignant spirit,” and being guilty of schism.⁵⁰² Furthermore, the reviewer believed that the close communionists also nourish antinomianism, as “there is a wide difference between strict communion and strict discipline.”⁵⁰³ However, due to the strong language being used, several complaints reached to Conder, by which he issued an explanation in December 1824.⁵⁰⁴ In this short article, Conder substantively quoted Hall to justify his employment of the language of “schism,” “intolerance,” and “malignance.”⁵⁰⁵ Like Hall, Conder believed that baptism was a condition to salvation “as faith and repentance.”⁵⁰⁶ Since the paedobaptists believed the genuineness of their baptism and had been proved by their “sincerity,

⁴⁹⁹ Conder, *Josiah Conder*, 250. Also see Conder’s statements against close communion, in which he mentioned Andrew Fuller (Conder, *Josiah Conder*, 302–3). For Conder, baptism was not “a profession of discipleship,” but “an admission to discipleship” (Conder, *Josiah Conder*, 301). Thus, it was irrational and unbiblical for the Baptists to “defer the rite of initiation . . . till the time of admittance to their church fellowship,” not in infancy (Conder, *Josiah Conder*, 303).

⁵⁰⁰ James Howard Hinton, *A Biographical Portraiture of the Late Rev. James Hinton, M.A. Pastor of a Congregational Church in the City of Oxford* (Oxford: Bartlett and Hinton, 1824). [Josiah Conder,] Review of *A Biographical Portraiture of the late Rev. James Hinton, M.A. Pastor of a Congregational Church in the City of Oxford*, by James Howard Hinton, *Eclectic Review* 22 (September 1824): 266–75.

⁵⁰¹ [Conder,] Review of *A Biographical Portraiture of the late Rev. James Hinton*, 271.

⁵⁰² [Conder,] Review of *A Biographical Portraiture of the late Rev. James Hinton*, 271, 273.

⁵⁰³ [Conder,] Review of *A Biographical Portraiture of the late Rev. James Hinton*, 271, 274.

⁵⁰⁴ [Josiah Conder,] “To Correspondents,” *Eclectic Review* 22 (December 1824): 574–76.

⁵⁰⁵ [Conder,] “To Correspondents,” 574, 575.

⁵⁰⁶ [Conder,] “To Correspondents,” 575–76.

conscientiousness, and integrity,” to restrict paedobaptists to participate in the eucharist was to excommunicate genuine Christians.⁵⁰⁷ In other words, conversion was the only term of communion.

As a friend of Hinton and a probationary pastor of the Oxford congregation, Kinghorn quickly produced a response in January 1825.⁵⁰⁸ In this short work, Kinghorn reaffirmed his arguments by defining “strict communion” as “the church of Christ should be composed of persons who have been baptized.”⁵⁰⁹ Thus, baptism as a divine institution is required not only for church membership, but “always required of those who professed faith in Christ.”⁵¹⁰ Regarding the charge of schism, Kinghorn reminded the reviewer that “there can be *no schism against truth*.”⁵¹¹ Kinghorn then focused on the principles for dissenting from Rome and the Establishment.⁵¹² Following this brief response, Conder produced a lengthy review and published it in two parts in May and June of 1825.⁵¹³ Overall, Conder contested that his object was “not merely to expose the fallacy of the appeal made to Episcopalian and other authorities, but to shew that the principle on which all communities have proceeded in enforcing their terms of communion, has been, that a spiritual incapacity or moral disqualification attached to those who were thereby

⁵⁰⁷ [Conder,] “To Correspondents,” 576.

⁵⁰⁸ Joseph Kinghorn, *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, in Defence of Those Who Maintain that Baptism Should Precede Communion: Occasioned by His Address “To Correspondents,” in the Eclectic Review for December, 1824* (Norwich, 1825).

⁵⁰⁹ Kinghorn, *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer*, 2.

⁵¹⁰ Kinghorn, *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer*, 2.

⁵¹¹ Kinghorn, *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer*, 8.

⁵¹² Kinghorn, *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer*, 15–21.

⁵¹³ [Josiah Conder,] Review of *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, in Defence of Those Who Maintain that Baptism Should Precede Communion*, by Joseph Kinghorn, *Eclectic Review* 23 (May 1824): 431–46; *item*, Review of *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, in Defence of Those Who Maintain that Baptism Should Precede Communion*, by Joseph Kinghorn, *Eclectic Review* 23 (June 1824): 544–63.

excluded.”⁵¹⁴ Around the same time, the *Baptist Magazine* published a review of Kinghorn’s *Considerations*, in which the reviewer complimented Kinghorn’s defence from misrepresentation and pointed out that Conder misunderstood the question. For the Baptist reviewer, “The question is not, *when* or *how* professed believers in Christ have been baptized; but, whether it is requisite that they should be *baptized at all*, in order that they should be members of a Christian church.”⁵¹⁵ Five months later, the same magazine unusually published a review essay on its front page.⁵¹⁶ The author chose to remain anonymous and signed as “a Strict Baptist.”⁵¹⁷ Though this essay did not produce new arguments, the author thoroughly examined Kinghorn’s *Considerations* and Conder’s lengthy review. Overall, the communion controversy was no longer a Baptist question.

The Third Round (1826–1827)

Hall’s *Short Statement*

Upon the death of John Ryland Jr., the Broadmead congregation invited Robert Hall Jr. to fulfil the pastoral vacancy. By accepting the call, Hall left Leicester and arrived at Bristol in April 1826.⁵¹⁸ While at Bristol, Hall wrote a concise summary of his advocacy on October 7, 1826, with the aim to “condense the substance of the argument within a smaller compass, so as to render it accessible to” a larger audience.⁵¹⁹ This brief

⁵¹⁴ [Conder,] Review of *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer*, 548.

⁵¹⁵ Anonymous, Review of *Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, in Defence of Those Who Maintain that Baptism Should Precede Communion*, by Joseph Kinghorn, *BM* 17 (May 1825): 208.

⁵¹⁶ Anonymous, “Remarks on an Article in the Eclectic Review for May and June, 1825; viz. A Review of ‘Considerations addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer in Defence of those who maintain that Baptism should precede Communion.’ By Joseph Kinghorn,” *BM* 17 (August 1825): 321–28; *item*, “Remarks on an Article in the Eclectic Review for May and June, 1825; viz. A Review of ‘Considerations addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer in Defence of those who maintain that Baptism should precede Communion.’ By Joseph Kinghorn,” *BM* 17 (September 1825): 374–82.

⁵¹⁷ Joseph Ivimey might be the author of this review essay.

⁵¹⁸ J. W. Morris, *Biographical Recollections of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.* (London: George Wightman, 1833), 440–59.

⁵¹⁹ Robert Hall Jr., *A Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party*

work also served as the concluding statement of the eleven-year-long debate over the terms of communion. Furthermore, Hall set the tone that the controversy had been developed into a conflict over Andrew Fuller's legacy.⁵²⁰ For Hall, the close communionists misinterpreted Fuller's posthumous work, as he believed Fuller's hesitation to publish it indicated his unsettled mind on the debated issue.⁵²¹ Thus, Hall expressed his hope that "without regard to human names or authorities, the matter in debate may be entirely determined by an unprejudiced appeal to reason and scripture."⁵²²

As a "more liberal system," Hall understood the concept of *communio sanctorum* in its literal sense—as "the celebration of the Eucharist"—and argued that "We should be ready to suppose that he who is accepted of Christ ought also to be accepted of his brethren, and that he whose right to the thing signified was not questioned, possessed an undoubted right to the outward sign."⁵²³ For Hall, close communion assumed that "Baptism is invariably a necessary condition of communion," which only became a "practical question" with the rise of the Baptist denomination.⁵²⁴ Thus, the Baptist principles "compelled them to deny the validity of any other baptism besides that which they themselves practised" and restrict communion to "our own denomination."⁵²⁵ One of the essential questions was how to interpret the apostolic

Communion (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1826), iii–iv.

⁵²⁰ Hall states, "the practice of strict communion, rests almost entirely on *authority*, and that were the influence of a few great names withdrawn, it would sink under its own weight" (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, iv).

⁵²¹ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, v. According to Hall, Fuller and Kinghorn differed on their views: "Mr. Kinghorn roundly asserts that baptism has no more connexion with the Lord's supper than with *every part* of Christianity. Thus what Mr. Fuller attempts to demonstrate as the main pillar of his cause Mr. Kinghorn abandons without scruples" (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 22–23).

⁵²² Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, vi.

⁵²³ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 36, 2.

⁵²⁴ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 4.

