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THE BAPTIST MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
AS REFLECTED IN THE WORK AND THOUGHT OF
BENJAMIN KEACH, 1640-1704

By

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TABLE OF IMPORTANT DATES

- 1640 - February 29, Benjamin Keach was born at Stoke Hammond, North Buckinghamshire.
- 1655 - Keach became a General Baptist.
- 1664 - The Child's Instructor was written by Keach and for this book he was forced to stand in the pillory.
- 1668 - Keach and his family moved to London where he was ordained as an Elder by a General Baptist congregation, the first ordination of a Nonconformist minister after the Restoration.
- 1672 - Keach became a Particular Baptist and founded a new congregation of Particular Baptists.
- 1673 - His first allegory, War With The Devil, was published by Keach before Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress appeared, and for a few years these two ministers were equally successful as popular authors.
- 1682 - Keach published Tropologia, a book on Scripture metaphors, which was reissued for almost two centuries.
- 1689 - Taking an active part in the London Particular Baptist Assembly, Keach was requested to go on a preaching mission to different congregations throughout England, and his preaching was well received.
- 1691 - Keach's congregation was the first in the whole of England to maintain the practice of congregational hymn-singing, and in this year he published the first book of English hymns that passed into general use.
- 1697 - Keach published The Articles of Faith for his own congregation which influenced the Baptist Movement in the United States.
- 1704 - Keach died July eighteenth and was buried in the Baptists' burying ground in the Park, Southwark.

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The author is grateful for the opportunity of acquiring a deeper understanding of the Baptist Movement in its early periods of development.

Edinburgh,
May, 1953

W.E. Spears

INTRODUCTION

Religious developments in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century form a neglected phase of English history. This may be due in part to the feeling that the people of this period were not greatly concerned with religion. In 1947 G.M. Trevelyan held that "after 1660, the reaction against Puritanism took the form not of Anglican devotionism, but of indifference to religion."¹ In 1950 G.R. Cragg maintained that the general works on the religious developments from 1660 to 1700 were old and that very few could claim to be satisfactory. Cragg wrote concerning the changes in thought within the Anglican Movement,² whereas this is a study³ of the developments in the Baptist Movement as reflected in the work and thought of Benjamin Keach.

The first section of this introduction gives a statement of the purpose of this study, the method of procedure used in the acquisition and presentation of the material, and the scope of this dissertation.

It is the purpose of this study (1) to give an analytical survey of the Baptist Movement from 1612 to 1640 which serves as a background; (2) to show the development of Keach in his relation to the Baptist Movement from 1640 to 1689; (3) to

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1. England Under the Stuarts, p. 288.
 2. From Puritanism to The Age of Reason, preface.
 3. It is hoped that the American punctuation and spelling will not be an undue hindrance to the British reader.

present Keach as a pioneer and leader of the Baptist Movement from 1689 to 1704; and (4) to make a critical estimate of the work and thought of Benjamin Keach in the light of the Baptist Movement. Knowing the purpose, the next aspect is the method of procedure.

The opening phase of the research was a careful perusal of the relevant books. These included political, social, and ecclesiastical histories of England, theological studies, accounts of the Baptist Movement, and books by Benjamin Keach. Another phase led the investigator to the places where Keach lived and worked. Because of the fact that no biography of Keach has ever been written, even the biographical material required original research. The Parish Register in Stoke Hammond, his birthplace, was carefully examined. Pictures were taken of "Keach's Meeting House" in Winslow. Old pamphlets and books on life in Winslow were obtained from Mr. W.G. Chowles, a baker, who lived one block from the place of worship and whose wife's ancestors attended the Meeting House. Contact was made with Mr. E.G. Hawkins of Upper Winchendon, Aylesbury, who is the Chairman of the Trustees of the Meeting House. A visit to the Borough Road Baptist Chapel in Southwark, London, produced an old history of the Chapel which has never been printed or published. The Public Records Office in London supplied the original State Papers Domestic that were relevant. The Baptist Colleges in England, Scotland, and Wales made their libraries

available. Other libraries consulted were The New College and University Libraries of the University of Edinburgh, the National Library of Scotland, the library at the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Memorial Hall in London, the Cambridge University Library, the Doctor Williams's Library, London, C.H. Spurgeon's personal library, William Jewel College, Missouri, the Harvard University Library, Massachusetts, the library of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. In the final phase the assembled material was critically evaluated and presented under the supervision of the Very Reverend Principal Emeritus^{Hugh} Watt and the Reverend Principal Charles S. Duthie. After the purpose and the method of procedure, it is necessary to define the scope of this study.

In the acquisition, assimilation, and apprehension of the material, accuracy and clarity were the criteria used. The plan of this dissertation is neither completely topical nor solely chronological, but rather it is developmental. The work and thought of Keach in the Baptist Movement are carried in chronological sequence to the point where a topic becomes important for Keach. There the topic is critically examined. This plan gives the study not only continuity but also comprehensiveness, and it enables the reader to understand the work and thought of Keach as a whole as well as to examine its various aspects.

The subject of Benjamin Keach has been almost totally

neglected. Even a biography¹ of him has not been written; however, this study is not tantamount to a biography of Keach: it is a comprehensive study of the work and thought of Keach as it reflects the Baptist Movement. The hymns and poems that he composed are not studied to criticize their diction or form, but to analyse their purpose and suggestive influence on other hymn-writers. The controversies of Keach are studied specifically to give his religious thought. The catechetical material of Keach is not analysed to obtain its educational value, but to derive the thought of Keach. In no instance is it assumed that the expository and sermonic literature constitutes a systematic theology, but it is criticized as religious thought. It seems important to remember that the Bible was considered at this time as the final authority, and that no portion of the Scripture was considered of more value than any other portion. Biblical criticism as it is known in the Twentieth Century arose in the years that followed the period now being scrutinized.

Having observed the purpose, the method of procedure, and the scope of this dissertation, it is well to study the background. The second section of this introduction is an analytical study of the Baptist Movement from 1612 to 1640.

One of the most complex problems in modern Baptist scholarship is the problem of the origin of the Baptist Movement in England.

1. A serious attempt is made to be objective, and the investigator has not dealt with Keach in the laudatory manner of his contemporaries.

It is not within the scope of this study to give a complete answer, yet the recognition of the problem is necessary for a clear understanding.

To what extent is the General Baptist Movement in England dependent upon the Continental Anabaptists? In 1909 W.T. Whitley stated, "The General Baptists are an English outgrowth of the Continental Anabaptists, acting upon the Lollards."¹ By 1923 he had apparently modified his opinion. "It is inexcusable today to confound the continental Anabaptists of the sixteenth century with the English Baptists of the seventeenth."² In the year 1927 Principal H. Wheeler Robinson was willing to say, "But though there are some points of possible contact between this movement (Anabaptist) in its moderate forms and those Englishmen who became Baptists, whether in Holland or in England, the origin of English Baptists is to be found rather in their Puritan ancestry."³ Principal A.C. Underwood devoted a large portion of his chapter on "Forerunners" to the Anabaptists, but he concluded with this statement: "Anabaptism in England was never organized and lacked a real leader. For this reason it cannot be regarded as the seed-plot of the English Baptist movement..."⁴ Underwood's book appeared in 1947. In 1949 Dr. E.A. Payne stated, "Older

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1. Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England, Vol. I, p. ix.
 2. History of British Baptists, p. 18. The first edition is used in this study. The second edition of 1933 contained this statement verbatim.
 3. Life and Faith of Baptists, pp. 2,3.
 4. A History of the English Baptists, p. 27.

Baptist historians such as Crosby, Rippon, Ivimey, and Evans, recognised the links (between the Continental Anabaptists and the English General Baptists). The cumulative evidence in favour is overwhelming."¹

Due to the research of a small number of scholars during the past hundred years, a large portion of new material is now available for the study of the Anabaptists. Historians like Karl Holl and Walther Köhler admit that to say that the Anabaptists were essentially medieval in temper and outlook is an inadequate description.² Arnold J. Toynbee says, "In its essence the Anabaptist movement was a recrudescence of the movement for the establishment of a separate church of the elect..."³ Apparently it would not be wise to be dogmatic about the problem. As early as 1530 Anabaptist teachings had reached England. It has been mentioned previously, however, that Anabaptists never formed an organized movement in this country. Within the movement there was no dominant personality. It is thought that John Smyth and his friends came to conclusions similar to the Swiss Brethren who were Anabaptists.⁴ A tentative conclusion is that directly or indirectly, the General Baptists in England did reproduce many of the ideas of the Continental Anabaptists;

1. The Anabaptists of the 16th Century, p. 23.

2. Ibid., p. 8.

3. A Study of History, Vol. V, p. 169.

4. Payne, The Baptist Movement in the Reformation and Onwards, pp. 11, 20.

nevertheless, as an organized movement, the General Baptists were not inaugurated until the time of John Smyth and Thomas Helwys.

Other influences in the origin of the Baptist Movement must be studied. The acquisition of the Scriptures in the vernacular led to the emergence of questions about the church.¹ Within the Church of England there arose a party that wanted to purify the church, and by 1580 these people were called "Puritans".² When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 she perceived that she must govern the church. Her people were divided in the matter of religion — most of them were Protestants, yet a considerable number were Roman Catholics, and within both of these groups there were divisions. The Queen asserted the Protestantism of the English church and, as head of the nation, she affirmed her control over church government. When repressive measures seemed necessary, however, she attempted to make someone else bear the onus of them. Some of the English churchmen gave their acceptance to the new regime; but others, less moderate in their desires and growing more impatient at half-way measures and political compromises, drew together and actively sought the desired reforms. This second group wanted to improve the income, property and organization, authority and prestige, and the learning and morality of the church. These "Puritans", as they were called in derision, became a vital force, being repressed but

1. Whitley, History of British Baptists, p. 18.

2. Horton Davies, The Worship of the English Puritans, p. 1.

never fully extinguished.¹

Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, there arose those Puritans who would carry the process of reform to the point of separating from the Church of England. Many of these "Separatists" maintained that the church should consist of men and women who had consciously dedicated themselves to Christ.²

Two Separatists, John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, migrated to Holland in 1608 along with several other Englishmen. In 1609 Smyth dissolved the church of which he had been the leader, baptized himself, then baptized the other people who wished to join the new congregation.³ Later Smyth wanted to join one of the Mennonite congregations, but his friend, Thomas Helwys, strongly opposed the idea. The latter also felt a responsibility to bring his religious views back home. In 1612 Helwys returned and established in London the Baptist church "to which the modern Baptist communion looks back as the earliest on English soil."⁴

From 1612 until 1640 the accusation brought against most Dissenters was that they were attempting to introduce a democratic form of government in the state as well as the church. This went directly against the theory of the divine right of kings which was then accepted.⁵ Baptists were among this group of Dissenters.

1. William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism, pp. 6-9.

2. Underwood, op. cit., p. 32.

3. Whitley, History of British Baptists, pp. 20, 21.

4. Payne, Baptist Movement in Reformation and Onwards, p. 20.

5. Godfrey Davies, "The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660" in The Oxford History of England, G.N. Clark, ed., pp. 66, 67.

Prior to 1689 their relation to the state passed through three phases. "(1) In the first (1612-1640) they were naturally the objects of persecution, since they were offenders against both civil and ecclesiastical law by their 'conventicles'...(2) In the second phase (1640-1660), Baptists profited by the removal of Stuart tyranny, themselves contributing largely to Cromwell's army and its officers...(3) The third phase (1660-1689) brought a return of persecution, though from the Episcopalian Parliament rather than from the Crown."¹

The first plea for freedom of worship published in English was a book by Thomas Helwys titled A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity, which appeared in 1612.² Writing about the views on church government within Puritanism after the reign of Elizabeth, G.M. Trevelyan says, "There were those who, like Cromwell, would tolerate all sorts of Puritans, and there were those who, like Baptists and Quakers, would tolerate all sorts of men."³ From the beginning, religious liberty has been a central concept among the Baptists. Principal A.B. Miller asserts that "toleration was a main tradition of the Baptists who entered into partial rest in 1689."⁴

As a group the General Baptists were Arminian in their

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1. H. Wheeler Robinson, Baptists in Britain, pp. 17,18.
 2. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 33.
 3. Trevelyan, England Under Stuarts, p. 51.
 4. Alexander Bremner Miller, Growth of the Idea of Religious Toleration in England from 1689 to 1727, Ph.D. Thesis, 1939, University of Edinburgh, p. 104.

theology. Smyth had written his own confession of faith in twenty articles. In 1611 Helwys revised these and recast them into twenty-seven articles. Both sets of articles were Arminian.¹ They reflected the prevalent doctrinal view, but they were not binding upon all the adherents. For Baptists a confession of faith has been merely a declaration of their current beliefs. Scores of confessions have been written and later discarded.² One article by Helwys said that Christ died for all men and not only for the elect. He proclaimed this concept in the title he gave to one of his books: A Short and Plaine Proofoe, by the Word and Works of God that God's Decree is not the Cause of anye Mans Sinne or Condemnation: and That all Men are redeemed by Christ; as also That no Infants are condemned.³ This concept distinguished the General Baptists from a later group who believed in a restricted and therefore particular atonement. These were called Particular Baptists.⁴

It is known that Thomas Helwys was dead by 1616, for in that year his uncle bequeathed ten pounds to his widow. The mantle of leadership fell on John Murton. Both Helwys and Murton were often in the Newgate prison because of the severe persecution of Dissenters. In spite of all this, the little congregation grew and other General Baptist congregations were

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 25,28,30.

2. N.A. Weber, "Baptists" in The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 278.

3. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 46,47.

4. Ibid., p. 56.

started.¹

In 1620 the Baptists presented a Supplication to James I and the Parliament for redress in which they acknowledged it to be their duty to pray for kings and those in authority and said that this was their constant practice. They asserted their readiness to obey the law in all civil and temporal things; "but further than that," they said, "we cannot go; because God is the Lord of men's consciences, and only Law-giver in matters of religion." To this petition they added ten short chapters in which they endeavour to prove — that the Scriptures are the "only rule of faith, and not any church" — that the interpreter of this rule is the Scripture and the Spirit of God — that the Spirit of God is given to every person that fears and obeys God to understand and interpret the Scripture.²

Early in 1623/4 internal trouble arose in the London congregation. Elias Tookey and some of his friends were excluded from Murton's congregation. On March twentieth they were claiming to be the second London church.³ There was a letter sent from the "teachers and Ministers of the dutch and english Churches" in Amsterdam to the "Congregation of Elias Tookey" dated May, 1624.⁴ On 10/20 January, 1644/5, Daniel Featley of

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 35.

2. Adam Taylor, The History of the English General Baptists, Vol. I, pp. 91,92.

3. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 46.

4. Champlin Burrage, The Early English Dissenters, Vol. II, p. 222.

Southwark said that the Tookey group had been "neer the place of my Residence for more than twenty years."¹

As time progressed, there were at least four other congregations. They were located in Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton. In 1626 these five churches decided to write to the Menmonite churches under Ries and Wybrantz. Correspondence ceased without union.²

Throughout this period Baptists were under severe persecution. James I (1603-1625) was succeeded by his son, Charles I (1625-1648). When Charles came to the throne he took William Laud as a leading advisor. By 1628 Laud was a privy councillor and Bishop of London. In 1633 he became Archbishop of Canterbury and he consistently used his powers against Dissenters.³ Speaking of "the mischief" done by Dissenters, Laud declared "that it is so deeply rooted, it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden." The Archbishop's practice reveals that he certainly tried.⁴ G.M. Trevelyan observes, "The trials for active dissent under Laud are the records of the poor, seized at their worship and confronted with the might of Church and State in High Commission."⁵

Not any earlier than 1633, the Particular Baptists were started. In 1616 a congregation of Congregational Separatists

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 47.

2. Ibid., pp. 47-50.

3. Ibid., p. 56.

4. J. Jackson Goadby, Bye-Paths in Baptist History, p. 81.

5. England Under the Stuarts, p. 142.

was founded in London. Various aspects of the question of baptism were often discussed in this church. As a result of differences of opinion, there were several friendly dismissals from which the earliest Particular Baptist congregations arose. It is said of Samuel Eaton and some others that they received "a further baptism" in 1633. It is not clear whether they rejected infant baptism or only baptism received in the Parish Churches. In 1638 there appeared a group who definitely rejected infant baptism. It is said that this group was "of the same judgment with Sam Eaton," but it does not say that they joined Eaton. Instead, it is recorded that they "joined with Mr. Spilsbury," and Spilsbury was not mentioned in the earlier group with Eaton. There are two possibilities: either Spilsbury had become head of Eaton's congregation, or, by 1638 there were two Particular Baptist congregations.¹

John Spilsbury (1593-1668) published a few books in which his Calvinism is revealed. Part of the title of one of his books is this: "wherein it is proved that Christ hath not presented to his Father's justice a satisfaction for the sins of all men; but only for the sins of them that do or shall believe in him, which are his elect only." The Particular Baptists were characteristically Calvinistic.²

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1. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 57,58. The Particular church now meeting at Church Hill, Walthamstow claims 1633, and the Devonshire Square Church in Stoke Newington claims 1638.
 2. Ibid., p. 60.

By 1640 two distinct types of Baptists had arisen in England. The General or Arminian group had at least six churches and possibly more. The Particular or Calvinistic group was just beginning; yet, W.T. Whitley feels that by 1660 they were more important than the General Baptists. Both groups were evangelical in spirit.¹

Born in 1640, an energetic minister named Benjamin Keach became a General Baptist, then a Particular Baptist. His work and thought reflect the Baptist Movement in the latter half of the Seventeenth Century.

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 63.

CHAPTER I

1640-1672: EARLY DEVELOPMENT IN THE BAPTIST MOVEMENT

An analytical study of the Baptist Movement from 1612 to 1640 was presented as an introduction. In this chapter it is necessary to examine the national life in England from 1640 to 1672 with reference to the Baptist Movement as a background for the study of the early development of Keach within that movement.

A. National Life in England with Reference to the Baptist Movement

During this period there were many changes in the national life of England. Charles quarrelled with Parliament in 1629. The House of Commons passed the famous resolutions against "Popery and Arminianism" and illegal Tonnage and Poundage. Charles dismissed the Parliament and it did not meet for eleven years.¹

The Laudian clergy preached the doctrine of the divine right and prerogative power of the King. On the other hand, the Puritans became more than ever Parliament men. They looked forward to the time when Charles would have to summon the two Houses. Laud's policy had affinities to regal absolutism, and Parliamentary power in the State answered to the popular control of the Church, whether Presbyterian or Congregational. It was to be by the sword that Parliament would win the right to survive

1. G.M. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 390.

as the dominant force in the English constitution.¹

The Civil War came in 1642. Charles I was executed in 1648.² Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), a member of Parliament and leader of the Army, became Protector of the Commonwealth. Baptists had contributed largely to his Army; therefore under his Protectorate there was a degree of toleration. "Owing to the action of Cromwell and the Army..., it was the sects and not the Presbyterian orthodox with whom lay the future of non-conformist Puritanism."³

Oliver was succeeded by his feeble son, Richard Cromwell. To prevent anarchy from becoming chronic at home, and to stay the dissolution of the Empire overseas, it was necessary to recall the Stuart heir. It appears that it was not the King who summoned Parliament, but Parliament who summoned the King. Charles II returned in 1660.⁴

From 1640 to 1660 Baptist life had fewer restrictions than in the previous period. There were six variations in the control of ecclesiastical life. For eight years the Long Parliament was supreme, and for four the Rump of the Commons administered the state. For six months in 1653 a Nominated Parliament ruled; then, the Cromwells governed as Protectors. For about a year there was chaos; and lastly, for eight months in 1660 the

1. Ibid., pp. 394,405.

2. J.D. Mackie, Cavalier and Puritan, pp. 256-291.

3. Trevelyan, History of England, pp. 406,419.

4. Ibid., pp. 430,446.

Convention Parliament with Charles II settled several political interests but left many religious problems undetermined.¹

Two religious movements strongly influenced the Baptists. In 1647 George Fox found the "Inward Light" and many Baptists at Mansfield were among the first to become "Children of the Light." Whole Baptist congregations in the north of England changed their views, and others were terribly rent, especially in the General wing. "It may be said that the strength of the General Baptists was drained away by this modification of their principles..."²

A second movement also had an important influence upon the Baptists. The Fifth Monarchy men believed in a literalistic interpretation of the Bible, especially the books of Revelation, Zechariah, Ezekiel, Malachi, and Daniel. In the seventh chapter of Daniel, the four beasts mentioned there were thought to be the four great empires of history, and the little horn on the head of the fourth beast which made war on the saints was the papacy. In 1648 they felt that the execution of Charles I was the beginning of the inauguration of the Kingdom of Christ and that the papacy would swiftly be defeated. According to one writer, 1660 was the year when the Fifth Monarchy would extend to Rome, and in 1666, it would be visible over the entire earth.³ Among the leaders of this movement were both Baptists

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 61,62.

2. Ibid., pp. 84,85.

3. Louise Fargo Brown, Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, pp. 22,23.

and Pedobaptists. Jessey, Knowles, and Simpson were Baptists. As time passed and the millennarian tinge faded out, many of the Fifth Monarchists became Seventh-day Baptists.¹

From the beginning, Baptist churches did not think of each congregation as completely independent of the others. Among both the General and Particular Baptists, there arose the "Associations". The idea came from the New-Model Army of Cromwell.² The General group emphasized the uniting of all their churches into one annual assembly, and the Particular type stressed a frequent meeting of churches in a practicable area, but the plans were essentially the same. The first distinctive feature was the strong emphasis on evangelism by the Association. In spite of the persecution which became more severe after 1660, the Baptists still attempted to enlarge their number.³

"The entry of Charles the Second into Whitehall marked a deep and lasting change in the temper of the English people. With it modern England began," writes John Richard Green. There was a definite social reaction. Many of the rigorous elements of Puritanism were abolished. In the capital and the court, the

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 86.

2. See S.R. Gardiner, Historical Biographies, pp. 162,168-9. Soon after Cromwell left the House of Commons, the army of the counties joined to form the Eastern Association of the Parliamentary army. After the "Self-denying Ordinance" was passed, the Earl of Manchester resigned his post and the army was reorganized. Care was taken that the soldiers of the "New Model" should be of the same zealous Puritanism which had characterized Cromwell's troopers when he first served as captain of the Eastern Association. A tendency to tolerate all forms of Puritan faith was the distinctive feature of the New Model.

3. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 87,88.

pendulum swung from sobriety towards immorality. On the other hand the mass of Englishmen were satisfied with getting back their may-poles and mince pies. A large part of the people remained Puritan in belief though they threw aside many of the outer characteristics of Puritanism.¹

The religious views of the King became more and more apparent. Whether the story of his renunciation of Protestantism during his exile be true or not, Charles II had long ceased to be a Protestant. Whatever religious feeling he had was on the side of Catholicism. Two years after his restoration, he had already sent an agent to Rome to arrange the terms of a reconciliation between the Anglican Church and the Papacy, and the last act of his life was to seek formal admission into the Roman Church.²

The first Parliament chosen after the restoration was dominantly Royalist and Anglican. Clarendon was disliked by the King because of his strictness and detested by many members of Parliament, thus he needed the support of the bishops to maintain his position.³ Persecution of Nonconformity, therefore, became rigorous. The Clarendon Code (1661-1665) quickly followed. There was the Corporation Act of 1661, the Act of Uniformity of 1662,⁴ the Conventicle Act of 1664, and the Five

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1. J.R. Green, History of the English People, Vol. III, pp. 327, 330.
 2. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 344.
 3. David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II, Vol. I, p. 206.
 4. James L. Ainslie, The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches on the 16th and 17th Centuries, p. 58.

Mile Act of 1665.¹ The last mentioned Act forbade any clergyman or schoolmaster from coming within five miles of a city or town unless he swore that he would "not at any time endeavour any alteration in Government either in Church or State."²

1667 saw the fall of Clarendon.³ In that same year John Milton completed his Paradise Lost.⁴

In 1668 the "Triple Alliance" which involved England was negotiated. At the close of 1670 a large subsidy was demanded for the fleet under the pretext of upholding the Triple Alliance and it was granted. Protestants' hearts trembled, as Baxter said, at the menacing armaments of the "Catholic King."⁵

In the year 1672 James, brother and successor to Charles II, became a Roman Catholic. In that same year Charles issued his "Declaration of Indulgence." It ordered "that all manner of penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists or recusants should be from that day suspended." It gave liberty of public worship to all dissidents except Catholics, their celebration of the Mass being restricted to private houses.⁶

Of the Baptists there were now four types. The General Baptists believed that all men could be saved and were earnest

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1. Underwood, op. cit., p. 95.
 2. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 451.
 3. Green, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 385.
 4. John Tulloch, English Puritanism and Its Leaders, p. 256.
 5. Green, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 397, 398, 393.
 6. Loc. cit.

in preaching to all. Their organization was as complete as it ever became. "The Particular Baptists were as Calvinistic as the great mass of religious Englishmen,..." writes W.T. Whitley. A third group was willing to compromise on the matter of baptism, fraternizing with many Independent Pedobaptists, and the last group was very small numerically, their distinction being the position that the Seventh Day should be the Sabbath.¹

Against the background of the various vicissitudes in England and within the Baptist Movement, the early development of Keach can be better understood.

B. Early Development of Keach

Benjamin Keach was born at Stoke Hammond, North Buckinghamshire on February 29, 1640. He later recorded this date in the book preserved by his congregation in Winslow.² Very few maps indicate the tiny village of Stoke Hammond. It is located a few miles from Bletchley and eleven miles northeast of Aylesbury.³

The Parish Register of Stoke Hammond has never been printed or published, and it is very difficult to read. The first volume contains baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1537 to 1758. Page thirty-seven is headed Baptizati. The date, 1637

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1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 101,102.
 2. A letter from "Thos. Laving" to Mr. Gadsby in The Christian Monthly Record, 1885-1886 which was written from Winslow December 22, 1884, p. 182. Adam A. Reid, "Benjamin Keach" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 67 confirms this fact.
 3. "Benjamin Keach" in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., Vol. VI, p. 303.

heads a series of dates down the left-hand column of the page, and 1638, 1639, 1640 follow at intervals. Under each date, the names of the two churchwardens for that year are recorded. From an examination of the Register it appears that John Keach, the father of Benjamin, was a churchwarden in 1627 and 1640. The relevant entry for this study appears thus on the page:

1640

John \overline{ss} Keeche
Edwardes
Birkell
gardiani

Beniamin Keeche filius
Johannes et Fodorae
Keech, martie 6

It seems, therefore, that Benjamin Keach received the baptism of the Church of England March 6, 1640.¹

Very little is known about the children of the Keach family. Benjamin may have been the youngest son.² It is probable that he had two brothers — Joseph Keach, a bricklayer and preacher, and Henry Keach, a miller who occupied the Stableford Mill at Soulbury.³ In a Brief Confession by the General Baptists on March 15, 1660 this entry appeared: "Joseph Keeich." It could have been that this man was from Winslow and he is listed as a leader of the General Baptists.⁴

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1. Parish Church Register, Stoke Hammond, North Buckinghamshire. In the Seventeenth Century the spelling of surnames was variable.
 2. Alexander Gordon, "Benjamin Keach" in Dictionary of National Biography, Sidney Lee, ed., Vol. X, p. 1142.
 3. Reid, loc. cit.
 4. Whitley, Minutes of the General Baptists, Vol. I, p. xxxix. Compare Confessions of Faith, Edward Bean Underhill, ed., p. 120 which corroborates this information.

Other than the fact that John Keach was a churchwarden in 1627 and 1640, very little is known about the parents of Benjamin Keach. They were pious and honest people, but too poor to obtain a formal education for him. Benjamin was trained to be a tailor and followed this trade for several years.¹ Many of the early Baptists had humble beginnings. John Murton, one of the first leaders, had been a furrier.²

It certainly is probable that the Bible was read and studied in the Keach home. G.M. Trevelyan makes a very sweeping statement, but it contains an important truth:

"The rapid rise to national importance...of innumerable sects such as Baptists and Congregationalists could not have occurred except...in a country where for nearly a century past the individual study of the Bible had been a great part of religion, and the chief stimulant of popular imagination and intellect. If there had been newspapers, magazines, and novels to compete with the Bible in manor-house, farm, and cottage, there would have been no Puritan revolution..."³

It is not surprising, then, to find Keach studying the Bible very early in life. Influenced by some of the older people, probably John Russell and others, Keach studied the New Testament on the matter of baptism. He came to believe that it was silent on the practice of infant baptism, and thus, to doubt the validity of his own. At the early age of fifteen, he asked to be baptized and

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 360-361.

2. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 35.

3. English Social History, p. 234. Compare Arthur Bryant, The England of Charles II, p. 76. "For one without faith, it is difficult to understand seventeenth-century England. For faith was part of the air the men of that day breathed."

it was administered by John Russell.¹ After this he joined a Baptist congregation somewhere in that county.²

In 1658 this congregation called him "to the work of the ministry among them."³ Ivimey says, "For about two years he pursued his work with great comfort and success."⁴ Neither Crosby nor Ivimey states what town Keach worked in immediately after he was called into the ministry. There is a tradition which says that he was a minister at Stony Stratford, a few miles northeast of Bletchley and it is accepted that the congregation there was General Baptist.⁵ He is not definitely known to have been the minister in Winslow until 1664.⁶ It is interesting to note, however, that he married Jane Grove who lived in Winslow in the year 1660.⁷ Possibly his first two years were spent at Stony Stratford and then he moved to Winslow. Another possibility is that he was not a local minister, but only preached at Stony Stratford. It is known that he was "much in demand by the General Baptist churches of Bucks from 1664 to 1668."⁸

At this time the General Baptists had three kinds of

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1. Reid, loc. cit. Possibly Joseph Keeich influenced as well.
 2. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 361.
 3. Thomas Crosby, The History of the English Baptists, Vol. IV, p. 270.
 4. Ivimey, loc. cit.
 5. "Stony Stratford" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. III, p. 35.
 6. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 362.
 7. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 271. Both Arthur Clear and Adam Reid begin his ministry in Winslow in 1660.
 8. "Stony Stratford" in The Baptist Quarterly, p. 36.

preachers. One was called a "Messenger" who superintended a wide area, both preaching and administering. Another kind was an "Elder" who was ordained by a local congregation and who worked with them. A third was a "Minister" who acted as a lay preacher.¹ Keach must have been a "Minister" at this time because he was ordained when he went to London in 1668. ? v. p 42

During this period there was a severe persecution of Dissenters throughout the country. Dragoons were sent into the different counties to suppress their meetings wherever they could. Being a bold preacher, Keach was frequently seized and committed to prison. Sometimes he was bound, but often released upon bail. Many times his life was threatened.²

On one occasion when Keach was preaching at Winslow the troopers surrounded the Meeting House and seized him with great violence. Four dragoons determined to trample him to death with their horses. They bound him, laid him on the ground, and made ready to charge. Just in time, their officer discovered their design and prevented the murder. Keach was taken up, tied across the horse of one of the troopers, and carried to jail. There he lay for some time and suffered many hardships.³ His offence was that of

"having at divers times, in contempt of His Maj'ties good Lawes, preached and taught at a Conventicle under color or

1. Loc. cit.

2. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 338, 339.

3. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 185, 186.

p'tence of the exercise of religion in other manner than according to the Liturgie or practiss of the Church of England."¹

This incident is typical of the persecution of many people in the Baptist Movement after the Restoration.

Even to-day the house in Winslow is called "Keech's Meeting House."² It is a small brick and tile building with two or three of the original lattice windows. A porch is at the side.³ It is situated in a most secluded spot at the bottom of a narrow alley leading out of the Market Square: the alley was formerly called "George's Alley" or "Pillars Ditch". It is probably the oldest existing Nonconformist place of worship in the county, having been erected in 1625.⁴

When you enter the musty old building you notice the pulpit right opposite. In contrast to its other surroundings it looks light and clean. At the annual worship service held on the last Thursday in June, an offering is taken to have the pulpit cleaned and overhauled by a builder to preserve it as long as possible. Except for the door it is made of solid oak. In front of the pulpit is a table containing several books. Two were written by Keach — the 1856 edition of the Exposition of the Parables and the 1858 edition of his Tropologia. Inside both books is written — "Presented to the 'Benjamin Keach Old

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1. Arthur Clear, The Town and Manor of Winslow, pp. 92,93.
 2. See Appendix B.
 3. Clear, A Buckinghamshire Worthy, Benjamin Keach, Baptist Minister of Winslow, 1660-1668, p. 1.
 4. Clear, Town and Manor of Winslow, p. 88.

Chapel' by H.L.L. Denny, Vicar of Winslow, February, 1917."

On the last Thursday in June people come from as far as London for the annual worship service. The service is conducted in the afternoon and tea is served afterwards. The chapel is now under a Board of Trustees, and the Trust Deed is with Butwood and Simpson, Solicitors, High Street, Leighton Buzzard, Beds. The men who were the trustees in 1952 were the following:

E.G. Hawkins	Bucks	Chairman
A.E. Tuff	Bucks	
D. Mead	Beds	
H. Hambridge	Bucks	
T.H. Rose	Beds	
B. Rose	London	
H. Holson	Bucks	

1. Incident of The Child's Instructor

While he was still the lay minister of this small chapel Keach came into further difficulties with the authorities. In 1664 he wrote a little book called The Child's Instructor; or a new and easy Primer. Many of his friends asked him to publish it for the use of their children and he agreed; however, he did not put his name in it and he secured a friend to write a recommendatory preface.

In this book several ideas were asserted that were contradictory to the ceremonies and doctrines of the Church of England. It is said that infants should not be baptized; that laymen having abilities may preach the Gospel;¹ and that Christ would

1. Compare Haller, op. cit., p. 268, where he says that one of the basic views of Puritan individualism was that unlearned men as well as educated could preach.

reign personally upon the earth in the latter day. These thoughts gave rise to suspicion.¹

It was the Rector of Keach's home village of Stoke Hammond, Thomas Disney, who was the first to give the information against Keach that caused his arrest. Mr. Strafford was a justice of the peace and Mr. Neal, the parish constable at this time. When the news reached Strafford, he and Neal went immediately to Keach's home. They took all the books they could find and bound him over to the assizes in a recognizance of one hundred pounds and two sureties with him in fifty pounds to answer for his offence.²

The assizes commenced at Aylesbury on October 8, 1664. Ivimey says that "Lord Chief Justice Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, presided as judge."³ Crosby writes that it was "Lord Chief Justice Hyde," but does not add "afterwards Lord Clarendon."⁴ Howard Malcom apparently made a study of this problem. He thinks that it was Sir Robert Hyde, not Sir Edward Hyde, who was the presiding judge at Keach's trial. He reasons that Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was made Lord Chancellor in 1660 and was removed in 1667, but does not appear to have ever sat in a court of law. Sir Robert Hyde was made Chief Justice of the King's bench in 1663, and died in that

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 186.

2. Laving, loc. cit.

3. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 340.

4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 187.

office in 1665.¹

The account of this trial gives a picture of the typical treatment given to Baptists at this time and also reveals the early thought of Keach. Its reliability is attested by Benjamin Stinton:

"The Tryall of Mr. Benja. Keach, who was prosecuted for Wrighting against Infant Baptism &c, with an Account of ye Punishment inflicted on him for ye Same: Anno:1664. Taken from a Manuscript found amongst mr. Keachs Papers, after his Death, wch, as he informed me when alive, was sent him from one in yt County, who was present both at his tryall & Punishment, and took what happened in Wrighting."²

This account has been printed almost verbatim, but with improved spelling, in Crosby's and Ivimey's histories of the early Baptists.

On the afternoon of the first day Keach was called to the bar. After the judge had made several reflections upon his person and profession he held up one of the Primers in his hand: "Did you not write this book?" Keach readily acknowledged that he wrote the greater part of it. Upon this the judge asked him with a great show of indignation,

"What have you to do to take other mens' trades out of their hands? I believe you can preach as well as write books. Thus it is, to let you and such as you are to have the Scriptures to wrest to your own destruction. In your book you have made a new creed. I have seen three creeds before, but

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1. Benjamin Keach, The Travels of True Godliness, Howard Malcom, ed., p. iv.
 2. Benjamin Stinton, A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to the English Antipedobaptists Collected from Original Papers of Faithfull Extracts, 1712, Number 21, p.93; hereinafter referred to as Stinton MS.

never saw a fourth till you made one!"¹

To this Keach answered, "I have not made a creed, but a confession of my faith." "What is a creed then?" asked the judge. Keach replied, "Your lordship said that you had never seen but three creeds; but thousands of Christians have made a confession of their faith."²

Then the judge began to speak many things about baptism and ministers of the gospel. When Keach began to answer he was silenced by the judge:

"You shall not preach here, nor give the reasons for your damnable doctrine to seduce and infect the king's subjects:³ these are not things for such as you to meddle with, nor to write books of divinity. I will try you for it before I sleep."

Accordingly, he gave directions to the clerk to draw up the indictment.⁴

Although they worked diligently preparing the bill, they could not get ready for the trial before the next day. At the appointed time the clerk rose and said,

"Benjamin Keach, hear your charge. Thou are here indicted, by the name of Benjamin Keach, of Winslow,⁵ in the county of Buckinghamshire, for that thou, being a seditious, heretical, and schismatical person, evilly and maliciously disposed and disaffected to his Majesty's government of the

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1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 187. Cf. Stinton MS., pp. 93, 94.
 2. Ibid., pp. 187, 188. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 94.
 3. Compare Daniel Neal, The History of the Puritans, Vol. III, p. 83 where he shows that because of Charles' promises at Breda, he wanted Nonconformists to be tried as dangerous to the state and not merely for their religion.
 4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 188. Cf. Stinton MS., loc. cit.
 5. See Keach, Distressed Sion Relieved, p. 149, where from personal experience he uses the device of a trial for Rome. He begins "ROME! Thou hast been Indicted by the Name of Mystery Babylon..."

Church of England, didst maliciously and wickedly, on the first day of May, in the seventeenth year of our Sovereign Lord the King, write, print, and publish, or cause to be written, printed, and published, one seditious and venomous book, entitled The Child's Instructor; or a new and easy Primer, wherein are contained, by way of question and answer, these damnable positions, contrary to the Book of Common Prayer and the Liturgy of the Church of England."¹

Several portions of the book were then quoted as being particularly incorrect:

Q. Who are the right subjects of baptism?

A. Believers, or godly men and women, who make profession of their faith and repentance.

Q. How shall it go with the saints?

A. O very well, it is the day that they have longed for; then shall they hear that sentence, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you;" and so shall they reign with Christ on the earth a thousand years, even on mount Sion, in the new Jerusalem, for there will Christ's throne be, on which they must sit down with him.

Q. When shall the rest of the wicked and the fallen angels, which be the devils, be judged?

A. When the thousand years shall be expired, then shall all the rest of the devils be raised and then shall be the general and last judgment; then shall all the rest of the dead, and devils be judg'd by Christ, and his glorified Saints, and they being arraigned and judged, the wicked shall be condemned, and cast by the angels into the lake of fire, there to be burned for ever and ever.

Q. Why may not Infants be received into the church now, as they were under the law?

A. Because the fleshly seed is cast out, tho' God under that dispensation did receive Infants in a lineal way by generation; yet he that hath the "key of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, that shutteth, and no man openeth," hath shut up that way into the church, and hath opened the door of regeneration, receiving in none

1. W. Harvey Smith, "Some Seventeenth Century Baptists" in The English Baptists by John Clifford, pp. 81,82. Cf. Sinton MS., loc. cit.

now but believers.

