

# Word and Space, Time and Act: The Shaping of English Puritan Piety

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**S**PIRITUALITY LIES AT the very core of English Puritanism, that late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century movement that sought to reform

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the Church of England and, failing to do so, splintered into a variety of denominations, such as English Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Particular (i.e., Calvinistic) and General (i.e., Arminian) Baptist.<sup>1</sup> Whatever else the Puritans may have been—social, political, and ecclesiastical Reformers—they were primarily men and women intensely passionate about piety and Christian experience. By and large united in their Calvinism, the Puritans believed that every aspect of their spiritual lives came from the work of the Holy Spirit. They had, in fact, inherited from the continental Reformers of the sixteenth

century, and from John Calvin (1506–64) in par-

ticular, “a constant and even distinctive concern” with the person and work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> Benjamin B. Warfield (1851–1921), the distinguished American Presbyterian theologian, can actually speak of Calvin as “preeminently the theologian of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>3</sup> Of his Puritan heirs and their interest in the Spirit, Warfield has this to say:

The formulation of the doctrine of the work of the Spirit waited for the Reformation and for Calvin, and ... the further working out of the details of this doctrine and its enrichment by the profound study of Christian minds and meditation of Christian hearts has come down from Calvin only to the Puritans.... [I]t is only the truth to say that Puritan thought was almost entirely occupied with loving study of the work of the Holy Spirit, and found its highest expression in dogmatico-practical expositions of the several aspects of it.<sup>4</sup>

Now, this Puritan interest in the work of the

Spirit and spirituality can be examined along two central axes: first, the Puritan focus on the Word, in keeping with the Reformation assertion of *sola scriptura*, which led to an elevation of preaching as the primary means of grace and a distinct spirituality of space; and, second, a distinct spirituality of time that was oriented around the Sabbath and that provided a context for worship and prayer, meditation and good deeds.

### **A SPIRITUALITY OF THE WORD**

In 1994 the British Library paid the equivalent of well over two million dollars for a book that the library administration at the time deemed to be the most important acquisition in the history of the library. The book? A copy of the New Testament. Of course, it was not just any copy. In fact, there are only two other New Testaments like this one in existence. The New Testament that the British Museum purchased was lodged for many years in the library of the oldest Baptist seminary in the world, Bristol Baptist College in Bristol, England. It was printed in the German town of Worms on the press of Peter Schoeffer in 1526 and is known as the Tyndale New Testament. The first printed New Testament to be translated into English out of the original Greek, it is indeed an invaluable book. Its translator, after whom it is named, was William Tyndale (d. 1536). Of his overall significance in the history of the church, the article on him in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* rightly states that he was “one of the greatest forces of the English Reformation,” a man whose writings “helped to shape the thought of the Puritan party in England.”<sup>5</sup> Tyndale’s influence on the Puritans is nowhere clearer than in his view of the Scriptures, for he helped to give them a spirituality of the Word.

In strong contrast to medieval Roman Catholicism where piety was focused on the proper performance of certain external rituals, Tyndale, like the rest of the Reformers, emphasized that at the heart of Christianity was faith, which presupposed an understanding of what was believed. Knowl-

edge of the Scriptures was, therefore, essential to Christian spirituality.

Tyndale’s determination to give the people of England the Word of God so gripped him that from the mid-1520s till his martyrdom in 1536 his life was directed to this sole end. What lay behind this single-minded vision was a particular view of God’s Word. In his “Prologue” to his translation of Genesis, which he wrote in 1530, Tyndale could state, “the Scripture is a light, and sheweth us the true way, both what to do and what to hope for; and a defence from all error, and a comfort in adversity that we despair not, and feareth us in prosperity that we sin not.”<sup>6</sup> Despite opposition from church authorities and the martyrdom of Tyndale in 1536, the Word of God became absolutely central to the English Reformation. As David Daniell has recently noted in what is the definitive biography of Tyndale, it was Tyndale’s translation that made the English people a “People of the Book.”<sup>7</sup>