⁵²⁵ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 5, 6.

examples to exclude those who were unbaptised. For Hall, “Precedent derived from the practice of inspired men is entitled to be regarded as *law*, in exact proportion as the spirit of it is copied, and the *principle* on which it proceeds is acted upon.”⁵²⁶ In other words, it is “the height of folly and presumption to imitate” all apostolic actions in the literal sense; instead, “It is necessary, before we proceed to found a rule of action on precedent, carefully to investigate the circumstances under which it occurred, and the reasons on which it was founded.”⁵²⁷ By assuming the change of circumstances, Hall argued that those whom the apostles excluded were “men who disputed their inspiration and despised their injunctions.”⁵²⁸ Thus, such an exclusion was “a test of sincerity on a punctual compliance,” which was different from the present case.⁵²⁹ Hall then appealed to 2 Cor 3:4–6 and argued that

To separate ourselves from the best of men, because the apostles would have withdrawn from the worst, to confound the broadest moral distinctions, by awarding the same treatment to involuntary and conscientious error, which they were prepared to inflict on stubborn and wilful disobedience, is certainly a very curious method of following apostolic precedent.⁵³⁰

If the circumstances are “essentially varied, and our proceeding is proportionably different,” Hall’s opponents “divide the mystical body of Christ into two parts,” which essentially constitutes the sin of schism.⁵³¹ Alternatively, Hall proposed to follow the

⁵²⁶ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 8.

⁵²⁷ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 8.

⁵²⁸ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 9.

⁵²⁹ “In short, the apostles refused to impart the external privileges of the church to such as impugned their authority, or contemned their injunctions, which, whoever persisted in the neglect of baptism at that time, and in those circumstances, must necessarily have done” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 10).

⁵³⁰ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 11–12.

⁵³¹ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 13, 14. Hall seems to believe that the *corpus mysticum* was the visible church, as he stated that “The primitive church was composed of professed believers, and none debarred from its privileges, but such whose faith was essentially erroneous, or their character doubtful, is a matter of fact which appears on the very surface of the inspired records, and was probably never called in question, in any age or country, until an opposite principle was avowed and acted by the modern baptists, who appropriate its title and its immunities to themselves, while with strange inconsistency they proclaim their conviction, that the persons whom they exclude are indisputably in possession of its interior and spiritual privileges” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 15–

apostolic precedent towards “sincere, though erring Christians.”⁵³² More specifically, “to love [the erring Christians] fervently, to bear with their imperfections, and cast the mantle of forgiveness over their infirmities, is to fulfil the law of Christ.”⁵³³

On the other hand, Hall denied the “peculiar connexion between the two ordinances,” as they were instituted at different times for different purposes.⁵³⁴ Whereas “Baptism is a mode of professing our faith in the blessed trinity, the Lord’s supper as a commemoration of the dying love of the Redeemer: the former is the act of an individual, the latter of the society.”⁵³⁵ Furthermore, since John’s baptism and Christian baptism are not identical, “the Lord’s supper is evidently *anterior* to baptism, and the original communicants consisted entirely of such as had not received” baptism.⁵³⁶ Besides without biblical warrants, the close communionists sought to construct “a society of *Puritists*,” which “give birth to some solitary and antisocial sect,” and its direct tendency was “to

16, 25, 28–30). Later, Hall stated that though “The discipline of the church, as prescribed by Christ and his disciples, is founded on principles applicable to every age, and to every combination of events to which it is liable,” the term of communion is a “new case,” which “plainly cannot be decided by a reference to apostolic precedent” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 18). For Hall, schism “in its primitive and literal sense, signifies the breaking of a substance into two or more parts, and when figuratively applied to a body of men, it denotes the division of it into parties; and though it may be applied to such a state of contention as consists with the preservation of external union, it is most eminently applicable to a society whose bond of union is dissolved, and where one part rejects the other from its fellowship” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 26). Thus, schism in the mystical body is “the greatest evil, and whatever tends to promote it is subjected to the severest probation” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 24).

⁵³² Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 19.

⁵³³ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 24.

⁵³⁴ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 21. Throughout the work, Hall used “communion,” “eucharist,” “the Lord’s supper” synonymously (especially see Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 5). He also used the term “sacrament” and “ordinance” synonymously (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 1, 3, 5, 7, 21, 22, 37, 38).

⁵³⁵ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 21. Curiously, Hall used the term “society” to describe the subject of the eucharist. The word “society” occurred five times in the whole work, and the word “community” only occurred once. Later, Hall defined baptism as “a public acknowledgement of [Christians’] union to Christ, and their interest in his benefits” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 38). Hall understood the eucharist as “the commemoration of the dying love of the Redeemer” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 38).

⁵³⁶ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 21. Hall admitted that the only special connection, “arising from divine appointment,” was between “circumcision and the passover,” which was abolished in the new economy (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 21, 22).

contract the heart, to narrow the understanding, and in the room of ‘holding forth the word of life’ [Phil 2:16], to invest every petty speculation, and minute opinion, with the dignity of a fundamental truth.”⁵³⁷ As the strict Baptists built a barrier to a “walled garden,” “the very appellation of baptist, together with the tenets by which it is designated, become associated with the idea of bigotry.”⁵³⁸ Hall thus concluded with accusing Kinghorn and other close communionists of being “less anxious to promote and extend the peculiar tenets of the baptists, than to preserve inviolate their sacred seclusion and solitude.”⁵³⁹ By adopting a “narrow and contracted” theory and mind, Kinghorn nourished “a habit of treating all other Christians as aliens from the fold of Christ.”⁵⁴⁰

Ivimey and Catholicus

Soon after Hall’s final pamphlet, two responses from the close communion camp were produced. Joseph Ivimey first wrote and published his *Communion at the Lord’s Table* on November 10, 1826, in which Ivimey examined Hall’s charges of schism and bigotry.⁵⁴¹ For Ivimey, the danger of open communion was the annihilation of a divine ordinance and the Baptist denomination.⁵⁴² Another response came from William Giles Sr. (1771–1846), then minister of the Baptist congregation in Clover Lane,

⁵³⁷ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 31.

⁵³⁸ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 44, 42.

⁵³⁹ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 45.

⁵⁴⁰ Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 48. For Hall, his wish was “instead of confining themselves, each to the defence of his own citadel, they are sallying forth in all directions, in order to make a powerful and combined attack on the kingdom of darkness. The church of Christ, no longer the scene of intestine warfare among the several denominations into which it is cantoned and divided, presents the image of a great empire, composed of distant, but not hostile provinces, prepared to send forth its combatants, at the command of its invisible Sovereign, to invade the dominions Satan, and subdue the nations of the earth” (Hall, *Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian*, 49–50).

⁵⁴¹ Joseph Ivimey, *Communion at the Lord’s Table, Regulated by the Revealed Will of Christ, Not Party, but Christian Communion: A Reply to the Rev. Robert Hall’s Pamphlet, Entitled, “Reasons for Christian in Opposition to Party Communion”* (London: Wightman and Cramp, 1826).

⁵⁴² Ivimey, *Communion at the Lord’s Table*, 8.

Chatham, Kent, in April 1827.⁵⁴³ However, it was the pamphlet of a “Catholicus” ignited Ivimey’s displeasure.⁵⁴⁴ Little is known about the authorship, though according to John Mockett Cramp (1796–1881), he was “a Deacon of the Baptist Church” ministered by John Gilmour (or Gilmore, 1792–1869) in Aberdeen.⁵⁴⁵ In the work, “Catholicus” employed offensive vocabulary and “made a mighty parade in assailing Hall’s wholesale abuse of the Strict Baptists.”⁵⁴⁶ In response, Ivimey wrote a letter to John Gilmour, which was copied in Ivimey’s letter to Kinghorn.⁵⁴⁷ In it, Ivimey called the author a “Latitudinarian” and “dull heads,” and requested Gilmour to ask his deacon to “adopt the more appropriate tune” in addressing the subject.⁵⁴⁸ Furthermore, Ivimey prayed that Gilmour’s church would be freed from “that fretting leprosy,” as it would be “better [to] lose a Deacon than offend your master.”⁵⁴⁹ As one reviewer observed, this controversy “has been unhappily distinguished by angry feeling,” as “intolerance is inveighed against on the one hand, and laxity on the other.”⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴³ William Giles, *Letters to the Rev. R. Hall, A.M. Containing an Examination of His Theory, of Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion* (London: Wightman and Cramp, 1827). On William Giles, see Anonymous, “Giles, Father and Son,” *BQ* 4, no. 7 (1929): 333–36; William F. Long, “‘The Whole Nation is a Poorhouse’: The Revd William Giles Recounts a Remark Made by an Old Pupil,” *Dickensian* 114, no. 504 (2018): 41–46.

⁵⁴⁴ Catholicus, *An Essay on Terms of Communion* (Aberdeen: Richie, Cobban, & Co., 1826).