Q. What then is the case of Infants?

A. Infants that die are members of the kingdom of glory, tho' they be not members of the visible church.

Q. Do they then that bring in Infants in a lineal way by generation, err from the way of truth?

A. Yea, they do; for they make not God's holy word their rule, but do presume to open a door, that Christ hath shut, and none ought to open.

In "A Short Confession of Faith" Keach wrote concerning the Second Person of the Trinity:

I also believe, that he rose again from the dead, and ascended into Heaven above, and there now sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come again, at the appointed time, to reign personally upon the earth, and to be judge of the quick and dead.

Writing about "true Gospel Ministers", Keach said:

Christ hath not chosen the wise and prudent men after the flesh, not great Doctors and Rabbies, not many mighty and noble saith St. Paul are called, but rather the poor and despised, even tradesmen, and such like, as was Matthew, Peter, Andrew, Paul and others. And Christ's true Ministers have not their learning and wisdom from men, or from universities,¹ or human schools; for human learning, arts and sciences, are² not essential, in order to the making of a true minister; but only the gift of God, which cannot be bought with silver or gold. And also, as they have freely received the gift of God, so they do freely administer; they do not preach for hire, for gain or filthy lucre, they are not like false teachers, who look for gain from their quarters; who eat the fat, and cloath themselves with the wool, and kill them that are fed. Those that put not into their mouths they prepare war against. Also, they are not Lords over God's heritage, they rule them not by force and cruelty, neither have they power to force and compel men to believe, and obey their doctrine, but only to persuade and intreat; this is the

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1. Cambridge and Oxford Universities were closed to Nonconformists at this period.
 2. It is spelled this way in Crosby. The copula should be singular, not plural.

way of the Gospel as Christ taught them.¹

The clerk added at the close of the indictment:

"And many other things hast thou seditiously, wickedly, and maliciously written in the said book, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the scandal of the Liturgy of the Church of England, the disaffection of the King's people to his Majesty's government, the danger of the peace of this Kingdom, to the evil example of others, and contrary to the statute in that case made and provided. How say you, Benjamin Keach, are you guilty or not guilty?"²

Keach answered,

"The Indictment is very long, I cannot remember half of it, nor have I been accustomed to plead to Indictments; I desire to have a copy of it, and liberty to confer with council about it, in order to put in my exceptions; and then I shall plead to it."³

Addressing Keach the judge said, "It is your intention to delay your trial 'till the next assizes'." "No, my Lord," answered Keach, "I have no design by this to delay my trial." The judge said, "I will not deny you what is your right, but you must first plead to the indictment, and afterwards you shall have a copy of it." "I desire I may have a copy of it before I plead, in order to put in my exceptions against it," answered Keach. The judge declared, "You shall not have it before you plead, guilty or not guilty." "It is what has been granted to others," replied Keach. The judge grew angry. "You shall not have a copy of it first; and if you refuse to plead guilty or

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 189-193. Cf. Stinton MS., pp. 94-96.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 193. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 96.

3. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 344. Cf. Stinton MS., loc. cit.

not guilty, I shall take it pro confesso, and give judgment against you accordingly."¹

Keach saw that he was overruled by the judge and denied his rights as an Englishman; therefore, he pleaded not guilty.

Judge: Now you shall have a copy of your indictment, and I will give you an hour's time to consider of it.

Keach: If I may have no longer time allowed me, I do not desire it.

Judge: I have something else to do than to wait upon you. You are not a person fit to go abroad till the next assizes, and you would think it hard if I should commit you to gaol till then. But because you shall not say but that you were offered fair, if you will find sufficient sureties for your appearance at the next assizes, and for your good behaviour till then, you shall not be tried till then.²

Knowing that his appearance at a dissenting meeting would be considered a breach of his behaviour, Keach dared not accept this proposal. He said that he was willing to be tried at that time. The trial proceeded in regular order. Neal was called to be a witness, and he told of his and Strafford's visit to Keach's house and the seizure of the books. The judge then called for a Book of Common Prayer and ordered one of the primers to be given to the jury.³

The first position which affirms that "believers only should be the right subjects of baptism" was read from the primer. "This," declared the judge, "is contrary to the Book of

1. Loc. cit. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 97.

2. Ibid., pp. 344, 345. Cf. Stinton MS., loc. cit.

3. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 195, 196. Cf. Stinton MS., loc. cit.

Common Prayer, for that appoints infants to be baptized, as well as men and women." Then he read several places in the Book of Common Prayer where the baptism of infants was enjoined.¹

The next position is that which affirms that "the saints shall reign with Christ a thousand years." "This is contrary to the creed in the Book of Common Prayer," stated the judge, "and is an old heresy which was cast out of the church a thousand years ago; and now, this rascal hath revived it."²

He then read the position in the indictment which denies "that infants are to be received in the church now as they were under the law" and said,

"This also is contrary to the Book of Common Prayer; which appoints infants to be received into the church, and directs the priest to say when he hath sprinkled the child, we receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock."³

In the next position it was asserted "that infants who die are members of the kingdom of glory, though not of the visible church." "This he speaks of infants in general; so that the child of a Turk is made equal to the child of a Christian," declared the judge. "But our church hath determined otherwise; viz. that if an infant die after baptism, and before it hath actually sinned, it is saved, because original sin is washed away in baptism."⁴

Concerning the matter of the qualifications of ministers the

1. Ibid., p. 196. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 98.

2. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 346. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 98.

3. Ibid., p. 347. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 99.

4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 197, 198. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 99.

judge stated,

"Because Christ when he was on earth made choice of tradesmen to be his disciples, this fellow would have ministers to be such now; tailors, pedlars, and tinkers; such fellows as he is. But it is otherwise now, as appears from the manner in which the church has appointed them to be chosen, ordained, and consecrated."¹

When the judge ended, the prisoner thought that he now had liberty to speak for himself.

Keach: As to the doctrines —

Judge: You shall not speak any thing here, except to the matter of fact; that is to say, whether you wrote this book or not.

Keach: I desire liberty to speak to the particulars of my indictment, and answer those things that have —

Judge: You shall not be suffered to give the reasons for your doctrine here, to seduce the king's subjects.

Keach: Is my religion so bad that I may not be allowed to speak?

Judge: I know your religion: you are a fifth-monarchy man,² and you can preach, as well as write a book, and you would preach here if I would let you; but I shall take such order as you shall do no more mischief.³

This threatening made Keach and some of his friends fear that he intended to have him hanged. They knew the law in this case and that it would be possible. A brief discussion followed

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 347,348. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 99.

2. See L.F. Brown, op. cit., pp. 22,23,200. There are at least two reasons why the judge made this accusation. Keach was a Baptist and he also said in his book that Christ would reign on earth a thousand years with the saints. Several Baptists were "fifth-monarchy men" and the latter view was typical of that movement. There is no evidence that Keach was a member of this movement, but these reasons gave the judge cause for suspicion. It is also to be remembered that this is 1664, and just three years earlier Venner had led a Fifth Monarchy uprising in London which had to be stopped with troops. It is thought that Venner himself was not a Baptist, yet the authorities knew that many Baptists did belong to the movement. See Underwood, op. cit., p. 93.

3. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 348. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 100.

between the judge and Keach. Not being permitted to answer all the particulars charged against him, Keach was content not to require more proof of his being the author of the book. The judge summed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the jury. After several hours of debate they returned with the verdict that Keach was guilty.¹

The prisoner was called to the bar and the judge gave this sentence:

"Benjamin Keach, you are here convicted for writing, printing, and publishing a seditious and schismatical book, for which the court's judgment is this, and the court doth award. That you shall go to gaol for a fortnight without bail or mainprise; and the next Saturday to stand upon the pillory at Aylesbury in the open market, from eleven o'clock till one, with a paper upon your head with this inscription: "For writing, printing, and publishing a schismatical book, entitled, The Child's Instructor or a New and Easy Primer." And the Thursday, to stand, in the same manner and for the same time, in the market at Winslow; and then your book shall be openly burnt before your face by the common hangman, in disgrace of you and your doctrine. And you shall forfeit to the king's majesty the sum of twenty pounds, and shall remain in gaol until your appearance at the next assizes; then to renounce your doctrines, and make such public submission as shall be enjoined you. Take him away, Keeper!"²

Keach declared, "I hope I shall never renounce those truths I have written in that book!" The jailer took him away.³

The prisoner was kept in jail until Saturday when he was brought to the pillory at Aylesbury. Imagine a man set in an upright wooden frame with three holes. His head is through

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 348-350. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 100.

2. Ibid., pp. 350, 351. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 101.

3. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 203. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 101.

one and his hands through the other two. A paper is over his head stating his crime, and the whole is fixed on a raised platform. This is in the centre of a market place on a market day with a gaping multitude of people all around — some sympathizing and others jeering. This is a rough picture of the scene that day.¹

With a cheerful face Keach spoke to the people standing near:

"Good People, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head; my Lord Jesus was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me; and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures."²

A clergyman standing by shouted, "It is for publishing errors, and now see what your errors have brought you to!" Before Keach could answer, the people turned on the clergyman and accused him of being pulled out of the ditch drunk and also being found drunk under a "haycock", so the clergyman hastened away in shame.³

Keach began to speak again:

"It is no new thing for the servants of the Lord to suffer and be made a gazing-stock; and you that are acquainted with the Scriptures know that the way to the crown is by the cross. Christ saith, "He that is ashamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, before the Father, and before the Holy Angels."⁴

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 82.

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 204. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 102.

3. Ibid., pp. 204, 205. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 102.

4. Ibid., p. 205. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 102.

Several times he was interrupted by the jailer who told him to be quiet. Keach stood silent for a while; then, getting one of his hands free, he pulled a Bible out of his pocket and held it high, saying that his teachings were in that book. The jailer snatched the book from him and fastened his hand back in place. He could not be kept silent for long:¹

"It seems that I cannot be suffered to speak to the cause for which I stand here; neither could I be suffered to speak the other day, but it will plead its own innocency, when the strongest of its opposers shall be ashamed.

I do not speak this out of prejudice to any person, but do sincerely desire that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Good people, the concernment of souls is very great; so great, that Christ died for them. And truly a concernment for souls was that which moved me to write and publish those things, for which I now suffer, and for which I could suffer far greater things than these. It concerns you therefore to be very careful, otherwise it will be very sad with you, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, for we must all appear before his tribunal.

I hope the Lord's people will not be discouraged at my suffering. Oh! did you but experience the great love of God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any suffering for his sake. And I do account this the greatest honour, that ever the Lord was pleas'd to confer upon me."²

He was not able to speak much more for the sheriff came in great rage and said if he would not be silent, he would be gagged. The officers were ordered to keep the people at a greater distance from him. They tried but failed. When the full time according to his sentence was ended, the jailer lifted up the

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 353. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 103.

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 206, 207. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 103.

board of the pillory. As soon as his head and hands were free, Keach blessed God with a loud voice for his great goodness towards him.¹

On the following Saturday he stood in the same manner and for the same length of time at Winslow, the town where he lived. This time he had his book burned before his face. He stood in the pillory two hours to the minute and his hands were never at liberty.²

A copy of The Child's Instructor was sent to the Council on May 26, 1664 with the information that fifteen hundred were printed.³ All were destroyed including apparently this copy. Later he rewrote it from memory and the fifth edition appeared in 1679 and a Boston edition in 1685.⁴ These later editions came after he became a Particular Baptist.

Whitley says that Crosby assigned Keach's Sion in distress, or the groans of the Protestant church to 1666, "but no edition then is known."⁵ It appears, however, that Crosby was correct in giving that date. In the "Epistle to the Reader" of the second edition in 1682, Keach said that this is a revised poem with additions and enlargements which make it different from the first impression. It gives the present state of the Protestant Church, showing the causes of her prevailing sins and the plots

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 354. Cf. Stinton MS, p. 103.

2. Ibid., pp. 354,355. Cf. Stinton MS., p. 104.

3. State Papers Domestic xcv. 16.

4. Whitley, Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 88.

5. Ibid., p. 113.

of Rome.¹ In Distressed Sion Relieved of 1689 Keach traced the history of his work further. He says that this gives the state of the Protestant church from 1680 to 1688. He definitely states that he wrote Sion in Distress in 1666, for he perceived "that Popery was ready to bud." In 1680 he says he published an enlarged edition showing the prevailing sins of the day. This is written to bring the good news of Sion's relief.² It appears, therefore, that the poem, Sion in Distress, was published in 1666, but it was largely confined to writing against Roman Catholicism.

2. Move to London

Keach was soon encouraged to go to London. In 1668 he and his family moved to the city where he thought he would have greater opportunities to be useful. They had turned all their belongings into money and were not a little dismayed when their coach was beset by highwaymen. The thieves compelled all the passengers to alight and robbed them of everything valuable. This left Mr. and Mrs. Keach with three children in a strange place without money, and almost without any acquaintance in London. He soon found friends who relieved their anxieties and also enabled him with the other passengers to bring action against the county for the recovery of their loss. In this endeavour they were successful.³

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1. Benjamin Keach, Sion in Distress, or the Groans of the Protestant Church, p. i.
 2. Keach, Distressed Sion Relieved, p. i.
 3. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 362.

Soon after he arrived in London, Keach made friends with a group of General Baptists in Southwark. In 1668 the Conventicle Act of 1664 expired and a General Baptist congregation called him to the Eldership. They dared to have a formal ordination, the first known in dissenting circles since the Restoration. The second case was on February 17, 1669 when Daniel Dike was ordained in Finsbury, and in 1672, Bunyan, still a prisoner, was ordained at Bedford.¹ This was one of several instances where Keach was a pioneer in the Baptist Movement.

An analytical survey of the history of this congregation explains several questions in the work and thought of Keach. It has been shown previously in this study that Elias Tookey started a second General Baptist congregation in 1624 in Tooley Street, Southwark. By 1650 they had acquired two houses in which to meet — one east of the main road, the other, in the Park attached to the town house of the Bishop of Winchester. In 1652 they divided on the matter of "laying-on-of-hands" as a confirmation of baptism. William Rider was the Elder in charge at this time and he wrote a small tract of the subject.² Crosby says of the congregation, "Tho' they were but a few in number, yet they had the reputation of being a

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1. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 114. It has been shown in this study that previously he was a "Minister."
 2. Whitley, The Early History of the General Baptist Church, now meeting in Borough Road, Southwark, p. 1.

people of solid judgement, and substantial religion, and some of them in very good circumstances, as to the possessions of this world."¹

How long Rider lived is not clear. On December 29, 1659 he joined in a manifesto with thirteen other Baptists, yet four months later he did not sign the Confession of 1660² with which he would have agreed. The church carried on somehow. Apparently in times of persecution it drew closer to the other half. In 1661 John Rix and John Clayton signed jointly a repudiation of Venner's uprising. Rix was in charge of the western section and Clayton of the eastern. In 1668 the church called Benjamin Keach to the Eldership.³

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1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 272.
 2. See Whitley, Minutes of the General Baptists, Vol. I, pp. 10-22. It says, "Subscribed by certain Elders, Deacons, and Brethren, met at "London"... in behalf of themselves, ..., in London, and in several Counties of this Nation..." It is interesting to observe that it was signed by Joseph Keach.
 3. Whitley, Early History of the General Baptist Church, Borough Road, Southwark, loc. cit. Walter Wilson in his The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark, Vol. IV, p. 243, writes that the ministers of the "Particular Baptist Church at Goat Yard Passage" were William Rider, 1652-1667, and Benjamin Keach, 1668-1704. This work appeared in 1814. In 1876 Charles H. Spurgeon quotes Crosby as saying that the church came from one of the most ancient congregations in London, but separated from them in 1652. He names William Rider as the first pastor of the Particular Baptist Church which became the Metropolitan Tabernacle. See C.H. Spurgeon, The Metropolitan Tabernacle, Its History and Work, p. 17. Probably both Wilson and Spurgeon derive much of their information from Crosby, Ivimey, and others. In this case, Whitley is taken as being tentatively correct over Wilson and Spurgeon for the reasons which follow.

Neither Crosby nor Ivimey expressly state that the church

The congregation with which Keach worked usually met in private homes in order to conceal themselves from the public officials; however, they were disturbed twice. On one occasion they met for religious worship in a private house in Jacob Street. The church wardens with Mr. Cook, a constable, came in and seized six persons. They were brought before Justice Reading who bound them over to appear at the Quarter Sessions. At another time, they met together at the widow Colfe's house at Kennington to observe the Lord's Supper. At the conclusion they sang a hymn which soon brought the officers of the parish to them. By means of a back door they all escaped with the exception of one. Returning for something he had left behind, he was apprehended

by which Keach was ordained was Particular Baptist. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 272, says, "This people had formerly belonged to one of the most ancient congregations of Baptists in London, but separated from them in the year 1652, for some practices which they judged disorderly, and kept together from that time as a distinct body, meeting weekly for public worship from house to house." The reference in Crosby could easily be the one to which Whitley refers. This also agrees with Whitley who said that they had two places of worship. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 362, says, "He had not been in London long before he was invited to settle with a congregation in the Borough, and a few months after, he undertook the pastoral office among them and was solemnly ordained by the imposition of hands in 1668..." Neither Crosby nor Ivimey say that Rider's congregation changed from General Baptist to Particular. It must also be remembered that Keach was already a lay minister of the General Baptists before he came to London. It is more reasonable, therefore, that he would join a General rather than a Particular Baptist congregation. This implies that Keach, not Rider, was the first pastor of the Particular Baptist congregation that later became the Metropolitan Tabernacle.

and carried before a justice of the peace who committed him to prison. He was forced to stay until some of his friends obtained bail for him. At the next Quarter Sessions he was fined and his fine paid. The widow Colfe had a king's messenger sent to apprehend her, but, being told that she was a nurse to one who lay sick of the small-pox, he merely departed with an oath.¹

In October, 1670 Mrs. Keach died in the thirty-first year of her life. Mr. and Mrs. Keach had five children, two of whom, Mary and Hannah, survived him. The great affection which he had for her was revealed by his writing a poem on the occasion of her death. He entitled it A Pillar Set Up, assigning as his reason the example of Jacob. He quoted Genesis 35:19,20: "And Rachel died and was buried, and Jacob set up a pillar on her grave that is the pillar on Rachel's grave unto this day." In this poem Keach lamented his loss and spoke of her great and noble character. He commended her for her zeal for the truth, sincerity in religion, and love for people. He also mentions that she could be content in whatever situation God had placed her. She was a great help and comfort to him, standing by him when he was in the pillory and visiting him in prison. He stated that many people testified that she won them to Christ. Both she and her husband were zealous soulwinners.²

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 384.

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 273,274.

After he arrived in London, Keach had a much greater opportunity to study books specifically on theology. He also made friends with William Kiffin (1616-1701) and Hanserd Knollys (1599-1691), both older men and Particular or Calvinistic Baptists. By 1672 Keach had come to share the views of the Particular Baptists and for the remaining years of his life he was a moderate Calvinist.¹

Thomas Crosby, a son-in-law of Keach² gives several reasons why he was an Arminian at first. These reveal that this change in his doctrinal views was probably not a dramatic experience, but rather a gradual development. He had no formal education and therefore had to strive to learn the basic rudiments. In religion the boy's early concern was with baptism. Most of the Baptists where he lived were General or Arminian. He had heard their preaching for several years, and he was taught their principles. He entered upon his ministry when he was very young and could not have examined thoroughly the "different schemes of religion." But, "when he came to London, where he had a greater opportunity of consulting both men and books, and found that the different opinions in this article gave a denomination to two parties of Baptists, he examined the point more closely, and in a few years came to such a determination as fixed his judgement in

1. Underwood, op. cit., p. 112.

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 268.

this point for his whole life-time afterwards."1

Charles H. Spurgeon points out that having been in his earliest days an Arminian, and having soon advanced to Calvinistic views, he preserved the balance in his preaching. "He was by no means so highly Calvinistic as his great successor, Dr. Gill; but evidently held much the same views as are now advocated from the pulpit of the Tabernacle."2

There are two other possible reasons why Keach became a moderate Calvinist. As the second book he wrote and many that followed clearly indicate, he had a great antipathy toward Roman Catholicism. The form of doctrine which seemed best to withstand the attacks of Rome was Calvinism;³ therefore, Keach may have become a moderate Calvinist to combat Rome. The second reason is that he wished to share the views of the great mass of Protestants of his day.⁴ Principal Arthur Dakin writes, "...Calvinism succeeded in giving a fairly uniform theological background to the common mind. (In England) The majority came to accept almost unconsciously the theological ideas even including predestination, till in the seventeenth century practically the whole Protestant thinking of the country was conditioned by the Calvinistic outlook."

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 270,271.

2. Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 25. These would be Spurgeon's views.

3. Cragg, op. cit., p. 14.

4. As will be shown later in this study, many of his works begin by saying they were written to show that on the central teachings, there was little difference.

Towards the end of this century many of the religious bodies tended toward Latitudinarianism,¹ but in the England in which Keach was reared, the mass of the people were Calvinistic.

Keach's Calvinistic views rent the church in 1672 and he, with several adherents, founded a "new Particular Baptist Church," constructing their building at the corner of Stoney Lane in Goat Yard Passage. His influence in trying to convert whole General Baptist congregations to Calvinism gravely annoyed their churches for several years.²

In the subsequent years Keach influenced the Baptist Movement as an author, a preacher, and a pastor. He performed, of course, these functions simultaneously; however, in each of the three succeeding periods of his work and thought one function was more important than the other two and merits careful consideration and analysis.

1. Arthur Dakin, Calvinism, pp. 171,174.

2. Whitley, Early History of the General Baptist Church, Borough Road, Southwark, p. 2. Even to-day, 1953, the "Borough Road Baptist Chapel" claims to have been founded in 1624 and to be General Baptist.

CHAPTER II

1672-1689: AUTHOR IN THE BAPTIST MOVEMENT

The most important aspect of Keach's work and thought for the period, 1672-1689, was his writings, which included allegories, sermons, poems, and polemics. These works can be better understood against the background of the political and religious life in England with special regard to the active persecution of the Baptists.

A. Political and Religious Life in England With Special Regard to the Active Persecution of the Baptists

In the period, 1672-1689, large issues in the political and religious life in England were decided. As previously indicated in this study, James, Duke of York, became a Roman Catholic in 1672, and in that same year Charles II issued his Declaration of Indulgence.¹

This Declaration from the throne freed many men, among them, John Bunyan, who obtained his liberation from the county jail in Bedford where he had spent twelve years. It was not during this period, however, that he wrote his masterpiece, The Pilgrim's Progress; for this work was written during a later imprisonment in 1675.²

When the Declaration was announced, Parliament became quite suspicious. There was a general dread that a plot was on foot

1. Green, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 397,398,393.
2. John Brown, John Bunyan, pp. 153,174.

for the establishment of Catholicism and despotism, and that the Indulgence and the proposed participation in the Dutch War were parts of the plot. Parliament refused to give supplies until the Declaration was recalled, and this action forced the King to yield. A Test Act was passed through both Houses without opposition in 1673. It required that everyone in the civil and military employment of the State should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The result was to bring the Protestants a step nearer to one another and to exclude the Catholics from a share in the government of the State.¹

Action followed quickly. No sooner was the Test Act passed than the Duke of York declared himself a Catholic and resigned his post as Lord High Admiral. Throngs of excited people gathered around the Lord Treasurer's house at the news that Clifford too had owned to being a Catholic and had laid down his staff of office. Disquiet deepened into distrust. The result of Clifford's resignation and James's acknowledgment of his conversion to Catholicism was to destroy all belief in the honesty of public men. The rumour was whispered that Charles himself was a Catholic. The King appeared to

1. Green, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 406. See Harry Grant Plum, Restoration Puritanism, p. 41 where he shows that many people felt that this was a step toward indulgence for the Catholics.

be alone, for the ill success of the Dutch war robbed him of hope from France, and with the Catholics gone from his Army, he was unable to use force in his evil schemes.¹

In 1674 Charles adopted the policy of Danby and his party in Parliament, and the first efforts of the King and his minister were directed toward strengthening James's position by measures which would allay the popular panic. Mary, his eldest child and after him the presumptive heir to the Crown, was confirmed as a Protestant. The popularity of William of Orange throughout the Protestant world was tremendous, and as the terror of a popish King increased, the people regarded him with favour. William himself was drawn by his desire to detach England from the French alliance. Secret negotiations for the marriage of William and Mary were begun in 1674 and during William's visit to England in 1677 the marriage took place.²

In 1678 the English ambassador was withdrawn from Paris and Parliament assembled. A warlike speech from the throne was answered by a warlike address from the House; large supplies were voted and an Army raised. Charles, however, did not declare war. In July, 1678 the Peace of Nimegwen made Louis the arbiter of Europe and left Charles the master of a force of twenty thousand men levied for a war he had refused

1. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 407-409.

2. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 412,413,418.



to declare.¹

In the autumn of the year, 1678, a fresh element entered into the situation. England was startled from end to end by the rumour of the "Popish Plot". The Jesuits were reported to have formed a plan for the forced conversion of England to Roman Catholicism: the King would be murdered; twenty thousand Catholics in London were to rise and cut the throats of the Protestant inhabitants; eight thousand were to take up arms in Scotland; and in Ireland the Catholics would reign supreme. Belief in this plot spread throughout Britain. It was not examined too critically, for Charles and James both knew that a thorough test would bring to light too much of their schemes.²

In January, 1679 the Parliament of 1661 was at last dissolved. Amid the tumult of national excitement a new Parliament was summoned. The real struggle was over the question of succession. Shaftsbury advocated the Exclusion Bill which would deprive James of his right to the Crown. When the Parliament met at Oxford, Charles dissolved the Houses after a month's sitting and appealed in a royal declaration to the sense of justice of the nation at large. The Appeal was met by an almost universal burst of loyalty. People still remembered the Civil War and believed in the sacred right of hereditary succession.

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1. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 418-420. Nimegwen is spelled this way in Green's book.
 2. John Stoughton, Ecclesiastical History of England, "Church of the Restoration", Vol. II, pp. 1,9,10.

John Dryden was writing at this time and his Absalom and Ahitophel expressed the feeling of the people.¹

The repression of dissent continued unchanged until the death of Charles II in 1685. In the end he had his way over the matter of succession; James II (1685-1688) was crowned King. On April 4, 1687 James issued a Declaration of Indulgence granting complete religious toleration. Its ultimate aim was to make England once more a Roman Catholic country and all Protestantism was alarmed.²

In April, 1688 James II ordered the Indulgence read in all the churches and seven bishops protested. They were put on trial and acquitted to the delight of the Protestants. James had taxed national feeling too far. William of Orange (1650-1702), the Stadholder of the Netherlands who had married James's daughter, Mary, was invited to head the movement against the King. On November 5, 1688 William landed with an Army. James fled to France and the Revolution was accomplished. On February 13, 1689 William III and Mary were proclaimed joint sovereigns of England.³

It is understandable that the period, 1672-1689, was a time of severe persecution of the Baptists in England. Public opinion was in a nervous state throughout the reign of Charles II

1. Green, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 425,441,442,447.

2. H.G. Plum, Restoration Puritanism, pp. 67,68.

3. Trevelyan, History of England, pp. 471-473.

which certainly influenced the persecution.¹ As a political party the Baptists had been eclipsed at the Restoration. Only by the policy that forced Presbyterians into dissent and so gave the Government a far more serious task than hunting down obscurer and smaller sects did the Baptists escape extinction. The conviction which held them together was the belief that the commands of Christ were to be taken seriously by His followers. Did Jesus bid them go and make more disciples? Then, they must be zealous in teaching and evangelizing.²

The Act of Indulgence of 1672 brought a singular reaction. If Charles II hoped to get addresses of thanks and loyalty from the Dissenters, he received none from the Baptists. They felt that the King had no right to suspend the laws passed by Parliament or to exercise such control over ecclesiastical affairs. They accepted temporary relief, but it was without any feeling of appreciation for Charles II.³

For about seven years there was an intensive controversy between the Baptists and the Quakers, and many Baptist congregations joined the Quakers, especially among the General Baptists.⁴ Other controversies disturbed the Baptists, but in spite of the polemics it was discovered that many "Presbyterians and Anabaptists" worshipped together. Except for the sections

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1. G.N. Clark, The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714 in "The Oxford History of England", G.N. Clark, ed., p. 20.
 2. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 102-103.
 3. John C. Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, p. 145.
 4. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 127.

on the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, the Confession and Shorter Catechism of Westminster were found to express the belief of the Particular Baptists. Two views among the Baptists were maintained — the duty of every member to preach if called by a local church, and the necessity of sisterly intercourse between the congregations.¹

Among the early leaders of the Baptist Movement who lived to see the Revolution were Thomas Grantham, Thomas Collier, Hanserd Knollys, William Kiffin, and Benjamin Keach. Thomas Grantham (1634-1692) was a Lincolnshire man who was Elder of a General Baptist congregation which met at Halton-Holegate, near Spilsbury. Tradition says that he was a tailor by trade and afterwards a farmer. To the Calvinists of Norwich who opposed him so bitterly, he said, "Seeing you think that Christ died but for some only, show me sufficient testimony from Scripture that He died for yourself; and name one (if you can) now living in this great city, for whom Christ died not." As a result of Grantham's work several Baptist groups sprang up in Lincolnshire. He died in 1692 and was buried at Norwich.²

Thomas Collier was a leader of the Particular Baptists of the West but little is known of his life. The Western Association appointed him "General Superintendent and Messenger to all the Associated Churches" in 1655.³ Shortly after 1672 he

1. Ibid., pp. 128-129. See Plum, op. cit., p. 56.

2. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 109-111. Grantham must have considered Norwich a "great city." See Chapter IV of this study.

3. Ibid., pp. 109-110.

issued a Body of Divinity in which not only his enemies but also many Baptists found anti-Calvinistic ideas. Five London Elders visited him and although they did not shake his local influence to any great extent, they severed relations with him themselves. In 1689 the Particular Baptists of London endorsed their Confession of 1677 and the Western churches of which Collier was a leader put out their own Confession in 1691.¹

Of the last three men mentioned, Hanserd Knollys was the oldest, having been born in 1599. He was the son of a Lincolnshire rector and was educated at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. In 1631 he received Anglican Orders and became the incumbent of Humberstone. Developing Puritan ideas he resigned his living and became a Separatist preacher in London. A few years later he became a Particular Baptist, and in 1641 he started a Particular Baptist church in the city. He supported himself by a school and was introduced into the trade with Holland. His business activities became so considerable that he employed a succession of assistants at his church. He published Hebrew, Greek, and Latin grammars and an exposition of the Book of Revelation. It is known that his apocalyptic interest was very strong, and it is thought that he participated in the Fifth Monarchy Movement. Knollys died in 1691.²

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1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 71-72.
 2. James Culross, Hanserd Knollys, pp. 2,10,12,13,18,27,43, 64,65,67,75,83,96,97,104,107. See Underwood, op. cit., p. 61 as well.

William Kiffin was born in London in 1616. In 1641 he became a Particular Baptist, and in 1644 he appears with Thomas Patient as the leader of the new Devonshire Square congregation whose pastor he remained until his death. He went to Holland and became interested in the woollen trade. Soon he became one of the wealthiest merchants in London, and he wielded a great influence among and on behalf of his fellow Baptists.¹ "Withdrawing deeper and deeper into the bosom of his own congregation of Particular Baptists, he (Kiffin)...preached, made money, won the respect of Charles II and Clarendon, and lived to enter into the peace of the eighteenth century."²

In April, 1687 James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all laws against all dissenters, granting permission to Catholics and Nonconformists to worship in public, and dispensing with tests for office. Generally the Baptists reopened their meetings but gave no thanks to James. They felt that his motives deserved no praise and that his action was illegal; however, "the days of fine and prison were over."³

One of the most important of the five leaders was Benjamin Keach. Against the background of the political and religious life in England with special regard to the active persecution of the Baptists, Keach as an author can be more clearly understood.

1. William Kiffin, Remarkable Passages in the Life of William Kiffin: Written by himself, William Orme, ed., pp. 22,23, 25,84,93,101,161,162. See Underwood, op. cit., pp. 59-60 as well.

2. Haller, op. cit., p. 272.

3. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 150-151.

B. Keach as Author

Soon after 1672 Keach was sought by one of the "messengers of the press" for printing a little book, The Child's Instructor. As nearly as he could remember this was the same book for which he had been imprisoned and set in the pillory in 1664. At this time he was the tenant of "the noted informer Cook" but unknown to him by name. When Cook learned his name, he told Keach that one of the king's messengers was looking for him. Cook said that he had screened him because he was his tenant. Soon after, however, Keach was taken up by the messenger, left with another informer in the neighbourhood, and later carried to Justice Glover.¹

When the Justice learned that a man "of worth and credit, John Roberts, M.D.," was a member of Keach's congregation, he sent for him and asked if he knew Keach. "Yes," replied the doctor, "very well." "Will you be bound for him?" "Yes, body for body." After the doctor's bail was taken, Keach was discharged and in the issue he was fined twenty pounds which he paid.² Commenting on this incident C.H. Spurgeon wrote, "The pastor evidently had a warm place in the hearts of the people, and they were willing to back him up when called before the great ones of the earth for Christ's sake."³

Dr. Roberts prepared a "tincture" and "sugar plums" for

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1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 384,385.
 2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 385.
 3. Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 25.

children which made him famous. Through age he became incapable of making them; therefore, he agreed to teach one of Keach's daughters how to prepare them. In return Keach gave him a weekly maintenance by which he and his wife were supported until their death.¹

As previously indicated Keach's first wife died in 1670. After being a "widower" for two years Keach married Mrs. Susanna Partridge of Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire. She was from the family of Skidmores in that county and the widow of Samuel Partridge. The evidence is in favour of her being a Particular Baptist but it is not conclusive.²

This union was much to his comfort and they lived together in great affection for thirty-two years. Mrs. Keach survived her husband twenty-three years and continued to be a widow until her death in February, 1727. By this wife he had five daughters, viz., Elizabeth, Susanna, two named Rachel, and Rebekah.³ Crosby said of the second Mrs. Keach, "She was a woman of extraordinary piety, who had a good report of all; a most tender mother, and grandmother, and if she exceeded due bounds in anything, it was in her love and tenderness towards her children and grandchildren."⁴

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 147.

2. Whitley MS., History of General Baptist Church, Southwark, p. 2; Underwood, op. cit., p. 112; Reid, op. cit., p. 73. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 379 and Crosby op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 274-275 make no comment on the problem.

3. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 379-380.

4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 275.

As stated previously in this study Charles II issued a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. In this year Keach led several of his adherents to leave the General Baptist church of which he was the pastor and found a new Particular Baptist church.¹ They built a Meeting House at the corner of Stoney Lane in Goat Yard Passage, Horsleydown and the ministry of Keach was so successful that they had to enlarge the building several times. Soon it was large enough to hold nearly a thousand people.²

Spurgeon, a successor of Keach, says that this was the first place actually set apart for divine worship that their congregation possessed. "The joy of being able to meet in quiet to worship God, the delight of assembling as one church, must have been great indeed." The architecture was not elaborate nor the fittings luxurious. In all probability there were no seats, for in those days the majority of nonconformist congregations stood. Pews are mentioned as extras which people later erected for themselves and considered as their own property.³

The chapel in Keach's time presented to the casual passer-by anything but an unpicturesque appearance. There was little traffic to disturb the surrounding quietness. In front of the

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1. Whitley MS., History of General Baptist Church, Southwark, loc. cit.
 2. Ivimey, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 363.
 3. Spurgeon, op.cit., p. 26. Keach's church became Spurgeon's church.

Meeting House was a court surrounded by a brick wall. A glance through the iron gates would have shown a pretty avenue of lime trees leading to the principal entrance.¹

Keach was succeeded by his son-in-law, Benjamin Stinton. When Stinton died, Thomas Crosby, schoolmaster and also a son-in-law of Keach, was in favour of calling John Gill as Pastor. Gill came, but in time Crosby quarrelled with him and moved to Unicorn Yard.²

Spurgeon suspected that the reason was that Gill was too "thorough-going" a Calvinist for the son-in-law of Keach.³ This is the opinion of a moderate Calvinist⁴ on the work and thought of Keach. It is possible that Keach was too much of an evangelist to be a thorough-going Calvinist.⁵

1. Evangelism in the Thought of Keach and Competition with Bunyan.

During the period, 1672-1689, Keach wrote three allegories, a poem, and rewrote The Child's Instructor for evangelistic purposes. In this entire study no attempt is made to draw out of his works a systematic theology because he was not a theologian in the technical sense of the term: this is a study of the thought and work of Keach as it reflects the Baptist Movement.

At the outset it is interesting to observe the cosmological framework within which Keach reflects. He will not expound

1. Loc. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 38.

3. Loc. cit.

4. J.C. Carlile, C.H. Spurgeon, An Interpretative Biography, pp. 148, 149.

5. See Chapter IV, Section B. for a discussion of this point.

this theory for he takes it for granted, yet it provides a clue to a deeper understanding of his method of reasoning. No attempt is made to suggest that his thought is a product of his cosmology; it is presented only to indicate the framework in which he thinks. Keach held the view of the Universe common to the great mass of his countrymen: it consisted of the central earth, the various spheres about it, and beyond, the heaven of heavens and the throne of God.¹ He reasoned within a three-tier Universe — heaven, earth, and hell.

Another picture contributed to Keach's understanding of the cosmos. It was what Pope in his Essay on Man called "the vast chain of being." Along this vertical chain are classes of existences and within each class a complexity of subdivisions may be found. The lowest class is the "inanimate" one and in this class "there is a vast difference of virtue; water is nobler than earth, the ruby than the topaz, gold than brass." After this class comes the "vegetative" class, where there are such distinctions as the oak being nobler than the bramble. Next there is the "sensitive" class, which is graded internally according to the number of faculties possessed. The inanimate, vegetative, and sensitive classes all lead up to man, who has the additional quality of understanding. As he sums up in himself the total faculties of the earthly phenomena he can be considered as "the little world or microcosm." Above the nodal

1. E.M.W Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, pp. 34,35.

point is the heavenly hierarchy which completes the chain.¹

Closely related to this view of the chain is the idea of corresponding planes. E.M.W. Tillyard explains, "It consisted of a number of planes arranged one below another in order of dignity but connected by an immense net of correspondences... The different planes were the divine and angelic, the universe or macrocosm, the commonwealth or body politic, man or the microcosm, and the lower creation... This resolution to find correspondences everywhere was a large part of the great medieval striving after unity;... and it survived in its main outlines past the age of Elizabeth."²

This system provides material for the continual practice of analogical ratiocination. During Keach's formative period the intellectual curiosity of the people found satisfaction in tracing remote parallels, and seeing the close connection between planes easily led to allegorical writings. "The common habit was to think in terms of a highly complex web of correspondences, linking every aspect of spiritual and material reality."³ This is more of a process of evaluation than mathematical deduction. Reasoning is done more by utilitarian calculation and aesthetic appreciation than by empirical demonstration.

1. Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

2. Ibid., p. 77. For this author this would be past 1648. See p. vii.

3. S.L. Bethell, The Cultural Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, p. 55.

This is not to say that Keach's thought can be explained wholly as a product of his age, but it is to suggest that his method of reasoning was the accepted method of his day. With the exception of his polemical writings on the problem of baptism, the major works for the whole of this period were produced by the method of analogical and allegorical reasoning; even the titles are suggestive — War with the Devil, The Glorious Lover, The Travels of True Godliness, The Travels of Ungodliness, Tropologia or A Key to Open Scripture Metaphors, The Antichrist Stormed, Sion in Distress, The Grand Impostour Discovered.

Keach's method of reasoning was analogical and allegorical, but he would immediately add that the teleological significance of it was evangelism. In his Troposchematologia which was published during this period Keach compared "allegories" to "types" in the Bible. He asserts,

"Types are only Historical, as such; and the Truth of Fact agreeing in the Antitype makes them up:...But Allegories, etc., are principally Doctrinal, and in their Scope intend not to clear or compare Facts, but to hold forth and explain Doctrines, or by such Similitudes to illustrate, and make them the better understood, and to move and affect the Heart the more, or the more forcibly to convince the Conscience,..."¹

War with the Devil was written "to affect the Heart,... convince the Conscience," and win young people to Christ. It shows both Keach's method of evangelism and Baptist thought during this period. The following passages are direct quotations which

1. Benjamin Keach, Troposchematologia, p. iv. This is part of the Tropologia.

indicate the central thoughts:¹

YOUTH "in his unconverted state"
 Let ev'ry Man his mind and Fancy fill,
 My Lust I'le satisfie, and have my will.
 Who dares Controul me in my present way,
 Or vex my mind i'th' least, or me gain-say?

CONSCIENCE (To the Youth)
 I by that Rule Mens thoughts and ways compare,
 By which their inward parts enlightened are;
 And as they do accord, or disagree,
 I do Accuse, or Clear immediately,

YOUTH
 I'le go to Playes, and Games, and Dancings too,
 And e're a while, I shall be rid of you.

CONSCIENCE
 No rest or peace their Souls (men's) can find,
 I so disturb and still perplex their Mind,

My witness I must bear continually,
 For the great God, whose glorious Majesty,
 Did in thy Soul give me so high a place,
 As for to stop you in your sinful race;
 I must reprove, accuse, and you condemn,
 Whilst you by sin, His Sov'raignty contemn.

YOUTH
 Speak not another word, don't you perceive
 There's scarce a Man or Woman will believe
 What you say, you're grown so out of date!
 Be silent then and longer do not prate.

'Tis out of Fashion grown, I daily see
Conscience for to regard i'th' least degree.²

Conscience makes several accusations of sins as previously mentioned, i.e., "lust, playes, games." Then Conscience suggests that the Youth should read his Bible. The mass of the

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1. The poetical form, the spelling, and the diction are not criticised in this study, for this is a study of the thought of Keach.
 2. Benjamin Keach, War with the Devil or the Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness, pp. 7,10,11,14-17.

people in England believed in reading the Bible at this time.

YOUTH

Well! since that you no comfort do afford,
I will enquire of God's most Holy Word:
So far I will your Counsel take, for I
Am sorely troubled, whither shall I fly?

TRUTH

Christ is the Summum bonum, it is He,
In whom alone is true felicity;
Such is the Nature of Man's panting Breast,
There's nought on Earth can give him perfect rest.

For Humane Knowledge and Philosophy
Can't bring thy Soul into sweet Unity
With God above, and Jesus Christ his Son,
In whom, poor Youth, is Happiness alone.¹

The first part of Truth's statement is similar to the thought of Augustine where he said, "quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te."²

CONSCIENCE (To Youth)

Except ye do repent, Truth tells you plain,
You perish must in everlasting pain.

The Youth becomes frightened and ready to decide but DEVIL has something to say:

And Mistris Heart, stir up your wilful Will,
Is this a season for him to sit still!
If unto Truth and Conscience he gives place,
Our Interest will, you'll see go down apace.

Youth decides in favour of Conscience and Truth, but he is warned not to be too confident of his salvation. Keach feels that fear of wrath and hell is not sufficient and that only the power of the Holy Spirit "Works Faith in Saints."

1. Ibid., pp. 20, 26, 29.

2. The Confessions of Augustine, John Gibb, ed., p. 2.

YOUTH (To Truth)

Thy ways, O Truth, I am resolv'd to run,
 And never more will I to Folly turn.
 I tremble at the thoughts of Death and Hell,
 My Soul is wounded, and my wounds do swell,

 Oh! happy I, and blessed be the day,
 That unto Truth and Conscience I gave way.

 From Wrath, and Hell, my soul is now set free;
 For I don't doubt, but I converted be.

TRUTH

Not by constraint, as CONSCIENCE doth compel,
 And some are forc'd to be who like it well;
 Who leave the Act, but love to it retain:
 Such leave their sins, and yet their sins remain.

 Thou seem'st too confident, 'tis a bad sign;
 For fears attend where saving Grace doth shine.

CONSCIENCE

Men may raise up the dead to life again
 As easie as true saving Faith obtain
 By their own power, an inherent skill,
 Naught doth oppose it more than mans own will,

 The Pow'r which rais'd up Jesus from the dead,
 Works Faith in Saints, whereby they'r quickened:¹

Toward the close of the book the youth sees his "sin as sin" and that it is "against the Lord alone." Then Truth guides him to seek "saving Grace" through the atonement of Jesus.

YOUTH

Some comfort, Truth, alas my Soul doth melt,
 Such grips as these what Man has ever felt?

 My heart condemns me, and doth me reprove;
 'Tis thou alone which can my grief remove.

TRUTH

Doth sin, as sin, upon thy Spirit lye
 And doth its weight and burden make thee cry?

1. Keach, War with the Devil, pp. 33,39,45,47,52,55,57.

YOUTH

Against the Lord, against the Lord alone,
 Have I this horrid evil often done.
 Oh! I do see that I in sin am dead,
 And my iniquity's gone o're my head,

TRUTH

O Cry to God, my Sister Grace to send,
 'Tis she at last will prove thy special Friend,

 Since 'twas for thee thy precious Lord did die,
 He can't thy Soul of saving Grace deny,

 Be earnest with him, strive to hold him fast,
 And thou, like Jacob, wilt prevail at last.¹

There follows a dialogue between Jesus and Youth which is quite similar to that recorded in the New Testament between Jesus and the Syro-Phoenician woman. Matthew 15.21-28. Finally Jesus says,

Look up to me, and see my Love descending,
 'Tis from Eternity, and has no ending.
 Canst thou have more, dear Soul? thou hast my heart;
 What ever is mine, to thee I will impart.
 Thy scarlet sins are washed quite away,
 Not one of them unto thy charge I'll lay.

Then the Youth sings a hymn of thanksgiving:

The conquered the conquest gains;
 By being beat, the field obtains,
 Which makes me therefore cry,
 Lord, while I live upon the Earth
 Since thou hast wrought the second birth,
 Thy Name I'll magnifie²

Keach added an appendix to this work containing a dialogue between an "old Apostate" and a "Young Professor". A few quotations give the essence of the thought that is maintained

1. Ibid., pp. 75,78,79,82,84.
 2. Ibid., pp.84-90,117.

throughout the whole of this section:

APOSTATE

My head has been perplext with cares and fears,
Since to these Preachers I inclin'd my Ears,
They were but Fancies that disturb'd my mind,
I sought for something which I could not find.

PROFESSOR

I am for Canaan that most Holy Land
I'll travel thither as God doth command.

APOSTATE

Is't not the fancy of thy crasy-head?
I have likewise of such a Canaan read;
It may be so, or so it may not be,
It ne're seem'd real truly unto me.

A Bird i'th'hand's worth two i'th'bush,¹ ye know
This Zeal, (poor Lad) will work thy overthrow.

PROFESSOR

You vainly talk, and live by sight and sense,
I walk by faith, which is the evidence
Of things not seen, here with an outward eye.

True peace of conscience, that through grace I have
Which passeth all mens knowledge to conceive.
I would of it not be depriv'd again,
If that I might ten thousand worlds obtain.²

This first allegory of Keach was published in 1673 and it ran to twenty-two editions within a century.³ It was so successful that by 1675, the year that Bunyan completed The Pilgrim's Progress, J. Mason had obtained a license for a book to tell people how to read Keach's work. Mason's book was called "...Directions To The Readers of that Divine Poem Intituled Warre with the Devil."⁴

1. Benjamin Franklin made this statement famous in the United States.
2. Keach, War with the Devil, pp. 129,138,139,140.
3. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 133.
4. J. Mason, Mentis Humane Metaporphosis Five Conversio, The History of the Young Converted or Directions To The Readers of that Divine Poem Intituled Warre with the Devil. The spelling is Mason's.

In February, 1678, The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan went on sale at 1s.6d. It met with a ready reception. "At one step the obscure mechanic had become a most popular religious author, who rapidly vied with Keach in his appeal to the people." In 1682 he produced another allegory, The Holy War, or the Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Mansoul.¹

Keach apparently did not fear comparison for he published two more allegories; The Travels of True Godliness, which was revised and reprinted for a hundred and fifty years, and The Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness, which had an equal vogue. W.T. Whitley writes, "When Bunyan died in 1688, except that Keach had no version of his books into Dutch and Welch,² it might well be doubted which was the more popular author."³ Professor Henri Talon, who made an extensive study of Bunyan, adds, "To-day Bunyan occupies a unique place among these 'great masters' (Keach, Powell, Bunyan),...In his time his reputation was not exceptional, though it was very high."⁴

An extensive analysis of the mutual influence of these two writers is not necessary for this study, but it would be a most interesting problem for an historian of literature. To call either of them a mere imitator of the other is more incomplete than it is inaccurate; from the standpoint of their age the

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1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 138-139.
 2. Keach did have a few books printed in Welch but they came after 1688.
 3. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 133,140.
 4. Henri Talon, John Bunyan The Man and His Works, p. 124.

word rival is far more satisfactory.¹ Perhaps the decisive factor in the current unconcern for Keach and the perpetual

1. Talon, op. cit., pp. 242,288 where Keach is called the rival of Bunyan. For both men there are several points of similarity:

- (1) They had similar backgrounds, being born and reared in small villages not more than twenty-six miles apart; Keach at Stoke Hammond near Bletchley, and Bunyan at Elstow near Bedford. See this study, Chapter I, Section B, and John Brown, John Bunyan.
- (2) Both were Dissenting ministers.
- (3) Both were able to span the gulf between their doctrinal determinism and their compassion by preaching to all to accept Christ. See Chapter IV, Section B. of this study and Talon, op. cit., p. 262.
- (4) Both had similar ideas on "loving the world" and inflicting the poor. Bunyan in The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, Works, Vol. III, p. 638, says, "These (Hucksters) destroy the poor because he is poor and that is a grievous sin." Compare Keach, The Travels of Ungodliness, p. 139 where he denounces "carnal and covetous persons, and such who love the world above Christ."
- (5) Both believed in the imminent end of the age. Bunyan in A Few Sighs from Hell, Works, III, p. 722, writes "God's hand is up...The judgment-day is at hand, the graves are ready to fly open, the trumpet is near sounding,..." For Keach's view see Chapter IV, Section B. of this study.
- (6) Both were very popular religious writers for their day and "...each took hints from the other, and each dealt with some of the same topics,..." Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 140.

It is interesting to compare the similarities of a few of the works of each writer, particularly the earliest dates of publication:

<u>a. Bunyan</u>	<u>Keach</u>
Defence of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, Works, II, p. 278, Date of Publication 1672.	The Marrow of True Justification. Date of Publication 1692.
The Pilgrim's Progress, 1678.	The Travels of True Godliness, 1683.
The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, 1680	The Travels of Ungodliness, 1684.
The Greatness of the Soul, Works, I, p. 104, 1682.	The French Impostour Detected, (immortality of the soul) 1702.

popularity of Bunyan is that Bunyan's characters have real life whereas Keach's are too abstract. Bunyan's pilgrims

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| <p>Questions About the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-Day Sabbath, Works, II, p. 359, in 1685.</p> | <p>The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated, 1700.</p> |
| <p>b. Keach
The Child's Instructor, 1664.
The Antichrist Stormed, 1689
The Glorious Lover, 1678/9.</p> | <p><u>Bunyan</u>
Country Rhymes for Children, 1688.
The Antichrist and His Ruin, 1691.
The Holy War, 1682.</p> |

In connection with the last mentioned works Talon shows that Richard Bernard's Isle of Man was in Bunyan's mind when he wrote The Holy War, but he discusses the part about the council among the fallen angels: "It is astonishing to see the calm assurance with which critics sometimes affirm that Bunyan had read such and such a book. It is thus that Edmund Arbuthnott Knox...writes that our author borrows from Paradise Lost the council of the fallen angels and Satan's flight towards earth. It is certainly possible that Bunyan could have had Milton's poem in his hands, but no proofs could be based on such vague resemblances. It is more fitting to know that Benjamin Keach, Bunyan's constant rival, had written a Miltonian poem which the humble people of Bedford read rather than Paradise Lost; cf. The Glorious Lover, a divine poem upon the adorable mystery of sinners redemption,..." Talon, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-242. Chapter VII of Keach's book has "a Council called in Hell." Both Bunyan and Keach agree with Milton's poem that Satan comes to earth alone, (Bunyan, Works, III, p. 257; Keach, The Glorious Lover, p. 77; John Milton, Paradise Lost, II), but unlike Milton, no voice in the council is raised in favour of peace in Bunyan's and Keach's works. In Bunyan's epic Diabolus decides to make an assault on Mansoul and no voice suggests peace. Works, III, p. 257. In Keach, The Glorious Lover, pp. 76,77, Beelzebub cries, "My Sentence is for War..." Lucifer adds, "Come, show your valour, I'll command the Van;" and Satan declares,

"You mighty Lords of the Infirnal Lake,
Hark unto me, who for our Empires sake
Have devis'd a Strategem, that may

are real men — "villagers on whom their neighbours have bestowed nicknames, as Coleridge has said so well."¹ Howard Malcom may have a point when he writes, "Keach is entitled to the merit of originality not less than that of skill. His line of metaphor is wholly diverse from that of Bunyan. While

(If I mistake not) prove the only way
 To bring about the Ruin of our Foe
 Whom I both hate and dread, as you well know"
 Contrast this with John Milton, Paradise Lost,
 II, 226-227, and II, 278-280 where Milton makes
 Belial and Mammon advise peace:
 "Thus Belial, with words clothed in reason's garb,
 Counsell'd ignoble ease and peaceful sloth."
 Mammon adds:
 "...all things invite
 To peaceful counsels, and the settl'd State
 Of order,..."

Between Bunyan and Keach there were several points of difference as well:

- (1) Both had similar backgrounds, but Keach moved to London at the age of twenty-eight while Bunyan ministered for the whole of his life primarily to the people in and around Bedford, his trips to London being only for a short time.
- (2) Both were dissenting ministers, however, Bunyan's significance lies in the history of literature, whereas Keach's significance is in the history of the Baptist Movement
- (3) One sharp point of difference rests in their view of baptism. Bunyan felt that it should not be a condition of union for Christians and that it "is not the entering ordinance,...(nor) part of the worship of God enjoined the church as a church." See Works, II, pp. 607,626. Keach thought that baptism does not save a person but that it is an "entering ordinance" and a positive command of Christ so it must be practised for believers. See Chapter III, Section B. of this study.
- (4) Another point of difference lies in this fact; the value of Keach's books is historical, while the value of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress is intrinsic and it will always be read.

1. Talon, op. cit., p. 215. The paradox is true — the weakness of Bunyan's book as an allegory makes it the most popular allegory of all.

that delineates the progress of a soul in sanctification, this depicts religion itself as a pilgrim, and describes the treatment it receives from various orders of men."¹ But he should have added that Keach's characters are too abstract whereas the reader can sympathize with Bunyan's people for they are truer to real life.

In their own day Keach had one important advantage. He was "Baptist to the core" and the denomination welcomed his writings. Bunyan took up the position that he was ready to claim any man as brother who showed evidence "of God's work in his soul." Except for the little group of congregations around Bedford which were founded on this position he had to look far for others of the same kind.²

"This involves that there was no denomination proud of him and eager to spread his fame." The sheer merit of his work and the efforts of his last ten years gave Bunyan his success. Whitley continues,

"A further consequence of Bunyan's aloofness was that his popularity did nothing to advance the Baptist cause. And the same has to be said of the other great author of this time, John Milton...We may be proud of them to-day, but they were not proud of Baptists then, and the main body of Baptists then held no intercourse with them, and gained nothing from their lustre."³

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1. Howard Malcom, "A Memoir of His Life," in Benjamin Keach, The Travels of True Godliness, p. iv.
 2. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 140, 141. Compare David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II, Vol. II, p. 739, where he says of Bunyan, "He cannot be definitely grouped with any one sect;..."
 3. Ibid., p. 141.

The Glorious Lover,¹ The Travels of True Godliness,² and The Progress of Sin, or The Travels of Ungodliness were written in the interest of evangelism. In the "Proem" of The Glorious Lover Keach said, "A Verse may catch a wandring Soul, that flies Profounder Tracts;" therefore, this is written in verse to convert men.³ In the "Epistle to the Reader" of The Travels of True Godliness Keach stated, "Godliness consists in the true and right Knowledge of Divine Truths, or Fundamental Principles of the Gospel, which all men ought to know and be established in that would be saved."⁴ In the Travels of Ungodliness Keach said that it was written to "beat down sin" that men might be saved.⁵ Even in the Preface called "In Commendation of this Ensuing Poem" which Keach wrote for William Balmford's The Seaman's Spiritual Companion, he said in poetical form, "With Grace, thy ship must be ballanced ...Christ is to be thy Pilot...Avoid the dangerous rocks of presumption and despair...Faith is your cable rope, to which make fast the anchor, Hope."⁶ It is therefore evident that Keach was genuinely concerned about winning people to Christ.

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1. Full title: The Glorious Lover, A Divine Poem Upon the Adorable Mystery of Sinners Redemption; hereinafter referred to as The Glorious Lover.
 2. Full title: The Travels of True Godliness from The Beginning of the World, to this present Day; hereinafter referred to as The Travels of True Godliness.
 3. Keach, The Glorious Lover, p. ii.
 4. Keach, The Travels of True Godliness, p. 2.
 5. Keach, The Travels of Ungodliness, p. 3.
 6. William Balmford, The Seaman's Spiritual Companion, preface.

In Keach's second allegory "True Godliness" is personified and he visits "Mr. Riches, Mr. Poverty, Young Gallant, Old Age, Mr. Legalist in the village of Religion, Mr. Formalist, Mr. Hypocrisy, Mr. Thoughtful, Mr. Consideration, and Mr. Contentment." In each encounter Keach describes how he was received. What does the author of this book consider to be the "Essentials of True Godliness" or the "Fundamentals of the Christian Faith...which all Men ought to know and be established in that would be saved?"¹ His first essential includes the monotheistic and trinitarian statements of God in the orthodox manner:

"1. I answer, That there is one Eternal, Infinite, most Holy, most Wise, Just, Good and Gracious God, or Glorious Deity, subsisting in Three distinct Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One, that is, one in Essence."²

In The Glorious Lover Keach affirms that God is Eternal, Omniscient, and Omnipotent.³ In another work of this period Keach uses the cosmological proof for the existence of God:

"On th'Universal Fabrick cast an Eye,
The Sea, the Earth, and the expanded Sky:
Can so sublime Illustrious an Effect
Be formed without a Glorious Architect?

Created Things must a Creator have:
And that Begetter who first Being gave
To Essences produc'd, can't be Begot;
He's therefore GOD, and other else is not.

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1. Keach, The Travels of True Godliness, p. 3.
 2. Ibid., p. 3.
 3. Keach, The Glorious Lover, p. 2.

First Principles are beyond Definition;
 No Logick reaches at so high a Vision:
 'Tis unreveal'd to Reason, for no strain
 Of Lofty Metaphysicks can contain
 Those Mysteries; true Wisdom therefore hath
 Commanded Reason to give room to Faith."¹

The second "Fundamental of the Christian Faith" describes the Bible as the only "Rule of Faith and Practice."

"2. That this God, out of his great Love and Goodness, hath bestowed upon, and given to his people, one sure, certain, and infallible Rule of Faith and Practice, viz, The Holy Scriptures, by which we may know, not only, that There is a God and Creator, but of the Manner of Creation of the World, and of all Things in Heaven and Earth, in six Days; together of his Design, End and Purpose, or Reason, or Cause wherefore He made all Things; and also to shew them how Sin came into the world, and what Righteousness it is which God's Holy Nature requires, to their Justification, or Discharge from the Guilt of Sin, viz., By a Redeemer, his own Son, whom he sent into the World; and that there is no other Rule or Way to know these Things, so as for Men to be saved, but by Revelation, or the Sacred Records of the Holy Scriptures only. And that the Mystery of Salvation lies above human Reason, and can't be known by the Light in all men."²

It is clear that Keach believes in the plenary verbal inspiration of the Bible. This last reference to the "Light in all men" possibly is included because of his antipathy to the Quakers' views. In the Travels of Ungodliness, the Devil is warning "Ungodliness" of his "chief enemies." The first one that he mentions is the Bible.

"The first is a paper-Enemy, a contemptible Foe to look

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1. Keach, Sion in Distress, pp. 14,15.
 2. Keach, Travels True Godliness, pp. 3-4. For the remainder of this section the numbered quotations will be what Keach considered a "Fundamental of the Christian Faith" and quotation marks will not be used.

upon; and yet I dread him more than all the Powers of Heaven and Earth... 'tis the Bible... We must do, therefore, what we can, to keep all Men ignorant of it; and not suffer them to have it in their Mother-tongue;¹ Or if we cannot do that, then take off their Hearts from it so, that they may not read, meditate upon it, nor remember what is contained in it. For 'tis like a cruel Sword with two Edges; which, if they have got the Skill to use it, it will destroy thee utterly."²

Keach's view of the Scripture is discussed further in the next section of this study.

The next fundamental gives the orthodox view of Christ.

3. That our Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ, who is substituted the Surety of the New Covenant, and only Mediator betwixt God and Man, is truly God of the Essence of the Father, and truly Man of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary, consisting of these two Natures in one Person: And that Redemption, Peace and Reconciliation is by this Lord Jesus Christ alone.³

In the "Youth's Catechism" of Instructions for Children⁴

which H. Wheeler Robinson assigns to this period,⁵ the father questions the son:

Father. How did God's mercy appear to Mankind?
 Son. In promising the Seed of the Woman should break the Serpent's Head. Genesis 3.15.
 Father. Who is meant by the Seed of the Woman?
 Son. Our Blessed Saviour.
 Father. Is Jesus Christ God or man?

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1. See the account of Keach's trial, Chapter I, Section B.
 2. Keach, Travels Ungodliness, pp. 24, 25.
 3. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 4.
 4. Instructions for Children or the Child's and Youth's Delight.
 5. See Robinson, The Life and Faith of the Baptists, pp. 37-40. Robinson describes in detail "the earliest surviving edition (that of about a quarter of century later)" of The Child's Instructor. A critical comparison of Robinson's description and the twenty-fifth edition of Instruction for Children revealed that they are verbatim the same even to the frontispiece. Perhaps Robinson thought that there was only a change in titles, a change which was made with Keach's Believers Baptism.

Son. Jesus Christ is both God and Man in one Person; God of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the World began, and yet truly Man. He took our Nature upon him, and therefore is called the Seed of the Woman. Phil. 2.6,7.¹

In The Glorious Lover Keach emphasizes God as Father and Jesus Christ as Son. He says that the Son left the glories of his Father's throne to come upon earth because he loved man so deeply. Keach feels that the Son had to descend that man might be able to be united to Him.

"He must descend, that she² might mount above,
And join in a fit intercourse of love.

The Son came:

Not as a king to punish, but a lamb
To offer up in sacrifice his life,
To put an end to all tormenting strife,
And only gain a poor, but longed-for wife."³

Later in the book Keach describes the nature of the soul and the love of Christ. The following is his pedantic panegyric of the nature of the soul:

- "1. 'Tis capable, such is its nature, State,
On great Jehovah's Pow'r to contemplate,...
We should have known no more of Earth, or Heav'n
Than the brute beasts, had not Jehovah given
This precious soul to us...
2. 'Tis capable of glorious Inspiration...
3. 'Twill sweet Impressions take, God's Image bear,...
4. ...for tis only she
That's capable of so great Dignitie
To be espoused to the Glorious Three...
5. Nothing but God himself can satisfie
That precious soul, which in thy breast do's lie.
6. What thinkst thou of that price, that price of

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1. Keach, Instructions for Children, pp. 78,81.
 2. The feminine is used because man is metaphorically considered as being married to the Son. See Keach, The Glorious Lover, p. 23.
 3. Keach, The Glorious Lover, p. 27.

- Which Christ laid down?...
7. Don't Satan's rage, his enmity and wrath
Against the Soul, shew forth its precious worth?...
 8. It's that which does oft-times to Christ ascend
In strong desires, and longings:...
 9. Add world to world, and heap ten thousand more;

Yet would the Soul in worth exceed them far.
 10. She is Immortal, O she cannot die;"¹

He continues with his prolixity and prodigality by describing the love of Christ as "a first love,...an attracting love,...a free love,...a bounding love,...a delighting love,... a victor's love,...an eternal love,...a most powerful love,... a matchless love."²

Keach's fourth "Fundamental" is on Justification and it involves the penal substitution theory of the Atonement.

4. That Justification and Pardon of Sin is alone, by that full Satisfaction the Lord Jesus Christ made to God's Justice; and that his perfect Obedience (in doing what the Law required, and in his Suffering what our Sins deserved) is imputed as that compleat Righteousness to all that believe in him; which Righteousness is apprehended by Faith alone, through the Holy Spirit; by which a Sinner is first apprehended by Christ, before he can apprehend and receive him.³

This is similar to Calvin's view:

"...it is entirely by the intervention of Christ's righteousness that we obtain justification before God. This is equivalent to saying that man is not just in himself, but that the righteousness of Christ is communicated to him by imputation, while he is strictly deserving punishment...(Righteousness is not in the man himself) car il n'ya nulle doute que celui qui doit chercher justice hors de soy-mesme, ne soit desnue de la sienne propre."⁴

1. Ibid., pp. 234-238.

2. Ibid., pp. 241-243.

3. Keach, Travels of True Godliness, loc. cit.

4. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, Henry Beveridge, trans., Vol. II, p. 58.

What was Keach's view of sin at this time? He writes,

"Although Sin, in a proper Sense is a Non-entity; rather the Depravation¹ of a Being, than a Being at all; Yet, it would be well for Thousands, yea, Millions of Thousands, if there were no such Being for Sin in their Hearts, nor in the World, as there is. What Sin is, as the holy Apostle shews, viz. The Transgression of the Law, etc. Doing what God forbids, or not doing what God requires; or doing it in another Manner than he in his holy Word directs, is alike Evil...

'Tis evident, Sin is not of, nor from God: He that is Holiness and Godliness itself, cannot be the Author, directly or indirectly of Sin or Ungodliness...for whatsoever God created was Good:...but Sin hath not, nor never had any Good in it, but is altogether Evil, the Evil of Evils, and therefore not from God. Sin hath been a long Time in the World, yea, some there be, who think he had his Conception or Original before Man was created,...But how, when, and by what Means, Sin entred into them,...is (as I judge) beyond what any Mortal is able to demonstrate; therefore we shall state his Original where the Apostle doth, "By one Man, Sin entred into the World," Rom.v.12...Sin was conceived and had his Birth or Entrance into this World, by Means of our First Parents: But if it be asked, By whom he was begotten? I answer, By Appollyon,...called the old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan; it was by his Subtilty they were beguiled, who...were as a most chaste, beautiful, and undefiled Virgin, whom, because he could not force, he cunningly enticed to his foul and unclean Embraces... Hence, the Devil is said to be a "Liar",...and upon this Account, Sin may be fitly called the Spawn of the Devil; 'tis originally his Offspring,...That Original Sin was the Original of all Sin; for from that first Sin, by the Help of the Devil, and Man's evil Heart, doth all manner of Sin proceed...

The Production of Sin was Apollyon's masterpiece; for by the Help and Means thereof he hop'd and resolv'd to erect his Kingdom...This Enemy flew, as soon as he was born, into the very Face of God himself; This was his great Cry then, and is still to this day, "God shall not reign, but I will reign; and Apollyon, King of Darkness, he shall reign and rule in the Hearts of Men on Earth."²

This appears to be a hopeless mass of contradiction: Keach begins by saying that sin is rather "the Depravation of a

1. See The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. III, p. 216.
 2. Keach, Travels Ungodliness, pp. 4-12.

Being, than a Being at all," yet he seems to go farther and describe it as if it were a being and as if the Devil brought it into existence. It must be remembered, however, that this is the basis for his allegory in which he personifies "Sin" and has "him" to walk through the world. In fairness to Keach it must be noted that the central problem of understanding his statements here is the problem of how much is to be taken metaphorically and how much is to be taken literally.

Fortunately Keach described sin more clearly in other works of this period. One idea of sin given in this passage is that it is transgression of the law. In "The Little Child's Catechism" for a child three to four years old in Instructions for Children this is given:

"Father. What is Sin?

Child. The breaking of GOD'S Commandments."

In the "Youth's Catechism" for the ten-year old Keach writes,

"Child. Pray, Father, tell me how Man came at first to lose the Image of GOD?

Father. Man lost GOD'S Image by his Sin. Adam who was the first Man GOD made, broke his Commandment in eating of the forbidden Fruit, and thereby defiled and polluted himself and all his Posterity: And so long as Men continue in an unconverted state, being under the power of Sin and natural Depravity, they more resemble the Devil, or have more of his likeness, than of the Image and likeness of GOD in them."

In the Catechism for "Mature Age" he is consistent by saying,

"Father. What is sin?

Son. Sin is the Transgression of the Law. I John 3.4"¹

1. Keach, Instructions for Children, pp. 14,21,76.

In The Glorious Lover Keach says that the "bosom-sin" of the soul is lust. The "Soul" listens to the message of Christ but does not wish to deny himself.¹ Keach also describes sin as pride.

"Father. 'Tis a shame that Parents become meer Slaves to Lucifer, by sending their little Daughters to School to learn to Dance (as Herodias did) where they are taught the hellish Mode of naked Breast and Shoulders, Antick and Fantastic Garbs, Spotting, Patching and Paintings, Towers, Bulls, Shades, and other Curiosities of the Devil's devising...These lead them on to have stretched-out Necks and haughty Hearts. God hates these more than anything."²

In this connection it is interesting to observe a small girl's lament which Keach borrowed directly from Abraham Cheare:³

"When by Spectators I am told
What Beauty doth adorn me,
Or in a Glass when I behold
How sweetly God did form me:
Hath God such comeliness display'd
And on me made to dwell,
What pitty such a pretty Maid
As I should go to Hell."⁴

In this "Fundamental" Keach asserts that pardon of sin comes "by Faith alone, through the Holy Spirit." In another work of this period Keach defines faith: "True justifying Faith is a saving Grace of God's Holy Spirit, whereby we

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1. Keach, The Glorious Lover, pp. 226,227.
 2. Keach, Instructions for Children, pp. 51-53.
 3. Compare A Looking-Glass for CHILDREN, a Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with some Little Children: Recollected by Henry Jessey...Together, with sundry seasonable Lessons and Instructions to Youth,...Written by Abraham Chear, collected by H.H., second edition, pp. 27,28.
 4. Keach, Instruction for Children, pp. 60,61. Keach acknowledges that he took this from Cheare on p. 59.

receive Jesus Christ in all his Offices, and wholly relie on him and his Merits for Eternal Life."¹ In the Glorious Lover the Son is described as seeking the soul of man and it is "Theologue or The Holy Spirit" who comes and awakens the Conscience and enlightens the Judgement.² In this connection, Keach laments the fact that parents are not winning their children to Christ.

"To strict Extremes some Parents do adhere,
Check not at all, or else are too severe:
On Back and Belly they bestow much Cost,
But care not if their Precious Souls be lost."³

The fifth "Fundamental of the Christian Faith" that Keach names is this: "That all Men must be renewed, regenerated, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, which are, or can be Saved."⁴ He explains this view further in his statements concerning "True Godliness":

"'Tis not a bare living up to the natural Principles of Morality, ...nor an Historical, Notional, or Dogmatical Knowledge of the Sacred Gospel, and the Precepts thereof ...it consists in the Light of supernatural Truths of those glorious Principles and working the Life of Supernatural Truths and Life of Grace, God manifesting himself in the Light of those glorious Principles and working the Life of Supernatural Grace in the Soul by the Holy Ghost...whereby our Souls are brought into the Image and Likeness of his (Christ's) Death and Resurrection."⁵

The sixth and seventh "Fundamentals" are concerned with

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1. Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 94.
 2. Keach, The Glorious Lover, p. 205, 206.
 3. Keach, Sion in Distress, p. 25.
 4. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 4.
 5. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

eschatology:

6. That there will be a Resurrection of the Bodies of all Men at the Last Day, both of the Just and Unjust.
7. That there will be an eternal Judgement, or that all shall be brought to the Tribunal of Jesus Christ in the Great Day, and give an Account of all Things done in the Body; and that there will be a future State of Glory and eternal Happiness of all True Believers, and of eternal Torment and Misery of all Unbelievers and Ungodly Persons, who live and die in their Sins.¹

Keach believes that the change in the bodies of the "Just" at the Resurrection will be one of quality, not of substance.

"Father. It is said, our Bodies shall be changed.
 Son. It will be a change of the Qualities of our Bodies, but not of the Substance."²

At this stage in his development Keach does not include election as a basic idea: he does not contradict it,³ yet he does not emphasize it. This section on evangelism can be closed by one of his appeals to "some poor soul" — it could be any soul in the congregation.⁴

"Doth not some poor soul here say, Oh what shall I do that I may be prepared for the grave?...Then in the first place labour to get a full sight and sense of your sins, and your lost and undone condition by nature...Secondly, Labour to get Brokenness of heart, oh strive to melt in the sight and sense of your iniquity...Thirdly, Labour to get an interest in Jesus Christ...Soul never rest and be satisfied, till thou canst say with Thomas, My Lord and My God...Fourthly, Labour in the strength of Christ to oppose every sin...Eighthly, Beware of resting in the form of godliness without the power...Woe to them that

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1. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 4. See Tropologia, Book IV, p. 406.
 2. Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 113.
 3. See the discussion of regeneration.
 4. See the discussion of this point in Chapter IV, Section B. of this study where it is indicated that Keach did not feel this to be a contradiction.

are at ease in Zion!"¹

In one of his "Fundamentals" Keach has said, "That this God, out of his great Love...hath bestowed upon...his people, one sure, certain, and infallible Rule of Faith and Practice, viz. the Holy Scriptures..."² It is therefore necessary to make a study of Keach's view of the "Divine Authority of the Scriptures."

2. "Divine Authority of Scripture"

Tropologia, or A Key to Open Scripture Metaphors appeared in 1682. Thomas Delaune wrote "The First Book" and Benjamin Keach, "The Second and Third Books."³ Crosby called the first author "the learned Mr. Thomas Delaune." He was born in Ireland and his parents were very poor. They were Roman Catholic, so young Delaune was placed in a Friary at Kilcrash to be educated. After several years he went to London where he became a Baptist and a close friend of Keach.⁴ Whitley calls Delaune a "schoolmaster and printer, Ireland and London",⁵ and this probably accounts for some of the pedantry of the book. It has been shown, however, that Keach himself was very pedantic. In spite of this it was well received at the time. Dr. Adam Clark, a Methodist minister, commentator, and theological

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1. Keach, A Summons To The Grave or The Necessity of a Timely Preparation for Death, pp. 39-42, 46. Compare Troposchematologia, p. 167, "Tis the main Work of a Minister to win Souls, and bring them over to Christ."
 2. Keach, Travels True Godliness, pp. 9-10
 3. Keach, Tropologia, title page.
 4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 366-367.
 5. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 215.

writer who lived until 1832,¹ complained that many preachers depended on it too much.² It was reissued by other publishers in 1683 and again in 1689. The format of this volume is tall quarto.³ Keach tells how he came to write it:

"I betook myself to preach upon some Metaphors, which by the Aid of Divine Goodness, wanted neither Success, nor the general Satisfaction on my Auditory: And having many brief Heads of my Notes, respecting some principal Metaphors, by me, it was judged by divers worthy Men, worth my Time and Pains to compile an entire Work on this Subject, for Publick Good...After much Labour and Pains, it is brought as far as thou seest; and if thou respect any Benefit by it, Give God the praise.

I have endeavoured with all diligence to conform all my Parallels to plain Scripture, and the Analogy of the Orthodox Faith; and if I go beyond the Scope of a particular Text, yet I agree with the general Tenor of God's Word."

Here again is a book produced by analogical reasoning. Keach continues,

"Reader, This I must say, (what Profit it may yield thee I know not) yet when the Second Volume is finished, thou wilt have the Fruit of near twenty Years Study..."⁴

In the fourth book which was appended to Tropologia and called Troposchematologia Keach writes,

"This is the Second, and Last Volume, and perfects our whole Design, which I thought at first might have come into one entire Book. That which was promised at first, concerning the Divine Authority of the Scripture...you will find here."⁵

An analysis of Keach's reasons for the "Divine Authority of the Scripture" gives Keach's view of the Bible and reflects

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1. Blaikie, "Adam Clark" in Dictionary National Biography, Vol. IV, p. 413.
 2. Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 29.
 3. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 113.
 4. Keach, Tropologia, pp. i-ii, iv. The spelling is that of Keach.
 5. Keach, Troposchematologia, p. iii.

the view of the Baptist Movement.

1. The sublime Matter of the Scriptures shew them to be Divine. Matt. 28.19, I John 5.7...What Human Brain could ever have imaged a Trinity in the Deity?¹

A century earlier Fausto Paulo Sozzini, whose views were called Socinianism and whose ideas influenced many religious men in the latter part of the seventeenth century, had two central characteristics of his thought. "These are its scrupulous and vigorous biblicism and its acknowledgement of the rights of reason in religion." A later generation of Socinian teachers proclaimed the "clear supremacy of reason in religion." They came to feel that "three persons in one substance were an impossibility of thought," and to hold the view of the "Unipersonality of God and its natural corollary, the humanity of Christ."² Keach thought that the idea of the Trinity was beyond the "Human Brain" to invent, but he consistently believed in the Trinity. He continued his first reason in this way:

"The contents (of the Scripture)...are so transcendently sublime and mysterious that they could never be the product of Human Invention...Nothing less than an Infinite Understanding could have found out Expedients to reconcile those two infinite Attributes (God's Mercy and Justice) in his dealings with an Apostate Creature...In a Word, its General Subjects are Mysteries no where else to be heard of, and without such a Manifestation, unconceivable."³

In another book he said that we know the Scriptures are the Word of God because "...they could never be the Product of

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1. Ibid., p. ii. Compare Keach, Tropologia, Book III, p. 48, "No Treasure is like to the Treasure of God's Word."
 2. H. John McLachlan, SOCCINIANISM in Seventeenth-Century England, pp. 9, 11-13.
 3. Keach, Troposchematologia, p. ii. The spelling is that of Keach.

human invention."¹ In the Troposchematologia Keach does add, "These things can move the Conscience of none, but such who acknowledge the Precepts thereof to be divine."²

The second reason given by Keach is based on the age of the Bible.