The Reformation thus involved a major shift of emphasis in the cultivation of Christian spirituality. Medieval Roman Catholicism had majored on symbols and images as the means for cultivating spirituality. The Reformation, coming as it did hard on the heels of the invention of the printing press, turned to “words” as the primary vehicle of cultivation, both spoken words and written words. The Puritans were the sons and daughters of the Reformation, and thus not surprisingly “Puritanism was first and foremost a movement centered in Scripture.”<sup>8</sup>

### **CHALLENGING THE PURITAN FOCUS ON THE WORD**

The Puritan spirituality of the Word was challenged, though, by radicals to their left. For instance, there were the Muggletonians, founded by Lodowick Muggleton (1609–98) and his cousin John Reeve (1608–58), who believed that they were the two witnesses of Rev 11:3-6, denied the Trinity, rejected preaching and prayer, and argued that the revelation given to them was God’s final

word to mankind. Even more dangerous to the Puritan cause were the Quakers, in some ways the counterpart to the charismatic movement of the modern era.

The Quaker movement, which would become a major alternative to Puritanism, had started in the late 1640s when George Fox (1624–91), a shoemaker and part-time shepherd, began to win converts to a perspective on the Christian faith which rejected much of orthodox Puritan theology. Fox and the early Quakers proclaimed the possibility of salvation for all humanity, and urged men and women to turn to the light within them to find salvation. We “call All men to look to the Light within their own consciences,” wrote Samuel Fisher (1605–65), a General Baptist turned Quaker; “by the leadings of that Light ... they may come to God, and work out their Salvation.”<sup>9</sup> Thus, when some Baptists in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire became Quakers and declared that the “light in their consciences was the rule they desire to walk by,” not the Scriptures, they were simply expressing what was implicit in the entire Quaker movement.<sup>10</sup>

Isaac Penington the Younger (1616–79) is one early Quaker author who well illustrates this tendency to make the indwelling Spirit rather than the Scriptures the touchstone and final authority for thought and practice. Penington was born into a Puritan household and for a while was a Congregationalist. Converted to Quakerism in 1658 after hearing George Fox preach the previous year, Penington became an important figure in the movement. In the words of J. W. Frost, Penington “remains a prime example of the intellectual sophistication of the second generation of Quaker converts.”<sup>11</sup> In a letter that he wrote a fellow Quaker by the name of Nathanael Stonar in 1670, Penington told his correspondent that one of the main differences between themselves and other “professors,” namely Calvinistic Puritans, was “concerning *the rule*.” While the latter asserted that the Scriptures were the rule by which men and women ought to direct their

lives and thinking, Penington was convinced that the indwelling Spirit of life is “nearer and more powerful, than the words, or outward relations concerning those things in the Scriptures.” As Penington noted,

The Lord, in the gospel state, hath promised to be present with his people; not as a wayfaring man, for a night, but to  *dwell in them and walk in them*. Yea, if they be tempted and in danger of erring, they shall hear a voice behind them, saying, “This is the way, walk in it.” Will they not grant this to be a rule, as well as the Scriptures? Nay, is not this a more full direction to the heart, in that state, than it can pick to itself out of the Scriptures? ... [T]he Spirit, which gave forth the words, is greater than the words; therefore we cannot but prize Him himself, and set Him higher in our heart and thoughts, than the words which testify of Him, though they also are very sweet and precious to our taste.<sup>12</sup>

Penington here affirmed that the Quakers esteemed the Scriptures as “sweet and precious,” but he was equally adamant that the indwelling Spirit was to be regarded as the supreme authority when it came to direction for Christian living and thinking.<sup>13</sup>

In response to this threat to scriptural authority the Puritans argued that the nature of the Spirit’s work in the authors of Scripture was unique and definitely a thing of the past. The Spirit was now *illuminating* that which he had inspired and their experiences of the Spirit were to be tried by the Scriptures. As Richard Baxter (1615–91), the moderate Puritan author and Presbyterian, declared,

We must not try the Scriptures by our most spiritual apprehensions, but our apprehensions by the Scriptures: that is, we must prefer the Spirit’s inspiring the apostles to indite the Scriptures before the Spirit’s illuminating of us to understand them, or before any present inspirations, the former being the more perfect; because