⁵⁴⁵ Joseph Ivimey to Joseph Kinghorn, January 11, 1827, no. 99, NRO, 2. Aberdeen University Library’s catalogue identifies the author as Henry Cotton (1789–1879), who was an Anglo-Irish churchman. This suggestion does not seem to be accurate. Furthermore, the National Library of Scotland identifies John Henry Newman (1801–1890) as the author of *An Analytical Review of the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn’s Replies to the Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, on Terms of Christian Communion* (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1828). However, it seems that the latter work was a sequel to the 1826 work. Thus, The National Library of Scotland also misidentified “Catholicus.” Here I acknowledge the tremendous help of Stephen R. Holmes of the University of St. Andrews, and Ivan Cen of the University of Aberdeen.

⁵⁴⁶ Joseph Ivimey to Joseph Kinghorn, January 11, 1827, no. 99, NRO, 2.

⁵⁴⁷ John Gilmour built the Aberdeen church in 1820 and was later sent to Canada in 1829. On Gilmour, see John Gilmour, “Autobiography,” manuscript, 1857 (Canadian Baptist Archive, Hamilton, ON).

⁵⁴⁸ Joseph Ivimey to Joseph Kinghorn, January 11, 1827, no. 99, NRO, 3.

⁵⁴⁹ Joseph Ivimey to Joseph Kinghorn, January 11, 1827, no. 99, NRO, 3.

⁵⁵⁰ Anonymous, Review of *An Essay on Terms of Communion*, by Catholicus; *Arguments against the Practice of Mixed Communion, and in Support of Communion on the Plan of the Apostolic Church*, by Joseph Kinghorn; *Letters to the Rev. R. Hall*, by William Giles; and *A Candid Statement of the Reasons which Induce the Baptists to Differ in Opinion and Practice from Their Christian Brethren*, by

Kinghorn's Response

Like Hall, Kinghorn condensed the arguments and presented this “brief form” for “those members of our denomination, who have neither time or opportunity to enter largely into the controversy on communion.”⁵⁵¹ Though Kinghorn agreed with Hall that authority was at the core of the controversy, the Norwich minister acknowledged that they differed over the authority of the New Testament.⁵⁵² Furthermore, the danger of Hall’s arguments was its potentiality to annihilate other parts of “the revealed will of Christ.”⁵⁵³ Kinghorn divided this last published work on the subject into two parts: preliminary observations and arguments. In the first part, Kinghorn examined Hall’s *Short Statement*, responded the latter’s accusations, and charged Hall of *ad hominem*, misrepresentation, and inconsistency. For instance, while Hall’s work was against “party communion,” the term is acknowledged as the “primitive communion,” which contained “those who are baptized.”⁵⁵⁴ Regarding John’s and Christian baptisms, Kinghorn pointed out their common purpose, which were “declarations of faith in the whole will of God, as far as it was then revealed, and were appointed for the same general purpose, as practical profession of that faith.”⁵⁵⁵ As such, it does not change the order of the ordinances. Regarding the charge of schism, Kinghorn followed Hall’s argument and pointed out that an open communion congregation could still be charged with schism, due to its dissenting from the Anglican Establishment and the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, Kinghorn

John Ryland Jr., *BM* 19 (September 1827): 423.

⁵⁵¹ Joseph Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion, and in Support of Communion on the Plan of the Apostolic Church; With Preliminary Observations on Rev. R. Hall’s Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion* (London: Wightman and Cramp; Norwich: S. Wilkin, 1827), [i].

⁵⁵² Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, [ii].

⁵⁵³ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, [ii].

⁵⁵⁴ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 5.

⁵⁵⁵ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 9.

⁵⁵⁶ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 12–13. Kinghorn stated

admitted that “The contest on our part against mixed communion, is, in its principle, a contest for existence: it is a contest not only for our right to have churches at all, and for the discipline of those churches, but it is a contest for the principles of dissent,—it is a contest for Protestantism itself.”⁵⁵⁷ As to Hall’s idea on Fuller, Kinghorn denied the difference between the deceased minister and himself. Furthermore, Kinghorn defended Fuller’s position, as “during about the last twelve months of [Fuller’s] life, [Kinghorn] met him in different places four times.”⁵⁵⁸ During these conversations, Fuller explained his hesitation to publish his opinion, as “it would throw our churches into a flame.”⁵⁵⁹ Furthermore, as Fuller wrote to a friend on the same subject, he began with saying, “The long and intimate friendship that I have lived in, and hope to die in, with several who are differently minded from me on this subject, may acquit me of any other motive in what I write, than a desire to vindicate what appears to me to be the mind of Christ.”⁵⁶⁰ Consequently, it was Hall, who disturbed the peace of the denomination, and induced “many to leave our denomination who professed to have given it their conscientious preference.”⁵⁶¹

In the second part, Kinghorn began with examining the instruction of baptism in the “great commission,” which provided the foundation that “in New Testament times

that “If there is any meaning in this outcry about *schism*, Mr. Hall has no right to act as a dissenting minister of any denomination, especially as a baptist minister” (Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 13).

⁵⁵⁷ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 14–15. Later, Kinghorn stated: “We think as little of names as Mr. Hall’ but we are contending for *things*, not for *names*. While, however, difference of opinion exists, some name, to mark the distinction between the different denominations of professing Christians, there will be; but if we are so blended with others that we have not a denomination of our own, we shall be like those who have not a house of their own, and for a similar reason, we shall feel abridged (to say the least) both in freedom and enjoyment. We shall not have a church formed on the principles of the New Testament, and this is to us far more than a name” (Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 19–20).

⁵⁵⁸ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 23.

⁵⁵⁹ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 24.

⁵⁶⁰ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 24.

⁵⁶¹ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 25.

all the members of the church were baptized.”⁵⁶² Regarded as a permanent institution, close communionists of both credo- and paedobaptist churches only admit baptised believers “to membership and communion.”⁵⁶³ Kinghorn then provided four reasons for opposing open communion. First, to commune with the unbaptised is contrary to the scriptures. Kinghorn pointed out that the point was not about the validity of paedobaptism; instead, the question concerned “whether we ought not to receive a person who has received *no baptism* at any period, provided there is no other ground of objection.”⁵⁶⁴ Such a reasoning and practice would invalidate the authority of the New Testament, as the open communionists could not prove the abolition of baptism as an initiatory ordinance in the Christian economy.⁵⁶⁵ Instead of being “a mark of progress in religious knowledge,” which “think little of ritual observances,” the design and effect of open communion lead to “slight one of the ordinances of the Gospel.”⁵⁶⁶

Second, the primitive constitution of the Christian church requires its members to be baptised.⁵⁶⁷ Kinghorn argued this point from two aspects. First, Kinghorn pointed out the permanency of baptism as a Christian institution. For him, Hall’s logic was to treat the apostolic era as “merely a matter of history,” and “the tale of other times.”⁵⁶⁸ As a result, baptism was treated as a temporary institution, and “Whatever authority there was in the command of the Lord, when delivered to them, was left unimpaired at their

⁵⁶² Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 29, 30.

⁵⁶³ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 30.

⁵⁶⁴ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 33.

⁵⁶⁵ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 34–36.

⁵⁶⁶ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 36. For Kinghorn, it was inappropriate for Hall to use the “unscriptural term *Sacrament*” to describe the Lord’s supper (Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 1).

⁵⁶⁷ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 36.

⁵⁶⁸ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 39.

decease.”⁵⁶⁹ However, Kinghorn believed that the apostles’ conduct revealed how they understood the Lord’s commission, which required obedience of all Christians.⁵⁷⁰ Baptism as a rule “laid down by our Lord was universal, and ought not to be disobeyed where health and opportunity give permission to fulfil it,” as it differed from regulations that “related to our individual duty in acts of kindness,” or “dependent on the sentiments of the time, or the practice of nations,” or “articles of dress,” or “climate, taste, and a number of variable causes.”⁵⁷¹ Unlike these latter regulations, baptism was an ordinance of the church, “essential to [the church’s] proper, scriptural, formation.”⁵⁷² Second, Kinghorn refused to apply the argument of forbearance here, as open communion leads to the sacrifice of a biblical ordinance. As Baptists cannot consciously acknowledge paedobaptists’ baptism and receive the unbaptised, it would “be better united on all points in which they think like, than by attempting to force a union while there is a dissatisfaction respecting its principle.”⁵⁷³ In other words, while acknowledging paedobaptists’ genuine faith, Kinghorn also understood the importance of denominational distinctions, as their separation was caused by their consistency and faithfulness to the scriptures.

Third, Hall’s lax logic has ruinous consequences. For Kinghorn, Hall’s principle can be summarised as “an acknowledged, permanent, institution of Christ needs not be supported; but, that we are to receive those who oppose or disbelieve it, as freely as if they had submitted to the command of their Lord.”⁵⁷⁴ In the manner of a slippery

⁵⁶⁹ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 39.

⁵⁷⁰ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 39–40.

⁵⁷¹ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 40.

⁵⁷² Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 40.

⁵⁷³ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 44.