2. The Antiquity of the Holy Scriptures also shows that they are Divine...'Tis a Thing out of dispute, that for Antiquity, neither the Writings of Orpheus, or Homer, or Trismegistus, or Pythagoras, or Berosus, nor any other can compare with the Pentateuch."³

In the Instructions for Children Keach said that we know that the Scriptures are the Word of God because of their antiquity,⁴ and in the Tropologia he asserts, "the Writings of Moses,... were before any human Records."⁵

The authoritative style in which the Bible is written is the basis for Keach's third reason.

3. The Royal Descent...of the Scriptures, further appears by that Majesty and Authoritativeness of the Spirit of God speaking through them; and that extraordinary and inimitable Style wherein they are written. (Augustine and Gregory Nazianzus are quoted as agreeing with this point).⁶

In another book Keach said that the "authoritativeness" of the

1. Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 65.
2. Keach, Troposchematologia, loc. cit.
3. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. ii,iii. Sir Frederic Kenyon in The Bible and Archeology, pp. 14,20,21, says, "...it is not until the eighteenth century that scientific archeology can be said to come into being...So long as the Bible record stood alone, there was no occasion to doubt it and no evidence by which to test it."
4. p. 65.
5. Keach, Tropologia, Book III, p. 59.
6. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. iii,iv. See Tropologia, III, p. 63.

style in which they are written shows that the Scriptures are the Word of God.¹

Keach's fourth reason is based on the holiness expressed in the Scripture. He writes,

4. That most excellent Spirit of Holiness, which every where breathes in and from the Scriptures, is another fair Lineament of the Hand of God in the framing of them. To this Holiness they most powerfully persuade men by express Commands. Lev. 11.44, I Peter 1.15.²

Keach combined this reason with number eleven which discusses the power of the Scriptures on the hearts of men in his book, Instructions for Children.³

From the constancy of God Keach infers that the Bible must be of Divine origin because of its inner agreement.

5. The sweet and admirable Agreement, Consent, Dependence, and Harmony, that we find in all and every part of Scripture, tho there are so many Books thereof, written by so many different Persons, of various Conditions, many Ages remov'd, ...yet all agreeing with each other, and every part with the whole, ... (shows that they were guided) by the Supreme Wisdom of that one God, who is always constant to himself...⁴

In another passage Keach declares, "'Tis a Book of all truth and no error."⁵ At this period Biblical Criticism as it is known in the twentieth century had not arisen. As is indicated in these reasons, Keach was typical of the mass of

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1. Keach, Instructions for Children, loc. cit.
 2. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. iv, v. See Tropologia, III, p. 3. God has left "an infallible Guide in matters of religion. Take away this Unerring Rule, and what confusion would the Christian world be in." Compare Book II, p. 159 as well.
 3. p. 68.
 4. Keach, Troposchematologia, p. v. See Instructions for Children, p. 65 which has this reason almost verbatim.
 5. Keach, Tropologia, Book III, p. 9.

Englishmen of his age. Cragg explains, "At this time (1660-1700), Biblical criticism had not yet been born; all portions of Scripture were treated alike, and every passage possessed an authority equal to that of any other."¹

In his sixth reason Keach makes an interesting evaluation of the credit and sincerity of the writers in the Bible.

6. This further appears from the Credit and Sincerity of those that were the Pen-men...we shall find them all of undoubted Credit, generally esteemed holy and good men in the Ages they liv'd in, so no way to be suspected of Imposture...neither could any Interest or Ambition prompt them thereto: For as the main Tendency of this Book is, to mortify Mens Ambitions and Lusts; so most of them exposed themselves...to great Hazards and Persecutions. Nor have several of them been shie to record the great Failings and imperfections of themselves, or their Brethren.²

The fulfillment of prophecy is the basis of Keach's seventh reason, and the performance of miracles the foundation for his eighth argument.

7. Another Demonstration or Proof, that the Scriptures are from God, is the exact and punctual fulfilling of the Prophecies therein contained. To foretell Events is the Prerogative of God.³
8. Those Writings, and that Doctrine, which were confirmed by many and real Miracles must needs be of God: But the Books and Doctrines of Canonical Scriptures were so confirmed...Many and great Wonders...hath the Lord openly wrought by the hands of Moses, and the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, for the Confirmation of this Truth...⁴

In connection with this last reason Keach agrees with John Owen

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1. Cragg, op. cit., pp. 6,7.
 2. Keach, Troposchematologia, loc. cit.
 3. Ibid., p. vi. Compare Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 66, and Keach, Tropologia, Book II, p. 160 which agree with this.
 4. Ibid., pp. vii-viii. Notice Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 67 which contains this, and Tropologia, Book III, p. 3 where he says the doctrine of the Roman Catholics is false because they cannot confirm it "by Miracles."

whom he quotes as declaring, "when God puts forth his Miracle-working Power, in Confirmation of any Word or Doctrine, he avows it to be of and from himself..."¹

Reason ten is a corollary of reason nine on the preservation of the Scriptures and both are derived from Keach's view of the "Antiquity of the Scripture." He asserts,

9. To these astonishing Miracles we may fitly add, the Preservation of these holy Writings for so many Ages, being itself little less than miraculous...Were not the Bible what it pretends to be, there had been nothing more suitable to the Nature of God,...than long since to have blotted it out of the World.²
10. The Scriptures did not only Survive, but Triumph'd over, all the Oppositions of the Devil and the World... (this) evidently shews it to be owned by Omnipotency.³

In the Instructions for Children these two are combined into one.⁴

The eleventh reason is in praise of the power of the Scriptures upon "the Hearts and Consciences of Men."

11. But besides these outward and more visible Trophies of the Sacred Scriptures, how marvellous is their... Power within, upon the Hearts and Consciences of Men! 'tis this that Converts the Soul, Enlightens the Eye, Discovers Sin,...Rejoiceth the Heart, Quickeneth Comforteth,...and subverts the whole Kingdom of Satan.⁵

In another book written during this period Keach declares, "...Christ (as our Redeemer) is only made known by the Divine

1. Loc. cit.

2. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. viii-ix. See Book III, pp. 59, 74.

3. Ibid., pp. viii, ix.

4. Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 67.

5. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. ix-x. Compare Tropologia, Book III, p. 2 which agrees with this position.

Revelation of the Holy Scriptures."¹

Arguments twelve and thirteen are based on the testimony of the friends and enemies of the Bible.

12. Add to all these Arguments, the Testimony of the Church, and her Holy Martyrs, who have sealed this Truth with their Blood, By the Church we mean... the whole Company of Believers in all Ages who have professed the true Faith.
13. But the Doctrines and Matters of Fact in the Scripture...are not only avouched by its own Votaries, but many most considerable parts of it acknowledged by its Enemies:...The great Roman Historian, Tacitus, ...says expressly, Author nominis ejus Christus, qui, Tiberio imperante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.²

Reason sixteen may be added here for it concerns another enemy of the Bible, the Devil.

16. The Divine Composition of this blessed Book is not a little manifested by the continual Rage of the Devil against it, which appears...in those Temptations with which he assaults the Hearts of Men, when they apply themselves to the serious Study of it.³

In the Travels of True Godliness, "Godliness" comes to "a certain Town on the Confines of Babylon" where "Mr. Riches" lives. He asks to come in but Riches seeks advice from some of the gentlemen already present. One is called "Dr. Self-love":

Dr. Self-love: Sir, your great Fault hath been this (I perceive it clearly) you have Read too much of late, why do you concern yourself with the Bible? I think it had been well if it

1. Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 119.
2. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. x-xi. This is Keach's interpretation of Tacitus. Annal.1.15. Notice Tropologia Book III, p. 4, "...what means hath been used by the Popish Adversaries and others to Corrupt and Polute it and yet no defilement cleaveth to it;..."
3. Ibid., p. xii. See Tropologia, Book III, p. 60. Satan tries "so many ways to take away the Word of God from us."

had never been translated into our Mother-Tongue;...'Tis enough for you to mind your Secular Affairs....and when Conscience for any Sin gripes you,... get to the Tavern or to some Play-house; but be sure at no time you read any Book beside your Books of Accounts and Romances ...¹

In his fourteenth and fifteenth arguments Keach attempts to reason by logical deduction that the Bible could not have been written by either men or the devil, therefore, it must have been written by God.

14. He that disowns the Bible to be of Divine Authority, must either think there is some Revelation from God to the World...or he thinks there is none: If he thinks there is none,...he must confess that God... has left him in a Worse Condition,...than the meanest Creatures, to whom he has given sufficient Means to attain the highest End of their Beings: But that infinite Wisdom should deal thus, is absurd and unreasonable to conceive.²
15. If the Scriptures be neither the Invention of Devils nor Men, then it can be from none but God: But they are not from Devils: for neither could they work Miracles,...nor would it consist with God's Sovereignty over them,...Nor were the Scriptures the Invention of Men; for they must be either good Men, or bad Men: Good Men they could not be; for nothing could be more opposite to Goodness,...than to assume the Name of God falsly...on the other side, 'tis an impossibility ill Men could be the Devisers of so holy a Book: For can any rational Man think, that wicked Deceivers would so highly advance the Glory of God?³

1. Keach, Travels True Godliness, pp. 24,35-36.

2. Keach, Troposchematologia, p. xii. Compare Keach, Instructions for Children, p. 71. "If the Scriptures are not the Word of God, then God hath left us no certain Rule of Faith and Practice."

3. Ibid., p. xii. Compare Keach, Instructions for Children p. 72, and Tropologia, Book III, p. 52 which agree with this view.

Keach concludes with his seventeenth reason in which he states that it is absolutely necessary "to have the internal Testimony of the Holy Spirit upon our Hearts," for without it "we can never sincerely believe as we ought nor be established in believing, against the Temptations of the Devil, and Objections of evil Men."¹

3. Polemical Activity, 1672-1689

Three subjects of a polemical nature interested Keach and the Baptists of this period; the struggle against the Quakers, the defence of Adult Baptism, and the attempt to prove the Roman Catholic church to be the "Mystery Babylon" of the Scriptures.

As previously indicated in this study many Baptists joined the Quaker Movement and by this time the problem had become acute. Richard Baxter wrote a book against the Quakers in which he has a section called "To the Separatists and Anabaptists in England":

"The hand of God is apparently gone out against your waies of Separation and Anabaptism: It is your duty to observe it: You may see you do but prepare too many for a further progress, Seekers, Ranters, Familists, and now Quakers, and too many professed Infidels, do spring up from among you, as if this were your Journey's end, and the perfection of your Revolt."²

The Quakers sent Baxter several questions to answer. In one

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1. Keach, Troposchematologia, pp. xiv-xv. Notice Tropologia, Book III, p. 58 which agrees at this point.
 2. Richard Baxter, The Quaker Catechism, or the Quakers Questioned, p. 11.

place Baxter began, "Only to your Query (about Infant-Baptism), I will adde this Query to your Founders the Anabaptists:..."¹

Keach would not identify the Baptist Movement with the Quaker either as a "Founder" or a tendency. In 1674 he published The Grand Impostor Discovered or The Quakers Doctrine weighed in the Ballance, and found wanting. In "A Epistolatory Word to those called Quakers" Keach declared, "Scripture Authority I here defend, against thy Notions, whilst thou dost pretend to Revelations."²

In the 1675 printing "for B. Harris", the "Epistle to the Reader" contains a large picture. In the left-hand corner of the page is Daniel 5.27: "Thou art weighed in the balances, and found wanting."³ At the left of the picture is a group of men with one large man saying, "Turne to y^e Light with-in." In the centre is a scale. The left side contains "the Quaker Bookes" and is very high showing that it is light. The right side of the scale is low and contains only one book, "The Holy Bible". On the right are several men grouped around one tall man, who is pointing to the Bible and saying, "To the Law and testimony." The whole of this is in a church. Below the Quakers is written:

Religion here in Emblem you may Spye
 Pois'd in the Ballance of the Saⁿctuary.
 The Quaker on the Light within doth Rest,
 But hence may learn it will not Bide the Test.

1. Ibid., p. 5.

2. Keach, The Grand Impostour Discovered, p. 5.

3. Actually this refers to the kingdom of Belshazzar, but of course this would not be important to Keach.

Below the other men is written:

And soe (all things Considered) hee may well
 Who counts his Authors All Infallible;
 But still you see his side aloft doth flye
 His Arguments are Light as Vanity;
 One single Booke (God's word) doth overpoize
 Whole Heaps of such poor superficiall Toys;
 All Faith and Doctrine not Deriv'd from thence
 Is but a specious Vain Impertinence.¹

Still following his method of allegorical reasoning Keach writes this book as a poetic dialogue between a "Young Professor" and "A Quaker". The Young Professor asks the Quaker how he can be "so certain of the Light within." The Quaker says that there is a light in every man which acts as conscience. The Young Professor agrees. He declares that "Mens Consciences for sin accuse them here," yet he denies that this light is his Saviour or that he needs no other guide because he feels that conscience can be conditioned:

"Conscience itself must have a stedfast guide,
 Or else both you and it may swerve aside."²

The Young Professor asks the Quaker if Christ died, as opposed to the idea that Jesus alone died. The Quaker answers that he believes that Joseph came "To beg Christ's Body t'put it in a Tomb; it was not Jesus which he did desire, But 'twas his body (Mark) he did require."

The Young Professor asks if he believes that Jesus of Nazareth was the eternal God. The Quaker answers, "God can't be seen with any outward eye." Then the Young Professor gives his view:

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1. Keach, The Grand Impostour Discovered, "Epistle to the Reader".
 2. Ibid., pp. 196,199, 200-202,205.

"That the Man Christ is God I do believe,
 And All his words for Truth I do receive,
 Upon his Sacred Word I build my faith,
 And do believe all that the Scripture saith."¹

At the close of the book neither is outwardly converted to the others' views. Keach hoped that the presentation of the two opposing views would win people for his own. He closes with this:

"Quaker: Thy Rule's, the letter's dead and empty found,
 My Rule is in a higher Region found:
 My Rule of Faith is sublime and Divine:
 The Spirits Light, but Darkness is with thee.

Professor: Upon Christ Jesus I will build my Faith,

 In Scripture's dialect I understand
 God's to be worshipped by Christ's command.
 (He says that the Quaker's doctrine does not agree with
 the sayings of Jesus)
 And hence it is, the Scriptures once neglected,
 Men Judge of sin just as they stand affected.²

A second controversial question that was discussed among the Baptists and others of this period was Baptism. It was a much larger concern for Keach in the next period; nevertheless, he did write about it at this time. Against Baxter the problem centred around the question of the proper subjects. Baxter approved of infant baptism³ and Keach opposed it. About 1674

1. Ibid., pp. 221,241,257.

2. Ibid., pp. 259,260,282. See pp. 294,296 which agree. James Park, a Quaker, wrote a vindictive book against Keach in which he said that the Quakers did not deny the authority of Scripture. He says to Keach, "Thou Forger of Lies and Enemy of the Truth and Righteousness, what Quaker was it, that yet ever denied the Scripture Authority?" See Park, False Fictions and ROMANCES REBUKED, p. 11.

3. Richard Baxter, Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-membership and BAPTISM.

Keach published a small sheet titled, Mr. Baxter's Arguments for believers baptism. Baxter had published a treatise to revive the practice of Confirmation in order to reform the church and reconcile the differences among the Protestants. His fifth proposition was this:

"As a Personal Faith, is the Condition before God, of Title to the Priviledges of the Adult; so the Profession of this Faith, is the Condition of his Right before the Church; and Without this Profession, he is not to be taken as an Adult member, nor admitted to the Privileges of such.¹

The following are arguments, which Crosby said that Keach printed on his sheet, compared with Baxter's statements. Unfortunately, there is no extant copy of this sheet, yet this comparison shows close similarities and differences.

K. ...as he says, when John the Baptist set up his ministry he called to believers to confess their sins; and that if they were baptized, the same infers, that it was not till they confessed; nay, that it seems by his charge, that it was not till they promised to bring forth fruit meet for repentence...²

B. We find that when John Baptist set up his Ministry, he caused the people to Confess their sinnes...If he did Baptize them, it was not till they Confessed their sinnes (before that all did) and it seems by his charge, till they promised to bring forth fruits meet for Repentence.³

In this first case it does seem that Baxter's argument could be used against the practice of infant baptism.

K. ...so that the nature of the ordinance tells us, that baptism could not be administer'd without a profession;

1. Richard Baxter, Confirmation, p. 20.

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 277.

3. Baxter, op. cit., p. 24.

for they were to be baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and therefore were to profess that they believed in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.¹

- B. The Institution and Nature of the Ordinance tells us, that Baptism could not be administred without a Profession, to the Adult: For they were to be Baptized into the Name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, and therefore were to profess that they believed in Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost.²

Note that Baxter's statement reads, "...without a Profession to the Adult..." Crosby's account leaves out "...to the Adult." It may be that Crosby carelessly left it out, yet in other respects, it has almost the same words as Baxter. The edition of Baxter's book used in this study came out in 1658 and Keach's sheet appeared in 1674, therefore Baxter could not have changed his words after Keach's notice came out. In this case it appears that Baxter is consistent with his view against infant baptism and that Keach is incorrect, for he writes specifically, "...a Profession, to the Adult:".

- K. That Christ, in his commission, directs his Apostles to make disciples, and then baptize them, promising, that he that believes and is baptised shall be saved; and who can tell, that a man is a disciple, a believer, or an infidel, but by his profession.³

- B. Yea, Christ in his Commission directeth his Apostles to make Disciples and then Baptize them; promising, that he that believeth and is Baptized shall be saved. And who can tell whether a man be a Disciple, a Believer, or an Infidel, but by his Profession.⁴

In this case Keach would appear to be correct in saying that

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1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 277-278.
 2. Baxter, op. cit., p. 26.
 3. Crosby, op. cit., p. 278.
 4. Baxter, op. cit., p. 27.

logically this would lead Baxter against his own position on infant baptism. By both Keach and Baxter "profession" is apparently taken to mean an outward verbal profession by the person being baptized: the question of implicit or imputed belief in an infant is not discussed by either man in these particular passages.

It is unnecessary to give all of the arguments used by Keach on his sheet against Baxter for these are typical. He published it with the title, Mr. Baxter's Arguments for Believer's Baptism, and placed it in the hands of several hawkers who quickly spread it through the streets. In a later treatise called More Proofs of infants church, membership, and right to baptism, Baxter said,

"As I am writing this, the Hawkers are crying under my window, Mr. Baxter's argument for believers baptism. That man that cites authors at this rate cites me against myself with the like confidence. Because I have proved, in my treatise of Confirmation, the necessity of personal profession in the adult; and he that will think, that such dealing as this doth need an answer; that if the adult must make an intelligent profession infants must not be baptized, let him be aggrieved, for I have no time to satisfy him."¹

Baxter may have wished to give the impression that he could dismiss Keach's arguments in this way; yet for some reason he felt it necessary to write More Proofs of infants...right to baptism after he had already written Plain Scripture Proof of Infants... Baptism.²

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1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 279,280.
 2. See Chapter III, Section B. of this study for a full discussion of Keach's views of baptism.

Later in this period Keach was challenged by several ministers of the Church of England to engage in a public disputation on the question of baptism. It was arranged to take place at Gravesend, not far from London. As Keach and some friends were going to the place, there happened to be a clergyman in the boat with them. The conversation of Keach and his companions led the clergyman to suspect that he was the person going to dispute with his brethren. After arguing with Keach, the clergyman found out the type of defence that would be made of the Baptists' sentiments. When the boat arrived at Gravesend, it was supposed that the clergyman advised his friend to decline the disputation. At any rate Keach had to return to London without seeing any of them.¹ This incident is mentioned by Keach in the preface of his Gold Refined as occurring in the summer of 1688.

"We were challenged to dispute the point with some ministers of the Church of England not far from London; but though they rendered us as odious as they well could (and as if we had nothing to say for our practice, viz. for baptizing men and women) yet when all came to all, none of them would appear to defend what they had spoken."²

Another interest of Keach and the Baptists at this period was fighting Roman Catholicism. Keach's second edition of Sion in Distress was published in 1682. In the letter "To the Reader" Keach writes that it is a great comfort that the spirit of the nation is so against Roman Catholicism and "our Parliament is thoroughly resolved to crush that interest which Teaches them to

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 303.

2. Keach, Gold Refined, p. i.

be Trayterous Subjects, ill Neighbours, and worse Sovereigns."1
It is to be remembered that this was written three years before
the death of Charles II, and James, Duke of York, had been a
professed Catholic for several years and was to succeed Charles
as King.2

Keach terms "Sion" the Protestant Church. A quotation
gives Keach's opinion of Rome:

SION

Hell's grand Intreagues ne'er introduced a Brat
Into the world, so horrible as that.
Since Rome the western cheated Monarchs rid,
A Rampart WHORE, the horned Beast bestrid,
Disgorging Plots, employing hellish Actors:
May all our Off-Spring Execrate such Factors!3

In another speech by Sion Keach shows that he thinks the Great
Plague and the Great Fire were sent by God in his judgment, but
they did not humble London's pride:

Tho' God (incens'd) has fearful Judgments sent
To humble Men, and move them to repent;

The sweeping Plague (that Messenger of Wrath)
In such as scap'd, small Reformation hath
Produc'd! Nor has the desolating Fire
(A perfect Token of God's flaming Ire)
Remov'd the City's Pride;4

An element that Keach desires is love among the Protestants; and
this is important, for many writers were claiming that the
Baptist congregations were not churches.

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1. Keach, Sion in Distress, title page, "To the Reader"
 2. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 466.
 3. Keach, Sion in Distress, p. 5.
 4. Ibid., pp. 8,9.

SION

It is DIVISION! That unhappy Word
 Has done more Mischief than a Popish Sword
 Could ever do, if that a sweet Communion
 (At least of Love) did but compleat our Union.
 Why should Licentious Heat my Children hurry
 To those Extremes? Must they each other worry
 For trivial things? do they not all agree
 In Fundamentals of Divinity?

 Let a cool Debate
 All Fundamentals of Religion state
 In such you all, will certainly agree;

 Let none that to those Principles do stick,
 Be branded with the name of Heretick;
 It glads my heart to hear 'em call each other
 By that sweet Title of a Christian Brother.¹

It is impossible to say whether Keach studied the books of Revelation and Daniel before he thought about the Roman Church, or whether he formed an opinion about the Roman Church and then decided on his interpretation of part of these two books. In either case he brings them together by analogical reasoning:

The Pope's the Beast, usurping over all,
 A Power Supreme and Magistratical,

 From him: the Whore's th'Ecclesiastik State,
 Or Romish Hierarchy,...
 I see some good Men do desire to know
 The time when they this Whore shall overthrow;

 But to reply to what you have requir'd,
 At present you must keep your selves retir'd;
 Make no attempts until the Lord on high,
 Does give you strength this Babel to defie.

 God hath (I know) set down the time exact,
 And he'll begin this strange and dreadful Act,

1. Ibid., pp. 30,32,33.

With patience therefore wait upon the Lord,
Until his saving strength he doth afford.¹

By means of his evangelical zeal, his writings, and his defence of Baptist principles and practices Keach was rapidly becoming a dominant figure within the Baptist Movement.

In 1682 there was a report of a spy on the Dissenters in and near London. It can be seen at the Public Record Office, London. Part of it reads:²

"The names of all the minsters with thire Repactive meting houses and nombers of pepell be longing to each meting hous in the boror au feldes too my knoldg

nams	houses	nombrs
Mr. Ceah ³	3-0 2	abutt 350 pirtiler baptises
Mr. Jonse	5-0 3	abutt 200 the same

W.T. Whitley found this document and he says that if the spy were Constant Oates, he probably belonged to the family of Titus Oates and had inside information.⁴ The writing on the back of this document seems to indicate that it was Constant Oates. It looks like this:

Constant Oates his acct^t of Conventicles
1 Jun 82

I Constant Oates
do intend too visett
these glebes and to
give ann a compt
that shall be juste
in sarving the king⁵

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1. Ibid., pp. 66,67,69.
 2. State Papers Domestic, Vol. 419, Document 55 for the reign of Charles II. See Appendix D.
 3. "Ceah" represents Benjamin Keach.
 4. Whitley, "London Churches in 1682" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 83.
 5. State Papers Domestic, Vol. 419, Doc. 55, Reign of Charles II.

This document shows Benjamin Keach with three ministers and two meeting-houses by 1682. The names of the two meeting-houses are known, Goat Street and Rotherhithe, but the name of only one minister, George Barret. This glimpse shows that Keach had not yet taken rank as the great leader by 1682.¹

Before Keach was quite at the front the leader in Southwark was James Jones. Jones was not only the pastor of the church founded in January, 1641-42 by Munden and Skippard, but he also owned a coffee-house in St. Olaves. This coffee-house became a headquarters for the Baptist Elders and ministers to gather and discuss their problems and plans.²

Isaac Marlow, who was later to have a heated argument with Keach on the matter of hymn singing, thought that he saw these men at Jones' coffee-house gaining too much power. He said that the preachers were in a position "to infect our people with their Corruptions and to lick themselves by degrees into a kind of Episcopal Presbyterian Discipline." Among the ten whom he named as setting up their "New Kind of Prerogative Court at Jones's Coffee-House" was Benjamin Keach of Horsleydown.³

Jones died between 1684 and 1688 and his church with its ministers and houses probably amalgamated with Keach's congregation, thus making that church such a tower of strength.⁴

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1. Whitley, "London Churches in 1682" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 84.
 2. "James Jones's Coffee-House" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. VI, pp. 324-325.
 3. Ibid., pp. 325, 326.
 4. Whitley, "London Churches in 1682" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. I, loc. cit.

Speaking about the period, 1687-1704, W.T. Whitley declares, "The dominant figure in London for this generation was Keach..."¹

From the early age of fifteen Benjamin Keach was an ardent Baptist. In the General Assemblies held in London in 1689 he took an active part. He was requested by the Association to visit the Baptist congregations in several parts of the kingdom to preach the Gospel to them and on this journey he was accompanied by Benjamin Dennis.² After 1648 Richard Tidmarch of Oxford had been sent by a Conference of Baptists to preach in Essex. Keach extended the work as far as Thaxted and Bury. This preaching mission was most successful.³

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 177.

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 306.

3. Whitley, "A Scenario of Essex", in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 55.

CHAPTER III

1689-1697: PREACHER IN THE BAPTIST MOVEMENT

It is of interest to notice the unity of this entire dissertation at the mid-point of investigation. The introduction explained the progression of the Baptist Movement from 1612 to 1640. Chapter I described the early development of Benjamin Keach within the Baptist Movement from 1640 to 1672, and Chapter II analysed his work as an author with special reference to his allegorical writings and his view of the Bible. Chapter III studies Keach as a preacher in the Baptist Movement by an investigation of his pioneering in congregational hymn-singing and his preaching. Chapter IV will scrutinize Keach as a pastor with special consideration of his mature religious thought and Chapter V will make a critical estimate of the work and thought of Keach in the light of the Baptist Movement.

The immediate inquiry is an analysis of Keach as a preacher in the Baptist Movement. Against the background of the major historical factors in England and the internal problems of the Baptist Movement, Keach as a preacher can be more clearly understood.

A. Historical Background in England and Internal Problems of the Baptist Movement

On February 13, 1689 William III and Mary were proclaimed joint sovereigns of England. By accepting the crown William revealed his political sagacity: soon Holland, the two branches of the House of Austria in Spain and Germany, and England were

united in the "Grand Alliance" of 1689, with energies devoted to the defeat of Louis XIV.¹ Within the kingdom a political theory which had been growing became established: "the Revolution was a great event in the struggle by which in Great Britain the king became the servant of the people."²

The religious results of the Revolution were hardly less weighty than the political, for in their common struggle against Catholicism Churchman and Nonconformist had found themselves strangely at one. Schemes of comprehension suddenly became popular, but with the fall of James the drawing together of the two bodies abruptly ceased; and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in Scotland, together with the "rabbling" of the Episcopalian clergy in the western shires, revived the old bitterness. Active persecution, however, had become distasteful to all. The pledge of religious liberty given to the Nonconformists to ensure their aid in the Revolution had to be redeemed, and the passing of a Toleration Act in 1689 practically established freedom of worship.³ "And the Act of Toleration, though scarcely to be mentioned without a groan over degenerate times, gave riches as well as quiet to the land."⁴

After 1689 tolerance was growing in at least three aspects — liberalism, weariness, and indifference. The Roman Catholics

1. Green, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 36, 37.

2. Clark, The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714, p. 143.

3. Green, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 46-48.

4. Trevelyan, English Social History, p. 295.

became "a quiet body, not actively persecuted." The protestant nonconformists who believed in the Trinity were allowed to have their own places of worship, provided they met with unlocked doors and certified the place of meeting to the bishop, the arch-deacon, or the quarter-sessions. 1689 may be considered the date from which nonconformist life and thought were free to develop without interference by authority from the state and the established church.¹

Toward the close of the seventeenth century there arose the Cambridge Platonists within the Church of England. They wished to repudiate the two antitheses: both that between the secular and the sacred, characteristic of Rome, and that between nature and grace, characteristic of the Protestant Reformers. They insisted that creation and redemption were alike manifestations of the same God. Charles E. Raven maintained that "like the best of the medievals they saw the world as emblematic or sacramental: like the best of the moderns they strove to see it objectively and accurately."²

One important idea of the Cambridge Platonists is significant for this study. What account did they give of the person and mission of Christ, of his Incarnation, Atonement, Resurrection, and redemptive grace? It was chiefly around this body of theological matter that the disputes of the Reformation and the early

1. Clark, The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714, pp. 147-149.

2. Charles E. Raven, Synthetic Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 22, 23.

Seventeenth Century raged. And as the Cambridge Platonists wished to purge religion of controversy by changing its vocabulary and setting it in an altered framework, they left "unstressed the 'evangelical' parts of Christianity." Basil Willey writes,

"They tend, without ostensible change of creed, to substitute, for the Second Person of the Trinity or the Crucified Redeemer, the divine teacher whose life and words show God and man in that state of union at which all religion aims. Christ instituted no new technique of salvation; he rather 'promulgated' and gave supreme confirmation to the great original laws of the spiritual life, as that purity shall bring peace of soul, and vice misery."¹

This "leaving unstressed the evangelical parts of Christianity" affected not only the Church of England but Nonconformity as well.

In 1690 an effort was made to broaden the basis of the Established Church so as to regain at any rate the Presbyterians and Independents, but the attempt failed.² In spite of this, religious toleration remained. By 1694 parliamentary opinion had ceased to regard ecclesiastical censorship as a guarantee for public peace. The Licensing Act of the Restoration ran out in that year and was not renewed.³

In this same year of 1694 there came a new unity of action between Parliament and the Throne. It was this which enabled William to face the shock given to his position by the death of Queen Mary at the end of the year. The Parliament, whom the King

1. Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background, p. 152.

2. Payne, The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England, p. 69.

3. Clark, The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714, p. 149.

had just conciliated by assenting to the Triennial Bill, went steadily on with the ministry. In October, 1697 the "Peace of Ryswick" was negotiated. It was the final and decisive defeat of the conspiracy which had gone on between Louis XIV and the Stuarts ever since the Treaty of Dover, the conspiracy to turn England into a Roman Catholic country and into a dependency of France.¹

As previously stated, "weariness and indifference" spread through the religious bodies of England after 1689.

"A cold fog of religious indifference descended upon the nation which for a century had been preoccupied with religious questions. It now began to think of other things, such as commerce and science...Philosophy became sceptical under the influence of Locke and Hume...The State Church seemed powerless and sunk in lethargy. When Bishop Butler was offered the archbishopric of Canterbury, he declined it, saying that it was 'too late for him to try to support a falling church.'"²

The Baptist churches shared in the general lethargy.

H. Wheeler Robinson was defining three distinct periods of Baptist history when he wrote, "In the second (1689-1792), we see them tolerated, but sharing in the lethargy of the English Churches in general, until (later than others) they felt the new impulse of the evangelical revival,..."³ Writing about the period after 1689 W.T. Whitley maintained,

"For the next generation, Baptist life was strongly influenced by the general home politics; but Baptists were no longer an important factor, ...from the start it was clear that Baptists

1. Green, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 63,65,66.

2. Underwood, op. cit., p. 117.

3. Robinson and Rushbrooke, Baptists in Britain, p. 14.

were now in a backwater, well off the main channel of national life."¹

Yet in spite of this foreboding picture, it is interesting to study the Baptist Movement in this formative period.

The gulf between the General and Particular Baptists was still deep, and they may be treated separately. The first General Baptist ministers were underpaid men, many earning their living by manual labour.² One of their Midland leaders, Francis Stanley, wrote that "some ministers had spent the great part of their outward substance in the service of the churches; some their all; and some more than their all;..."³ These conditions led to a decreasing supply of ministers. It was not until 1704 that the General Assembly of General Baptists decided that a fund should be raised for the ministry; and even then it was expressly stipulated that the fund should be only for "elders and gifted brethren that are in want and not supplied other ways."⁴

Not only did the General Baptists fail to make arrangements for a permanent ministry, but they also neglected to provide regular meeting-houses for existing congregations. In Yorkshire and Nottingham John Cox continued to work, but nothing of a permanent nature resulted from his labours. Samuel Acton of Nantwich became the nucleus for other General Baptist congregations in Cheshire and Staffordshire, but these minor groups were content

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1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 163.
 2. Underwood, op. cit., p. 125.
 3. Quoted by Goadby, op. cit., p. 226.
 4. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 125,126.

to worship in private dwellings and have faded away. In Buckinghamshire the influence of Benjamin Keach continuing strong and constant toward Calvinism, more than one congregation changed its views. In London the General Baptist Seventh-Day church attracted one or two exceptional men, but it was unable to make much sustained progress.¹

Two questions frequently arose in the General Assembly of the General Baptists: one was the issue of marrying outside the church, and the other was the question of psalm-singing. In regard to the first the Assembly consistently decided in favour of the endogamic principle, thereby driving many out of their fellowship. Concerning the question of psalm-singing, the Assembly agreed that this was "so strangely foreign to the evangelical worship that it was not conceived anyways safe for the churches to admit such carnal formalities." Not until 1733 could the General Baptists say that they reluctantly would join with people who believed in hymn-singing in a General Assembly.²

As to their central doctrines the General Baptists were greatly attracted to Hebrews 6:1,2. In the "Six Principles" named³ they found a scriptural summary of their faith and practice, provided they could add a universal redemption. It was in their interpretation of the fourth principle, laying on of hands, that they differed from the Particular Baptists. They laid hands on all

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 167,170,172.

2. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 124,125.

3. Faith, repentance, baptism, laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment.

newly baptized believers "that they may receive the promise of the Holy Spirit," as well as on their Messengers, Elders, and Deacons at their ordination.¹ Certainly one of the major causes of the decline of the General Baptists was the view they adopted concerning Christ.

"Their rigorous discipline, their backward look, their life-long pastorates and their unwillingness to rise to the conception of an educated and separated ministry hastened their decline...But, above all, their vitality was drained away when their body was pervaded by Socinianism... In spite of their connexional organization, ruin came when they gradually adopted Arian and Socinian views of the Person of Christ...Thereafter many General Baptist churches dwindled and became extinct or became Unitarian."²

The Particular Baptists, however, had little danger of adopting Socinian views at this time. For the most part they were content that every congregation should say what it believed as often as it liked.³ The decline of the Particular Baptists can largely be attributed to their failure to form a strong central organization for their churches. It appears that "they made almost a fetish of the autonomy of the local congregation."⁴

Another dark aspect of the Baptists was their lack of culture. "The fallacy gained ground that God set a premium on ignorance, that piety and education were barely compatible." The one bright spot among the Baptists was the growth of a new element in public worship, congregational hymn-singing. In this sphere

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1. It will be shown that Keach agreed with the General Baptists and kept this practice in his Particular congregation.
 2. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 122,123,126,127.
 3. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 182.
 4. Underwood, op. cit., p. 128.

they were pioneers for the whole of England.¹

By 1689 the innovation had excited attention in all Baptist circles. The General Baptists repudiated all congregational hymn-singing and did not in practice have solo singing. The Particular Baptist Assembly decided that no principle was involved, and that each congregation could make its own decision.² It was therefore among this group, and more particularly among the London congregation of Benjamin Keach, that the innovation came to be practised. This is examined at length in a succeeding section of this chapter.

Not only did the Assembly of 1689 reveal that the Particular Baptists were moving beyond the General Baptists in the matter of hymn-singing, but other issues were decided which promoted their advance as well. They were concerned with "giving fit and proper encouragement for the raising up of an able and honourable ministry for the time to come." They also decided to establish a fund to help the smaller congregations maintain their ministers, to send out evangelists, and to assist in the training of ministerial candidates. The Assembly of 1693 is interesting in its attitude toward educated men: "...they dare not limit the Holy One, who bestows gifts for edification upon the learned, as well as upon the unlearned."³

It is interesting to notice where the line of fellowship was drawn for the Assembly of 1689. Congregations which administered

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 184,163.

2. Ibid., p. 187.

3. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 129,130.

both infant baptism and believer's baptism, or which ignored baptism, were not represented. The open membership congregations of Jessey, Wavel, and Gammon, put in no appearance.¹ It is clear that within the movement the question of baptism was still a problem.

On the specific issues of the minister's maintenance and training, hymn-singing by the congregation, religious thought, and baptism, the Particular Baptists had the leadership of Benjamin Keach. The most significant elements in his work and thought of this period were his pioneering in public worship and his preaching.

B. Keach as Preacher

Keach took an active part in the General Assemblies held in London in 1689. As requested by the Association he went on a preaching mission to the Baptist congregations throughout the kingdom and the trip was most successful. Certainly from 1688 Keach was a dominant figure among the Baptists.² His sincere zeal for the denomination appeared by his writing in defence of it; by encouraging ministers who came to him from all parts of the kingdom; and by getting several meeting houses erected.³

In 1688 Keach was selected by a number of ministers to write on the subject of the minister's maintenance.⁴ This was a crucial question for the denomination in that day and it has not

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 176,177.

2. Ibid., pp. 177,170.

3. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 306.

4. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 294.

been solved completely today. On March 9, 1952 there was a simultaneous collection taken for the "Home Work Fund" of The Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. In a pamphlet supplied to inform the Baptists about this collection this notice appeared:

"One item, especially, calls for imaginative consideration on the part of all:

The Minister's Stipend —

£325 per annum is the minimum for a married man — only £325!—and where there is a manse, a deduction is made. This is NOT enough, but without the Fund even this could not be done...Unfortunately, although since 1948 the ministers' stipends, under the Fund, have risen from £300 to £325, the Simultaneous Collection has not risen in proportion."¹

It appears, therefore, that providing a minister with "a comfortable maintenance" is a problem at the present time.

In 1689 the elders and ministers of more than one hundred congregations met in a General Assembly in London. After a debate as to whether or not a congregation should give its minister a "comfortable maintenance, according to their ability," they decided in the affirmative. They gave their approval to Keach's book as well, and requested that copies of it be sent to their congregations.