Christ gave the Apostles the Spirit to deliver us infallibly his own commands, and to indite a rule for following ages: but he giveth us the Spirit but to understand and use that rule aright. This trying the Spirit by the Scriptures is not a setting of the Scriptures above the Spirit itself; but it is only a trying of the Spirit by the Spirit; that is, the Spirit's operations in themselves and his revelations to any pretenders now, by the Spirit's operations in the Apostles and by their revelations recorded for our use.<sup>14</sup>

From the Puritan point of view, the Quakers made an unbiblical cleavage between the Spirit and the Word, as the Puritan author Benjamin Keach (1640–1704), the most important Baptist theologian of his generation, pointed out in 1681 in a direct allusion to the Quakers: “Many are confident they have the Spirit, Light, and Power, when 'tis all meer Delusion. The Spirit always leads and directs according to the written Word: “He shall bring my Word,” saith Christ, “to your remembrance” [cf. John 14:26].”<sup>15</sup>

Lest it be thought that the Puritans, in their desire to safeguard a spirituality of the Word, went to the opposite extreme and depreciated the importance of the work of the Spirit in the Christian life, one needs to note the words of the *Second London Confession* 1.5, where it is stated that “our full perswasion, and assurance of the infallible truth” of the Scriptures comes neither from “the testimony of the Church of God” nor from the “heavenliness of the matter” of the Scriptures, the “efficacy of [their] Doctrine,” and “the Majesty of [their] Stile.” Rather it is only “the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our Hearts” that convinces believers that God's Word is indeed what it claims to be.<sup>16</sup>

In essence, then, Puritan spirituality was a bibliocentric spirituality. The London Baptist William Kiffin (1616–1701), writing about a fellow Puritan and Baptist, John Norcott (1621–76), well captures the heart of this Word-centered spirituality when he states,

He steered his whole course by the compass of the word, making Scripture precept or example his constant rule in matters of religion. Other men's opinions or interpretations were not the standard by which he went; but, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, he laboured to find out what the Lord himself had said in his word.<sup>17</sup>

### **A SPIRITUALITY OF SPACE FOCUSED ON THE PULPIT**

Given this estimation of the Scriptures, it is not surprising that the preaching of the Word was regarded by the Puritans as utterly vital to both worship and spirituality. As Irwony Morgan puts it, “the essential thing in understanding the puritans is that they were preachers before they were anything else.”<sup>18</sup> For the Puritans the pulpit was “a place of nurture, of fire and light,”<sup>19</sup> a place that stirred up hearts to follow after Christ, a place that brought sight to the blind and further enlightenment to believers.

Nicholas Bound, a Suffolk Puritan minister, who published the first major Puritan exposition of Sunday as the Sabbath, *A True Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595), could declare that preaching the Word of God is “the greatest part of God's service.”<sup>20</sup> The Elizabethan Puritan Richard Sibbes (1577–1635) was just as enthusiastic about preaching. “It is a gift of all gifts,” he wrote, “God esteems it so, Christ esteems it so, and so should we esteem it.”<sup>21</sup> Again, Arthur Hildersham (1563–1632), the son of zealous Roman Catholics who had hoped that their son would become a Roman Catholic priest and who was disinherited after his conversion, could state, “Preaching ... is the chief work that we are called of God to exercise ourselves in.”<sup>22</sup> And in the association records of the Northern Baptist Association, which was composed of Baptist churches in the old counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, we read the following answer to the question posed in 1701 as to whether “any Preaching disciple may Administer the Ordinance of the Lords Supper and Baptisme”: “Those Persons that

the Church approves of to Preach the Gospel we think it safe to Approve likewise for ye Administering other Ordinances *Preaching being the greater work.*" In 1703, when a similar question was asked, it was stated that "those whom the Church Approves to preach the Gospel may also Administer the Ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper *Preaching being the main and principal Work of the Gospel.*"<sup>23</sup>