⁵⁷⁴ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 46, 76.

slope, Hall encouraged people to abandon other divine instructions over the time.⁵⁷⁵ As “laxity of sentiment” tends to “produce laxity of conduct,” the habitual repetition of “the maxim of prioritising one’s opinion and convenience over the divine instruction will “necessarily prepare the mind for other deviations.”⁵⁷⁶ To illustrate his point, Kinghorn employed an example, which was previously discussed with his father David Kinghorn, of questioning the ground upon which to exclude Socinians from the congregation.⁵⁷⁷ Hall’s principle would disallow the church to refuse Socinians’ fellowship, as to do so, “it must be by asserting their right to act on their own view of the will of Christ.”⁵⁷⁸

Fourth, Hall’s open communion bears the tendency to “produce dissention, and to lower the general interests of the denomination.”⁵⁷⁹ For Kinghorn, “the kingdom of Christ will, in the end, be best promoted by walking in his ways, according to what we find in his word.”⁵⁸⁰ However, open communion, as a new innovation, changed “the constitution of a church,” brought “in new terms of communion,” made “private opinions became of public consequence,” and broke “the church into parties.”⁵⁸¹ In practice, much like the Socinians to the old Presbyterians, it was the open communionists who expelled the Baptists “from our home,” and “robbed us both of our privileges and of our property.”⁵⁸² In addition, open communion provided excuses for leaving the Baptist churches. Frankly, Kinghorn admitted,

⁵⁷⁵ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 47.

⁵⁷⁶ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 48.

⁵⁷⁷ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 48–51. See Joseph Kinghorn to David Kinghorn, May 19, 1795, D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, KPA, 3.

⁵⁷⁸ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 50.

⁵⁷⁹ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 51.

⁵⁸⁰ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 52.

⁵⁸¹ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 51.

⁵⁸² Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 52, 53.

Mixed communion might occasionally bring in an individual or two to a partial connection with us, who might have some weight and influence; but such person *could not* identify themselves with our body; nor could we expect it. Our success, as a denomination, depends on zeal, the spirit of piety, the earnestness for the spread of Christ's kingdom, the conformity to *his* will and not to the world, and the steady consistency, of those who are connected with us. These are the *first works*, the primitive virtues by which any church or denomination rises to consequence. These, aided by the good sense and competent information of leading men, and animated by that *essential, quickening, influence*, the *blessing of God's Holy Spirit*, are the only means of increasing us in numbers, weight, and real consequence.⁵⁸³

Here, Kinghorn laid out his understanding of the Baptist identity. While recognising the advancement of the denomination, Kinghorn reminded his readers that denominationalism should be understood in the context of Christian catholicity. In other words, the communion controversy, at its core, concerns a person's identity as both a Christian and a Baptist. Overall, Kinghorn's primary concern was the "visible body," or the local community of Christians.⁵⁸⁴ When addressing the Baptist denomination, Kinghorn bore the local congregations in mind. Thus, he concluded by presenting a choice for "the members of our own denomination, whether they will keep the ordinances as they were delivered, or proceed on a plan of a totally different nature."⁵⁸⁵

A few days after the publication of Kinghorn's *Arguments*, the Norwich minister wrote on June 4, 1827 to Simon Wilkin, who at the time was travelling to Brighton, East Sussex, with his wife.⁵⁸⁶ In the letter, Kinghorn informed Wilkin the publication of his response, about which he commented:

⁵⁸³ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 59. Kinghorn warned that "What our successors will think of these things, we pretend not to affirm; our object should be to attend to present duty. If our denomination deserts its present principles, it will be placed on new ground, from which it will move off to some more remote station. Another class of Baptists and a new body of ministers, will then arise, who will have no respect for names, which now may be thought of high authority; and aided by experience and observation they will plead our common cause with new advantages. Thus, truth will be established, and the ordinances of the Gospel will be supported by additional evidence" (Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 80). Also see Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 26–27.

⁵⁸⁴ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 73.

⁵⁸⁵ Kinghorn, *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion*, 79.

⁵⁸⁶ In the preface, Kinghorn indicated that the work was completed in May 1827, it was probably published by the end of May or the beginning of June (see Anonymous, "Literary Record: New Publications," *BM* 2 [June 1827]: 272; Anonymous, "List of New Publications, with Short Notices," *Congregational Magazine* 3 [July 1827]: 386).

Some do not like it—others do—I am satisfied, that whatever may be said of the execution—the design was right—I believe the tendency is, & will be right; for under a change of circumstances in a few things, our church would be thrown into unspeakable confusion, if the inclinations of some are not counteracted—But the most high rules—Churches as well as individuals want trials, and I often think, it is the case with us—at how long an ebb, is serious, earnest, feeling, religion! It gives me many an alarm. I often say to myself, things cannot go on thus! But, alas, it is not me alone, our Denomination at large, is not in good state; nor does the evil end here, I strongly suspect that other denominations—are as bad or worse, and one general tendency is working through the whole; a cold indifferent laxity—in doctrine and in practice. The general profession of the present day will do very little against this downhill tendency, it will add materials to the mass, rolling on in that direction; and the few cases in which strong impressions may lead some to expostulate will only call forth the clamour of others against them. It is an unspeakable mercy where grace forms the character, with an energy that makes it abound in the work of the Lord.⁵⁸⁷

Along with the “Serampore controversy,” Kinghorn was genuinely troubled for the future of the denomination.⁵⁸⁸

Conclusion

On May 10, 1828, shortly after publishing his *Conversations between Two Laymen*, J. G. Fuller (1799–1884) wrote to Kinghorn.⁵⁸⁹ Regarding the communion controversy, Fuller stated that “I am perfectly satisfied the tide will ebb at [Hall’s] death.”⁵⁹⁰ However, Fuller’s prophecy was false, as the debate did not end with Hall’s silence. Besides a following-up response by “Catholicus,” William Groser (1791–1858) of Maidstone tried to reheat the temper, to which Kinghorn drafted a response.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁷ Joseph Kinghorn to Simon Wilkin, June 4, 1827, no. 108, NRO, 1–2. Also see Baiyu Andrew Song, ed., “‘Dr. M will go down’: Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832) on Two Baptist Controversies,” *Journal of Andrew Fuller Studies* 6 (2023): 79–87.

⁵⁸⁸ On the “Serampore controversy,” see Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792–1992* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992); Joseph Ivimey, *Letters on the Serampore Controversy, Addressed to the Rev. Christopher Anderson; Occasioned by a Postscript, Dated Edinburgh, 26th November, 1830, Affixed to the “Reply” of the Rev. D. Marshman* (London, 1831); D. A. Christadoss, “The Story of Serampore College, 1818–1929,” in *The Story of Serampore and Its College*, ed. Wilma S. Stewart (Serampore: Council of Serampore College, 1961), 20–27; Song, “Dr. M will go down,” 82–85.

⁵⁸⁹ John G. Fuller was one of Andrew Fuller’s sons. J. G. Fuller, *Conversations between Two Laymen, on Strict and Mixed Communion; In Which the Principal Argument in Favor of the Latter Practice, are Stated, as Nearly as Possible, in the Words of Its Most Powerful Advocate, the Rev. Robert Hall. With Dr. Griffin’s Letter on Communion, and the Review of It by Professor Ripley of Newton* (London, 1828).

⁵⁹⁰ J. G. Fuller to Joseph Kinghorn, May 10, 1828, no. 120, NRO, 3.

⁵⁹¹ Catholicus, *An Analytical Review of the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn’s Replies to the Works of the*

Kinghorn, however, chose to not publish this time.⁵⁹² Throughout the communion controversy, Kinghorn's acerbity was in sharp contrast to Hall's rhetoric. As an anonymous Methodist reviewer commented after the death of the initiators of the controversy:

Such men as the late Joseph Kinghorn and Andrew Fuller should not, even by implication, be classed with St. Dominic [1170–1221], Bishop [Edmund] Bonner [c. 1500–1569], or even Archbishop [William] Laud [1573–1645]. Their principles were somewhat repulsive, but their motives were pure. They intended to honour Christ in one of his sacramental ordinances, and their hearts glowed with love to Christians who were not of their denomination.⁵⁹³

Regardless, the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy was unlike the previous two controversies regard its content, and contextually it also happened at a time of denominational transition.

Rev. Robert Hall, on Terms of Christian Communion (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1828); William Groser, *A Letter to a Conscientious Advocate for Strict Communion* (London, 1831).

⁵⁹² According to Wilkin, Kinghorn drafted a "Letter on Strict Communion, in Reply to 'A Letter to a Conscientious Advocate for Strict Communion'" (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 474). The manuscript was probably written in shorthand, but it is not listed in the catalogue at either the Angus Library and Archive or Norfolk Record Office.