"This assembly do declare their approbation of a certain little book, ...intituled, The ministers maintenance vindicated. And it is their request, that the said treatise be dispersed amongst all our respective congregations; and it is desired, that some brethren of each church take care and dispose of the same accordingly."²

Keach feels that Christ himself settled the matter of a regular ministry in his command of "Apostles and Disciples to bear

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1. "Home Work Fund" in the Baptist Home Work Scheme of The Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 2,3.
 2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 296,297.

that part of the work with him, which he called them to and fitted them for (Mk. 3.13-19)." Christ is now in heaven, and each congregation has the power "to provide Ministers for her own Edification, in Obedience to his Commands and Rules given in his word."¹

In asserting the arguments to prove the duty of providing a minister with his maintenance Keach doubts "whether there is any Duty lies more clear and evident in express Words in the Holy Scripture than this doth." The following are the arguments which he employs to prove that ministers should receive a comfortable maintenance:²

1. Christ would not have his disciples waste their substance while employed in his work.
2. God has ordained that his ministers should have a comfortable maintenance. I Cor. 9.14. This is given in order "to terrify those who find out vain and false Excuses to save their Purses."
3. Ministers are commanded to attend wholly upon their sacred calling and "his mind must no more be diverted from it by the thorny cares of a necessitous condition, than by the thoughts that accompany worldly business, though tending to his profit."
4. The minister must be careful of his commerce with men and seek to avoid all scandal.
5. The congregation must pay the minister because of equity and justice. "Who would call an army and not pay the men?" The pastor may refuse to receive the pay if he chooses, but the church cannot refuse to pay him.
6. Men are chosen for the ministry from those "who could... get Estates as well as you, if they were not Devoted to a better Service." The minister must provide for his family the same as other men.
7. It is God's express command. I Cor. 9.13.
8. An elder must be an example of hospitality, charity and other good works, therefore he needs the money.
9. For the people of the congregation, the discharge of this

1. Keach, The Gospel Minister's Maintenance Vindicated, pp. 3,6,7.
 2. These arguments are paraphrased by the investigator.

duty is "honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report."
 10. Too small a maintenance discourages good men from entering the ministry and it causes ministers to neglect their work.¹

If the congregation is too poor, Keach suggests three possibilities:

1. Tell the sister congregations.
2. Let the minister be poor with them.
3. "...we concluding in some places where there are many Churches near to each other, it would be far better for some of those small and insufficient Societies to unite themselves to some other Congregation; and by that means the weight of those Indispensible Duties and Obligations that are incumbent on them, would...be borne and answered, to the Honour of Christ,..."²

As a closing word of advice to ministers Keach writes,

"Brethren, let us strive to double our Diligence, and show to all the sense of the greatness of our work is upon our Spirits ...and let us, be contented with that State and Portion we meet with in the World; 'tis our great Business to approve ourselves the Ministers of Christ, in Labours, Watchings,... by Knowledge, the Holy Ghost, Love unfeigned, the Word of Truth,..."³

The question of the minister's maintenance was not the only problem which confronted Keach and the Baptists at this time. In 1689 Keach published two books against Roman Catholicism — Distressed Sion Relieved and The Antichrist Stormed. The former stated many of the elements which Keach considered "sins of the present day", but the main part is a polemic against "Mystery Babylon". Both books were similar to the earlier Sion in Distress and do not require an extensive elaboration.

Distressed Sion Relieved was dedicated "To their Most Excellent

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1. Keach, The Gospel Minister's Maintenance Vindicated, pp. 17, 18, 20, 25, 28, 32, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 52, 62, 71, 74.
 2. Ibid., pp. 83-85.
 3. Ibid., pp. 131, 132.

Majesties William and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England." This was no idle epithet, for Keach and other Baptists felt that persecution was over, and that William and Mary were brought to the throne by God.¹

Keach believed that the end of the age was near, but he was wise enough not to advocate an attempt to set up the Kingdom of God by force. He insisted that the people be ready for the end but wait for it with patience. He also re-emphasized his theme that Protestants should "labour to live in love one with another." In one place he asserts,

"...we do believe that their present Majesties are raised up to be glorious Instruments in the hand of God beyond what some ('tis like) may suppose; nor do I doubt, but that the slain witnesses are a-getting out of their graves; time will open things clearer to us: But I am sure we cannot sufficiently adore the Divine Goodness for that Salvation wrought by his own right hand, let us strive to be thankful to God, and labour to live in love one with another, and improve the present Providence; for since God hath graciously been pleased to do wonders for us, let us endeavour to do some great things for him."²

In the Antichrist Stormed Keach declares,

"The Godly shall see that the Lord hath not forgotten them, nor the righteous Blood that has been shed, but will appear suddenly to plead 'Sion's controversie, and set up his own Kingdom; therefore let us be much in prayer, and cry mightily to God, and be ready to meet the Lord in his most glorious appearance, for we are confident a very dreadful hour is near."³

Keach says that for thirty years he has seen "Sion" in distress. No relief came "in '66" when he was in prison. In

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1. Keach, Distressed Sion Relieved, p. i.
 2. Ibid., p. ii.
 3. Keach, The Antichrist Stormed, p. iv.

1678 Rome conspired with the Devil to overthrow the King and make England subject to the Antichrist. This was the rumour of the "Popish Plot". In "'87" the "Romish Church" said that she was mounted high and would continue to reign, for "Great James now doth the Royal Sceptre sway." The coming of "their Present Majesties" was a powerful blow to "Mystery Babylon". At the end of the book there is "The Tryal and Condemnation of the Great Whore" and she is sentenced to be "utterly burnt with Fire."¹

In his second book Keach gives fourteen reasons to prove that "Papal Rome" is the "Mystery Babylon" of the Scripture. Only the twelfth and fourteenth are different from those in his previous books:

12. Papal Rome brought forth spiritual harlots. The churches of France, Spain, and Portugal sprang from her.
14. Rev. 17.9-11. Mystery Babylon has seven hills...Rome is a city on seven hills and it has had seven sorts of governments.²

Keach even goes so far as to identify the "Church of Rome" with "the false prophets, Matt. 13.15", "the man of sin, II Thess. 2.3", and "the seducing spirits, I Tim. 4.1,2,3."³ At the close of the "Postscript," Keach warns, "Look suddenly for a fearful and an amazing Earthquake, for it will come, it cann't be far off, and it will be such a dispensation that England has not known."⁴

1. Keach, Distressed Sion Relieved, pp. 1,6,101,102,i,130,150.
2. Keach, The Antichrist Stormed, pp. 98,99.
3. Ibid., pp. 128,130,134.
4. Ibid., p. 207.

Not only did Keach write to give constructive guidance within the Baptist Movement and to oppose those forces which he felt were seeking to destroy it, but he also encouraged many ministers who came to him from all parts of the kingdom and led in getting several meeting houses erected. C.H. Spurgeon said of Keach,

"He was a practical man, and trained his church to labour in the service of the Lord. Several were by his means called into the Christian ministry, his own son, Elias Keach, among them...By his means other churches were founded and meeting-houses erected; he was in fact as a pillar and a brazen wall among the Baptist churches of his day, and was in consequence deservedly held in honour... His name appears at the foot of calls to public fasts and thanksgivings, which were held by the denomination. He was a leading spirit in the Baptist body."¹

Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor (1675-1758) was reared in Southwark under the pastorate of Keach. Grosvenor was placed in the academy of Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe and trained for the Christian ministry through the advice and instrumentality of Keach and his friends.²

Not only was Keach interested in enlisting men for the ministry, but he was concerned that they be properly ordained as well. It is to be remembered that Keach himself was the first dissenting minister to be ordained in a public ceremony after the Restoration. After the Revolution, Association work among the Baptists became stronger. The four Particular Baptist congregations of Southampton drew together, but having only one ordained elder, they

1. Spurgeon, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

2. Godfrey Holden Pike, Ancient Meeting-Houses, or Memorial Pictures of Nonconformity in London, p. 90.

sought the cooperation of the London congregations before ordaining others. The heading of the letter sent by the London churches reads:

"From London ye 2d of ye 12th month 1690/1. To ye church of Christ in and about Southampton with ye other three congregations of yt association. We ye Elders and messengers of ye London Association assembled together this second day of ye 12th month send greeting."

In the letter they agree to send "two or three of our Brethren" to Southampton for ordination, and the signature is this:

"Subscribed by us in ye name and by ye order of ye whole assembly	Richard Adams Benjamin Keach Wm. Collins" ¹
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This incident not only reveals that Keach was concerned with the ordination of Elders, but it also indicates his leadership in the Baptist Movement at this time. An ordination in which he personally participated was that of John Rumsey at Lymington in 1693.²

The enlistment of men, a concern for their proper ordination, and also the example of private study were among Keach's contributions to the Baptist ministry at this time. Benjamin Stinton, the immediate successor to Keach as Pastor of the church, was born February 2, 1676/7. The ties between the Keach and Stinton families grew to be very close: Thomas Stinton, Benjamin's older brother, married Elizabeth Keach on May 29, 1690 and Benjamin married Susanna, another daughter of Keach, in 1699. Stinton had no advantages in education, but the example of his father-in-law

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1. "Ordination at Southampton, 1691" in Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, Vol. II, pp. 65,66.
 2. "Early Baptists in Hampshire" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 225.

encouraged him to private study.¹

Another incident shows the breadth of Keach's concern for Baptists. There was no doubt that Keach was a Particular Baptist; yet, when a General Baptist minister was in trouble, Keach sought to raise money to help him. James Marham, a General Baptist at Lynn, was fined at the Quarter Sessions and became involved in a network of litigation that extended from 1691 to 1698. Marham had neglected some technical formality in connection with the Conventicle Acts of Elizabeth and Charles. Keach and Richard Adams recognized that this was a case which involved all; therefore, they sent a letter "To Mr. Rich. Kent in Winchester Hampshir"² in which they declared,

"Our Beloved Bro: Marham being undon in ye defence of our liberty as by law establishet, had he not defended his cause wee know not where it might have ended... Pray stir up ye people to act bountifully towards him..."

Thus with our unfeigned love to your self, Wee rest your brethren in the sacred bonds of ye gospell."

Benj: Keach³
Richd: Adams³

An important element in Keach's efforts for the Baptist Movement was the practical matter of getting Meeting-Houses erected. Under his leadership several were constructed — one at Limehouse, another at Rotherhithe; one in White Street, Southwark, and another in Essex.⁴ One which is seldom mentioned that Keach

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1. "Benjamin Stinton and His Baptist Friends" in the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 193.
 2. Kent was a Particular Baptist Elder. See Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, Vol. II, p. 65.
 3. "Persecution at Lynn, 1698" in Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.
 4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 306.

promoted was in Sheer's Alley.¹

In spite of the innumerable activities in which Keach was engaged he was of a weak constitution and often sick. At one time in 1689 he was so ill that the physicians declared him to be a dying man past all hope of recovery. Friends and relatives believed that there was no chance of his getting well. Thinking that his fellow minister was dying, Hanserd Knollys came in and knelt beside Keach's bed. He prayed that God would spare him and add to his days the time he granted to Hezekiah. After Knollys had prayed he said, "Brother Keach, I shall be in Heaven before you." It is interesting to note that both the prayer and the prediction were honoured to the letter — Knollys died two years afterward and Keach lived an additional fifteen years.²

In the succeeding years Keach became a pioneer in public worship and made one of his most significant contributions in that field.

1. Pioneer in Congregational Hymn-Singing

Today the practice of congregational hymn-singing is taken for granted; nevertheless, it must be remembered that for the major part of the seventeenth century, "a regular weapon in the conservative armoury (Puritans) was that if all read prayer was to be omitted from worship, so no less must be all hymn-singing from books, quod erat absurdum."³ John Julian points out an important exception:

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1. "Hubbard-How-More Church" in Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, Vol. II, p. 48.
 2. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 377.
 3. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, p. 73.

"Lord Selborne has called Dr. Watts the father of English Hymnody: and, as having lifted English hymns out of obscurity into fame, the title is a just one. It will be seen however ...that hymns, as distinct from paraphrases of Scripture, had become an acknowledged part of public worship among the Baptists and Independents at the close of the 17th century... At the close of the 17th century, the hymn disengages itself freely from the paraphrase, and is cautiously admitted into Nonconformist worship. The first to adopt it was the Baptist congregation of Benjamin Keach."¹

H. Wheeler Robinson claimed that "the honour of first introducing hymns into the regular worship of an English congregation, established or dissenting, belongs to Benjamin Keach, and his book of three hundred hymns, called Spiritual Melody..."², and W.T. Whitley wrote an article on this book called "The First Hymnbook in Use".³

English hymns had been written by Coverdale in 1539 and by the Wedderburns in 1578, but the English Common Prayer afforded no scope for their use. In 1623 Withers published forty-four hymns with the approbation of the King and the Convocation, but trade jealousies balked their use. He published again in 1641, but the general customs preferred metrical psalms and not modern hymns. Vavasor Powell wrote several "occasional hymns", as did others, but none obtained permanent footing. "It was Keach who led the way, not for Baptists alone, but for all England, claiming a place for hymns as well as paraphrases and psalms; and this was the first collection (Spiritual Melody) which really passed into use."⁴

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1. A Dictionary of Hymnology, John Julian, ed., pp. 343,349.
 2. Robinson, "The Value of Denominational History" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 369.
 3. Whitley, "The First Hymnbook in Use" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 369.
 4. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 124. Cf. John Spencer Curwen, Studies in Worship Music, p. 96 which agrees that Keach led the way.

In the Bodleian Library of Oxford University there are several pamphlets bound together, a number of which are not listed in the catalogue but are relevant. The combination of these and other sources gives an interesting account of the controversies which flared up over the practice of hymn-singing.

In the General Assembly of 1689 Keach challenged the men to debate the matter of singing by the congregation; but the Assembly "thought it not convenient to spend much time that way."¹ In 1690 Isaac Marlow published A brief DISCOURSE Concerning SINGING in the Publick Worship of GOD in the Gospel-Church which was a pamphlet against such singing.² Keach answered Marlow in his book, The Breach Repaired, which appeared in 1691. In the "Epistle Dedicatory" he writes,

"I have been provoked by our Brother who wrote against Singing, to set Pen to Paper, and not only by him and his Book, but I have been induced by Multitudes...to give him an Answer, so that I hope you will not be offended with me in what I have done."³

In 1691/92 Marlow wrote Truth Cleared which contained several letters of Keach and says that it vindicates Marlow. It also gives "some farther Evidence under the Hands of several Brethren (that were late Members of his church) to detect several others of his Abuses therein." Keach put forth A Sober Appeal for Right and Justice in which he appeals to Christians to read both writings

1. Goadby, op. cit., p. 332.

2. Isaac Marlow, A Brief DISCOURSE Concerning SINGING in the Publick Worship of GOD in the Gospel-Church, title page.

3. Keach, The Breach Repaired in God's Worship, pp. vi, vii.

and determine which is correct. He asks that a group of men, half chosen by Marlow and half by himself, should be allowed to make the decision. This appeal was given to the Assembly and it advised Keach and Marlow to choose the men to judge their writings. Both agreed.¹

Soon after, a pamphlet called Truth Vindicated by "S.W., J.C., J.L., Lovers of Peace" appeared. In it "Keach is cleared ...from the unjust Accusation of Mr. Isaac Marlow."² Marlow felt that Keach started and promoted the publication of Truth Vindicated,³ but whether this is accurate or not cannot be determined on the basis of internal evidence.

Marlow sent a letter to Keach in which he proposed to choose four men and allow Keach to choose four to decide the issue. In the letter containing his answer Keach agreed and chose "Brother Masters, William Collins, Leonard Harrison, Samuel Baggwell". He said that if Marlow objected to any of these, then he must have the liberty to object to any of Marlow's men. This letter was sent October 12, 1691.⁴

On October 20, 1691 Marlow replied that he was against William Collins, but he would admit him rather than retard the proceedings. He chose "Edward Man, George Barrett, Robert Steed, Richard Hallowell," and suggested a method of procedure

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1. Marlow, Truth Cleared, pp. 5,6, title page.
 2. S.W., J.C., J.L., Truth Vindicated, title page, p. 43.
 3. Marlow, Truth Cleared, p. 5.
 4. Ibid., pp. 5-8.

for the judges to follow. Keach answered on October 27th saying that he was not opposed to any of Marlow's men, but that he thought it would be wiser to let the men decide their own method of procedure. On November 9th Marlow insisted that he and Keach determine the procedure of the judges, but Keach replied by saying that he did not think it would be fair "...to tie them up to any methods of our propounding."¹

After this disagreement, Marlow stopped writing to Keach and had "three worthy Pastors of Churches, and one Deacon" to render their judgment. The four judges unanimously vindicated Marlow, but who were they? The same four that Marlow chose in his correspondence with Keach — "George Barret, Edward Man, Rich. Halliwell, Robert Steed."²

Almost simultaneously Keach was involved in a controversy with the last-mentioned man. Robert Steed, a Baptist minister, wrote An Epistle Written to the Members of a Church in London Concerning Singing which was a denunciation of hymn-singing in 1691.³ A Sober Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle concerning Singing appeared in that same year. Although it does not give an author, it favoured hymn-singing and contained this notice:

"We have read and considered this ensuing Answer to him (Mr. Steed) and...recommend it to all your Considerations,..."

Joseph Masters	Leonard Harrison
William Collins	Benjamin Dennis
Richard Adams	Joseph Wright

1. Ibid., pp. 9,12,13.

2. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

3. Robert Steed, An Epistle Written to the Members of a Church in London Concerning Singing, title page.

James Jones
Hercules Collins

Benjamin Keach
Jo. Hammond¹

It is interesting to note the relation of some of these men to Keach. William Collins was the man to whom Marlow objected as one of Keach's judges. Richard Adams was a Particular Baptist leader with whom he often collaborated and James Jones ran the coffee house in which the elders met whom Marlow strongly opposed. Joseph Wright wrote a pamphlet "against Isaac Marlow". In it he says that "Mr. Keach and Mr. Knollyes" have told you how silent meetings open the way for Quakers; within the congregation "vocal prayer and vocal singing" should be practised for our "mutual Edification."²

A Serious Answer to a Late Book Stiled A Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle concerning Singing appeared in 1692. It declared,

"Mr. Keach is the chief promoter of this controversy...He has gotten several mens names on this who did not want them there.

Signed by
William Kiffin George Barrett
Robert Steed Edward Man³

Three out of these four men were Marlow's original "judges".

By 1692 the controversy had become so heated and abusive that the General Assembly took it in hand and appointed a committee of seven to examine the pamphlets. Upon their report the Assembly rebuked the pamphleteers and urged the people neither "to buy, sell, give, or disperse" certain pamphlets, including two from Marlow.⁴

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1. A Sober Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle concerning Singing, p. 2.
 2. Joseph Wright, Folly Detected, title page, p. 88.
 3. A Serious Answer to a Late Book Stiled A Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle concerning Singing, pp. 5,6,64.
 4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 266-270.

Crosby's statement that "a stop was thus put to the troubles that threatened the Baptized churches upon this controversy"¹ is clearly unjustified. Marlow and his followers set up an independent congregation opposed to singing; and in 1696 he published his Controversie of Singing brought to an end² which in fact served only to renew it. The General Assembly had decided nothing except that peace should be kept, but in omitting to decide against singing, they left the congregations free to make their own decisions. Crosby is probably correct in saying that "many of them from that time sung the praises of God in their public assemblies who had not used that practice before."³

It is fascinating to study the different accounts of Keach and his opponents within the congregation as to how hymn-singing arose in this first church to continue its practice; the facts are similar, but the interpretations are quite different.

Keach was writing "particularly to the Church of Christ, meeting on Horsleydown:"

"Holy and Beloved,

It cannot but rejoice my Soul, when I consider of the exceeding Grace and abounding Goodness of the Holy God towards you his poor and despised Church and People, in respect of that clear Discovery he hath given you of most of the glorious Truths of the Gospel,...You have laboured to sever the Gold from the Dross, and to build with proper and fit Gospel-Materials,...well hewed and squared by the Hammer of God's Word and Spirit...And, God of a small People hath graciously made you a Multitude...⁴

1. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 270.

2. Isaac Marlow, The Controversie of SINGING Brought to an End, title page. See L.F. Benson, The English Hymn, Its Development and Use in Worship, p. 99 which agrees with this information.

3. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 270-271.

4. Keach, The Breach Repaired in God's Worship, pp. iii, iv.

My Beloved Brethren and Sisters,...whom I can say I truly love and long after; it rejoices my Spirit to see how generally you are inlightened into this Gospel-Duty; but 'tis no small grief to me to see (since the Church in such a solemn manner agreed to sing the Praises of God on the Lord's Day) to find some of you so much offended;...¹ Hath not the Church sung at breaking of Bread always for 16 or 18 Years last past, and could not, nor would omit it in the time of the late Persecution? ...and yet none of you ever signified the least trouble? and have we not for this 12 or 14 Years sung in mixt Assemblies, on Days of Thanks-giving, and never any offended at it, as ever I heard?² And on that Solemn Day, when the Church would have it put up, to see how the Members stood affected about Singing, almost every ones Hand was up for it, or to give Liberty to the Church at such times to sing. And when put in the Negative, but about 5 or 6 at the most (as I remember) were against it. Did any one of you, at that time say, if we did proceed to sing at such times, you could not have Communion with us? Besides, did not the Church agree to sing only after Sermon, and when Prayer was ended? and if those few Brethren and Sisters who were not satisfied, could not stay whilst we sung, they might freely go forth, and we would not be offended with them; so far was the Church, or myself, from imposing on the Consciences of any...³ But my Brethren will, I hope, seriously consider of the Matter...For the Lord's sake let us not fall out by the way,... for we are not Lords over one anothers Faith, but Helpers of each others Joy. O my Brethren, pray let us all watch against Satan, and strive to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace...⁴

There was definitely another interpretation of the incidents which led to the introduction of hymn-singing:

"We being Persons that were, and still remain dissatisfied with the unscriptural, formal Singing in consort with the World, which the Church meeting on Horsleydown with Mr. Benjamin Keach, hath set up, and rashly without any Debate and contrary to Promise, hath brought into the publick Worship of God, by a major vote, on the first Day of the first Month 1690/1..."

Marlow asserts that these were the people who asked him to include their "answers" in his tract and he agreed.⁵

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1. Ibid., p. viii.
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Ibid., p. ix.
 4. Ibid., p. x.
 5. Marlow, Truth Cleared, p. 30.

These people say that singing was first moved by Keach after "the breaking of Bread on the 22nd of the 12th Month, 1690/1." It was put to a vote and carried on the "next first Day, being the first of the first Month, 1690/1" after the public worship without any debate. Some of the congregation asked for a debate, but they were told that singing was not being forced on the church; they were only going to see if the congregation would give those who wanted it permission to sing after the last prayer. Those who were opposed to singing would be able to leave.¹

The people who were against singing added that before Keach came it was not practised in the church. At first he satisfied several of the objectors by asking only those who took communion to sing, thereby they were led to think of singing as part of the Lord's Supper. Another method he employed was connected with "mixt Assemblies". There were three "Days of Thanksgiving" kept in the church to which the public was not invited. Some of the members "who liberally contributed" wanted to bring their husbands or wives. These were considered special occasions and so they sang. This, they said, was the reference Keach made to singing in mixed assemblies. One other time do they admit to singing. A minister who was supplying for Keach finished his "exercise" and was handed a piece of paper containing a hymn. He read it aloud and then the people joined him in singing it. The opponents say that this was Keach's idea, for the minister later

1. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

maintained that it was a total surprise to him. Other than these times, the people say there was no singing.¹

They do write that there was a majority vote on January 1, 1690/1, but they say that the reason more people did not speak or vote against singing was because of "Mr. Keach's hot spirit". They felt that being allowed to leave if they disapproved was "just a way to shut our mouthes." At first, they say, the majority of the people was against singing, but Keach gradually introduced the idea.

Signed by	
Silvanus Heathcoate	Isaac Twinn
Edward Little	John Leader
John Monticue	Luke Leader ²

One of the immediate results of this controversy was that a few members of Keach's congregation withdrew and founded a church at Maze Pond directly opposed to hymn-singing; eventually, however, they took up the practice in 1735 under the leadership of Abraham West.³

As early as 1683 Keach held that

"The Church of God is the chief Place for the Saints of God to dwell or make their Abode in, who in the Song of Songs are called Birds...which signifies the Saints, who...do sing the Praises of God, with Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs."⁴

Now in 1691 he gives his basis for congregational hymn-singing.

The first formal argument comes from Job 38:7. "When the morning

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1. Ibid., pp. 32-34.
 2. Ibid., pp. 35, 37, 38, 43.
 3. Henry S. Burrage, Baptist Hymn Writers and Their Hymns, p. 628.
 4. Keach, Tropologia, Book IV, p. 107. See Whitley, Congregational Hymn-Singing, p. 94 where he says that The Child's Instructor, 1664, contained hymns.

stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Keach says that singing is an ordinance of God because of "the Antiquity of this Practice...the World, and Singing of the Praise of God, came even in together, or very near each other." Another argument is "...taken from the Nature of the Duty itself, which generally worthy Men call a Moral Duty,..." Keach distinguishes between "Precepts that are purely Moral, and meerly Positive." In a lengthy discussion he writes that "Breaking of Bread, and Holy Baptism are meer positive Ordinances:" Singing, however, is a "Moral Duty", for "all the Heathen generally invoke their Gods, pray to them, so they sing their Praises." Keach adds the example of the "Children of Israel's Singing after their great Deliverance at the Red Sea, Exod. 15.1."¹

The next argument is that the saints were singing "before the Law, in the Law, and under the Gospel." Again Keach quotes Exod. 15.1,2 where the people sang after crossing the Red Sea. For the example of the saints under the Law Keach writes that there is "no doubt but he (Moses) and the Children of Israel sang it (Psalm XC)." For the saints "under the Gospel", Keach uses "the famous Song of the blessed Virgin, Luke 1.46,...our Lord Jesus with his Disciples after the celebration of the Holy Supper,...sung a hymn, and Paul and Silas sung Praises, tho in Prison, Acts 16."²

Another argument that Keach uses is "from Scripture Precepts." Here he quotes Psal. 84.1-5; Psal. 100.1,2; Psal. 95.1,2;

1. Keach, The Breach Repaired in God's Worship, pp. 22,28,30.
 2. Ibid., pp. 41,43,44.

I Chron. 16.9; Psal. 68.32. The argument that follows is that singing is a "Gospel Ordinance because instituted and required of the Churches by the Holy Ghost." He also adds that this "was confirmed by Miracles, as other Ordinances were." He writes that an earthquake followed the singing of Paul and Silas in prison.¹

The final argument is that singing was "...the practice of all the Godly generally in all Ages." He quotes Tertullian, Athanatius, Cyprian, Ambrose, and others whom he claims agree with him.²

What should the people sing? Again Keach finds his answer in the Bible — "Psalms, Hymn, and Spiritual Songs." This is his interpretation of the extent of these:

"Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs comprehend all kinds of Spiritual Songs, whereby the Faithful sing to the Glory of God, and the Edification of the Church, provided they are taken out of the Word of Christ."

Keach closes this section of his book by reiterating his arguments that singing should be done "in the publick Congregation,... and in a mixt Assembly."³ The remaining portion of the book is concerned with the controversy with Marlow which has been discussed previously.

As has been indicated, Spiritual Melody was the first book of English hymns that passed into general use. In this study Keach's hymns are not criticised for their diction, spelling, or poetic

1. Ibid., pp. 45,46,54,55,60,61.

2. Ibid., pp. 65,67,69.

3. Ibid., pp. 96,97,100,101.

quality. A modern evaluation would judge them extremely poor, however they do represent a beginning. Their value lies not so much in their intrinsic worth, as in their historical relationship and suggestive influence for other hymn-writers.

Spiritual Melody has a topical division: the first part is "To the Praise of God the Father"; the second, "To the Praise of Jesus Christ"; the third, "The Glorious Excellencies of the Holy Ghost"; the fourth, "God's holy WORD"; the fifth, "the GRACES of the HOLY SPIRIT"; the sixth, the work of angels and "the Spirit or Soul of Man"; the seventh, "the Glory of God's CHURCH"; and the eighth and ninth divisions are hymns "on several Occasions."¹ This plan of arranging a hymn-book according to topical divisions is followed by many hymn-books today.

In most of his hymns Keach was wise enough to write in the English or Common metre for which scores of tunes were in general use; an example is his hymn on the "Wonders of Grace":

"O Let us all with cheerful voice
 Sweet Halleluias sing;
 And magnifie the Lord most high
 Our glorious God and King,

 Let Christ be had in great esteem,
 And lifted up on high;
 O let us all remember him
 Who for us all did die."²

The most significant hymn-writer whom Keach influenced was Isaac Watts. Spiritual Melody appeared in 1691.³ Watts, a student at Stoke Newington, wrote his first hymn in 1695 and

1. Keach, Spiritual Melody, pp. 35, 165, 193, 237, 263, 279, 313, 361.
 2. Ibid., p. 343.
 3. Ibid., title page

published his first hymn book in 1707.¹ The main significance of Keach's hymns for the subsequent work of Watts can be examined under two aspects. One is that Keach was the first dissenter to publish a hymn-book compiled to meet the liturgical needs of a definite congregation and not simply a literary effort. In this sense, despite its faults, the hymn-book of Keach approaches more closely than any other the subsequent work of Watts. In the second place Keach is similar to Watts in his emphasis on the hymn-book as a sung-liturgy. "He shows us Watts' doctrinal hymn in embryo."²

It can be shown also that several of Keach's hymns are very nearly evangelical psalms in Watts' manner. Notice, for example, his Christianized paraphrase of Psalm 100:

Hymn 62
Sing this as the 100th Psalm

Now let all People on the Earth
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice,
Whose love was such to bring thee forth,
But chiefly let thy Saints rejoyce.

For why the Lord our God is good,
His Covenant it standeth sure,
'Tis ratify'd by Christ's own blood,
And shall from age to age endure.³

Harry Escott, who made an extensive study of Watts' hymns with regard to their derivative features, shows that Watts borrowed the following hymns from Keach.⁴ The relationship is in the ideas.

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1. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 125.
 2. Harry Escott, Isaac Watts' Work in Hymnology With Special Regard to Its Derivative and Original Features; Ph.D. Thesis, 1950, University of Edinburgh, p. 129.
 3. Keach, Spiritual Melody, pp. 158, 159.
 4. Escott, op. cit., pp. 333, 334.

KEACH

Hymn 97

The Excellence of the Gospel

Blessed be God that we were born
Under the joyful sound,
And rightly have Baptized been
And bred on English ground,

Where God most gracious doth
appear,
And does pour forth his Grace;
The lines are fallen unto us
In a most pleasant place.

Dumb Pictures might we all ador'd,
Like Papists in Devotion;
And with Rome's Errours so been
stor'd
To drink her deadly Potion.

We might have liv'd in shades of
night,
And ne're have known good
days,
But thou hast sent us Gospel
light
To thine eternal praise.

The Sun which rose up in the East,
And drove their shades away,
Hath sent his Light unto the West,
And turn'd our Night to Day.¹

Escott found similarities between the following hymns as well.

Keach's work on the offices of Christ suggested a source to Watts.

KEACH

Hymn 65

Christ All, and in All

WATTS

Hymn V

Praise for Birth and Education in
a Christian Land.
Great God, to thee my voice I raise
To thee my youngest hours belong:
I would begin my life with praise,
Till growing years improve the song.

'Tis to thy sovereign grace I owe
That I was born on British ground;
Where streams of heavenly mercy
flow,
And words of sweet salvation sound.
I would not change my native land
For rich Peru, with all her gold:
A nobler prize lies in my hand
Than east or western Indies hold.

Hymn VI

Praise for the Gospel

Lord, I ascribe it to thy grace,
And not to chance as others do,
That I was born of Christian race,
And not a Heathen or a Jew.

Then, if the Gospel I refuse
How shall I e'er lift up mine eyes?
For all the Gentiles and the Jews
Against me will in judgment rise.²

WATTS

Book I 149

The Offices of Christ

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1. Keach, Spiritual Melody, pp. 235, 236.
 2. Isaac Watts, Divine and Moral SONGS for the Use of Children, pp. 14-17.

Christ is Prophet, Priest and
 King,
 A Prophet that's all Light,
 A Priest that stands 'twixt
 God and Man,
 A King full of delight.

Christ's Manhood is a Temple
 where
 The Holy God does rest;
 Our Christ he is our Sacrifice
 Our Christ he is our Priest.

 Christ is our Father, and our
 Friend,
 Our brother and our Love;
 Our Head, our Hope, our Surety,
 Our Advocate above.¹

KEACH

Hymn 66

 Th' Captain of our Salvation,
 And Christ is the true Vine;
 And Christ is our Counsellor,
 In Christ all glories shine.³

Great Prophet! I will bless Thy
 name:
 By Thee the joyful tidings came,
 Of wrath appeased, of sins forgiven,
 Of Hell subdued, and peace with
 Heaven.

My bright Example and my Guide!
 I would be walking near Thy side:
 Oh, let me never run astray,
 Nor follow the forbidden way!

 My Advocate appears on high:
 The Father lays His thunder by,
 Not all that earth or hell can say,
 Shall turn my Father's hurt away.²

WATTS

Book I 149

 Arise, my soul, to glorious deeds:
 The Captain of Salvation leads:
 March on, nor fear to win the day,
 Though death and hell obstruct the
 way.⁴

Dr. Escott feels that Watts borrowed the following hymn from Keach because the words are similar: a short quotation indicates his point.

KEACH

Hymn 195

 O what a kind of Love is this
 The Father grants to us,
 To be the Sons of God above
 And him to call us thus!⁵

WATTS

Book I 64

Behold what wondrous grace
 The Father hath bestowed
 On sinners of a mortal race
 To call them sons of God!⁶

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1. Keach, Spiritual Melody, pp. 162,163.
 2. Watts, Psalms of David, Together with Hymns and Spiritual Songs, p. 257; hereafter referred to as Hymns and Spiritual Songs.
 3. Keach, Spiritual Melody, p. 164.
 4. Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, p. 257.
 5. Keach, Spiritual Melody, p. 360.
 6. Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, p. 406.

In the light of the development of congregational hymn-singing it is interesting to compare two hymns suggested by Keach and Watts for use after the ordinance of the Lord's Supper:

KEACHWATTS

Hymn 155

Book III 2

Thou art, O Lord, our glorious Sun,
Light, Heat and Life's from thee;
And thou upon our Souls has shone,
By which we quickened be.

Jesus invites His saints
To meet around His board:
Here, pardoned rebels sit and hold
Communion with their Lord.

A Banquet rich thou dost provide,
A Table of Fat things;
To feast our Souls, O let us eat
And drink of thy own Springs.

For food, He gives His flesh;
For wine, pours out His blood:
Amazing favour! matchless grace
Of our Incarnate God!

He drank the bitter of the Cup,
That no wrath might remain,
That we might drink in draughts
of love,
And come to life again.

The holy bread and wine
Sustain our fainting breath,
By union with our Living Lord,
And interest in His death.

And spend our days upon the Earth
In joy, through thy sweet Spirit,
Until we come thy glory great
In Heaven to inherit.¹

Be all our powers combined
His glorious name to raise;
Pleasure and love fill every mind,
And every voice be praise.²

It has also been stated that "Keach was clever in blending many allusions: Moses, Isaiah, Christ, and Paul contribute to one hymn which apparently inspired Toplady."³ The hymn begins,

"The Rock of Ages Lord thou art,
On thee we do depend;
Upon this Rock let us be built,
And then let Rains descend:"⁴

Having dealt with his contribution to congregational hymn-singing and hymn writing, it is interesting to study Keach's

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1. Keach, Spiritual Melody, pp. 321,322.
 2. Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, pp. 285,286.
 3. Whitley, "The First Hymnbook in Use" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 372.
 4. Keach, Spiritual Melody, p. 74.

relationship to another constituent element in public worship — preaching.

2. Homiletical Method and Thought Content of the Sermons, 1689-1697

Since the Medieval period there had been a style of preaching which most of the Puritans made their own. It arose from the influence of the Universities. Sitting down to his lesson in sermon construction, the medieval preacher had his Tractatus de forma Sermonum open before him: "Preaching involves the taking up of a Theme, the division of the same theme, the sub-division of the theme, the appropriate citing of concordant points, and the clear and devout explanation of the Authorities brought forward."¹ In the selection of a text the guiding principle was that no omission or modification would be permitted which perverted the sense of a passage of Scripture or left it incomplete.²

The construction of the seventeenth century sermon followed this pattern. The preacher first selected as striking a text from the Bible as he could find; then he made an elaborate arrangement of main topics, sub-topics, authorities, and finally closed with "uses" or the application. The continuity of the sermon was maintained by formal transition words, phrases, even sentences.³ It was almost a regulation that the length of a sermon should not exceed an hour, but many of the preachers frequently infringed this rule.⁴

John Tillotson (1630-1694) was considered one of the outstanding

1. G.R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 316.

2. Charles Smyth, The Art of Preaching, p. 21.

3. Caroline Francis Richardson, English Preachers and Preaching, 1640-1670, p. 71.

4. Daniel Neal, The History of the Puritans, Vol. III, Appendix IV, p. 494.

preachers of his day. The type of sermon in which he excelled consisted in this construction: the statement of a general proposition arising out of a text, a treatment of the proposition under three or four main aspects, and a conclusion corresponding with the proposition.¹

The homiletical construction of Keach's sermons was that of his day. He would give his text, the Biblical context, then propound his propositions or "doctrines" in a logical order. His reasoning was deductive: A is true; B is true; if A and B are true, then C is true. He often listed fifteen or twenty reasons why his "doctrines" were valid, then closed with the "uses" or application. Pedantry, prolixity, and prodigality were present throughout his sermons, yet they were well received in his day.

An outline of one of his discourses reveals both his homiletical construction and his view of preachers. He indicates that the purpose of this particular message is to show "who they are that God hath appointed, empowered, or authorized to be the Ambassadors of his Peace."²

Sermon VI

ISAIAH LIV. X

Neither shall the Covenant of my Peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.

"I. The Great and Chief Ambassador of this Peace, is the Lord

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1. W. Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson, p. 337.
 2. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace or The Covenant of Peace Opened, p. 131. This book appeared in 1698 and it will be analysed for thought content in the next chapter.

Jesus Christ; and from hence he is called the Messenger of the Covenant, Mal. 3.1."

Seven reasons for this position follow; such as,

- "1. He was authorised and approved of by the Father, to Treat about it, and Conclude the Peace upon such terms that the Father proposed to him on our behalf.
John 17.2.¹
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II. Jesus Christ hath...appointed others...in his stead to be his Ambassadors of this Peace:

Quest. Who are they?

1. Answ. Negatively, they are not the Holy Angels,... they are Men, or Gospel-Ministers.
 2. They are not all which are called Gospel-Ministers.
 1. Some are Legal Ministers, Preachers of a Law, who know not what they say, nor what they affirm...²
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Affirmatively, they are such that Christ hath Regenerated, and graciously Qualified, by giving them Grace and Ministerial Gifts, and also authorized by him, to proclaim the Covenant of Peace.