The architecture of seventeenth-century Puritan churches also bespoke this emphasis on the preached word in worship: *the* central feature of these simple structures was the pulpit. Early Puritan chapels were "meeting houses designed for preaching."<sup>24</sup> These meeting-houses were generally square or rectangular structures, some of them from the outside even resembling barns.<sup>25</sup> Inside the meeting-house the pulpit was made prominent and was well within the sight and sound of the entire congregation. Sometimes a sounding board was placed behind the pulpit so as to help project the preacher's voice throughout the building. There was a noticeable lack of adornment in Puritan meeting-houses, with nothing to distract the attention of the worshippers. It was the Puritan spirituality of the Word that shaped this way of using space for worship and for the cultivation of Christian piety.

#### **"GOOD SABBATHS MAKE GOOD CHRISTIANS": THE PURITAN SPIRITUALITY OF TIME**

It was also this bibliocentric spirituality that shaped the Puritan understanding of time. The Puritans radically excised from their calendars all non-biblical festivals—not only saints' feast-days but also Easter and Christmas—and instead focused on one day, the Sabbath. In their reading of the fourth commandment—"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" (Exod 20:8), or as it appears in Deut 5:12: "Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy"—this command now applies to what is the first day of the week, i.e., Sunday, so that it has in effect become the Christian Sabbath.

There were very few Puritans who argued that the day of worship had to be the actual Sabbath of the old covenant. For instance, Edward Stennett (d. 1691), the first of a long-line of Stennetts who were pastors of Seventh-Day Baptist congregations, could write a book entitled *The Royal Law Contended for* (1667), of which part of the subtitle was *The Seventh-Day-Sabbath proved from the Beginning, from the Law, from the Prophets, from Christ, from his Apostles, to be a duty yet incumbent upon all men.*<sup>26</sup>

But such a position was in a definite minority. The bulk of the Puritans maintained that one of the aspects of the coming of the new covenant was the transformation of Sunday into the Sabbath. In fact, in the words of J. I. Packer, it was they who "created the English Christian Sunday."<sup>27</sup> Moreover, they devoted what at first sight seems to be an inordinate amount of literature to this subject. The depth of this interest in the Sabbath must first be understood before one can come to any appreciation of the Puritan Sabbath spirituality.

If, as has been noted above, the Puritans regarded the preaching of the Word of God as such a primary means of grace, if not *the* primary means, then the context in which that word was preached, namely, on Sunday, was also vitally important. Thus Puritan author after Puritan author declared that growth in grace and sanctification depended upon proper observance of the Sabbath. "The very life of piety is preserved by a due sanctification of the Lord's day. They put a knife to the throat of religion, that hinder the same," writes William Gouge (1578–1653), a Puritan leader in the city of London who ranked alongside Richard Sibbes as one of the most significant Puritan figures of the early Stuart period. Again, here is William Perkins (1558–1602), the prominent Elizabethan Puritan: "We must learn to sanctify the Sabbath of the Lord, for else we shall never increase in faith, knowledge, or obedience as we should."<sup>28</sup>

It is this controlling vision of the Sabbath that prompted many of the Puritans to label it the

*marctura animae*, the market day of the soul. Sunday was the day when the soul was nourished by products from the market of the Word. In a tract entitled *The Law and Gospell Reconciled* (1631), Henry Burton (1578–1648) could write, Sunday is “the market day of our souls, wherein we come to God’s house the market place, to buy the wine and milk of the word, without money, or money worth. How is that? By hearing and harkening to God’s word.”<sup>29</sup>

Although the Puritans believed that all time was holy, since all time belonged to God, they were realists who—with what the American historian John Primus has called “a keenness unsurpassed in Christian history”<sup>30</sup>—realized that acts of corporate worship and the various disciplines of spirituality demand time. If some time is not set aside for them, they will not get done. In the words of Benjamin Keach, if the Devil “can perswade men that there is no such thing as a *Sacred Rest*, or *any one day* required by Authority from Christ, [he] will soon bring them to observe no day at all; and so all Gospel-worship, Religion, Piety, and the special Day of Worship will soon fall together.”<sup>31</sup> And here again is Henry Burton:

And were it not, that the Lord’s day did succeed in place of the Sabbath, the Sabbath day of the Jews being abolished; what time for the means of our sanctification and salvation were left unto us? Were it not for the Lord’s day, we should be in a far worse case, than the Jews of old, as being left without opportunity and means of sanctification, all which the Lord’s day ministreth unto us; without this, we should have no market day for our spiritual provision and merchandise of our souls, where to buy the pearl of the kingdom, and to supply all our spiritual wants.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, for the Puritans, the fourth commandment became the most important of the moral laws controlling the Christian life.