⁵⁹³ Anonymous, Review of *The Supremacy of the Scriptures the Divine Rule of Religion*, by James Davies, *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 69, no. 2 (December 1846): 1216–17.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Sixty years after Joseph Kinghorn’s death, the biographers of Alexander Mackenzie (1822–1892), a Scottish Presbyterian turned Haldanian Baptist and the second prime minister of Canada (1873–1878), wrote regarding the latter’s religious beliefs and practice that

[Mackenzie] was never charged with being a bigot. So far from that, he was in religion, as in politics, a large-minded man, readily acknowledging good wherever he saw it, and deeply interested in all social, moral, and religious movements. He was fond of quoting, especially to those who thought much of forms and creeds, the remark of Robert Hall, the celebrated English Baptist divine, that he would do a good deal to make a man a Christian, but would hardly cross the street merely to make him a Baptist.¹

Though the communion controversy in North America is beyond the scope of the present study, it is significant to recognise the continuing legacy and impact of the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy among the Canadian Baptists.² Both Kinghorn and Hall recognised that as the printed debate expanded, it became more and more emotional on both sides. In an intensifying “age of coexistence,” the close communionists were

¹ William Buckingham and George W. Ross, *The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie: His Life and Times* (Toronto: Rose, 1892), 55. See Kenneth Roxburgh, “Open and Closed Membership among Scottish Baptists,” in *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 430–46; Brian Talbot, *The Search for a Common Identity: The Origins of the Baptist Union of Scotland 1800–1870* (Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire: Paternoster, 2003); Ian L. S. Balfour, *Revival in Rose Street: Charlotte Baptist Chapel, Edinburgh, 1808–2008* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 2007).

² No substantive study on the communion controversy among the Canadian Baptists have done. It is known that by the mid-1800s, the terms of communion divided the Canadian Baptists, as Baptists in eastern Canada were open communionists and those in the western country were close communionists. In 1848, the Regular Baptist Union of Canada was formed, composing churches practised close communion. Notice that those who practised close communion were called “Regular Baptists” in the North American context. See, for instance, Philip G. A. Griffin-Allwood, “‘Baptist Unity in the Midst of Evangelical Diversity’: Canadian Baptists and the 19th-Century Evangelical Debate over Christian Unity,” in *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*, ed. David T. Priestley (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996), 123–38; Gordon L. Heath, Dallas Friesen, and Taylor Murray, *Baptists in Canada: Their History and Polity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2020).

disregarded as “bigots” in later discourses.³ Based on Martin Hood Wilkin’s (1832–1904) and C. B. Jewson’s (1909–1981) foundational studies of Kinghorn’s life, the current project employed an interdisciplinary approach and reconstructed Kinghorn’s life and thought, as well as the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy, by engaging both primary and secondary sources. Methodologically, this project followed what Professor Richard Whatmore reminded that

The intellectual historian seeks to restore a lost world, to recover perspectives and ideas from the ruins, to pull back the veil and explain why the ideas resonated in the past and convinced their advocates. Ideas, and the cultures and practices they create, are foundational to any act of understanding. Ideas are expressive of the actions of leading philosophers, whose conceptions of liberty, justice or equality stand in need of elucidation, of the actions of culturally significant persons in any society, or indeed of the expounders of any form of popular culture ... These require careful reconstruction in order to understand what people were doing, what the ideas being enunciated meant and how they related to the broader ideological cultures in which they were formed. Working out the meaning of ideas is only possible after historical interpretation.⁴

Furthermore, this project adopted the vision of B. R. White (1934–2016) that “It is necessary that today there should be a microscopic study of Baptist history, if only to serve as a check upon the too fluent pens of those who advocate and practice the inaccuracies and inadequacies of the telescopic approach.”⁵ By engaging ignored correspondence and making neglected connections, the project provided nuances to the understanding of a transitional era and challenged the inherited metanarrative.

Throughout the project, each chapter contributes to making a painstaking investigation and presenting a contextualised, broad, and in-depth interpretation of a

³ The term “age of coexistence” came from Ussama Makdisi, *Age of Coexistence: The Ecumenical Frame and the Making of the Modern Arab World* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019). Makdisi argues the ecumenical frame is a new norm of coexistence, which is “rooted in the principle of secular equality ... the cultural and constitutional commitment to the equality of citizens of different faiths” (Makdisi, *Age of Coexistence*, 8). Regarding the historians’ bias against the close communionists, see, for instance, A. C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 1947), 171.

⁴ Richard Whatmore, *What is Intellectual History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2016), 5, 7.

⁵ B. R. White, “The Baptists of Reading, 1652–1715,” *BQ* 22, no. 5 (1968): 263.

complicated and clamour story. As the chapters have revealed, this project agreed with W. R. Ward (1925–2010) and John H. Y. Briggs’ argument that interdenominational unity, primarily driven by the missionary concern, made the terms of communion an inevitable subject of disagreement within a rising and institutionalised denomination.⁶ Nevertheless, as examined through the history of the communion controversy among the English Particular Baptists, the project disagreed with Michael J. Walker’s (1932–1989) dualistic explanation, as if the ideological difference between Kinghorn and Hall were merely one of symbolism and empiricism.⁷ As dissenters, both Kinghorn and Hall were—either conscientiously or unconscientiously—nourished in Lockean philosophy, despite their different emphases, namely, Kinghorn’s alleged loose “Zwinglianism” and Hall’s liberty of conscience.⁸ Moreover, Lockeanism also led Hall to adopt the view of

⁶ For instance, see W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790–1850* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1972); John H. Y. Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1994), 62, 107.

⁷ Michael J. Walker, *Baptists at the Table: The Theology of the Lord’s Supper amongst English Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire: Baptist Historical Society, 1992), 43. Unfortunately, Walker never explained the term “empiricism” in his book. Regarding symbolism, Brian Horne rightfully points out that “In Christianity, the symbolic structures do not exist in a kind of parallel universe, a universe that runs alongside the historical narrative as though it were some form of decorative embellishment; each discrete symbol is related organically in some way or other both to the life of the community and to the particulars of certain historical events. The attempted dissociation of the symbolical order from the historical order is an attempt to turn Christianity into a purely mythological system and results in confusion in those who are not aware of what is happening” (Brian Horne, “The Legacy of Romanticism: On Not Confusing Art and Religion,” in *Public Theology in Cultural Engagement*, ed. Stephen R. Holmes [Paternoster, 2008], 166–67).

⁸ On Locke’s influence, see Anthony Lincoln, *Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent, 1760–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); John Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *item*, John Locke, *Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jeffrey R. Collins, *In the Shadow of Leviathan: John Locke and the Politics of Conscience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Alan P. F. Sell, *John Locke and the Eighteenth-Century Divines* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997); *item*, *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity, 1689–1920* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2004).

Though Walker qualified Kinghorn as a loose Zwinglian regarding his thought of the eucharist, it is difficult to draw such a conclusion merely from his replies to Hall (Walker, *Baptists at the Table*, 3–8). Since Kinghorn’s replies were polemical in nature, his primary focus was on the meaning of baptism and Hall’s arguments. In other words, since the eucharist was not the primary concern, Kinghorn did not explicitly explain his understanding of the meaning of the Lord’s Supper. On Hall’s view of conscience, see Robert Hall Jr., *On Terms of Communion, with a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Pædobaptists* (Leicester: Thomas Combe; London, 1815), in *The Works of Robert Hall, A.M.*, ed. Olinthus Gregory, 3rd ed. (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1834), 2:129ff.

“universal brotherhood,” which is related to liberal individualism.⁹ Like John Bunyan (1628–1688), Hall focused on the spirit over form and argued from basic metaphysical humanistic notions such as the universal Christian consanguinity.¹⁰ However, as Hall’s arguments have revealed, these notions in themselves are “difficult to explicate and even more difficult to link with the obligations of others.”¹¹ Such was the point Kinghorn repeatedly tackled. In many ways, Kinghorn and Hall agreed with each other, as both recognised so in their writings.¹² For instance, both Kinghorn and Hall agreed over the infallible authority of the scripture, though they disagreed hermeneutically.¹³ They also agreed over the subject and mode of baptism, as both acknowledged the Baptist conviction of credobaptism by immersion, though disagreed that baptism should become a term of communion.¹⁴

⁹ Regarding the increasing individualism, Briggs noticed that the “nineteenth-century Baptists, unlike their predecessors, seemed anxious not to impute corporate ecclesiastical significance to the rite, placing it wholly in the realm of personal responsibility, where the witness of one individual was seen as having a powerful influence on another in a church fellowship where signs and symbols were few” (Briggs, *English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century*, 53). Such focus on individualism was one of the fundamental assumptions of William James’ famous lecture, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). See Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ The consistent distinction between spirit/ideal and form can be recognised in most open communion arguments for Christian unity. In this project, I have attributed such an idea of anti-formalism to John Bunyan’s pastor John Gifford (d. 1655) and have called it “Giffordism.”

¹¹ Colin Wrings, “The Ideology of Liberal Individualism, Welfare Rights and the Right to Education,” in *The Ideologies of Children’s Rights*, ed. Michael Freeman and Philip Veerman (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992), 194.