- III. ...Christ's true and faithful Minister is one that Christ confers great Dignity and Honour upon, tho many of Christ's true Ministers have but little Honour from Men...
- IV. ...The Ministers of Christ are Ambassadors of Peace, not to reconcile God to Men, but Men to God...
- V. An Ambassador of Peace is a Joyful Messenger, so are the true Ministers of Jesus Christ:³
- VI. Jesus Christ takes the Honour, Love, and Respect which is shewed to his Faithful Ministers, as if it was shewed to him, and the same Dishonour done to them, as if it was to himself...
- VII. An Ambassador is to do his uttermost,...to bring the King's Enemies to accept of Peace...Faithful Ministers are willing to spend their Lives to win Souls to Christ, yea, to die upon the spot to save one poor Sinner...⁴
- VIII. Christ's Ambassadors must keep close to their Commission:... they must deliver their whole Message.
- IX. When Christ sees that his Ministers cannot prevail with Rebellious Sinners, but that they remain Obstinate and Obdurate,...or continue in their Sins and Unbelief; he orders them "to shake off the Dust of their Feet as a Witness against them," ...and such will fall into Hands of Divine Wrath and Vengeance...

1. Ibid., pp. 130-132.

2. Ibid., pp. 134,135.

3. Ibid., pp. 136,137.

4. Ibid., p. 141.

- X. When an Ambassador is called Home, it is a sign the Patience of his Prince is worn out,...O London! Tremble, tremble! for how many Faithful Ambassadors in thee, hath God called Home very lately?
- XI. ...Christ will call all his Ministers to give an account to him, how they have succeeded in their Work; they must all appear before the Judgement-Seat of Christ...¹

APPLICATION

1. This informs us what a high value we should have of the Gospel...
2. This informs us also of the great and absolute necessity of Preaching the Gospel, because this way only is Peace made known to us,...
3. This likewise informs us of that great Dignity God hath conferred upon his Faithful Ministers, they represent the Person of Jesus Christ:
4. Moreover, this Title should procure an high and honourable esteem of Ministers,...
5. It also may inform us what need there is, that Churches take care to choose such to be Pastors, that are Sober, Grave, and Hymble Men,...
6. And O! with what trembling should this Work be undertaken, 'tis a mighty Trust, and Woe to them that seek themselves, and not the Honour of God and Jesus Christ herein."²

With such an exalted conception of the preacher it is no wonder that it was said of Keach, "preaching the Gospel was the very pleasure of his soul..." He affected no unusual tones nor peculiar gestures in his preaching; "his stile was strong and masculine." Especially in the latter part of his life he generally used notes.³ On the whole, there was a conscious effort to avoid all superficial eloquence and an earnest desire to preach with simplicity and clarity. He honestly sought to preach the truth whether it pleased men or not. In the Preface to one of his books of sermons Keach wrote,

"As I Preach not to please Mens Ears, so but little regard

1. Ibid., pp. 142,143,144.

2. Ibid., pp. 146-148.

3. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 304,305.

ought to be had to the Scoffing Reflections of such Men, who contemn everything of this kind, unless it consists of ...a high Florid Stile, mixt with Wit, Learning, and Philosophical Notions...I am...for that plain Way of Preaching used by the Holy Apostles, and our Worthy Modern Divines. Besides, could I so preach or Write, as is the Flesh-pleasing, Ear-tickling, A-la-mode of the Times, of such who study Words more than Matter, it would be utterly dislik'd by all such Pious Christians..."¹

The large success of Keach's preaching has already been indicated in this study.

To begin the analysis of the thought content of Keach's sermons of this period, the opinion of one of Keach's most outstanding pulpit successors is illuminating: Charles Haddon Spurgeon declares,

"Mr. Keach preached the great fundamental truths of the gospel ...one who loved the whole truth as it is in Jesus, and felt its power...He was very solid in his preaching, and his whole conduct and behaviour betokened a man deeply in earnest for the cause of God. In addressing the ungodly he was intensely direct, solemn, and impressive, not flinching to declare the terrors of the Lord, nor veiling the freeness of divine grace ...his teaching was sweetly spiritual, intensely scriptural, and full of Christ."²

In his History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence published in America Henry C. Fish selected Keach's sermon on "The Scriptures Superior to All Spiritual Manifestations." Fish asserts,

"Keach was a bold and zealous preacher during the reign of Charles the Second, and his influence was so great that he incurred the most bitter persecution...Keach was a strong writer, exceedingly rich in Scriptural illustration, and in the clear and forcible presentation of Gospel doctrines."³

A Golden Mine Opened⁴ was a sermonic anthology containing

1. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. iii.
2. Spurgeon, op. cit., pp. 31, 26.
3. Henry C. Fish, History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence, Vol. I, p. 299.
4. Full title: A Golden Mine Opened: or The Glory of God's Rich Grace Displayed in the Mediator to Believers: and his Direful Wrath against Impenitent Sinners; hereinafter referred to as A Golden Mine Opened.

forty sermons by Keach; in one of sixteen sermons on "The Blessedness of Christs' Sheep" Keach gives what he feels to be "the Essentials of Christ's Doctrine of the Principles of true Religion."¹ In order to indicate the thought in Keach's sermons of this period these "Essentials" will be amplified and clarified. A comparison of these with the "Fundamentals of the Christian Faith" given in the preceding chapter reveals both the similarities and contrasts in Keach's development of thought. To show his oneness with the Baptist Movement, the Particular Baptist Confession of Faith of 1689 will be compared as well.²

It is interesting that Keach begins with the authority of the Scripture in this formulation, whereas he previously began with the doctrine of the Trinity.³ He speaks of believers:

"1. They believe the Holy Scripture is of Divine Authority, and that it is the only Rule of Faith and Practice."⁴

On December 11, 1695, the day appointed by the King for public prayer, Keach preached a sermon called God Acknowledged. In it he maintained that "In entring upon no Civil nor Religious Action" must anything be done "without consulting with God, in and by his Word." He declared that "Men, General Counsels, and Ancient Fathers" are not the guide; in every way, men must examine their purposes in the light of "God's Word."⁵

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1. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christs' Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 85.
 2. Keach signed this Confession as one of the representatives on "behalf of the whole Assembly". See A Confession of Faith, third edition, London, Printed by S. Bridge, 1699.
 3. Keach, The Travels True Godliness, p. 3.
 4. Keach, A Golden Mine Opened, loc. cit.
 5. Keach, God Acknowledged, p. 12.

His earlier statement was longer, but it contained the characteristic words of this essential; it reads,

"2. That this God, out of his great Love and Goodness, hath bestowed upon and given to his people, one sure, certain, and infallible Rule of Faith and Practice, viz., The Holy Scriptures,..."¹

In the Particular Baptist Confession of Faith of 1689 this view is expressed: "The Holy Scripture is the onely sufficient, certain, and infallible Rule of all Saving Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience..."²

The second essential which Keach expounds is the "Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity".

"2. They stedfastly believe the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, that there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that these three are one; I John 5.7. One in Essence, yet three Persons or Subsistences."³

In another sermon of this period he is showing that "the Gift of the Holy Spirit" is an effect of the death of Christ which secures "the Saint's final Perseverence."

"...the Promise of the Father is, that it shall abide with them forever...we have a Promise of the constant abiding of the Spirit in all Believers, made by Christ, the second Person in the Trinity. John 14...Unto these, add the Testimony of the Holy Ghost himself; for it is he that doth in the Word assure us of his own abiding with us;...So that we have this great Truth sealed and confirmed to us by the Three that bear witness in Heaven."⁴

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1. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 3.
 2. 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, p. 1; hereinafter referred to as A Confession of Faith, 1689.
 3. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, loc. cit.
 4. Ibid., pp. 261, 262.

Henry Forty was pastor of a congregation at Abington, Berks. On January 29, 1693 Keach preached his funeral sermon from the text, II Samuel XXIII.5, calling it The Everlasting Covenant or A Sweet Cordial for a Drooping Soul. Keach speaks of the "Covenant of Grace" as distinguished from the "Covenant of Works." In the former he writes that God enters into the "Covenant with Christ and in him with us." He adds, "The Work and Office of the Spirit, in this Covenant, is to quicken all that the Father hath given to Christ."¹

In his book of sermons Keach has a section of fifteen sermons on the theme, "The Great Salvation," taken from Hebrews II.3. He shows that each "Person" of the Trinity has a part in man's salvation. He attempts to explain the penal substitution theory of the atonement in language that his congregation could understand:

"The third Person that is concerned in this Salvation, is the Holy Ghost: the Father chuses, the Son purchases, and the Spirit applies the Blessings purchased...We were in Debt, in Prison, and bound in Fetters and cruel Chains, and the Father procured a Friend to pay all our Debts; The Son was this our Friend, who laid down the infinite Sum; and the Holy Spirit knocks off our Irons, our Fetters and Chains, and brings us out of the Prison-house. The Father loved us, and sent his Son to merit Grace for us; the Son loved us, and died, and thereby purchased that Grace to be imparted to us; and the Holy Spirit works that Grace in us."²

How do these statements compare with an earlier compilation of the "Fundamentals of the Christian Faith?" There he gave the

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1. Keach, The Everlasting Covenant, or A Sweet Cordial for a Drooping Soul, pp. 10,26; hereinafter referred to as The Everlasting Covenant.
 2. Keach, "The Great Salvation," in A Golden Mine Opened, pp. 382,383.

orthodox formulation as well:

"...there is one...God, or Glorious Deity, subsisting in Three distinct Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One, that is, one in Essence."¹

What does a contemporary Confession of Faith maintain concerning the Trinity? It reads,

"The Lord our God is but one onely living, and true God; whose subsistence is in and of himself,...In this Divine and Infinite Being there are three subsistences, the Father, the Word, (or Son) and Holy Spirit, of one substance,...each having the whole Divine Essence,..."²

In his third essential Keach gives a larger exposition of his view of Christ than he has explained previously; he appears to be against the Arian, Socinian, Eutychian, Unitarian, and Quaker views:

"3. They stedfastly believe the Doctrine of Christ's Divinity, or have a right Faith about the Person of Christ, not doubting but that he is God by Nature, the most High God, coeternal and coequal with the Father and the Holy Ghost; abominating the Doctrine of Arius, who asserted he was not of the same Substance of the Father, but rather a created Spirit, and first and chief Spirit or Angel God created.

And the Doctrine of the Socinians, who affirmed, He is a meer Man, and had no Pre-existence before he was Conceived and Born of the Virgin.

They abominate the Voice or Doctrine of the Eutychians, who maintain, that the Matter of Christ's Flesh was from Heaven, or that it was a Conversion of the Deity of the second Person of the Trinity into Flesh, and that he partook not of the Nature of the Virgin.

They abominate their Doctrine, who declare, that Christ doth consist of one Nature only; and those who affirm that the Light that is in all Men (which is but an inward Quality created of God with which the Soul of Mankind is naturally in-duced) is the only Christ of God; they know these are Strangers, and the Voice of Strangers they will not hear."³

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1. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 3.
 2. A Confession of Faith, 1689, pp. 9.12.
 3. Keach "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, pp. 85,86.

In another sermon Keach writes that we must also acknowledge Christ to be God, "though a distinct Subsistence or Person from the Father; yet one in Essence..."¹ And in another sermon he declares:

"...but it did agree in his (God the Father) Infinite Wisdom to transfer the Punishment of the Sinner to another, namely, to his own Son, he taking our Nature on him; who from the Union of the two Natures in one Person, procured an Infinite Satisfaction..."²

In another set of sermons he lists what he considers to be the greatest errors. The second error he describes is the one of the Socinians whom he believes "deny the deity of the Son of God."³

How do these words compare with the work of the previous period? There he declared "That our Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ,...is truly God of the Essence of the Father, and truly Man of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary, consisting of these two Natures in one Person;"⁴

The Particular Baptists were in agreement with Keach:

"The Son of God, the second Person in the Holy Trinity, being very and eternal God,...did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon him Man's nature,...being conceived by the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Virgin Mary,...So that two whole, perfect, and distinct Natures, were inseparably joined together in one Person,...which Person is very God, and very Man, yet one Christ..."⁵

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1. Keach, God Acknowledged, p. 4.
 2. Keach, "The Great Salvation" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 378.
 3. Keach, The Marrow of True Justification, or Justification without Works, p. 9; hereinafter referred to as The Marrow of Justification.
 4. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 4.
 5. A Confession of Faith, 1689, pp. 28,29.

The fourth "Principle of true Religion" is not contradictory, but it does indicate a development of emphasis in Keach's thought. In the previous writing of the essentials Keach did not include a statement on the church. Now he makes it essential, and in the latter part of his work he published an elaborate Articles of Faith for his congregation and a Discipline as well. Here he maintains,

"4. They hear and stedfastly believe, and receive the Doctrine of Christ's Headship over the Church."¹ In another place he adds,

"Jesus Christ is God's High Priest, and therefore his chief Minister;...Heb. 7.1,2. We have such an High Priest,...A Minister of the Sanctuary, and of the True Tabernacle, or the true Church, the Church of the First-Born, which the Jewish Church was but a Shadow; a Type of: But now he hath obtained a more excellent Ministry, he excels all Ministers; all true Ministers are but his Substitutes, and must one Day be accountable to him."²

Keach preached a set of sermons on Matthew III.12 as well. In one he asks,

"What is intended by Christ's Garner?...His Church is his garner. A Garner is prepared on purpose to retain, and safely secure the Wheat in a heap together,...So is the Church of God appointed and prepared to receive and secure his faithful People together;...and great care and pains are required of Christ's servants in looking to, and taking care of his Spiritual Wheat in his Church."³

The Particular Baptists wrote concerning the church and Christ's "Headship" over it: "The Lord Jesus Christ is the Head of the Church,

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1. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" In A Golden Mine Opened, p. 86.
 2. Keach, "The Great Salvation" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 430.
 3. Keach, "A Trumpet Blown in Zion" in A Golden Mine Opened, pp. 29,30.

in whom by the appointment of the Father, all Power for the Calling, Institution, Order, or Government of the Church, is invested in a supreme and sovraign manner,..."¹

The fifth principle by Keach needs clarification and amplification.

"5. The Doctrine of Satisfaction by Christ, in his Expiation of Sin, and of Justification by his Righteousness imputed, as it is received by Faith alone, without inherent Righteousness wrought in us, or good Works done by us."²

This essential involves Keach's views of sin, justification, and the relationship of faith and works. Writing about satisfaction Keach is consistent with his penal substitution theory of the atonement noted in this study:

"Christ had some great work to do...on, and in behalf of his elect, which was peculiar to him, i.e., he was to die and make satisfaction to offended justice; he in the Covenant of Grace, merited all for us, so that we might have all freely given to us through the redemption of his blood."³

Keach believes in the Calvinistic view of original sin:

"The Pollution of...our Nature, yea the whole Nature of the human Race was originally from that Compliance and yielding to him (the devil) by our first Parents; this unclean Spirit that hath poisoned and notoriously defiled the whole Man both Body and Soul in all its Powers and Faculties, and not the whole Man only, but the whole World also."⁴

In another sermon Keach says that both Jew and Gentile lie under the guilt of Adam's transgression. Rom. 5.12.⁵ He feels that

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1. A Confession of Faith, 1689, p. 86.
 2. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep," in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 86.
 3. Keach, The Everlasting Covenant, pp. 12,13. Compare Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep", in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 238 which agrees with this position almost verbatim.
 4. Keach, The Counterfeit Christian, or the Danger of Hypocrisy, pp. 2,3; hereinafter referred to as The Counterfeit Christian.
 5. Keach, The Marrow of Justification, p. 5.

sin grows in the individual as well:

"Those who yield to his Temptations (the devil's) come to have farther Pollution and Defilement cleave to their Hearts and Lives...Though all naturally are vile,...yet there are Degrees of Uncleanness."

In this same sermon Keach defines "the wicked spirits" as pride, self-confidence, vain glory, formality, legality, and unbelief.¹

If man is in this condition, how can he be justified before God? Keach answers by making the imputed righteousness of Christ the means of justification:

"Justification is an absolute Act of God's most sovereign Grace, whereby he imputeth the compleat and perfect Righteousness of Jesus Christ to a believing Sinner, though ungodly in himself, absolving him from all his Sins, and accepting him as righteous in Christ."

He makes his view more definite by saying, "Tis not Faith, (as an act), but the Object and Righteousness Faith apprehends or takes hold of, that justifies the ungodly."²

Concerning faith and good works Keach makes these statements:

- "Doct. I That all works done by the Creature, are quite excluded in point of Justification of a Sinner in the Sight of God.
- Doct. II That Justification is wholly of the free Grace of God, through the Imputation of the perfect Righteousness of Jesus Christ by faith."

He says that some people make good works necessary, but he insists that it must be faith only. "And why to Faith only? Because that Grace only carries us out of ourselves to another for righteousness, i.e., to Jesus Christ."³ If justification is sola fide, what is

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1. Keach, The Counterfeit Christian, pp. 3,20,23,24,30,34,41.
 2. Keach, The Marrow of Justification, pp. 6,8. Compare Keach, The Counterfeit Christian, p. 55 which agrees with this view.
 3. Ibid., pp. 8.10.

the relationship of faith to good works? Keach answers, "We do not tell you that you must be holy and then believe in Jesus Christ; but that you must believe in him that you may be holy."¹

At this point in the investigation it is interesting to observe one aspect of Keach's criticism of Arminianism. He recognizes that a man who is not a Christian may do good works, but he feels they are "dead Works", or unavailing for the man's justification.

"Arminianism 2. This also may serve to detect that Doctrine some, detected
 nay too many, maintain, of the Power of the Creature: Alas, alas, what can the Dead do!...True, a wicked Man is naturally alive, and his Soul is in his Body, and he is endowed with Understanding, Will and Affection, and may perform many Duties God requires of him:"²

In another sermon he makes this striking statement:

"I am so far of the mind of James Arminius that Man by the means of that common Help and Power God affords to all in general, may leave the gross Acts of Wickedness, let Satan do what he can...I am persuaded were there a Law that he that swore an Oath, or was Drunk, or committed Adultery, should have his right Hand cut off,...we should see Men who would get Power over those Temptations of Satan..."³

Keach, however, returns with this question:

"But what of this? for in the spiritual Life the Holy Ghost is unto the Soul, what the Soul is unto the Body, in respect of natural Life, namely, the quickening Principle of spiritual Life, superadded unto us by the Grace of Christ, distinct and separate from the natural Faculties of the Soul,... Therefore whatsoever Sinners act in spiritual Things, by their Understanding, Will or Affections, that are not renewed, they do it naturally, and not spiritually, and are therefore called

1. Ibid., p. 37.

2. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, pp. 145,146.

3. Keach, The Counterfeit Christian, p. 5.

dead Works."¹

By way of a final analysis of Keach's position, this statement may be considered:

"Nor is our Doctrine any other, than what all Sound Protestants have always contended for, nay, which the Church of England in her 39 Articles doth assert, viz. Imputed Righteousness and Justification only for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own Works and Deservings, and that we are justified by Faith only; and that Works done before the Grace of Christ, and Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasing to God, forasmuch as they spring not from Faith in Christ, neither do they make Man meet to receive Grace."²

The earlier view of justification is in agreement with the one of this period: Keach declares,

"That Justification and Pardon of Sin is alone, by that full Satisfaction the Lord Jesus Christ made to God's Justice; and that his perfect Obedience...is imputed as that compleat Righteousness to all that believe in him; which Righteousness is apprehended by Faith alone, through the Holy Spirit, ..."³

Was Keach consonant with the Particular Baptist's position? They affirmed,

"Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth,...by accounting, and accepting their Persons as righteous;...for Christ's sake alone,...by imputing Christ's active obedience unto the whole Law, and passive obedience in his death, for their whole and sole righteousness, they receiving and resting on him,... and his righteousness by Faith; which Faith they have not of themselves, it is the Gift of God."⁴

The sixth and final "Principle of True Religion" given by Keach asserts that the Christian believes "the Doctrine of

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1. Keach, A Golden Mine Opened, pp. 146,147. Compare Keach, The Marrow of Justification, p. 37 which agrees with this view.
 2. Keach, The Marrow of Justification, p. 36.
 3. Keach, Travels of True Godliness, p. 4.
 4. A Confession of Faith, 1689, pp. 40,41.

Regeneration, the Resurrection of the Body, and of Eternal Judgment, and the World to come."¹

In connection with the "Doctrine of Regeneration" it is interesting to see Keach's view of the relation between faith and obedience. He thinks that a man's faith "will make him a new Creature, 'twill purify his Heart, it will lead him into sincere and universal Obedience."² The source of this obedience is the work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian's life. "To renew, to regenerate, to sanctify them (Saints), this is the Work and Office of the Holy Spirit,...Rom. 15.16"³ What is the relationship of the regenerated person to sin? Keach answers,

"So far as he is born of God, he doth not commit Sin,...that is the New Creature...never yields to Sin, but evermore wars against it,...This is what Paul calls the Law of the Mind, it is the renewed or regenerated Part, or 'tis that which is born of God,...He cannot live in a custom of Sinning,...He may step into the Way of Sin, but he soon steps out of it again, whereas others walk in that Way every Day."⁴

In an earlier period Keach maintained "That all Men must be renewed, regenerated, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, who are, or can be Saved."⁵ The Particular Baptists held that "They who are united to Christ, effectually called, and regenerated,...are ...sanctified really and personally, through the same vertue, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them."⁶

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1. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 86.
 2. Keach, The Marrow of Justification, p. 30.
 3. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 259.
 4. Ibid., p. 216.
 5. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 4.
 6. A Confession of Faith, 1689, pp. 44,45.

Is it impossible to renew some people? Keach bases his affirmative answer on Hebrews 6.4,5,6:

"For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost.

5. And have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come,

6. If they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame."¹

His keen awareness of the sovereignty of God is revealed as Keach continues,

"It is not doubtless impossible, in respect of God's Absolute Power, had he not limited himself by an unchanging Decree: But if he hath determined to deny Grace, and all saving Influences of his Spirit, to these Apostates, that makes it impossible for them ever to be renewed;..."²

As a corollary Keach feels that "All the Saints of God, all Believers,...shall be saved, and none of them shall so fall away as eternally to perish."³ But in explaining this view, he seems to develop a quantitative view of grace as he shows in what sense a Saint may be said to fall. It is possible that he has in mind the repudiation of Antinomianism as he writes,

"And lastly, They may sometimes also fall, by having a greater dependence on that Grace they have already received, or on the Grace that is in them, than on that Grace which is in Christ Jesus;...When the Grace already received fails us, that Grace that is in Christ shall supply us, if we by Faith depend on him,...'Tis of his Fulness that all we receive, and Grace for Grace. John 1.16. But it is not all let out at one time,...No, no, God will not trust it in our own Keeping, but it is put into the Hands, or committed to the keeping of our

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1. The version which is quoted here is the King James' version, the one which Keach used for the whole of his ministry.
 2. Keach, "Trial of the False Professor: or the Danger of Final Apostacy" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 359; hereinafter referred to as "The Trial of the False Professor"
 3. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 161.

Blessed Trustee, who will give forth Grace unto us as we want it: Phil. 4.19. Some poor Saints can't live longer than they see their own Wells are full of Water; they live more, alas, by Sense than by Faith: but if all their Hope and Comfort lies in the Grace they have already received, 'tis no wonder if they soon fall, as being worsted."¹

This appears to be an anomalous statement, for if salvation depends on Grace, and Grace is quantitative in the sense that a Christian can have some of it, and that fail or be lost, then it would appear that a "Saint" could finally perish. At least one difficulty which may have led Keach into this problem is the distinction he attempts to make between the "Grace that is in them (Saints)", and the "Grace which is in Christ Jesus." If the Grace in the believer is to be efficacious unto salvation, it must be at least the same in quality as that which is in Christ Jesus. It is also interesting to note this conditional sentence: "when the Grace already received fails us, that Grace that is in Christ shall supply us, if we by Faith depend upon him." Yet, in another sermon, Keach maintains that it is not a covenant dependent on the believing of the recipient.

"The Righteousness, and Benefits of Christ's Righteousness, is made ours, when we relye, or trust to God's free Promise, as the immediate and sole Cause of Pardon and life,...and not by Christ's procuring a New Covenant for us to enter into with God, which if we answer the Condition thereof, i.e., repent and believe, we shall be saved."²

Keach thinks that a person must believe in Christ Jesus in order to be saved, yet he feels that this believing is "God's gracious doing."

1. Ibid., p. 167.

2. Keach, The Everlasting Covenant, p. 29.

The remainder of the "Essential" is "...the Resurrection of the Body, and of Eternal Judgement, and the World to come." It is well to begin with Keach's distinction of "the three-fold Life of Man."

- "1. The Life of the Body, which is a natural Life, or the Life of Nature:
2. There is the Spiritual Life, which is the Life of the Soul, the Life of a Saint,...this is the Life of Grace.
3. Eternal Life, that is properly the Life of Glory, or the Life of the other World, that Life which the glorified Saints possess above:"¹

He explains the relationship between the last two in this manner:

"Jesus Christ being in us here is more to us than the Hope of Glory, for he is Eternal Life, and the Soul of a Child of God, shall never lose nor be dispossessed of Christ, no not by Death itself, therefore it may be said to have Eternal Life."²

This interpretation makes one of his other statements intelligible:

"Faith is a Fruit of Christ's Purchase; and that he who spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, will much more give us all things, that is, Grace here and Glory hereafter."³

Keach's position on the Resurrection of the body is shown in a later sermon. He maintains,

"The Salvation of the Soul is the Salvation of the Body; Christ came to save both the Soul and Body too:...This Salvation saves not our Souls only from Wrath, but our Bodies also, they shall rise to Life and Immortality; the Bodies of the Wicked as well as their Souls shall be cast into Hell, but the Bodies and the Souls of the Godly shall be glorified in Heaven for ever."⁴

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1. Keach, "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 144.
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Keach, The Marrow of True Justification, p. 38.
 4. Keach, "The Great Salvation" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 409.

Keach believes that sinners cannot escape the "Day of Judgment."

"Tho Sinners escape here in this World, yet they shall not escape in that day,...they shall not come willingly to Christ's Bar, but they shall be brought forth, dragged as it were to hear their Sentence, which will be Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels."¹

Keach feels there is a world to come: he writes, "Nor can any doubt of a World yet to come, or glorious visible Kingdom of Jesus Christ to be set up in the last days..."² In this world to come Keach thinks that joy and punishment will be immeasurable. He asserts,

"...as in Heaven all Good, all Felicity, all Joy, is inconceivable, so in Hell all evil is felt and endured to the highest degree,...whether the fire in Hell be material or metaphorical Fire,...our ordinary fire is not an adequate Representation of the fire of God's Wrath..."³

According to Keach, what is the nature of this "World to come"?

- "1. It shall be a World, not under the Curse of Man's Sin as this World is:
2. The World to come shall be a World without Sin, a Holy World, a Righteous World:
3. The Government of that new World shall be alone in the Hands of the Saints, no wicked Man shall be in any Place of Power there...
4. The World to come shall be a World without Sorrow...
5. There shall be no Devil to perplex, to tempt, nor disturb God's People,...
6. It shall be a World of great and wonderful Light;
7. It shall be a joyful World,...
8. They that dwell in the World to come, shall have good and blessed Company, glorious Company, Christ's Company, and the Company of all his Saints:
9. It shall be a World of great Riches, Wealth and Glory;
10. The World to come, Brethren, that shall never end, it is an Eternal World;...

1. Ibid., pp. 479,480.

2. Keach, "The Trial of the False Professor" in A Golden Mine Opened, p. 344.

3. Keach, "A Trumpet Blown in Zion" in A Golden Mine Opened, p.55.

Lastly, it will be a peaceable World; Wars will cease."¹

In the former period Keach's view was similar to this one:

"That there will be a Resurrection of the Bodies of all Men at the Last Day, both the Just and Unjust. That there will be an eternal Judgement,...and that there will be a future State of Glory and eternal Happiness of all True Believers, and of eternal Torment and Misery of all Unbelievers and Ungodly Persons,..."²

Keach was in agreement with the Particular Baptists on this position as well: They declared,

"God hath appointed a Day wherein he will judge the World in Righteousness by Jesus Christ...all Persons that have lived upon the Earth shall appear before the Tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their Thoughts, Words, and Deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the Body, whether good or evil."³

From this analysis of his homiletical method and thought content, it is apparent that in his preaching, as elsewhere, Keach clearly reflects the Particular Baptists.

Having examined his preaching, it is necessary to deal with Keach's relationship to a consistently recurring problem in ecclesiastical circles, the ordinance from which Baptists have derived their name — Baptism. At least seven books appeared from Keach on the subject of baptism during this period. In 1692 he engaged in a controversy on the question with Mr. Burkit, Rector of Milden in Suffolk. The circumstances which led to this controversy are interesting in that they reflect the heated emotions that were current at this time.

John Tredwell, a Baptist minister and friend of Keach, was

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1. Keach, "The Trial of the False Professor" in A Golden Mine Opened, pp. 346-348.
 2. Keach, Travels True Godliness, p. 4.
 3. A Confession of Faith, 1689, p. 105.

invited to become the pastor of a small congregation at Lavingham. When several people joined his church, Mr. Burkit, whose parish adjoined, was greatly offended and warned his people against the dangerous principles and practices of the Baptists. Tredwell, who had a high opinion of Burkit's character, wrote a letter to him asking that he desist from these denunciations as he was weakening his reputation as a clergyman of the Church of England. He added that the Baptists had sufficient ground for their practices and that scolding was not likely to promote the truth.¹

Soon after he received the letter, Burkit came to the Meeting House of Tredwell's congregation where they were assembled for public worship and demanded to be heard. Surprised at this intrusion, Tredwell agreed that Burkit could assert his opinions provided he might have the opportunity to reply. Burkit began with a short prayer, then gave a tirade on infant baptism for two hours without a pause. Finishing his speech, Burkit tramped out of the Meeting House without giving Tredwell a chance to reply; and soon afterwards, he published his views calling the book An argumentative and practical discourse on Infant baptism. Tredwell requested Keach to answer it which he did in a book called, The Rector rectified and corrected.²

Several other books appeared from the pen of Keach on the subject of baptism; but before analyzing his position, it is interesting to notice Keach's attitude toward this dispute as

1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 366.
2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 283, 284.

revealed in both his first and last books of this period. In the first he prays "...that God would be pleased in mercy to open our Brethrens Eyes, or ours, wherein either they or we lie short as touching any part of God's Will, and let us strive to live in Love and Concord together..."¹ In the last book, which was written particularly to the Pedobaptists of Wales and printed in both English and Welsh, Keach asserts, "...tho I am an Enemy to your Opinion and Practice,...yet a dear Lover of your Persons and precious Souls."² This is an adequate description of Keach's attitude, for similar statements recur frequently throughout his books; yet his opponents did not feel that he was quite as gentle as this may appear on the surface. Gyles Shute declared,

"It is well for me that this Man hath not an Inquisition at his beck and command, for if he had I could promise myself but little favour at his hands."³

Another important attitude of Keach appeared in this period. He made a distinction between the more radical and the more stable elements in the Anabaptist Movement, which is the attitude being taken by modern scholarship. He writes that even if you suppose

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1. Keach, Gold Refined or Baptism in its Primitive Purity, p. v; hereinafter referred to as Gold Refined.
 2. Believer's Baptism or Love to the Antient Britains Displayed p. iii; hereinafter referred to as Believer's Baptism. Both a copy of this book and Keach's Light broke forth in Wales, Expelling Darkness; or the Englishman's Love to the Antient Britains were carefully compared and found to be verbatim the same with the exception of the titles. It was written against the works of James Owen.
 3. Gyles Shute, A Replication to a Late Book Written by Mr. Benjamin Keach against Infant Baptism Intituled A Counter-Antidote, p. 9.

the Münster story to be true, "...yet how unreasonable and uncharitable a thing is it to render all those People of that Perswasion in those times, and also since, to be as bad and as like guilty!"¹ In another work he asks how the pedobaptists can cast aspersions on all the Anabaptists by using the old Münster story. "I ask you, whether the Reflections might not have been cast on Christ's Apostles, because they had a Judas among them? ...I wish that all Bitterness of Spirit was expelled, Love and Charity exercised towards all, tho in some things we may differ from one another."²

Keach's position can be analyzed in terms of four conceptions; the institution of the ordinance, the meaning of the word, Baptizo, the symbolism and effect of baptism, and the proper subjects for baptism.

As to the beginning of the ordinance, Keach feels that it was instituted by Christ alone. He writes that soon after he arose from the dead, Jesus ordained and instituted this ordinance. Matt. 28.18-20 and Mark 16.16. "Water Baptism" is an ordinance of Christ to the end of the world.³ In another place he adds, "...for had not Christ Instituted or given it forth in the New Testament, none could have known that Baptism had been an Ordinance; it was not Imprinted on the Hearts of Men, but it is a mere

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1. Keach, Gold Refined, p. 159.
 2. Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, Being an Answer to the Athenian Society, p. 13; hereinafter referred to as Pedo-Baptism disproved.
 3. Keach, Gold Refined, pp. 2,6,7. Compare p. 171 where he says the same thing.

positive precept."¹ In another book he states "That 'tis only the meer positive Command of Christ in the New Testament, that gives being, and a just Right, to Gospel-Baptism."² Keach makes this strong emphasis, for in his argument against infant baptism, he wishes to show that Christian baptism is not a continuation of circumcision or any Jewish ordinance. He also makes this clear because of his view that any ordinance must be from the lips of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament. "'Tis God's Word only, not Men's Reason, conceited Grounds and Inferences, that can justify a Practice or make a Gospel Ordinance;"³

An opponent specifically named by Keach felt that the ordinance of baptism was a continuation of the Jewish right of circumcision. In An Exposition of the Assembly's Catechism John Flavel writes,

- "A. A Child now of eight days old, is as capable of being admitted into the covenant with God, as children of the same age were in Abraham's days, and then it is manifest they were admitted.
 Q. Though they were admitted by circumcision then, will it follow, they may be so by baptism now, seeing that ordinance is abolished?
 A. Yes, it will: For though circumcision cease, yet baptism is come in its place; Col. II.10,11,12."⁴

John Lightfoot adds that the nation of Israel was brought into the Covenant by baptism, circumcision, and sacrifice.⁵

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1. Keach, A Counter Antidote, p. 32.
 2. Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 154. Compare p. 168 where he agrees with this position.
 3. Keach, Gold Refined, p. 141.
 4. John Flavel, "An Exposition of the Assembly's Catechism" in The Whole Works of the Rev. John Flavel, Vol. VI, p. 284.
 5. Johannis Lightfooti, HORAE HEBRAICAE ET TALMUDICAE in Quatuor Evangelistas, p. 218; hereinafter referred to as Horae Hebraicae.

Another point which Keach examines is the meaning of the word, baptizo. He feels that it only means "...to dip, to plunge under."¹ In writing against "The Athenian Society's two papers" for infant baptism, Keach says that they argue that the church can dispense with the manner of acting, though not with the act itself.² Keach answers that baptize means to dip or plunge under, and "...'tis no Baptism at all, if not Dipping;"³ He quotes Delaune, Scapula and Stephanus, Leigh's Critica Sacra, Grotius, Beza, Luther, and others, whom he says agree that "Baptizo is mergo, submergo, obruo, item tingo quod sit immergendo, that is,...to immerge, plunge under, overwhelm, as also to dip, which is done by plunging." He adds that when writing on Acts 8.38, Calvin said that "the Ancients plunged the whole body into water." Keach feels that the Greek word for sprinkle is rantizo, not baptizo.⁴

Keach's A Counter Antidote was answered by Gyles Shute. In his polemic he gives one of the answers to Keach's argument by saying that "...the Learned will tell you, that the word Baptize, is frequently used for pouring and washing in water."⁵ Richard Baxter agreed with Shute: "For my part, I may say,...that I never saw a child sprinkled; but all that I have seen Baptized had water

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1. Keach, A Counter Antidote, p. 5.
 2. See The Athenian Mercury, Vol. IV, Number 14, November 14, 1691, "But the Church has Power to dispense with Circumstantials,..."
 3. Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, p. 11.
 4. Keach, Gold Refined, pp. 24-26, 36. Compare Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 35 and Keach, The Rector Rectified and Corrected, or Infant Baptism Unlawful, p. 157 which have the same argument. The latter is hereinafter referred to as The Rector Rectified.
 5. Shute, op. cit., p. 11.

poured on them, and so were washed."¹

John Lightfoot felt that baptism was a Hebrew practice and must be considered in the light of the Old Testament. He said that the Septuagint is unreliable because it was prepared for the heathen, and "the Seventy" attempted to hide the Hebrew meaning.² He maintained that for centuries baptism had been practised by the Jews — there was a baptism for proselytes and a baptism or washing from uncleanness, the former for heathen uncleanness and the latter for legal defilement. Christian baptism shows defilement, but this is to be understood as our natural and sinful stain which must be washed away by the blood of Christ. To denote this washing by a sacramental sign, the sprinkling of water is as sufficient as the dipping into water, for one indicates purification as well as the other.³

The third aspect of Keach's view is concerned with the symbolism of baptism. Keach thinks that the plunging under water is to "signify and hold forth the Death, Burial, and Resurrection of the same Lord Jesus Christ:"⁴ and in another book he emphatically

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1. Richard Baxter, Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church Membership and Baptism, p. 134; hereinafter referred to as Proof of Infants...Baptism.
 2. Lightfoot, Horae Hebraicae, Robert Gandell, ed., Vol. IV, p. 306.
 3. Lightfooti, op. cit., pp. 218, 224, 226. "Ad hanc ablutionem Sacramentali signo denotandam satis est aspersio aquae aeqve ac in aquam immersio, cum revera ablutionem ac purificationem haec arguat aeqve ac ista."
See p. 239 where Lightfoot claims that the baptism of Jesus was similar to the admission of the Levitical priests, who were initiated by washing and anointing.
 4. Keach, The Rector Rectified, p. 177. Compare Keach Gold Refined, pp. 42, 44, 45, 173 and Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 35, which contain this same argument. See Believer's Baptism, p. 318, where he says that it was the "design of Christ" to show forth his death, burial, and resurrection.

declares, "That cannot be Christ's true Baptism wherein there... cannot be a lively Representation of the Death, Burial, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ,..."¹ If this is the symbolism of baptism, what are the "ends" of it?²

1. It is a Sign of some inward and Spiritual Grace.
2. We are to be raised to walk in newness of life, to strive against sin.
3. It is a representation of union with Christ.
4. It is to testify to our repentance of sins.
5. It represents regeneration.
6. The end is that the party may have an orderly entrance into the visible church and partake of the ordinances and privileges thereof.³

Keach feels that baptism is not "a remedy for Original Sin";⁴ it is not baptism that makes a person a Christian for "...none but Christ, by his Spirit, can Regenerate the Souls of Men."⁵ In a later book Keach still held that "Baptism regenerates no Person;" baptism should come only after a person has been regenerated by the Spirit of Christ.⁶

By way of contrast it is interesting to read Baxter on the "Ends and Uses of Baptism". He is discussing whether or not infants are capable of them:

"1. Baptism hath more ends and uses than one: Its first use

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1. Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, Postscript, p. 7. Compare Keach, A Counter Antidote, Postscript, p. 6 which agrees with this view.
 2. The following are paraphrased very close to Keach's words.
 3. Keach, Gold Refined, p. 78. Compare p. 174 where these views are repeated.
 4. Keach, The Rector Rectified, p. 146. Compare p. 81 where he writes that baptism makes no person a Christian.
 5. Keach, The Ax Laid To the Root, or One Blow More at the Foundation of Infant Baptism and Church Membership, Part II, p. 32; hereinafter referred to as The Ax Laid to the Root.
 6. Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 3. Compare p. 226 where he writes that you must believe before baptism.

is to be Christs lifting sign for admitting of Soldiers under his Colours,...further use of it is to be a mutuall engaging sign, whereby they are by their Parents,...engaged to God, and God engageth himself to them:...And then for the operation on his soul by its significancy, I say, it is but a secondary end or use, which the Sacrament may be without; though it be a very great end in those that are capable of it."¹

Another argument against Keach's view would be that held by the people who feel there is saving efficacy in the sacrament of Baptism.