## OBSERVING THE SABBATH

How then was the day to actually be observed? Well, a good place to begin answering this question is by looking at the *Westminster Confession of Faith* 21.7, which J. I. Packer has identified as containing the essence of the Puritan perspective on the observance of the Sabbath.<sup>33</sup> There we read,

This Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe an holy rest, all the day, from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations, but also are taken up, the whole time, in the public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.<sup>34</sup>

Obviously, public worship took pride of place. For the Puritans, public worship was the heart and soul of Sunday, and thus the most important aspect of the Christian life. Accordingly Benjamin Keach maintained that during public worship the believer can experience “the nearest Resemblance of Heaven” and receive the “clearest manifestations of God’s Beauty.” More of God’s “effectual” and “intimate presence” is known in this context of corporate worship than anywhere else. So, with Ps 87:2 (“The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob”) cited as proof, the Puritan divine unequivocally declared that “the publick Worship of God ought to be preferred before private,” though the latter should certainly not be neglected. In fact, the place where “God is most Glorified” is in the midst of a worshipping congregation.<sup>35</sup>

Then, according to the *Westminster Confession*, there should be “private exercises” of worship. The focus of these exercises is God. What sort of exercises? Well, first of all there was prayer, which John Owen (1616–83), who was rightly described by his contemporaries as the “Calvin of England,” described as “the principal means whereby we express our universal dependence on God in

Christ.”<sup>36</sup> As the Owen’s fellow Congregationalist theologian Thomas Goodwin (1600–80) similarly remarked, “our speaking to God by prayers, and his speaking to us by answers thereunto, is one great part of our walking with God.”<sup>37</sup> Other “private exercises” would include family prayer, catechizing, and meditation—all very much lost arts among contemporary evangelicals.

Third, there should be involvement in “duties of necessity and mercy.” The Confession here recognizes that there are certain activities that must be carried out, even on the Sabbath—in their context, various farm chores; in ours, work in hospitals, firefighters, the police. The other side of this statement, though, is found earlier in the Confession. There it is emphasized that believers should “observe an holy rest, all the day, from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations.” Here, there is a genuine desire to prevent unnecessary work and commerce clogging up the time of the Sabbath and thus robbing the believer of his or her spiritual joys which are brought through corporate worship and worship in the home. The statement regarding work is certainly one that contemporary evangelicals, living in a deeply materialistic culture, can take to heart. But what about the question of “worldly ... recreations”?

### **THE QUESTION OF “WORLDLY ... RECREATIONS”**

The biblical basis upon which the Puritans felt that they could outlaw “worldly recreations” was Isa 58:13–14:

If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words; then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father” (KJV).

The key term here is the word “pleasures.” The Puritan perspective on this point is well expressed by John Gill (1697–1771), the Calvinistic Baptist commentator of the eighteenth century, who, though not strictly a Puritan, was certainly one immersed in the Puritan *mentalité*. In his commentary on Isa 58:13 he states that the believer is to “abstain ... from recreations and amusements, which may be lawfully indulged on another day.”<sup>38</sup> Thus, we find Benjamin Keach stating that some profane the Lord’s Day by “walking in the Fields for their own carnal pleasure and recreation”—something that he describes as “an abominable Evil”—and by “gaming and playing, or sporting.”<sup>39</sup>