¹² For instance, John Stoughton (1807–1897) pointed out that “There is more unity in Baptist history than in the history of Independents during the early part of the century. Baptists had stronger sympathies with each other; for their denominational zeal rallied round one distinct institute, the name of which ever shone on their banners. . . . three controversies, which they carried on without destroying denominational unity. The hyper-calvinistic controversy, the communion controversy, and the Serampore controversy were so many family discussions” (John Stoughton, *History of Religion in England from the Opening of the Long Parliament to 1850. Volume VII Church of the First Half of the 19th Century*, 2nd ed. [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901], 261–62).

¹³ Regarding the scripture, Stephen Holmes argued that as an identity trait, Baptists “are ‘differently biblical’ from other traditions,” as Baptists understand scripture to be “fundamentally as law, a call to praxis, rather than doctrine, a call to belief.” Consequently, Baptists adopted a mimetic approach to scripture, which at the core, “seek to do what the apostles do, often without any reflection on the theological constructions behind the practice” (Stephen R. Holmes, “Baptist Identity, Once More,” *Journal of Baptist Theology in Context* 3 [2021]: 14).

¹⁴ This point is recognised by Briggs, who pointed out that “Robert Hall and Joseph Kinghorn were entirely agreed both as to who should be baptized and the mode of that baptism. Hall, however,

Unlike previous studies, the present project went beyond the English ideological traditions and made the connection between English Baptists and their continental counterparts. Particularly through German Lutheran historian and theologian Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755) and German biblical scholar Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791), it has been argued that the third Baptist communion controversy was rooted in different definitions of the church. Though neither party defined their usage of the term “church,” it can be observed that for Hall, the church was a society joined by voluntary subscriptions. Thus, over the term of the controversy, Hall identified the visible church as *corpus mysticum*, whereas Kinghorn focused on the local congregation and maintained the distinction between the invisible and visible church.¹⁵ Such a difference was at the core of their disagreements, and they have directed their attention to prove their points, yet without questioning each other’s ecclesial assumption. Furthermore, the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy exquisitely illustrated the sociological dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.¹⁶ For Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936), a *Gemeinschaft*

prompted by the shared experience of the Evangelical Revival, concerned for the unity of the Church as the Body of Christ, and persuaded that schism was ‘by far the greatest calamity that has befallen the Christian interest’, argued that it was remarkable that ‘the rite, which, of all others, is most adapted to cement mutual attachment, and which is in a great measure appointed for that purpose, should be fixed upon as the line of demarcation, the impassable barrier, to separate and disjoin the followers of Christ’” (Briggs, *English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century*, 45).

¹⁵ It should be noticed that Kinghorn should not be accused of adopting a “Nestorian ecclesiology,” which according to Vladimir Lossky (1903–1958) means to “divide the Church into distinct beings: on the one hand the heavenly and invisible Church, alone true and absolute; one the other, the earthly Church (or rather ‘the churches’) imperfect and relative, wandering in the shadows, human societies seeking to draw near, so far as is possible for them, to that transcendent perfection” (Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* [Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1976], 186). As Billy Kristanto points out, “following Chalcedonian Christology, these two aspects [of the visible and invisible church] should be unconfused, unchangeable, indivisible, and inseparable. Indivisible and inseparable mean both aspects are two ways of speaking the one holy catholic church” (Kristanto, *Ecclesiology in Reformed Perspective* [Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2022], 20). Thus, Kinghorn’s “dualistic” ecclesial spirituality should be understood as playing distinguished focus on the properties of the church, which are the electedness (invisibility) and the profession of the true religion (visibility) (see Kristanto, *Ecclesiology in Reformed Perspective*, 20–21). Specifically, regarding the latter, “the church should be visibly seen through her profession of the true religion, i.e. true reverence of God joined with love of God” (Kristanto, *Ecclesiology in Reformed Perspective*, 21). For Kinghorn, this means to maintain the ecclesial order established by the New Testament and to regard both sacraments as positive institutions.

¹⁶ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, trans. Charles P. Loomis (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957). Also see Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society: Fifty Years On* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

comprises “the whole mankind, such as the Church wishes to be regarded. But human *Gesellschaft* is conceived as mere coexistence of people independent of each other.”¹⁷ In other words, while Hall was concerned with the public life of the Christian society, Kinghorn focused on the community of local congregations. Such a sociological interpretation is further affirmed by Kinghorn’s concerns as expressed in private correspondence and the *weltgeist* shared by open communionists such as John Rippon (1751–1836) and Hall.

As Rowan Williams points out,

Historical writing, I suggest, is writing that constructs that sense of who we are by a real engagement with the strangeness of the past, that establishes my or our identity now as bound up with a whole range of things that are not easy for me or us, not obvious or native to the world we think we inhabit, yet which have to be recognized in their solid reality as both different from us and part of us. The end product is a sense of who we now are that is subtle enough to encompass the things we don’t fully understand.¹⁸

Furthermore, since “history will not tell us then what to do, but will at least start us on the road to action of a different and more self-aware kind, action that is moral in a way it can’t be if we have no points of reference beyond what we have come to take for granted,” this study will eventually help contemporary Baptists to reconsider their denominational identity, in light of Joseph Kinghorn’s ecclesial spirituality and his engagement in the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy.¹⁹

¹⁷ Tönnies, *Community and Society*, 34.

¹⁸ Rowan Williams, *Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church*, rev. ed. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2014), 23–24.

¹⁹ Williams, *Why Study the Past?*, 25.

APPENDIX 1

A CHRONOLOGY OF JOSEPH KINGHORN'S PUBLICATIONS

- 1795 *A Defence of Infant Baptism, Its Best Confutation: Being A Reply to Mr. Peter Edwards's Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Anti-Paedo-Baptism, on his Own Ground* (Norwich)
- 1800 *Public Worship Considered and Enforced* (Norwich)
- 1803 *Address to a Friend, Who Intends Entering into Church Communion* (Norwich)
- 1804 *Arguments, Chiefly from Scripture, Against the Roman Catholic Doctrine. In a Dialogue* (Norwich)
- 1808 *Observations on the Norfolk Benevolent Society of Protestant Dissenting Ministers; For the Relief of the Necessitous Widows and Orphans of Dissenting Ministers, and of Ministers who are by Age or Affliction Incapable of Public Service* (Norwich)
- 1811 *Serious Considerations Addressed to the House of Israel. The Substance of a Sermon, Delivered at the Jews' Chapel, December 16, 1810* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews)
- 1812 *The Miracles of Jesus not Performed by the Power of the Shem-Hamphorash. The Substance of a Sermon Preached at the Jews' Chapel, August 18, 1811, Being the Seventh Demonstration Sermon ... With an Appendix on Jewish Traditions and the Perpetuity of the Law of Moses* (London: The London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews)
- 1813 *Address to a Friend, Who Intends Entering into Church Communion*, 2nd ed. (Norwich)

- 1813 *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ, Addressed to the Serious Professors of Christianity* (Norwich)
- 1814 *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers. Two Sermons Addressed Principally to the Students of the Two Baptist Academies at Stepney and at Bristol. The First Preached June 23, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's Meeting, Carter-lane, Southwark; The Second, August 3, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Ryland's, Broad Mead, Bristol* (Norwich)
- 1814 *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ, Addressed to the Serious Professors of Christianity. Second Edition. With an Appendix, Containing Observations on the Rev. I. Perry's Letters to the Author*, 2nd ed. (Norwich)
- 1816 *Baptism, a Term of Communion at the Lord's Supper* (Norwich)
- 1816 *Baptism, a Term of Communion at the Lord's Supper*, 2nd ed. (Norwich)
- 1816 *Fifth Report of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society. September 1, 1816* (Norwich)
- 1817 *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers. The Substance of a Sermon Preached at Bradford, in the County of York; At the Annual Meeting of the Northern Baptist Education Society, August 27, 1817* (Norwich)
- 1820 *A Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion." In Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall's Reply* (Norwich)
- 1823 *The Arguments in Support of Infant Baptism, from the Covenant of Circumcision, Examined, and Shewn to Be Invalid* (London)
- 1824 *An Address to a Friend, on Church Communion: With An Appendix, Containing a Brief Statement of the Sentiments of the Baptists on the Ordinance of Baptism*, 3rd ed. (Norwich)
- 1824 Jacobo Robertson. *Clavis Pentateuchi: Sive Analysis Omnium Vocum Hebraicarum suo ordine in Pentateucho Moseos occurrentium, una cum versione Latina et Anglica; Notis Criticis et Philologicis Adjectis, in quibus, ex lingua Arabica,*

Judæorum Moribus, et Doctorum Itinerariis, plurium locorum S. S. Sensus Eruitur, novaque versione illustrator. In usum Juventutis Academicæ Edinburgenæ. Cui Præmittuntur Dissertationes Duæ; I. De antiquitate linguæ Arabicæ, ejusque conventientia cu, lingua Hebræa. II. De genuina punctorum vocalium antiquitate,
ed. Joseph Kinghorn (Norwich)

1824 *A Brief Statement of the Sentiments of the Baptists on the Ordinance of Baptism*
(Norwich; London)

1827 *Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion, and in Support of Communion on the Plan of the Apostolic Church; With Preliminary Observations on Rev. R. Hall's Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion*
(London)

1827 *Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Isaac Slee; With an Extract from His Farewell Sermon, on His Resigning the Perpetual Curacy of Plumpton, in Cumberland, in Consequence of Becoming a Baptist* (London: Wightman and Cramp)

1829 *Remarks on a "Country Clergyman's Attempt to Explain the Nature of the Visible Church, the Divine Commission of the Clergy, &c." Being a Defence of Dissenters in General, and of Baptists in Particular; on New Testament Principles* (Norwich)

1831 "The Separate State," in *The British Preacher, Under the Sanction of the Ministers Whose Discourses Appear in Its Pages*, 1:217–230 (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis)

APPENDIX 2

JOSEPH KINGHORN'S CONFESSION OF FAITH¹

Being now called upon to give an account of those sentiments which I have preached to the people in this place, over whom I am now about to take the pastoral charge, I comply in conformity to the general custom on these occasions, and shall briefly recite what appear to me the leading truths of Christianity.