One further question is given an answer by Keach — who are the proper subjects for baptism? Keach's answer is straightforward. "Believers or Adult Persons only are to be the Subjects of Baptism."² "Actual Faith and Fruits meet for Repentance are required of all who have a right to Baptism."³

In addition to the previous arguments mentioned in this study, Keach made other attacks on the practice of infant baptism. John Flavel wrote a book called Vindiciarum Vindex and Rothwell penned Paedo-Baptismus Vindicatus, both of which were in favour of infant baptism. Flavel is quoted as saying that God gave himself to Abraham to be his God in the "Covenant of Circumcision."⁴ Keach answers that God gave himself to Abraham

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1. Baxter, Proof of Infants...Baptism, p. 111.
 2. Keach, Gold Refined, p. 63. Compare Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, Appendix, p. 5 which agrees with this position.
 3. Keach, The Rector Rectified, p. 28. See Keach, A Counter Antidote, p. 34 which contains the same idea.
 4. See Flavel, "Vindiciarum Vindex" in The Whole Works of the Rev. Mr. John Flavel, Vol. III, p. 515 where this is true.

before he gave him circumcision. Abraham obtained the "special Interest" of God by faith.¹ Rothwell is quoted as saying that infants, once in the Covenant, were never cast out. Keach answers that infants were in the Covenant under the Law or the legal church of the Jews, but that does not give them entrance to the Gospel church.² In another place Keach writes, "Christ nailed all the Jewish Ceremonies...to his Cross."³

It must be made clear that Keach feels that children who die are saved whether baptized or not.⁴ How does this happen? Keach writes, "God hath many ways...to save dying Infants, which we know not; he can apply the benefit, and merits of Christ's blood to them in ways we are wholly Ignorant of, and ought not to trouble our Selves with it:"⁵ This view is given because Keach feels that it was not until two hundred years after Christ that infant baptism was introduced into the church, and then, "...as that which took away Original Sin, and gave Children the Eucharist too." Exell gave several passages of Scripture to infer that infants were baptized in the time of Christ.⁶

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1. Keach, The Ax Laid to the Root, Part II, p. 5.
 2. Ibid., Part II, p. 2. Edward Rothwell was a dissenting minister who taught philosophy and theology. See Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVII, pp. 309,310.
 3. Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, p. 3.
 4. Ibid., p. 12. Compare Gold Refined, p. 143 which agrees with this position.
 5. Keach, The Ax Laid to the Root, Part I, p. 25. Compare Keach, A Counter Antidote, pp. 12,21 where he says, "...we do believe, That all those dying Infants who are saved, God doth in some way or another (which is not known to us) Sanctify them;"
 6. Keach, The Ax Laid to the Root, p. 37.

In another argument Keach uses one way of reasoning, but then says that this way is not important. He writes, "'Tis evident that our Saviour in his great Commission enjoineeth no more to be baptized but such who are first taught,..."¹ Yet in arguing against the Athenian Society, Keach says their position is that in the commission, baptize precedes "disciplize". Here he reasons, "I ask you, whether a Man may not be made a Disciple, and not be Baptized, or, be Baptized, and yet not be disciplizd?" The order in the commission, therefore, is not greatly important.² Of course the interesting thing here is that in the King James version of Matthew 28.19,20 the word, teach, appears first in verse nineteen, but it is repeated in verse twenty, therefore both sides in this controversy used the same passage of Scripture.

In connection with the commission it is interesting to see how one man answered Keach on the question of what is commanded in the Bible. Joshua Exell wrote that Keach declared "That that is forbidden which is not commanded." And Exell continues,

"And I am of his mind. The casting out of Infants from the Church of God is not commanded, Therefore it is forbidden... John Baptist his cutting off the Jews from the covenant made with Abraham, and calling it a covenant of works, is not commanded, therefore it is forbidden."³

John Lightfoot expressed the view that it would have required

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1. Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 100.
 2. Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, p. 6.
 3. Joshua Exell, Plain and Exquisite Scripture Proof, that St. John Baptist, and all the Primitive Baptizers, did baptize by sprinkling, or pouring water upon the person or persons they baptized, and not by dipping the person into water, p.5.

an express command to keep children out of the church.¹

Finally, Keach attacked the argument for infant baptism which depended on the relationship of the parent to God. He asserts,

"If the Seed or Habit of Grace remains where infused,... then its Effects will appear...if Regeneration was wrought in all the Infants you Rantize, Holiness would be the Effect of it,...but all Men see the contrary, i.e., they shew their evil and unclean Natures as soon, nay, before they can speak plain."²

In another place he asks, "If the Parent's Faith will serve for the Child, why not let the Parent's Baptism serve for the Child as well?"³

Keach's view on infant baptism is clearly expressed in the words of advice he directs to parents:

"Train up your Children in the fear of God, and set them a good example, and pray for them...and give them good Instruction, godly Counsel and Admonition: And see that you neglect not to Catechize them daily,...but dread to Baptize them in Infancy, or before they believe and have the inward and Spiritual Grace signified in true Baptism"⁴

From the standpoint of the Baptist Movement it is apparent that the significance of Keach for this period lies in his pioneering in congregational hymn-singing and his preaching. Another aspect of his work and thought was his pastoral leadership.

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1. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 221.
 2. Keach, The Rector Rectified, p. 32. Compare Keach, Pedo-Baptism disproved, p. 17; Keach, The Ax Laid to the Root, Part I, p. 28; and Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 123, which all agree with this position.
 3. Ibid., p. 80.
 4. Keach, Believer's Baptism, pp. 276, 277, 295. See Keach, The Rector Rectified, pp. 208, 210 which contains the same idea.

CHAPTER IV

1697-1704: PASTOR IN THE BAPTIST MOVEMENT

Benjamin Keach may be studied as a pastor in the Baptist Movement against the background of the political developments in England as well as the various vicissitudes among the Baptists as a whole during the period, 1697-1704.

A. Relevant Political Developments in the Light of the Baptist Movement

After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 Parliamentary approbation of William's policy was more apparent than real. The King earnestly desired a strong Army in order to be prepared for a possible war. The House of Commons, however, was weary of war and more concerned with establishing the financial stability of the country; therefore, it demanded the reduction of the Army to ten thousand men. It has also to be remembered that in five years after the Peace of Ryswick the exports were doubled; the merchant-shiping was quadrupled; and the revenue of the post-office rose to eighty-two thousand pounds. This new prosperity caused the country as a whole to look askance at the possibility of another war.¹

William was meanwhile engaged in secret negotiations with Louis XIV of France. In 1698 they signed a Partition Treaty whereby the bulk of the Spanish realm was to be assigned to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, the grandson of Leopold by his first

1. Green, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 66-68.

wife, Margaret Theresa; while small portions of the territory were to be allotted to Louis's eldest son, the Dauphin, and the Archduke Charles. William hoped that this would satisfy both France and Austria in the event of the death of Charles II of Spain. Unfortunately Parliament reduced William's Army from ten thousand to seven thousand men in December, 1698, thus making England look a much less formidable foe, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria died in February, 1697, nullifying this first treaty.¹

In 1700 a second Partition Treaty was negotiated whereby Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies were assigned to the Archduke Charles of Austria. As the news of this treaty crept abroad, Spain was stirred to bitter resentment. On his deathbed Charles II bequeathed the whole of his monarchy to a grandson of Louis, the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin. Louis promptly broke the terms of the Partition Treaty and the Duke of Anjou entered Madrid in the opening of the year, 1701. For a while it looked as if the life-work of William was undone. The new Parliament was crowded with Tories who were resolute against war. William, however, was counting on a possibility which transpired: the greed of Louis led him to take over the Dutch section causing a general panic and the suspension of trade. Both Whig and Tory supported the King in his demand for a withdrawal of French troops and authorized him to negotiate a defensive alliance with Holland.²

The succession question in England had been reopened. After

1. Samuel R. Gardiner, A Student's History of England, pp. 667-669.

2. Green, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 68-73.

extensive deliberation the Act of Settlement was passed in 1701. The exiled Queen of Bohemia, the Daughter of James I, had left a daughter, the Electress Sophia, whose son, George Lewis, was not only a protestant but a capable general and a ruler of Hanover. By this Act of Settlement the succession was limited to the Electress and her descendants after William's descendants and Princess Anne and her descendants. Every future sovereign was to join in communion with the Church of England. No person born out of these kingdoms and not of British parents should be capable of sitting in Parliament, or in the Privy Council, or of holding any civil or military office, or of receiving any grant of land from the Crown.¹ In the same year that this Act was passed, events were taking place which led to war.

Having obtained consent of the Parliament, William raised new troops and sent ten thousand men to protect the Dutch against Louis. On September 7, 1701 William signed the Grand Alliance between England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic; of which the objects were to restore to the Dutch the barrier fortresses, to secure to Leopold the Italian possessions of Spain, and to provide that the Crowns of France and Spain would not be united. One day prior to the signing of this Treaty James II died in France and Louis at once acknowledged his son as King of England. William dissolved Parliament and the new one passed an Act ordering all persons holding office to take an Oath of Abjuration of the

1. G.N. Clark, op. cit., pp. 183,184.

Pretender's title, and raised the Army to forty thousand men, granting at the same time a considerable sum for the Navy.¹

In 1702 William was looking forward to taking command of the war which was in prospect; however, on February twentieth he fell from his horse and broke his collar bone. This strain proved to be too much for his weary body and he died on March eighth. During William's reign Louis XIV was prevented from domineering in Europe and constitutional liberties were maintained in England.²

Queen Anne succeeded William and the dying King had commended the Earl of Marlborough to her as the man to lead the Armies and guide her counsels. Because of the personal influence of his wife, Marlborough was already in high favour with the Queen. Three days after her accession he was named Captain-General of the English forces at home and abroad and given the entire direction of the war. Anne declared from the throne her resolve to pursue the policy of her predecessor in regard to the war. Marlborough hastened to the Hague, received the command of the Dutch as well as the English forces, and drew the German powers into a confederacy. In the Battle of Blenheim, 1704 Marlborough, with the aid of Prince Eugene, decisively defeated the French.³

In England itself this victory gave added incentive to the Tory effort to acquire more power. They attempted to create a

1. Gardiner, A Student's History of England, p. 675.

2. Ibid., p. 676.

3. Green, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 80, 81, 85-87.

permanent Tory majority in the Commons by excluding Nonconformists from the municipal corporations. The test of receiving the sacrament according to the ritual of the Church of England, however, proved to be useless against the Protestant Dissenters. This group qualified for office by means of their practice of "occasional conformity," or receiving the sacrament of the Church of England at least once a year. The Tories wished to introduce a test for stopping this practice, but it was thwarted by the House of Lords. Tory though he was, Marlborough did not wish to interfere with the war by reviving religious strife.¹

From this analysis it is clear that England was primarily concerned with international policies and establishing the financial stability of the country, whereas religious strife was not acute and toleration was generally practised. It would be expected that the Baptists would rapidly increase their number; however, like many other religious groups, they made no outstanding progress. The two main bodies within the movement were still divided and they may be treated separately.

It was precisely at the beginning of the Revolution that the General Baptists appear to have reached the summit of their prosperity. Adam Taylor estimates their number at upwards of thirty thousand, yet the same writer asserts, "...during the short period (from the Revolution to the close of the Seventeenth Century) we are compelled to observe, that the seeds of decay had taken deep root in most of their churches and associations. Disunion among

1. Ibid., pp. 87,88.

themselves, and a departure from the faith for which, during one hundred years, they had so zealously contended, brand the close of the seventeenth century; and too evidently prove that the glory was then departing from them."¹

On July 16, 1695 the General Baptists of Lincolnshire held a meeting of their Association. Whether this was a new union or the continuation of an association which had already subsisted for some time is not clear. The mantle of leadership worn by Thomas Grantham fell on Joseph Hooke. In 1698 this Association resolved "to raise a common stock for necessary uses" and they were able to help several General Baptists in Yorkshire out of this fund from 1700 until 1703.²

Of the Essex and Cambridge groups there is very little to record. In Buckinghamshire the influence of Benjamin Keach led several congregations into the Particular camp; however, in Gloucester and Wiltshire the General Baptists expanded, possibly due to the influence of Collier. In London they developed into a closer union, but doctrinal dissension soon drew them apart. None of the London congregations secured a freehold building, but there were seven or eight meeting-houses appropriated for public worship under leases. The General Baptist Seventh-day church attracted a few exceptional men such as Joseph Davis and Nathan Bailey.³

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1. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 301,302,355,356. This is one of the most generous opinions.
 2. Ibid., pp. 318-320. This was not for the specific purpose of helping to pay their ministers.
 3. Whitley, History British Baptists, pp. 169,170,172.

Doctrinal strife among the General Baptists arose in Kent and Sussex. Matthew Caffin adopted Hoffman's view that the flesh of Jesus passed through Mary "as water through a pipe." He was challenged by Grantham and others so that tension mounted until it became acute in the whole of the General Baptist group. In 1693 the northerners obtained a unanimous condemnation of Hoffmann's views and within three years there was a disruption. This strife strongly contributed to the decay and decline of the General Baptists.¹ H.W. Robinson shows that the tendency of this group was definitely towards Arianism and Unitarianism.² It was not until 1770 that the "New Connexion of General Baptists" came into existence and they arose partly as a protest against the anti-trinitarian opinions of the older group. Some within the newer group claimed little historical connection with the earlier section.³

Principal H. Wheeler Robinson estimates that by 1715 the General Baptists had dwindled to only one hundred and ten congregations while the Particular Baptists had two hundred and twenty. Even though the Particular Wing did develop a tendency toward hyper-Calvinism and Antinomianism⁴ there was a slow growth in their number. At the General Assembly of the Particular Baptists in London, 1689,

1. Ibid., p. 173.

2. Robinson and Rushbrooke, Baptists in Britain, p. 21.

3. Goadby, op. cit., p. 47. Compare Henry C. Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists, pp. 166,167 who says that by 1750, the major part of the General Baptists had become Unitarian in their belief.

4. Robinson and Rushbrooke, Baptists in Britain, loc. cit.

a number of questions were resolved, "the most lengthy being a reasoned upholding of the Lord's Day as against the Seventh Day." It is to be remembered, however, that the Seventh-day Calvinist congregation long fostered by Belcher and the other founded by Bampfield did not put in an appearance.¹

It seems that both Whitley and Underwood attribute the Particular Baptists' failure to make any real impact on the national life to their reluctance to organize.² After 1692 the General Assembly divided into two sections — one was to meet in Bristol at Easter and the other in London at Whitsuntide. After a while the London meetings ceased and the Bristol meetings became the Western Association. In 1704 thirteen Particular Baptist congregations in London revived the London Association and it dealt with the current problems — Antinomianism, and the training and maintenance of ministers. They also declared that the imposition of hands at the ordination of Elders and Deacons was "an ordinance of Jesus Christ still in force."³

It is natural that one of the most significant leaders among the Particular Baptists, Benjamin Keach, should deal with the problems of the Sabbath Day and the imposition of hands during this period. Keach upheld the Lord's Day as against the Seventh Day and he went farther than some of his brethren in that he made the imposition of hands as a confirmation of baptism necessary for

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 176.

2. Ibid., pp. 163,174. Compare Underwood, op. cit., p. 128.

3. Underwood, op. cit., pp. 130,131.

membership in his congregation. During this phase of his ministry he expounded and explained his mature religious thought as well.

Keach's work and thought for this period can be studied under the aspect of his pastoral leadership.

B. Keach as Pastor

Keach continued to minister in his pastoral capacity until a brief illness put an end to his life. Thomas Crosby writes, "...to the end of his days, his life was one continued scene of labour and toil. His close study and constant preaching did greatly exhaust his animal spirits and infeeble his strength, yet to the last he discovered a becoming zeal against the prevailing errors of the day;...He, with unwearied diligence, did discharge the duties of his pastoral office,...visiting those under his charge, encouraging the serious, gently reproving the froward, defending the great truths of the Gospel, and setting them in the clearest light."¹

In 1697 Keach wrote as one of his Articles of Faith this statement: "We believe that laying on of hands (with Prayer) upon baptized Believers, as such, is an Ordinance of Christ and ought to be submitted unto by all such Persons that are admitted to partake of the Lord's Supper;..."² In 1698 Keach published a book titled Laying on of Hands upon Baptized Believers to take

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 304,305.

2. Keach, The Articles of Faith of the Church of Christ or Congregation meeting at Horsley-down, Benjamin Keach, Pastor, p. 23, hereinafter referred to as The Articles of Faith.

the place of his earlier work on the same subject, saying it was no longer extant.¹ The investigator, however, found a copy of his 1675 polemic, DARKNESS VANQUISHED, at the Bristol Baptist College, Bristol. The two works are almost verbatim the same.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the practice of laying on of hands upon baptized believers was a current matter of debate among both of the main groups of Baptists. The General wing usually practised it, but the Particular group was divided on the issue — some of them did not have it at all; some reckoned its effect negligible, admitting members either with or without it; and others were so tenacious for it that they refused to receive members without it.²

Keach belonged to the third group. His defence of the practice is understandable but contradictory; it is understandable in terms of his own development, but contradictory in that he has to change his view of what constitutes an ordinance of Christ in order to warrant his position. As stated in Chapter I of this study Keach came to London as a Baptist lay preacher and was ordained by a General Baptist congregation in Southwark in 1668. In 1652 this same congregation had divided on the matter of laying-on-of-hands as a confirmation of baptism. William Rider was their Elder at that time and he wrote a tract on the subject.³ It is therefore probable that this was still an important issue among the members

1. Keach, Laying on of Hands, "Epistle Dedicatory".

2. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 290.

3. Whitley, The Early History of the General Baptist Church now meeting in Borough Road, Southwark, p. 1.

of the congregation when they called Keach to the Eldership in 1668. Four years later Keach and many of his adherents founded a new Particular Baptist church. They must have been unanimously in favour of this practice, for the new church made it a term of their fellowship and maintained the practice long after Keach's death.¹

By keeping this ordinance Keach revealed his tenacity for truth no matter what the consequences. He was a leader of the Particular Baptists, yet in this practice he was at one with the General Baptists. Crosby writes that "the chief advocates for this practice among the Baptists were Mr. Sam Fisher, Mr. William Rider, Mr. Thomlinson, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Keach, and Mr. Grantham."² It has been shown that Rider was a General Baptist in London, and in Lincolnshire Thomas Grantham was an outstanding General Baptist evangelist.³

In his book Keach writes that some people consider this practice a "mere human Innovation, or Antichristian Forgery," but that he feels that it, with baptism, is "inter prima Rudimenta Fidei Christianae."⁴ Henry Danvers compiled a treatise on baptism and added a supplement opposing laying-on-of-hands.⁵ Keach agrees with Danvers on the question of baptism but writes his book to oppose Danver's position on laying-on-of-hands.⁶

1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 290.

2. Ibid., p. 292.

3. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 168.

4. Keach, Laying on of Hands, p. 2. See Darkness Vanquished, same page.

5. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 130. Thomas Grantham wrote against a "Mr. D." and this might have been Danvers. See Goadby, op. cit., p. 286 and Neal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 405.

6. Keach, Laying on of Hands, p. 2.

Keach argues that this practice "...must needs remain in full force and virtue as God's way, means, or method of conveyance of the said Spirit (the Holy Spirit) to all his Chosen always." When considering Acts 19.6 Keach writes that Paul questioned their baptism since they were ignorant of the Holy Spirit. He does make it clear that he thinks of this as "the outward Ceremony" indicating that believers have received the Holy Spirit.¹ Thomas Grantham declared that "It is a principle of Christ's doctrine" and that the object of it is "that the believers baptized may receive the promise of the Holy Spirit."²

An objection Keach faces is that some people will say they have the Spirit as much as he has and have never practised this ordinance. Keach answers, "...he (God) hath many ways to convey his Spirit into our hearts; yet this is the great Ordinance for the distributing of it to baptized believers." In another place he adds,

"Though God is not tied to this or that Ordinance, yet he hath tied us to the exact observation of them. He may anticipate his own Order, and give us the Mercy promised (in part) in some other way; yet we ought not to neglect our Duty."³

It is in his central argument that Keach contradicts his view of the institution of ordinances. In an earlier book Keach declared,

"Breaking of Bread and Holy Baptism are meer positive

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1. Ibid., pp. 72,73; Compare Darkness Vanquished, same pages, which has the same ideas.
 2. Quoted in Goadby, op. cit., p. 283.
 3. Ibid., pp. 77-79.

Ordinances; and they had never been known nor practised, if there had not been a positive Institution to give being to them;..."¹

When he was attempting to show that baptism was not a continuation of Jewish circumcision he said, "It is only because it is a positive command of Christ that baptism has any right of being."² In another book he added. "'Tis God's Word only, not Men's Reason, conceited Grounds and Inferences, that can justify a Practice or make a Gospel Ordinance."³

Danvers incorporates this idea into his own argument:

"If it was indeed said, let all baptized Believers have hands laid upon them, with as much plainness as let all Believers be baptized,...or, let all baptized Believers eat the Lord's Supper,...it was something to the purpose."⁴

This forces Keach to a wide latitude of interpretation and even to contradict his former position.

"First, we grant that to every Ordinance of Christ there must be some word of Institution, and that such far-fetched Consequences, as he minds, will not do,...but that every Institution must be laid down in such plain positive Words, as he seems to affirm,...I deny, it being none of our Principle I judge, nor theirs either;..."

And would not you allow any Pedobaptist to urge a Text of Scripture, and infer what he will from it for his Practice, provided it may naturally be infer'd or drawn from the Premises or Text he brings? Surely you as well as we, will readily give him that liberty."⁵

As previously shown in this study the General Baptists continually returned to Hebrews 6.1,2 to warrant their practices.⁶

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1. Keach, The Breach Repaired in God's Worship, p. 28.
 2. Keach, Believer's Baptism, p. 168. Compare Keach, Gold Refined, pp. 2,7, and Keach, A Counter Antidote, p. 32 where he writes the same ideas.
 3. Keach, Gold Refined, p. 141.
 4. Keach, Laying on of Hands, p. 40.
 5. Ibid., pp. 41-43. See Darkness Vanquished, p. 42, which agrees.
 6. Chapter III, Section A.

It is interesting to see that this is the exact Scripture which Keach uses. From it he infers that laying-on-of-hands is an institution of Christ.

"...the Scripture shows it was taught as a positive Command and Institution of Jesus Christ,...which I shall fully shew from Hebrews 6.1,2, where the Apostle is writing of the six Principles, or Foundation Doctrines of Christ,...now the Words of Christ and the Commands of Christ are Terms synonymous, or of like Import;..."¹

Because of this Keach felt that laying-on-of-hands was a necessary ordinance for proper admittance as a member of the congregation and no one was received without it. It is interesting that the idea of this practice was carried over into the United States as "the hand of fellowship" which is still used by Southern Baptists today, although its omission is not a barrier to membership.²

In 1700 a problem arose within his congregation which Keach was able to settle with dispatch. It concerned the question of the Lord's Day. In the foreword "To the Reader", Keach related how he came to write his book, The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated:

"There is not one Controvertable Point in and about Religion that I less thought to have been concerned with this way,... until I was alarm'd on a sudden, and provoked (some few Months ago) to undertake it: there being one Person especially under my charge...who had for some considerable time, unknown to me, suck'd in the Notion of the Jewish Sabbath, and laboured to corrupt many others of the younger sort, some of which, with himself, fell into the Practice of keeping that Day, and cast off the Lord's day, as not being of Divine Appointment...And this Principle they received without acquainting me or the Church with it,...insomuch that when it was publicly known, it had almost put the Congregation into a flame;...So that the Brethren saw it was necessary for me to preach upon this Subject, which I my self perceived an absolute necessity to do;

1. Keach, Laying on of Hands, p. 46.
2. See Vedder, op. cit., pp. 162,163.

and praised be the Lord who hath blessed my Undertaking therein, ...all generally (save them who were first corrupted) being thoroughly established in the Observation of the Lord's-day in opposition to the old Seventh-day Sabbath:"¹

It is also possible that Keach was incited to this by the occupation of Mill Yard by the Seventh-Day Baptists in 1692, and the wealthy Joseph Davis from Whitechapel acquiring the manor of Little Maplestead in Essex, a map of which may be seen at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwith.²

Robert Cox compiled a book on the literature of the Sabbath question in which he commended Keach:

"Keach was a man of considerable note among his brethren, and though in a great measure self-taught, he was a poet and an expositor, as well as a controversialist. In the last of these characters he makes a good appearance in the work before us..."³

Keach presented a copy of his book to the Archbishop of Canterbury who highly approved of his work. In his congregation only three or four people left the fellowship because of this question.⁴

It is interesting to study Keach's argument for Sunday as opposed to Saturday, because it reveals his attitude not only toward the problem in his own congregation but toward the "Seventh-Day" Baptists as well. His book is divided into two parts; the first, "Proving the Abrogation of the Old Seventh-day Sabbath", and the second, "That the Lord's Day is of Divine Appointment."⁵

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1. Keach, The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated: or, The Saturday Sabbatarians Confuted, p. iii; hereinafter referred to as The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated.
 2. Whitley, "Seventh Day Baptists in England" in The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 254.
 3. Robert Cox, The Literature of the Sabbath Question, Vol. II, p. 115.
 4. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 302.
 5. Keach, The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated, title page.

Keach argues that "if the Law of God written in Adam's heart in Innocency, did not oblige him to keep the Seventh Day as a Sabbath, that Law cannot oblige Gentile Believers to keep it." His opponents maintained the idea of a Creation Sabbath, but Keach writes that at the time of the Creation Adam "did not know in Innocency at what time God was more solemnly to be worshipped than another." Keach feels that neither Adam nor the Patriarchs kept the Sabbath. He writes that Sabbath observance was instituted by Moses when the people were in the Wilderness of Sin:

"Here, I say, is the original, or first beginning of the Sabbath (Exodus 16), that we read of, as to any Precept or Injunction on the People, or any observation of it; which was, as one observes, about a month before Moses received the Law on Mount Sinai."

The fourth commandment, Keach thinks, "...was only a Law to the Israelites during that Typical Dispensation, and their Political Church-state, which Christ nailed to his Cross, and buried with all other Shadows and Legal Ceremonies." Several Seventh-day Baptists urged Matthew 24.20 as a proof-text, but Keach asserts,

"Therefore this I take to be the direct meaning of our blessed Lord, viz. Because on the Jewish Sabbath-day, the unbelieving Jews, ...may be so strict and superstitious as to keep watch and ward at every Gate and Way, that you will not be able to escape, ...This is all I can see in this Text."

He continues, "Christ, ...hath not commanded us ...to keep the Seventh-day Sabbath. John 15.15"¹

In the latter part of this book Keach asserts, "...that our Lord Christ did certainly give Directions to his Disciples to

1. Ibid., pp. 29,30,58,77,83,149,156.

observe the first Day of the week under the Gospel" as the "day of Gospel-worship." He maintains that Jesus Christ is the "Sovereign Lord, and Lawgiver to his Church," not Moses. He uses Hebrews 4.9,10 to say that when Jesus rested "Here is the Institution of the Lord's Day." In another sermon Keach seeks to prove "the First-day of the Week to be the special Day of Solemn Worship under the Gospel, from Acts 20.7 and from Rev. 1.10 in which last place it is called the Lord's Day." Throughout the whole of his book Keach asserts that "The very Name speaks the Lord Christ to be the Author of it, who upon the day of his Resurrection was declared both Lord and Christ."¹

How shall the Lord's Day be observed? Keach explains, "I answer, First Negatively, not after the legal, severe, or strict manner, as was the Jewish Sabbath under the Law;" on the other hand, it must not be a day of "Sports and carnal Delights." He thinks "'Tis best to keep a medium betwixt both." When being specific, Keach does not believe it is "Unlawful to travel farther than a Jewish Sabbath-days Journey" or "to dress a Dinner or Supper on the Lord's-day."²

When stating the proper preparation for worship, Keach reveals his belief in the power of prayer.

"Preparation for the Publick Worship is very necessary; therefore be sure you always come into the Church from your Closets, bearing your Ministers upon your Hearts, that so the Word of

1. Ibid., pp. 175,183,200,224,234.

2. Ibid., pp. 271,272. See The Scotsman, January 31, 1953, p. 4. which has a discussion of the defeat of "The Sunday Observance Bill" in the House of Commons the previous day.

God may run and be glorified, and your own Souls secretly fed and edified together;..."

He closes his book on this note: "This know assuredly, as you grow cold in respect of the day of Worship, you do certainly grow cold as to the Worship itself: and in this lies one of the great Evils of our present Day."¹

Seven years prior to his death Keach published his most systematic work of this period, The Articles of Faith, which was a representative statement of his mature religious thought.

1. Mature Religious Thought

The thought content of the Articles of Faith was explained and expanded in other works of this period and there have been few major changes in the central tenets of his thought, which is still expressed in Scriptural language. As in the beginning he is concerned to show that on the fundamental points he does not differ from other denominations:

"My Brethren, I here present you with that which you have so long waited for, and desired me to endeavour to do, viz., to state an account of the most concerning Articles of your Faith,...that all Men may see what our Faith is, and that we differ not from our Brethren who bear other Names in any Fundamental Point or Article of Faith,..."²

As a corollary to this it would be very difficult to find a more generous attitude toward other denominations than that of Keach, and it is well worth reading:

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1. Ibid., pp. 276,279.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith of the Church of Christ or Congregation meeting at Horsley-down, Benjamin Keach, Pastor, Epistle Dedicatory; hereinafter referred to as The Articles of Faith.

"Tho many true Christians differ about small circumstantial things in that Religion, yet all that are truly godly do agree in all the Essentials of Christianity as one man. Such who shut out of Heaven all that in every thing are not of their opinion, or of their Church, seem to be void of Charity, if not of true Religion it self.

It is not of such absolute necessity that thou must be of this or that Sect, provided thou art a regenerated Person, and holdest the Head,¹ not being guilty of any capital Error, and also walkest up to the top of thy Light, and in nothing seekest to stifle the Convictions of thy own Conscience, and improvest all means to inform thy Judgment,...

Search the Scripture, which is a perfect Rule, and the only Rule both of Faith and Practice; and be of that Sect which thou art perswaded is nearest in their own Church-state and Communion to the primitive churches."²

At the outset of this section it is necessary to limit and define a phrase which is used throughout the whole of this thesis to characterize the thought of Keach; it is "moderate Calvinist." He had Augustine's thought about Conversion, Luther's idea of Justification, and Calvin's view of Election, but what precisely is meant by the phrase, moderate Calvinist, in relation to Keach?

English Puritanism may be called Calvinistic "chiefly as a matter of historical reference;" actually it can be shown that "the preachers, Calvinist though they were in varying degrees, referred as often to St. Augustine as to the author of the Institutes,..."³ Among the writers of Keach's day perhaps the leading exponent of the hyper-Calvinistic position was John Owen. Since Laud there had been several Anglicans who favoured the Arminian position, such as Richard Montagu; and one of the Independent ministers who avowedly embraced it was John Goodwin.⁴ Richard Baxter may be said to stand between the extremes of either position; he was a Calvinist,

1. For Keach the Head is Jesus Christ.

2. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, p. 233.

3. Haller, op. cit., p. 85.

4. A.W. Harrison, Arminianism, pp. 128,129,142.

yet he defended men like Goodwin. In this study Keach is called a moderate Calvinist in the sense of standing between Owen and Baxter.

Within the Baptist Movement a clue to the theological comparison of Keach is given by one of his successors, Charles H. Spurgeon.¹ He writes concerning The Metropolitan Tabernacle as a Particular Baptist church — "We are Calvinistic Baptists, and we have no desire to sail under false colours, neither are we ashamed of our principles."² It can be said that Spurgeon's mind was "soaked in the writings of the Puritan divines"³ and no doubt he diligently perused the writings of Keach,⁴ for he writes, "Having been in his earliest days an Arminian, and having soon advanced to Calvinistic views, he preserved the balance in his preaching..." He was by no means so highly Calvinistic as his great successor, Dr. Gill; but evidently held much the same views as are now advocated from the pulpit of the Tabernacle."⁵ This study clearly indicates that among those in the Baptist Movement Keach was not so hyper-Calvinistic as John Gill nor so Arminian as Thomas Grantham, but that he stood between them and may accurately be termed a moderate Calvinist.

Two factors of interpretation must be kept in mind throughout the whole of this section. The book, The Articles of Faith,

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1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 311.
 2. Spurgeon, op. cit., preface.
 3. Underwood, op. cit., p. 203.
 4. Compare the Bibliography of this study which indicates that in Spurgeon's personal library several books by Keach may be found.
 5. Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 25.

is chosen for the purpose of making an organized presentation of Keach's thought. It is not selected because it is completely original, although several articles were composed solely by Keach, but because it is typical or representative of his thought. There were several statements of faith extant with which Keach was quite familiar: The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, The Confession of Faith¹ with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly, The Confession of Faith of the General Baptists, 1660, and The Particular Baptist Confession of Faith, 1689. In addition there were several Confessions by the different Associations and even by individuals, such as Thomas Collier. Keach's thought of the preceding period was carefully compared with the Particular Baptist Confession of Faith, 1689, and this document was quoted extensively in order to indicate his oneness with the Particular Baptist Movement; therefore, the thought of Keach for this period will be compared and contrasted with those documents which had attained general acceptance by the major portion of English Nonconformists in the seventeenth century — The Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. By way of tabulation it may be noted that Keach expressed almost verbatim six articles from the Westminster Confession of Faith, six from the Larger Catechism, and nine from the Shorter Catechism;² but he differs with these documents chiefly

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1. This Confession was a revision of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England.
 2. Keach's book contains thirty-eight articles.

in regard to his ecclesiastical views. It must be made clear that the sermons and other writings of Keach are compared as well, so that the scope of this presentation and analysis includes the whole of his religious thought. A second factor is that the investigator has sought to present a proper balance between paraphrasing and quoting the views in order to permit Keach to speak for himself.

He begins with the statements "Of God, and of the Holy Trinity": the fact of God's existence and the fact that He has revealed himself to man is the basis for Keach's Confession. After making the monotheistic and trinitarian formulations in the orthodox way, Keach, like so many of the Puritan divines, becomes paradoxical by saying God is an infinite Spirit on the one hand, and then meticulously listing his attributes in a scholastic way on the other.

"We do believe, declare and testify, that there is but One Only Living and True God, who is a Spirit Infinite, Eternal, Immense and Unchangeable in his Being, Wisdom, Power, Holiness, Justice, Goodness, Truth, and Faithfulness...

That there are three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit; and that these three are one God, the same in Essence, equal in Power and Glory. I John 5.5..."¹

These statements may be compared with the earlier Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger Catechism:

"There is but one only living and true God, who is infinite in being and perfection, a most pure spirit,...immutable, immense, eternal, incomprehensible, almighty, most wise, most holy,...most loving, gracious, merciful,...abundant in goodness and truth..."² "There are three persons in the

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 3,4. See Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 6 where he makes the same formulations.
 2. "The Westminster Confession of Faith", p. 21, in The Subordinate Standards of the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND; hereinafter referred to as The Westminster Confession of Faith.

Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one true, eternal God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory;..."¹

Keach continues by stating the decrees of God as to their perpetuity — eternity, and as to their purpose — the manifestation of God's glory; he asserts,

"That the Decrees of God are his Eternal Purpose...whereby for his own Glory he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, even those Evils that his Wisdom and Justice permits for the manifestation of the Glory of those his Attributes:"²

In one of his sermons of this period Keach thus describes the attributes of God and the human response, "As he is a great and just God, he is the Object of our Fear, and as he is a Faithful God, he is the Object of our Trust, but as he is a Good God he is the Object of our Affections;" But then he becomes burdensome with his prolixity and prodigality by adding how God may be said to be good; each of the following statements receives a paragraph:

"God is Absolutely Good...God is originally and essentially Good...God is infinitely Good...God is Immutably and Unchangeably Good...God is Universally Good...God is an unmixed Good...God is a Soul-enriching Good...God is a Soul-ravishing Good...God is a Superlative Good...God is a Communicative Good...God is an Eternal Good..."³

It was this type of writing which swelled several of Keach's works into such massive volumes and caused many desultory readers to

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1. "The Larger Catechism," p. 106, in The Subordinate Standards of the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND; hereinafter referred to as The Larger Catechism.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 4. Compare "The Shorter Catechism," p. 226, in The Subordinate Standards of the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND which does not include "...those Evils...", but is otherwise the same. This work is hereinafter referred to as The Shorter Catechism.
 3. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace or the Covenant of Peace Opened, pp. 229-234; hereinafter referred to as The Display of Glorious Grace. Compare Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, pp. 242, 243, which agrees with this view.

assign him a place in the vast maze of mediocrity best relegated to the remotest recesses of the British Museum; nevertheless, it is important to realize that while the General Baptists were decaying with their Unitarianism and the Particular Baptists were allowing hyper-Calvinism to stifle their evangelical fervour, one outstanding Baptist maintained a moderate position and sincerely sought to bring people to Christ.

In connection with the decrees of God it is interesting to see Keach's view of the freedom of God's sovereignty. In a sermon he declares,

"God was at liberty of his Will whether he would make this World or not; it was, I mean, the only Act of His Sovereignty; its actual existence in time, was according to his absolute Decree and Purpose from Everlasting; and according to his absolute Sovereignty he governs and disposes of all things, and may do what he will with his own:..."¹

Keach published another book of "Spiritual Songs" in this period. One of them is based on Deuteronomy XXXII in which he maintains that God is perfect in all his ways and judgments.²

Having given his views on the nature, the attributes, and the decrees of God, Keach comes to his view of the Bible. His statements contain the characteristic Baptist ideas in that he feels that the Scripture is the only rule of faith and practice. He asserts, "We believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, and are the only Rule of Faith

1. Ibid., pp. 17,18.

2. Keach, Spiritual Songs Being the Marrow of the Scripture in Songs of Praise to Almighty God; from the Old and New Covenant, p. 3; hereinafter referred to as Spiritual Songs. This was an enlarged edition of A Feast of Fat Things with a table of contents.

and Practice. 2 Tim.3.16..."¹ Possibly the word "only" had a polemical use against the Popish and Prelatic divines who valued tradition in addition to the canonical Scripture.

It is interesting that in this latter part of his life Keach returned to the instruction of children which interested him to such a great extent in the beginning. At this time he republished one book and wrote an additional work of a catechetical nature. In The Baptist Catechism he declared, "The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, and the only certain rule of faith and obedience. 2 Tim. 3.16,"² and as part of "The Catechism" in The Child's Delight Keach included this:

"Qu. What other means (than nature) hast thou to teach thee there is a God?