However, the Hebrew word that underlies the term “pleasure” does not have the connotation that the English word has for this contemporary generation and that it had for the Puritans, namely, delights and pleasure arising from recreation. Rather, the term in Isaiah 58 probably has in view the pleasures arising from commercial gain.<sup>40</sup> The implication is that recreational pursuits are not necessarily incongruent with the keeping of the Sabbath. In fact, since human beings have been created a psychosomatic whole, it is hard to imagine that the rest and refreshment of the Sabbath does not include the body as well as the soul. In this regard, a much better explanation of the meaning of the fourth commandment for Christians is given by the late seventeenth-century Puritan pastor Hercules Collins (d. 1702). Basing his remarks upon the *Heidelberg Catechism*, a Reformed catechism compiled in 1562, he thus answers the question, “What are we taught by the fourth commandment?”: “that ... [the] Lord’s Day...be spent in private and publique Devotion, as hearing the Word diligently, practising the Gospel-Sacraments zealously, and doing Deeds of Charity conscionably, and resting from servil Works, cases of necessity excepted.”<sup>41</sup> Collins’ remarks, and the *Heidelberg Catechism* which underlies them, shows a greater—and in the opinion of this author, a more commend-

able—restraint than the confession when it comes to regulating the private lives of believers on the Sabbath.<sup>42</sup>

This critique aside, much can be learned from the Puritan spirituality of the Sabbath. As Keach rightly noted, in the Sabbath “we have a Prize for our Souls put into our hands, and may enjoy God’s Presence.... This is the Queen of Days ... which God hath crowned with Blessings; on which day the Spirit most gloriously descended, and the dew of the same Spirit still falls upon our Souls.”<sup>43</sup>

### A CONCLUDING WORD FROM THE PURITANS

With Keach’s quote cited above we are back to one of the most perennial of all topics in Puritan piety, namely, the insistence that the Spirit’s presence and work are utterly vital for true spirituality. And the Puritans would urge contemporary Christians, along with seeking to practice the disciplines of the Christian life discussed in this article, to, as John Bunyan once so aptly put it, “Pray for the Spirit, that is, for more of [him], though God hath endued them with him already.”<sup>44</sup>

### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Irvonwy Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality* (London: Epworth, 1973), 53–65, esp. 60; Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *The Spirituality of the Later English Puritans. An Anthology* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 1987), xi–xiv; J. I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton: Crossway, 1990), 37–38.

<sup>2</sup>Richard B. Gaffin Jr., “The Holy Spirit,” *The Westminster Theological Journal* 43 (1980): 61. See also the detailed discussion by Garth B. Wilson, “Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Reformed Tradition: A Critical Overview,” in *The Holy Spirit: Renewing and Empowering Presence* (ed. George Vandervele; Winfield, British Columbia: Wood Lake, 1989), 57–62.

<sup>3</sup>Benjamin B. Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Knowledge of God” in *Calvin and Augustine* (ed. Samuel G. Craig; repr., Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1980), 107. See also “John Calvin:

The Man and His Work” and “John Calvin the Theologian,” in *Calvin and Augustine*, 21, 487.

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin B. Warfield, “Introductory Note” to Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (1900 ed.; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), xxxv, xxviii.

<sup>5</sup>“Tyndale, William,” *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (11<sup>th</sup> ed.; New York: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1911), 27: 499. Normally, this author follows the standard advice given to college freshmen regarding scholarly research: never cite from encyclopedias in academic papers. But the eleventh edition of *The Encyclopedia Britannica* is rightly famous for the depth of its scholarship.

<sup>6</sup>In Henry Walter, ed., *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures by William Tyndale* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1848), 399.

<sup>7</sup>David Daniell, *William Tyndale. A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University, 1994), 3.

<sup>8</sup>Richard Dale Land, “Doctrinal Controversies of English Particular Baptists (1644–1691) as Illustrated by the Career and Writings of Thomas Collier” (D.Phil. Thesis, Regent’s Park College, Oxford University, 1979), 205.

<sup>9</sup>Cited in Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985), 33. For a discussion of Fisher’s approach to Scripture, see Dean Freiday, *The Bible: Its Criticism, Interpretation and Use in 16th and 17th Century England* (Pittsburgh: Catholic and Quaker Studies, 1979), 97–102.

<sup>10</sup>Cited in *ibid.*, 34.