In the first place, then, as the foundation of all religion, I have endeavoured to impress the minds of those to whom I have preached with the idea of one great First Cause whom we call God; a Being independent in his own existence, and whose infinite perfections and glory are displayed in all his works.

This Being hath revealed to us his character and will in that volume we call the Old and New Testament, which, as it is attended with what appears to me sufficient evidence, I have endeavoured to represent as the sole rule of faith and practice in the things of religion.

This volume reveals the Great God to us under the characters of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which are spoken of in such language as conveys to me the idea, that each is divine, and all concerned in the salvation of man. And from the manner in which they are spoken of in the Word of God, I apprehend they are not merely titles or characters, but that there is a reason for that distinction, with which they are mentioned, and though I confess I am unable to comprehend what that reason is, yet I consider God's word as giving us the best idea of his character.

¹ Adopted from Kinghorn's own manuscript copy, as copied by Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander; London: Arthur Hall, 1855), 175–77.

The Word of God also points out the situation of man, as sprung from the stock of Adam, who, by transgressing the divine command, brought death on himself and on all his posterity: in consequence of which transgression the children of men have departed from the law of God; in this light the Bible represents them—“every mouth being stopped, and all the world guilty before God.” And however we may account for the *fact*, yet the fact itself appears so connected with the main scope of God’s word, that it evidently supposes it.

But we have not only our awful situation, but also our remedy pointed out in the sacred Scriptures, in the way of salvation through Jesus, the Son of God, who, after a long train of prophecies, promises, and typical representations, came in the flesh; appeared not as man solely, but as God manifest in flesh. He, who of old laid the foundations of the earth, came and dwelt among us—who laid aside his glory, made himself of no reputation, went about doing good, fulfilling the will of his Father, teaching us our duty, and setting us an example; who died on the cross, and on the third day rose from the dead; who fulfilled all the typical representations of the Jewish dispensation, and who gave himself for us, that, especially by his death, he might make an atonement for iniquity, and by voluntarily taking the part of Mediator, he might display the purity as well as goodness of the great Lawgiver, and open a way of access to the throne of grace, that we might obtain mercy.

The scripture also informs me that after he rose from the dead he ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, continues his important character by interceding for his people, is head over all things to his church, and will reign till all enemies are put under his feet.

I also believe that it is through faith in this Jesus, as the Saviour of sinners, that we are justified from the condemnation of God’s law; all the benefits of the death and resurrection of Christ being thereby imputed to our souls, by which we stand accepted before God, and enjoy a title to eternal life.

And, also, that those who are justified through faith in Christ are sanctified through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who, with a divine energy, impresses on them the truths of the gospel, changes their dispositions, and enables them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteously, soberly, and godly. And that when any are really under the influence of this Spirit, they are led forward in the ways of God, and not permitted finally to turn back to the ways of iniquity.

That to this end the Holy Spirit leads them to attend to God's word as their rule, and assists them in every part of their duty, that they may live as the children of God.

I also believe that among many other parts of their duty, it is especially incumbent on Christians to unite together in a church state, to attend to the positive ordinances Christ has commanded,—Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

The first of these I believe to be only properly administered by immersion in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and to be administered to such, and *such only*, who make a credible personal profession of their faith in Christ, and attachment to him.

The other ordinance of Christ, the Lord's Supper, is a commemoration of his sufferings and death for the sins of his people, that they may be led more seriously to consider what he hath done for them, that their faith may be strengthened, and their minds comforted.

I also believe that after death there will be a resurrection of the bodies, both of the just and of the unjust; that Jesus Christ will then come from heaven as the Judge of all; that wicked men will be consigned over to everlasting punishment, and good men enjoy glory, honour, and immortality.

And since I consider these as the leading truths in the Christian religion, I do not apprehend the influence they produce is left to casual circumstances, but that God, in his own incomprehensible designs, from eternity hath chosen in Christ Jesus peculiar people for himself, to be to the praise of the glory of his grace; that these he influences according

to his sacred good pleasure, first by bringing them to a knowledge of himself and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and afterwards in causing all the operations of his providence and grace to concur in fulfilling his purposes. That thus in all ages he will carry on his own great design, till the number of his elect be gathered in, and the people of his choice associated in one body of Christ, forming the general assembly and church of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven.

And however great the difficulty may be of accounting for many parts of the divine conduct on the plan he appears to have pointed out in his word, I have no doubt but that in the end, he will fully manifest the propriety of all his designs, and lead all his people to say, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!"

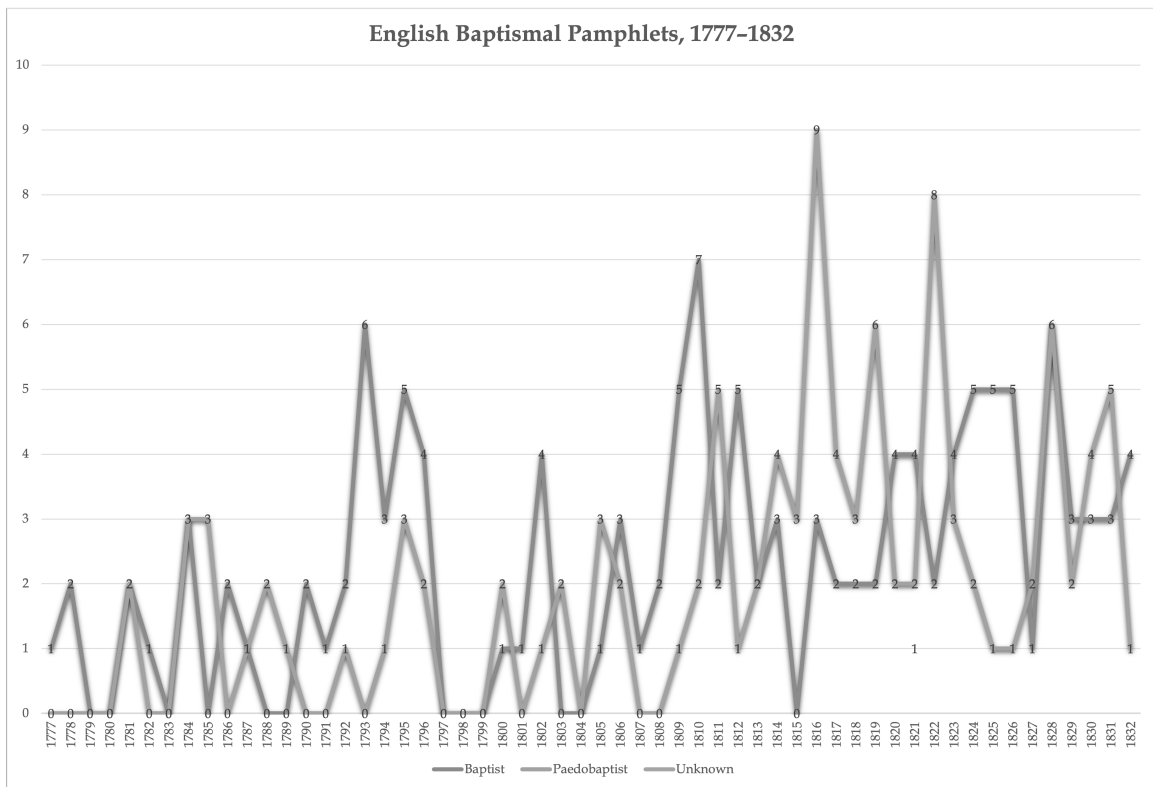
Such are the general views of Christianity which I have endeavoured to lay open to the people here, as appearing to me to be the will of God. Should I be hereafter favoured with a clearer insight into his holy will, I hope I shall not hide from them what shall appear as his counsel, but shall look on myself as bound to declare it, being sensible that anything attended with Scripture evidence is not only important, but best calculated to promote the end which I trust I earnestly desire,—the eternal salvation of their souls.

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF ST. MARY'S PASTORS UNTIL THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

Year Appointed	Names
1669	Daniel Bradford
	Henry Austine
1687	Thomas Flatman
1691	Edward Williams
1713	Samuel Austine
	William Baker
1727	Edward Munford
1737	John Miller
1743	John Stearne
1758	George Simon
1762	Samuel Fisher
1777	Rees David
1789	Joseph Kinghorn
1833	William Brock
1849	George Gould
1883	John Howard Shakespeare
1900	Thomas Philips

APPENDIX 4
 BAPTISMAL PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED IN
 ENGLAND, 1777–1832¹



¹ Data is based on entries in William Thomas Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography: Being a Register of the Chief Materials for Baptist History, Volume 2* (London: Kingsgate, 1922).

APPENDIX 5

CHRONICLE OF THE HALL-KINGHORN
COMMUNION CONTROVERSY

YEAR	AUTHOR	EVENT(S)/PUBLICATION	COMMENT
June 1815	Robert Hall Jr.	<i>Terms of Communion, with a Particular View to the Case of the Baptists and Pædobaptists</i> (Leicester).	1st ed. (end of June); 2nd ed. (November 1815).
July 25, 1815	Andrew Fuller	<i>Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord's Supper, Inconsistent with the New Testament. A Letter to a Friend</i> (London).	Posthumously published by William Newman
c.December, 1815	George Pritchard	<i>A Plea for Primitive Communion, Occasioned by the Rev. Robert Hall's Recent Publication on "Terms of Communion," &c.</i> (London)	Published anonymously
February 14, 1816	Robert Hall Jr.	<i>Essential Difference between Christian Baptism, and the Baptism of John, More Fully Stated and Confirmed; In Reply to a Pamphlet, Entitled "A Plea for Primitive Communion"</i> (Leicester)	A reply to Pritchard's pamphlet; a second edition was published later in 1816.

March or early April, 1816	Joseph Kinghorn	<i>Baptism a Term of Communion at the Lord's Table</i> (Norwich)	The second edition was published by the end of April 1816.
March 1816	Christmas Evans	<i>Decision of a General Congress Convened to Agree on Terms of Communion, Occasioned by the Rev. Robert Hall's Pamphlet on that Subject</i> (London).	
April 16, 1816	John Mitchell Mason	<i>A Plea for Sacramental Communion on Catholick Principles</i> (New York)	
October 31, 1816	Thomas Williams	<i>Religious Liberty Stated and Enforced on the Principles of Scripture and Common Sense. In Six Essays, with Notes and an Appendix</i> (London).	Arian author
February 25, 1817	Andrew Fuller	<i>Open Communion Unscriptural; A Letter from the Late Rev. A. Fuller, of Kettering, (Dated Sept. 21, 1800) to the Rev. W. Ward, Missionary at Serampore</i> (London).	Published posthumously. A second edition was published by Joseph Ivimey on September 16, 1824.
April 1818	Robert Hall Jr.	<i>A Reply to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn: Being a Further Vindication of the</i>	A second edition was

		<i>Practice of Free Communion</i> (Leicester; London)	published in May or June 1818
April 1818	Francis Augustus Cox	<i>A Letter on Free Communion, from a Pastor to the People of His Charge; Containing a Concise View of the Argument</i> (London).	
May 1819	Agnostos	<i>Thoughts on Baptism, as an Ordinance of Proselytism; Including Observations on the Controversy Respecting Terms of Communion</i> (London)	
June 1819	William Newman	<i>Moral and Ritual Precepts compared. In a Pastoral Letter to the Baptist Church, at Bow, Middlesex; including some remarks on the Rev. Robert Hall's "Terms of Communion"</i> (London)	
September 1820	Joseph Kinghorn	<i>A Defence of "Baptism a Term of Communion." In Answer to the Rev. Robert Hall's Reply</i> (Norwich).	
Before July 1822	Anonymous	<i>The Duty and Importance of Free Communion Among Real Christians of Every Denomination, Especially in the Present Period; With Some Notices of the Writings of Messrs. Booth, Fuller, and R. Hall, on This Subject</i> (London)	

<p>March 3, 1824</p>	<p>Joseph Ivimey</p>	<p><i>Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord's Table: Or, Considerations Designed to Expose the Erroneous Practice of Departing from the Original Constitution of the Christian Church, by Founding Open Communion Baptist Churches, Especially in Those Neighbourhoods where Evangelical Congregational Churches Already Exist. Including Animadversions on the "Preface &c." of the Rev. Robert Hall's "Reply" to the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn's Work on "Baptism a Term of Communion" (London).</i></p>	
<p>March 1825</p>	<p>Joseph Kinghorn</p>	<p><i>Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, in Defence of Those Who Maintain that Baptism Should Precede Communion: Occasioned by His Address "To Correspondents," in the Eclectic Review for December, 1824 (Norwich)</i></p>	
<p>October 7, 1826</p>	<p>Robert Hall Jr.</p>	<p><i>A Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion (London).</i></p>	

November 10, 1826	Joseph Ivimey	<i>Communion at the Lord's Table, Regulated by the Revealed Will of Christ, Not Party, but Christian Communion: A Reply to the Rev. Robert Hall's Pamphlet, Entitled, "Reasons for Christian in Opposition to Party Communion"</i> (London)	
1826	Catholicus	<i>An Essay on Terms of Communion</i> (Aberdeen)	
April 1827	William Giles	<i>Letters to the Rev. R. Hall, A.M. Containing an Examination of His Theory of Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion</i> (London: Wightman and Cramp)	
May 1827	Kinghorn	<i>Arguments against the Practice of Mixed Communion, and in Support of Communion on the Plan of the Apostolic Church; with Preliminary Observations on Rev. R. Hall's Reasons for Christian, in Opposition to Party Communion</i> (London; Norwich).	
May 1828	J.G. Fuller	<i>Conversations between Two Laymen, on Strict and Mixed Communion; In Which the Principal Argument in Favor of the Latter Practice, are Stated, as Nearly as Possible, in the</i>	A second edition was published in 1832 in Boston.

		<i>Words of Its Most Powerful Advocate, the Rev. Robert Hall. With Dr. Griffin's Letter on Communion, and the Review of It By Professor Ripley of Newton (London).</i>	
August 1828	Catholicus	<i>An Analytical Review of the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn's Replies to the Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, on Terms of Christian Communion (Edinburgh; Aberdeen).</i>	
March 1831	William Groser of Maidstone	<i>A Letter to a Conscientious Advocate for Strict Communion (London).</i>	
	Joseph Kinghorn	Letter on Strict Communion, in Reply to "A Letter to a Conscientious Advocate for Strict Communion."	Unpublished manuscript ¹

¹ Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander; London: Arthur Hall, 1855), 473.

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ABSTRACT

“THE STEADY OBEDIENCE OF HIS CHURCH”: THE ECCLESIAL SPIRITUALITY OF JOSEPH KINGHORN AND THE COMMUNION CONTROVERSY, 1814–1827

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Despite being recognised as one of the most learned English Particular Baptists, Joseph Kinghorn’s (1766–1832) legacy was damaged due to his defence of the close communion position during the more than a decade-long debate with Robert Hall Jr. (1764–1831). While recognising the preliminary works of Martin Hood Wilkin (1832–1904), C. B. Jewson (1909–1981), W. R. Ward (1925–2010), John H. Y. Briggs, and others, this dissertation uses Joseph Kinghorn’s ecclesial spirituality as a starting point to reconsider the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy in its socio-historical and theological contexts. In particular, by connecting the published debates with neglected primary sources, this dissertation argues that it was not only inevitable for the Particular Baptists to resume their debates over the terms of communion by the end of the long eighteenth century when the denomination was facing another identity crisis in light of its rising to the global stage, but also necessary for Joseph Kinghorn to represent the close communionists, despite his dislike of squabbles. Furthermore, by tracing back to various German influences, this dissertation looks beyond the British theological traditions and argues that the definition of the church was at the core of the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy. After the introduction, which presents the *status quaestionis*, thesis, and methodology, chapter two reconstructs the life of Joseph Kinghorn. Chapter three surveys Baptist controversies over the terms of communion, from the formation of the Baptist

sect to the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival. By engaging various sources, it analyses the debated arguments in light of the socio-historical changes. Chapter four returns to Joseph Kinghorn and enquire into his internal ideas of the Christian church. Guided by his Augustinian distinction of the invisible and visible church, this chapter reconstructs Kinghorn's ecclesial spirituality by engaging his published works and unpublished correspondence. Chapter five then focuses on the Hall-Kinghorn communion controversy. By examining each round of the published debate, this chapter engages the broader intellectual cultures and traces the sources and connections of each party's arguments.

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