<sup>11</sup>J. W. Frost, “Penington, Isaac (the Younger)” in *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century* (ed. Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zaller; Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester, 1984), 3:23.

<sup>12</sup>*Letters of Isaac Penington* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; repr., London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1829), 202–3. For access to these letters I am indebted to Heinz G. Dschankilic of Cambridge, Ontario.

<sup>13</sup>See also the remarks by Land, “Doctrinal Controversies,” 205–11.

<sup>14</sup>Cited in Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947), 32.

- <sup>15</sup>Benjamin Keach, *Tropologia: A Key to Open Scripture-Metaphors* (London: Enoch Prosser, 1681), 2:312.
- <sup>16</sup>*Second London Confession* 1.5 in William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (rev. ed.; Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1969), 250.
- <sup>17</sup>Cited in Joseph Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: B. J. Holdsworth, 1823), 3:300.
- <sup>18</sup>Cited John H. Primus, *Holy Time, Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 1989), 170.
- <sup>19</sup>This description of the pulpit is that of 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), 7. While Walker's description is of the Baptist pulpit in the nineteenth century, it is also true of Puritan preaching.
- <sup>20</sup>Cited in Primus, *Holy Time*, 174.
- <sup>21</sup>*The Fountain Opened* in *Works of Richard Sibbes* (ed. Alexander B. Grosart; 1862–4 ed.; repr., Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth, 2001), 5:509.
- <sup>22</sup>Cited in Peter Lewis, *The Genius of Puritanism* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Haywards Heath, Sussex: Carey, 1979), 35.
- <sup>23</sup>S. L. Copson, *Association Life of the Particular Baptists of Northern England 1699–1732* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1991), 89, 95. Italics added.
- <sup>24</sup>D. Mervyn Himbury, *British Baptists: A Short History* (London: The Carey Kingsgate, 1962), 141.
- <sup>25</sup>One critic of this tradition of Puritan architecture in the early nineteenth century could describe their faith as “the religion of barns” (John Greene, *Reminiscences of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.* [London: Frederick Westley/A. H. Davis, 1834], 25).
- <sup>26</sup>Bryan W. Ball, *Seventh-day Men: Sabbatarians and Sabbatarianism in England and Wales, 1600–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 110.
- <sup>27</sup>Packer, *Quest for Godliness*, 235.
- <sup>28</sup>Cited in Primus, *Holy Time*, 177.
- <sup>29</sup>Cited in *ibid.*, 178.
- <sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 179.
- <sup>31</sup>Benjamin Keach, *The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated* (London, 1700), 269.
- <sup>32</sup>Cited in Primus, *Holy Time*, 179–80.
- <sup>33</sup>Packer, *Quest for Godliness*, 238.
- <sup>34</sup>*The Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian, 1978), 18.
- <sup>35</sup>Benjamin Keach, *The Glory of a True Church, and its Discipline display'd* (London, 1697), 63–68, *passim*.
- <sup>36</sup>John Owen, *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Part V* in *The Works of John Owen* (ed. William H. Goold; 1854–85 ed.; repr., Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth, 1991), 18:362.
- <sup>37</sup>Thomas Goodwin, *The Return of Prayers in The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1861), 3:362.
- <sup>38</sup>John Gill, *Exposition of the Old Testament* (1810 ed.; repr., Paris, AR: The Baptist Standard Bearer, 1989), 5:344.
- <sup>39</sup>Keach, *Jewish Sabbath Abrogated*, 277.
- <sup>40</sup>Nigel Westhead, “Evangelicals and Sabbath Keeping in the 1990s,” *Evangel* 13, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 58.
- <sup>41</sup>Hercules Collins, *An Orthodox Catechism* (London, 1680), 55–56.
- <sup>42</sup>Westhead, “Evangelicals and Sabbath Keeping,” 58.
- <sup>43</sup>Keach, *Jewish Sabbath Abrogated*, 279.
- <sup>44</sup>John Bunyan, *I will pray with the Spirit* in *John Bunyan: The Doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded and I will pray with the Spirit* (ed. Richard L. Greaves; Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 271.