Ans. The Holy Scriptures, which do declare God's glorious power and how he by his power did create all things."³

Keach's view of "Original Sin" is expressed in a straightforward manner and primarily consists in a restatement of the Scripture passages. Adam is considered as a corporate person embodying all people, and by his disobedience even the Elect have

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 5,6. Cf. The Larger Catechism, p. 104 which has "only rule of faith and practice."
 2. Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 5. Compare Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd: or an Exposition of All the Parables, and Many Express Similitudes Contained in The Four Evangelists Spoken by Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Book II, p.175 where he explains the necessity for reading the Scriptures, also Supplement, pp. 107-117 where he has the same ideas expressed above; this book is hereinafter referred to as Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd.
 3. Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 19. This is the third edition corrected of Instructions for Children. On this position compare Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 125,126, where he describes the New Testament as a book "wholly by Inspiration given out to remain as a Witness of God's Eternal Love, and Christ's Eternal Love and Favour."

lost the imago Dei and are utterly unable to do anything that is "spiritually good," being wholly inclined to do evil. The idea of the Roman Catholics that the loss suffered in the Fall was only that of a superadded gift, making original sin merely negative, is opposed by Keach who regards original sin as causing the positive removal of what had been natural to man, the loss of which involved spiritual death and utter corruption for the whole man, or "our whole Nature." He declares that the basis for this consequence is the "Covenant of Life" which God made with man conditional upon his perfect obedience.

"We do believe, that God having created man, he entered into a Covenant of Life with him, upon the condition of perfect Obedience; making the first Adam a common Head to all his Seed: and that our first Parents being left to the freedom of their own Will, fell from the Estate wherein they were created, by eating of the forbidden Fruit: and that Adam being set up as a publick Person, we all sinned in him, and fell with him into a state of Sin,...the Sinfulness of which state consists in the guilt of Adam's first Sin, the want of Original Righteousness, and the Corruption of our whole Nature: from whence all actual Sins proceed,... By this Sin all Mankind lost the Image of God, and Communion with him, being liable to all the Miseries of this Life, and to Death it self; and also are dead in Sins and Trespases, and obnoxious¹ to the Wrath of God, and the eternal Pains of Hell forever. Hence we say that all are conceiv'd and born in Sin,...even the Elect, as well as others, being wholly defiled in all the Faculties, and utterly indisposed and disabled to do any thing that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined with a strong propensity to all things that are evil."²

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1. Because of the usual connotation of this word, obnoxious, it appears to be a poor choice here; however, the word can mean "liable to punishment, or open to". See The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VII, p. 25.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 2. Cf. The Westminster Confession of Faith, pp. 32-35 which expresses the same views.

In a funeral sermon printed during this period Keach declared that the people for whom Christ died were "Hell deserving Creatures."¹ In another work Keach feels that through the transgression of Adam, man is "in a woeful State and Condition, prone to commit sin, having lost original Righteousness...and liable to the Wrath of God."²

It is interesting that Keach follows his view of original sin with his idea "Of Man's Free Will." Prior to the Fall man had freedom of will, Keach thinks, but after this event man is "woefully depraved in all the Faculties of his Soul." This leads Keach to add that salvation is wholly dependent upon divine grace, yet he holds no perfectionist view which would lead to Antinomianism.

"We believe Man in his state of Innocency had freedom of Will to do good; but by the Fall he hath utterly lost all that Power and Ability, being woefully depraved in all the Faculties of his Soul...But when a Man is renewed by Divine Grace, tho there is no force put upon the Will, yet it is made Willing, and acts freely, in the day of God's power: tho the Work is not perfect in any Faculty in the Regenerate, nor will be in this Life."³

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1. Keach, A Call to Weeping, or a Warning Touching Approaching Miseries, p. 24; hereinafter referred to as A Call to Weeping. Compare Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 7, which has the same idea.
 2. Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 22. Compare Keach, A Medium betwixt two Extremes, pp. 12,13, which states that the elect as well as others fell in the first Adam and all men are under the guilt of that original sin. Rom. 3.12.
 3. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 7,8. Cf. Westminster Confession of Faith, pp. 42,43: "Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which is good and well-pleasing to God,...Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation,...When God converts a sinner,... he...by his grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good,..."

Keach feels that believing is solely a gift of God wrought in the person by the Holy Spirit; he writes, "True, if Faith was not the Gift of God, but the Condition agreed on, as required of the Creature by his own power to act and exercise, it would not only be hard, but impossible, because Faith must be wrought in our Hearts by the same Power that raised Christ from the Dead;..."¹ Keach uses the argument of reductio ad absurdum as he suggests that the people who say salvation is dependent upon the will of man would translate Ephesians 2.8,9:

"By the Will of Man we are saved through Faith, and that of our selves, it is not the Gift of God; and 'tis of Works, so that Men may boast."²

Having given his view of God and his view of man, woefully depraved in all the faculties of his soul, Keach turns to the problem of mediation between God and man; he writes of Christ, the Mediator. From a soteriological point of view he traces man's salvation to the sovereign grace of God who entered into a Covenant of Grace with the Second Person of the Trinity to deliver "some Persons of the lost Seed of the first Adam" from a state of sin to a state of salvation. It is important to realize that Keach is thinking of "some" as opposed to "all" and not "some" as opposed to "many", for as is indicated in this study, he thought it impossible to determine a specific number of the elect and was

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1. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 164,165. See Calvin, op. cit., p. 257, which agrees, and Pascal's Pensées, H.F. Stewart, trans., p. 127, "La foy est différente de la preuve: l'une est humaine, l'autre est un don de Dieu."
 2. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, p. 76.

earnest in preaching to the whole of his audience to accept Christ. Keach says,

"We believe that God having, out of his own meer good pleasure, and infinite Love, elected some Persons of the lost Seed of the first Adam unto everlasting Life, from all Eternity, did enter into a Covenant of Grace with the second Person of the Trinity (who was set up as the common head of all the Elect) to deliver them out of the state of Sin and Misery, and to bring them into a state of Salvation and eternal Happiness."

From a Christological point of view Keach continues his statement by giving the Athanasian formulation of the relation of the Son and the Father and the orthodox view of the Incarnation as well.

"That the second Person in the Godhead (being the eternal Son of God Coessential and Coequal with the Father) according to that holy Compact and Covenant that was between them both, became Man, or assumed our Nature, and so was, and continueth to be God and Man in two distinct Natures, in one Person for ever. And that he the Son of God by his becoming Man did take unto him a True Body, and Reasonable Soul, being conceived by the holy Spirit in the Womb of the Virgin, and was born of her, yet without Sin."¹

Commenting on the first verses of the Gospel according to John, Keach asserts that Christ was God, not a creature; he was not created at the beginning but was the Creator. "All things were made by him," not as an instrument in God's hand, but as the "principal efficient cause of all things." Keach feels that "The Word was made flesh" means that Christ was made man. By assuming flesh he took upon him the seed of Abraham, "the same common nature

1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 8,9. Here and in other places Keach reveals the view known as supralapsarian predestination. Cf. The Shorter Catechism, p. 228 which has these statements almost verbatim.

of all the elect."¹ In another book of this period Keach declares,

"God, having out of his meer good Pleasure from all Eternity elected some to everlasting Life,...(redeems them through) the Lord Jesus Christ who became Man and continueth to be God and Man, in two distinct Natures and one Person for ever."²

Historically the phrase, a true body, arose in opposition to the Docetic heresy which said that Christ's body only appeared to be the body of man. Keach refutes this heresy quite strongly in one passage by saying, "...such that deny he took the same flesh, or that his human Nature was indeed the seed of David, do render the holy God to be forsworn;..."³ and in another sermon he reasons, "He must be Man, because he must work out a Righteousness in the same Nature that had sinned,...Justice required that the same Nature that broke the Law, should keep the Law,..."⁴

A corollary to Keach's view of Christ as Mediator is his idea of the "Offices of Christ". He follows the Shorter Catechism by expressing the view of the work of Christ as three in one, or triplex monous, an idea previously stated by Chrysostom and Calvin.

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1. Keach, Christ Alone the Way to Heaven or Jacob's Ladder Improved, p. 13. Compare Keach, A Call to Weeping, p. 16, where he says that Christ was truly God and Man in one person.
 2. Keach, The Baptist Catechism, pp. 12,13. Compare Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 24, which contains the same idea.
 3. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book I, p. 173.
 4. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 41,42. Compare Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 14, which contains the same view.

"We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our Redeemer and the one blessed Mediator between God and Man, executeth a threefold Office, both the Office of a Priest, the Office of a King, and the Office of a Prophet. I Tim. 2.5."¹

Keach explained and expanded his view in another place by saying,

"Was he made a Priest? God the Father made him a Mediator, and as so considered, a Priest. Heb. 5.4...Was he made a Sacrifice for Sin? The Father made him this Sacrifice. Isa. 53.11...Were our Sins laid upon him? The Father laid them upon him. Isa. 53.6...Is he a King? God the Father gave him that Power and Authority. Yet have I set my King upon the holy hill of Sion. Is he a Prophet? It was the Father that raised him up also and invested him with that Office. Acts 3.31."²

After discussing the offices of Christ, Keach shows that the work of Christ as Mediator embraced both doing and suffering, and extended to both "Humiliation and Exaltation."

"We believe that Christ's Humiliation consisted in that great Condescension of his in assuming our Nature, and being born in a low condition, made under the Law, undergoing the many Miseries of this Life, the Wrath of God, the Curse of the Law, and the ignominious Death of the Cross continuing under Death for a time Acts. 2.24-27,31... And that his Exaltation consisteth in his rising again from the dead the third day, and in his ascending into Heaven, in sitting at the Right-hand of God; Angels, Powers, and Principalities being made subject unto him,..."³

When he speaks of the death of Christ in another passage it appears

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 9. Compare The Shorter Catechism, p. 229: "Christ, as our Redeemer, executeth the offices of a prophet, of a priest, and of a king, both in his estate of humiliation and exaltation."
 2. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, p. 194. Compare Keach, The Child's Delight, pp. 26-30 which has the same view. He writes that Christ as a Prophet "revealed to us the whole mind and will of God." See Keach, Spiritual Songs, p. 17, where he expresses a similar view. Notice Keach, Christ Alone the Way, pp. 41-45, where he maintains that Christ is "Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice" and that as Priest, he intercedes for us in Heaven.
 3. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 34. Cf. Shorter Catechism, pp. 230-1 which has the same ideas.

at first that Keach is guilty of Nestorianism, two persons as well as two natures, but if the whole of the passage is read carefully it is clear that he sees Christ as being two natures in one person.

"Christ must be Man, because he must die; now God as God (I mean the Godhead) could not die; Man must die to satisfy offended Justice for the Breach of the Law; therefore Christ must be Man and die; And by Vertue of the Union of the Divine Nature and the Human Nature in his Person, the Death of Christ was a full Satisfaction to the Justice of God."¹

In this idea of Christ's humiliation and exaltation and in previous statements Keach speaks of Christ "becoming Man," or "assuming our Nature;" yet in attempting to indicate why Christ was God and Man he seems to feel that he was "God-man" before his birth in Bethlehem. He declares,

"Moreover Christ must be God-man, because the Covenant of Peace was transacted with Christ, not as God, simply so considered, but as God-man, or as Mediator; and as such he struck Hands with God; Christ-God, (as one observes) could not be under the Law, nor represent Man, and take his Law-place; nor could the Godhead suffer, and pay the price of Blood, nor receive a Mission, and Mandates; Christ simply considered as God, could not be a Messenger, nor be sent, nor as God could Promises be made to him, nor any Rewards given him, but as Mediator this was done...the Covenant of Peace was made with Christ as God-man, God in our Nature."²

Contrast this with Keach's customary way of writing:

"...as he is verily God of the substance of the Father; so he is truly Man, he took on him the Seed of Abraham, being conceived by the Holy Ghost, was born of the Virgin Mary,... and that he suffered Death, to Redeem all those who truly Believe in him,...I also believe he rose again the Third Day, and Ascended into Heaven above, and sitteth now at the right

1. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 42.

2. Ibid., p. 45.

hand of God,..."¹

Certainly one of the chief problems in the former passage is that Keach thinks of relationships within the Trinity in anthropomorphic terms, i.e., "he struck Hands with God." The contradiction between the two passages, however, is more apparent than real; it consists of two approaches to a thought rather than in two opposing thoughts, that is, the former is from man's side and the latter, from God's side.

This section on Christ as Mediator can best be reviewed by a statement in one of Keach's evangelistic sermons of 1698 which says, "Jesus Christ as Mediator, God-man in one Person, is the contrivance of the infinite wisdom of God for attaining his purpose which is the glory of his own Name and the salvation of his Elect,..."²

In his "Articles" Keach has recorded his views of the Trinity, the Bible, Original Sin and Man's Free Will, and Christ the Mediator; now he defines several theological terms. He writes of "Effectual Calling" in terms of its purpose — to make the elect partakers of redemption, its method and agent — by the application of Christ's merits by the Holy Spirit, and its effect — the uniting of the elect to Christ. Again he agrees with The Shorter

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1. Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 50. See pp. 24,25; Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 8; Keach, A Call to Weeping, pp. 16,22; Keach, Christ Alone the Way, pp. 37-39, which has the exaltation of Christ as in the Article; and Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book I, p. 92; which all have the same view.
 2. Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 11.

Catechism as he says,

"We do believe that we are made Partakers of the Redemption purchased by Christ, by the effectual Application of his Merits, etc. unto us by the Holy Spirit, thereby uniting us to Christ in effectual calling...Ephe. 2.8"¹

In another work of this period Keach defines it more precisely:

"Effectual calling is the work of God's Holy Spirit whereby he, Convincing us of Sin, enlightening our minds in the Knowledge of Christ, and renewing our Wills, doth persuade us to leave and loathe our sins, and joyfully to embrace Jesus Christ, as offered to us in the Gospel. 2 Tim. 1.9."²

Keach added in another place, "Those that are effectually called partake of Justification, Adoption, and Sanctification."³

Justification is thought of as an act as opposed to a work, whereby God both declares the sinner justified and makes him justified on the basis of faith alone by the imputation of the "Righteousness of Christ."

"We do believe Justification is a free act of God's Grace... whereby we in our own Persons are actually justified in being made and pronounced righteous, through the Righteousness of Christ imputed to us; and all our Sins, past, present, and to come, for ever pardon'd; which is received by Faith alone."⁴

At this point it may be said that the Shorter Catechism differs in two respects: Keach says "makes righteous" whereas it says "accepts as righteous," and Keach refers to sins "past, present, and to come" whereas it makes no time distinction. It reads,

"Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein he pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in his

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 11. Cf. Shorter Catechism, p. 231.
 2. Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 31. See also Keach Christ Alone the Way, p. 21, where he writes, "...by the Spirit they (the elect) are united to him and so believe."
 3. Keach, The Baptist Catechism, pp. 17,18. See Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 238, where he writes the same idea.
 4. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 12,13.

sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, and received by faith alone."¹

Keach's view makes "Christ's Merits" the sole cause of Justification as opposed to any merits in man, and it is important to notice that for Keach the phrase, Christ's Merits, is tantamount to the Righteousness of Christ.

"And that our Sanctification, nor Faith itself, is any part of our Justification before God; it not being either the Habit, or Act of Believing,...but Christ, and his active and passive Obedience only, apprehended by Faith: and that Faith in no sense tends to make Christ's Merits more satisfactory unto God; but that he was as fully reconciled and satisfied for his elect in Christ by his Death before Faith as after;"²

In his book of sermons specifically on Justification Keach proposes,

"All those that are in Christ Jesus, or have attained actual Union with him, are justified Persons, and forever delivered from Condemnation."

He goes farther to differentiate between the possibility and actuality of justification by asserting that God saw us condemned in the first Adam and justified in the Second Adam at the same time, "from eternity," but it does not follow that we are actually condemned and actually justified from eternity. The decree of God without the execution of it brings nothing actually to be or exist, though the decree renders the thing certain to be in time. There

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1. The Shorter Catechism, p. 232.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 13. Compare Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 12, and Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 32 which contain the same ideas as well. See John Owen, The Doctrine of Justification by Faith Through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, Explained, Confirmed and Vindicated which appeared in 1677, for Keach was familiar with it. Keach indicates that he believes in the penal substitution theory of the Atonement.

was a "federal union" of the elect with Christ as our "Surety" from eternity, yet we are not actually justified until we have union with Him.¹

Is this view of God's knowledge unique with Keach? Certainly John Calvin had written it before:

"We indeed, ascribe both prescience and predestination to God;...When we attribute prescience to God, we mean that all things were, and ever continue, under his eye; that to his knowledge there is no past or future, but all things are present, and indeed so present, that it is not merely the idea of them that is before him (as those objects are which we retain in our memory), but that he truly sees and contemplates them as actually under his immediate inspection. This prescience extends to the whole circuit of the world, and to all creatures."²

Keach has declared that Justification is by faith. What is his definition of "Faith and Repentance"? When he speaks about Justification, Adoption, and Sanctification, Keach describes Grace as an act of God, whereas here it is a gift of God. He uses the etymological meaning of the word, "faith", and defines it as wholly resting upon or trusting Jesus Christ as offered in the Gospel:

"We believe that Faith is a saving Grace, or the most precious Gift of God; and that it is an Instrument whereby we receive, take hold of, and wholly rest upon Jesus Christ, as offered to us in the Gospel."³

In another work he reveals the paradox of faith:

"God bids us believe,...he that commands us to believe, hath promised to give that Grace to his Elect, by which they shall

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1. Keach, A Medium betwixt two Extremes, pp. 25,26,28,29. See Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 21, and Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 302 which contain the same view.
 2. Calvin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 206.
 3. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 18. Cf. Larger Catechism, p. 131.

believe, and Christ takes hold of him; God receives nothing of our hands, but all is given unto us freely."¹

Keach follows his idea of Faith with his view of Repentance, a sequence taught by Calvin, and makes it a saving Grace as well; it is to be noted that Keach does not separate the two but uses both to describe the action within the believer. In this passage believing and apprehending are united — the spiritually awakened turns from his sins as he believes in Jesus Christ and apprehends God's love as revealed in the cross. Keach writes,

"That Repentance unto Life is also a saving Grace, whereby a Sinner, out of a true Sense of Sin, and Apprehension of God's Mercy in Christ, doth with Grief and Hatred of his Sins, turn from them...we believe no Man can savingly repent unless he believes in Jesus Christ, and apprehends...the Sight and Sense of God's Love in a bleeding Saviour; being that only thing that melts and breaks the strong heart of a poor Sinner..."²

In another book Keach writes that all are under condemnation before the Holy Spirit ascribes the personal justification of the elect to faith, yet neither faith nor repentance are the causal qualifications for justification, but Jesus Christ alone. "By Faith, it intends not any moral or physical causality in faith as a qualification, but only by virtue of the Object it apprehends."³ He adds in a sermon, "...Brethren, if Grace be infused into the Sinner's Heart, it will Teach him to deny all Ungodliness, and Worldly Lusts:...yet Repentance is not the Condition of Peace with God, but an effect of it, or of Christ's Merits..."⁴

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1. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book I, p. 191.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 18,19. Cf. Larger Catechism, p. 133, which has the same view.
 3. Keach, A Medium betwixt two Extremes, pp. 20,21.
 4. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 283,284. See Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 20; Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 19; and Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 35, where he says that by faith we must receive Christ as "Saviour and Sovereign", all of which agree with this position.

Keach does feel that faith grows, yet as revealed in this section, he holds that it is genuine or "saving Faith" at all times. "The Lord Jesus doth increase and strengthen our Faith by the Influence of his Spirit;...By a constant use, study, and exercise, Faith is increased in believers, until they come to a more perfect stature in Christ Jesus."¹

Very closely allied with his view of faith and repentance is Keach's idea of Adoption. It proceeds from God, is conferred upon former sinners, and secures for them all the privileges of being children of God.

"We believe Adoption is an Act of God's Free Grace, whereby such who were the Children of Wrath by Nature, are received into the Number and have Right to all the Privileges of the Sons of God;...John 1.10, I John 3."²

In a sermon Keach adds the agent by whom this transpires — the Holy Spirit. "Brethren, That Spirit which unites the Soul to the Lord Jesus, is the Spirit of Adoption...They are Sons by Virtue of their Union with Christ,..."³

Keach feels that Sanctification is a process of renewal of the whole man after the image of God. This is in keeping with his former position that it is the whole man who is in a state of sin after the Fall. Keach gives here the two components of the same process, the one whereby the whole man is renewed - dying more

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1. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book I, pp. 227,228.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 13,14. Compare Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 63, which has the same idea. Cf. Shorter Catechism, p. 232 which agrees.
 3. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book III, p. 38. See Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 32, Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 228, and Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 10, all of which agree that it is the Holy Spirit.

and more to sin and living more and more to righteousness.

"That Sanctification is the Work of God's Free Grace also, whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the Image of God, and are inabled more and more to die unto Sin, and live unto Righteousness. 2 Thess. 2.13"¹

Keach describes the paradox of living in and yet with Christ and also shows the different kind of life experienced by the regenerate person — communion with God.

"They live in Christ, they live with Christ, and they live to Christ; for the grand work and design of the Spirit, is to glorify Jesus Christ, ... Lost Beauty, even the Image of God, is restored to them, they partake of the divine Nature; ... This life makes them lively and holy, and causeth them to delight in God, and to walk with God, ... i.e. in Communion, and fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ."²

After giving his view of Sanctification, Keach turns to his position on the Law. As a Covenant of Works he feels it has been abrogated, but it remains as a guide to the Christian life.

"We believe God requires Obedience of Man, and that the Rule of that obedience is the Moral Law as it is in the hands of Christ;"³

The Particular Baptists were moving toward Antinomianism, but this was not the position of Keach, for he continues, "And that the Law is abolished as a Covenant of Works, ... yet it remains as a Rule of Life and Righteousness for ever... Faith is known by its Fruits."⁴

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 14. Compare Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 32, where he writes, "Sanctification is the work of God's free Grace whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the Image of God, ... as a sign whereof we die more and more to sin, and live unto God in righteousness and holiness."
 2. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, p. 141.
 3. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 16, 17. Cf. The Shorter Catechism, pp. 232, 234 for similar positions on Sanctification and the Law.
 4. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 16, 17. See Keach, The Baptist Catechism, pp. 12, 18, where he shows that the Decalogue has been abrogated but must not be discarded.

In one of his sermons Keach writes that we are chosen in Christ to be holy, so to this end we are redeemed; the motive to holiness is not our own happiness but that we might "Glorifie God."¹ Before union with Christ, Keach feels that all men are "under the Curse of the Law."² After this union there must follow "True Obedience" which flows from love to God and is continuous throughout life.³

Keach clearly describes his view of the paradoxical relation between the commands of God and the actions of the believer:

- "1. He commands us to Believe -- and he hath promised to give us Faith so to do;...Ephe. 2.8, Phil. 1.29.
2. He hath commanded us to make us a new Heart, and he hath promised to give us a new Heart and to put a new Spirit into us. Ezek. 36.26.
3. He commands us to love him, etc., and he hath promised to Circumsise our Hearts so to do,..."⁴

Closely connected with his view of the Law is Keach's federal theory -- the theory of the First and Second Covenants. He describes the first covenant as to its condition -- works by man, its abolition -- the Fall, and the teleological significance of breaking it -- man made himself incapable of life. He adds that the law given through Moses to Israel was a second ministration of the law given to Adam; its purpose was "to make Sin exceeding sinful"

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1. Keach, A Call to Weeping, pp. 6,7.
 2. Keach, A Medium betwixt two Extremes, p. 16.
 3. Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 37. See Keach, Christ Alone the Way, pp. 21,22, and Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, pp. 218,219, which reads, "A faithful Labourer or Servant of Christ is universal in his Obedience, he doth not chuse his Work, or is only for the easiest part of it, but ready to obey him, as faithful Abraham did..."; and also Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 280; all of which contain a very similar view.
 4. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 179.

and to be a "Schoolmaster" to bring sinners to Christ.

"We believe that the First Covenant, or Covenant of Works, was primarily made with Adam, and with all Mankind in him... But by the Fall, he made himself incapable of Life by that Covenant. Rom. 10. That the Law God gave by Moses to Israel, was of the same nature of that given to Adam, being a second Ministration of it; but was not given for Life; but to make Sin exceeding sinful...and as a Schoolmaster to bring Sinners to Christ."¹

The First Covenant idea arises from the analogy and the antithesis to the Covenant of Grace idea. This covenant is described in accordance with his previous view of Christ the Mediator as to the "parties" — the Father and the "Second Adam", the means of ratification — perfectly keeping the Law in the "nature that had sinned" and bearing the sins of the elect in his own body, and as to its teleological significance — union with Christ.

"We believe the Covenant of Grace was primarily made with the second Adam, and in him with all the Elect, who as God-man, or Mediator, was set up from everlasting as a Common Person, or as their Head or Representative,²...who freely obliged or ingaged himself to the Father for them, perfectly to keep the whole Law in their Nature that had sinned, and to satisfy Divine Justice by bearing their Sins upon his own Body,³... and having received their discharge from Wrath and Condemnation, he gives it out to all that believe in him, and obtain Union with him, who are thereby brought actually into the said New Covenant..."⁴

In his view of Election Keach agrees with Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Calvin, and the Westminster Confession of Faith by stating that God immutably decreed some people unto eternal life.

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 30,31. Compare The Westminster Confession of Faith, p. 35 which expresses the idea of both Covenants.
 2. Notice Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 11 for this same idea.
 3. Compare Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 25 which says the same.
 4. Keach, The Articles of Faith, loc. cit., See Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 14,15,33, which gives the same view.

Here he is consistent with his former views.

"We do believe that God from all Eternity, according unto the most wise and holy Counsel of his own Will freely and unchangeably decreed and ordained, for the manifestation of his own Glory, some Angels, and some of the lost Sons and Daughters of Adam, unto eternal Life:..."¹

Keach guards against making faith the cause of election and thereby having the same problem of salvation by works. He continues by saying that God chose the elect "...of his meer free Grace, without any foreseen Faith or Obedience and Perseverence therein, or any thing in the Creature as a Condition or Cause moving him thereunto;..."²

As indicated in the discussion of God's Decrees, Keach thinks of God's sovereignty as absolute; he declares,

"Yet the Display of his Favour, Love, Mercy and Goodness, ought to be considered with respect had to his absolute Sovereignty...he had not been unjust if all Adam's Posterity had been cast into Hell, and not one Soul saved;...neither is he obliged to save the whole Lump of Mankind,...according to his absolute Sovereignty he governs and disposes of all things, and may do what he will with his own,..."³

In another passage Keach asks if God passed an eternal Decree of Reprobation on men as a simple act of his sovereignty irrespective of their sin and disobedience, and thus forces himself to attempt a dichotomy of the causes of reprobation and election — reprobation because of "foreseen Wickedness," but election without "foreseen Faith, Holiness, or Obedience." Keach answers his question of God's

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 32,33. Compare Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 17, where he says that Christ is not the head of "Adam's seed", all sinners, but only of "Abraham's seed," the elect; and also Keach, The Baptist Catechism, pp. 12,19, all of which agree with this position.
 2. Loc. cit. See The Larger Catechism, pp. 128, 129 which agrees.
 3. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 17,18.

decreeing reprobation by saying,

"Some are bold to affirm he did, but I am not of that Opinion; for tho the Decree of Election was before the World began, yet the execution of it is in time, (likewise) ... Reprobation was not the cause of their Sin; but as I conceive, Sin was the cause of their being reprobated;...But the Reprobation, as an act of God's Justice, refers to the Creatures Sin and Disobedience, or foreseen Wickedness,... Yet Election to Everlasting Life is an absolute act of God's sovereign Grace, without any respect had to our foreseen Faith, Holiness, or Obedience, because Election is the cause of our Faith and Holiness, and not Faith or Holiness the Cause of Election."¹

William L. Lumpkin in writing about "The Standard General Baptist Confession, 1660" points out that predestination is not mentioned in the confession, but election is said to have been decreed even before the foundation of the world for "such as believe," and condemnation was "of old ordained" for such as "turn the grace of God into wantonness."²

With this view of election it is natural that Keach would be against the idea of a "Universal Redemption." He asserts, "There can be no Universal Redemption, unless Christ were a Universal Redeemer, but Christ is not a Universal Redeemer, Millions of Souls are left under the Power of Sin, and dominion of Satan."³

With many ministers in the Baptist Movement this idea of eternal election caused a spiritual lethargy to replace their evangelical fervour; but Keach was not guilty of this charge. He did not believe in a universal redemption, but throughout the whole

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1. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book, II, p. 240.
 2. William Latane Lumpkin, The Local Baptist Confessions of Faith of the Civil War — Commonwealth Period, Chap. IV, p. 28, Ph.D. Thesis, 1948, University of Edinburgh.
 3. Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, p. 159.

of his life he made a universal proclamation. Keach did not consider this a contradiction and he gave both a negative and a positive reason — negative in that no sin or sinner by name is excluded, and positive in that the only requirement is faith in Christ. He writes,

- "1. Answ. Because no sort of Sins, nor Sinners by Name are excepted, or exempted: Who can say, he was not included in this Covenant of Peace to whom the Gospel comes?
2. Because Ministers know not but that every one to whom they Preach may be comprehended in this Covenant, or in the Election of Grace...
4. The Proclamation doth not run to all otherwise than thus, viz., He that Believeth, he that comes to Christ, etc. or that receives the Atonement, or believes the Testimony of the Gospel:"¹

Keach's view of final perseverance is based on his idea of election, and it expresses the certainty of salvation for all who are the recipients of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. Possibly it came to Keach from Calvin as interpreted by John Owen in his Perseverance of the Saints² and from the Westminster Confession of Faith. Keach writes,

"We believe all those whom God hath chosen, and who are effectually called, justified, and sanctified in Jesus Christ, can neither totally, nor finally fall away from a state of Grace; ...and this by virtue of their Election, or the immutable Decree of God, and the unchangeable Love of God the Father."³

He opposes the Arminian view which he interprets to mean that Christians can finally fall away. "You may thank the Arminians for this Objection, who affirm, a Man may be a Child of God to day and

1. Ibid., p. 164. See Keach, The Child's Delight, pp. 50, "...he (Christ) suffered death, to redeem all those that truly believe in him,..."
2. See John Owen, The Perseverance of the Saints, Explained and Confirmed which appeared in 1654.
3. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 33. Compare Keach, A Medium betwixt two Extremes, p. 11 which agrees with these statements. Compare The Westminster Confession of Faith, pp. 59,60, which contains the same view.

a Child of the Devil to morrow. Can a Child cease to be the Child of the Father that begat him?...or is not the Love of God unchangeable?"¹ The arguments both for and against Keach's view of Final Perseverance have been given many times and need not be reiterated at this point in the analysis of his thought.

After the discussion of Keach's definitions of theological terms, it is interesting to examine his ecclesiastical ideas. Here, of course, he differs from the Westminster documents and is specifically Baptist. What does Keach feel is "A True Church"? He answers by showing what it is not — national or parochial, and what he feels that it is — a local congregation of baptized believers gathered of their own free will to worship God and be mutually beneficial.

"We believe a true Church of Christ is not National, nor Parochial, but doth consist of a number of godly Persons, who upon their Profession of their Faith and Repentance have been baptized, and in a solemn manner have in a Holy Covenant given themselves up to the Lord, and to one another, to live in Love, and to endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Ephe. 4.3"²

The Articles of Faith was written August 10, 1697 and The Glory of a True Church was written August 18, 1697 and attached to it.³ In the latter Keach gave "The Solemn Covenant of the Church at its Constitution" which is in agreement with his view of a true church.

"We who desire to walk together in the fear of the Lord, do,

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1. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, p. 232.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 22.
 3. Keach, The Glory of a True Church and Its Discipline Displayed, p. 74; hereinafter referred to as The Glory of a True Church.

through the assistance of his Holy Spirit, profess our deep and serious humiliation for all our transgressions. And we do solemnly, in the presence of God, of each other, in the sense of our own unworthiness, give up ourselves unto the Lord, in a Church State according to the apostolical constitution that he may be our God, and that we may be his people,...through his blessed Son Jesus Christ,¹...to conform to all his holy laws and ordinances,...that we may be as a holy spouse unto him, and serve him in our generation, and wait for his second appearance as our glorious bridegroom.²

Keach not only envisaged a local congregation but he also shared the view of a Universal or "Catholick" church in the sense of its being constituted of all believers in Christ. He asserts of a "True Church,"

"The Beauty and Glory of which Congregation doth consist in their being all Converted Persons,...being by the Holy Spirit, united to Jesus Christ the Precious Corner-Stone, and only foundation of every Christian, as well as of every particular Congregation, and of the whole Catholick Church."³

In a sermon he declares,

"The Glory of the Church will appear in those times to consist in these things following: (at the end of the age)
6. In respect of Love, Peace, and Union, amongst all the People of God; no more Names of Infamy, nor of distinction; all shall be one Heart, and of one Way, and all serve the Lord with one Consent..."

Preaching on Matthew XVI Keach offers this proposition: "Prop. 2 That the universal or invisible Church cannot be removed or taken away; that it is built upon a Rock,..."⁴

Keach believed in the church as a local congregation and as all the believers in Christ; and he also believed in close

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1. See Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 49, where he says that Christ is the only head of the church.
 2. Keach, The Glory of a True Church, p. 30.
 3. Ibid., p. 6.
 4. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book I, p. 226; Cf. Book II, p. 201.

cooperation among the various congregations. Just five years before his death he published four sermons concerning Christ. "The Epistle Dedicatory" is to six churches in Hampshire. Keach suggests that they meet together twice a year "to know each other's estate" and to discover ways of helping each other. He closes with, "May the Lord pour out more of his Spirit and indow you and me with that precious Grace of Humility, that we may be even cloathed therewith, and not judge and censure one another who all hold the Head."¹

What did Keach write about church officers? He feels that the Elders and Deacons should be elected and ordained by the local congregation according to the teachings of the Scripture. He asserts the independence of the local congregation from any external authority and conceives of the congregation as an organism rather than an institution.

"We do believe that every particular Church of Christ is Independent; and that no one Church hath any Priority or Superintendency above or over another; and that every Church ought to be Organical: that an Elder, or Elders, a Deacon, or Deacons ought to be elected in every Congregation, according to those holy Qualifications laid down in the Word of God: I Tim. 3.2-12; and that the said Elders and Deacons ought to be ordained with Prayer, and laying on of hands of the Eldership."²

Inherent in these ideas may be one of the reasons for the Particular Baptists' failure to organize.

Connected with his ideas of the church are Keach's views

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1. Keach, Christ Alone the Way, Epistle Dedicatory.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 25,26. See Keach, The Glory of a True Church, pp. 6,7; Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book III, pp. 89-93; which contain the same ideas.

"Of the Means of Grace." He described the ordinances as the "ordinary means" whereby Christ communicates the benefits of Redemption; however, he guards against the Roman Catholic view by stating that it is the Spirit of God who makes the ordinances effectual. It is significant for Keach that he makes preaching tantamount to an ordinance.

"We believe that the outward and more ordinary means, whereby Christ communicates to us the benefits of Redemption, are his Holy Ordinances, as Prayer, the Word of God, and Preaching...and yet notwithstanding, it is the Spirit of God that maketh Prayer, Reading, and specially the Preaching of the Word effectual. Rom. 1.15,16"¹

The remaining ideas that are connected with his ecclesiastical view have been discussed at length in this study. In a straightforward manner Keach reveals that his thoughts in this regard are quite similar to those previously recorded in this investigation. His view of Baptism has not changed.² He agrees with the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper in that he feels that the elements are only symbols. In one work he says that the bread and the wine are "only signs or figures" of the body and blood of Christ. This sacrament strengthens our faith in Christ, and it also indicates "that blessed nearness or sweet union, which is, and ought to be among God's people."³

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1. Ibid., p. 19. See Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 19, Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 38; Keach, Christ Alone the Way, p. 21; Keach, The Glory of the True Church, p. 31; Keach, The Display of Glorious Grace, pp. 262, 263; Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, p. 137, all of which agree on this point.
 2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 20, 21.
 3. Keach, The Child's Delight, pp. 39, 40. Compare Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 20, and Keach, The Articles of Faith, pp. 24, 25 which agree with this position.

Keach writes "Of Laying on of Hands" as an ordinance that he feels should always be continued.¹ His views "Of Singing of Psalms" and "The Christian Sabbath" have been discussed in this thesis; they were restated at this time verbatim.² He also included in his Articles that "it is the indispensable Duty of every Church, according to their Ability, to provide their Pastor, ...a comfortable Maintenance; Rom. 15.27."³

Keach feels that prayer is an ordinance and his view of it can conclude this part of the study of his ecclesiastical ideas.

"We do believe Prayer is a holy Ordinance of God, and that it ought to be performed by the Help and Assistance of the Holy Spirit; and that not only the Prayer Christ taught his Disciples, but the whole Word of God is to be our Rule how to pray, and pour fourth our Souls unto God. Ephe. 6.18"⁴

In another work of this period Keach adds that prayer is to be according to the will of God. "Prayer is an humble asking of such things of God that we need which are according to his will."⁵

An analysis of Keach's eschatological views completes this study of his religious thought. In a list of at least thirty-eight articles the sixteenth article by Keach is "Of the Souls of Men at Death." He posits three positions in this article — the immortality of the soul, a state of rewards and punishments,

1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 23.

2. Ibid., pp. 27,28.

3. Ibid., p. 29.

4. Ibid., p. 26. See Keach, The Glory of a True Church, p. 31 and Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, pp. 145-147 which agree with this position.

5. Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 43. See pp. 43-48 where he gives an exposition of the "Lord's Prayer"; and Keach, The Baptist Catechism, pp. 22,23 which agree.

or heaven and hell, and no intermediate state for the soul after death. Both Origen and Calvin opposed the idea of the sleep of souls and Keach opposes it as well. He also uses Scriptural language in such a way as to eliminate the Roman Catholic view of purgatory. Closely allied with The Shorter Catechism he writes,

"We believe that at Death the Souls of Believers are made perfect in Holiness and do immediately pass into Glory; and their Bodies dying in Union with Christ, or dying in the Lord, do rest in their Graves till the Resurrection, when they shall be raised up in Glory. I Thess. 4. And that their Souls being reunited to their Bodies, they shall be openly acknowledged, and acquitted,...and shall have the full Injoyment of God to all Eternity."¹

He continues with his view of the souls of the wicked in a parallel fashion:

"And that Souls of the Wicked, at their Death are cast into Hell, or Torment; and that their Bodies lie in the Grave under Wrath, and shall by virtue of the Power of Christ be raised from the Dead: and their Souls being reunited to their Bodies, shall be judged and condemned, and cast into a Furnace of Fire, or unspeakable Torment, with the Devil and his Angels for ever and ever. 2 Thess. 1."²

It appears that Keach makes a clear distinction between the soul and the body of man; he has a dichotomous view of man in this sense only, not in the sense of man as a mind and a body. He

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1. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 15. Cf. The Shorter Catechism p. 233, "The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection..." It continues in the same way as above.
 2. Loc. cit. See Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 11, and Keach, The Child's Delight, pp. 42,43, which have the same idea. Notice Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, pp. 161, 162, which is specifically against purgatory: "The Papists plead for their Purgatory from hence. He must pay all, but say they, neither in this Life, nor in Hell, therefore in Purgatory. O foolish Assertion, and as blind a Conclusion! ...There is no purgation but by Christ's blood, nor any place of Torment after Death but Hell:..." See Larger Catechism, pp. 139,140.

writes,

"If the Soul at Death is actually separated from the Body, ...it is immortal; (but this the Text before-cited plainly proves, Eccles. 12.7) Therefore, the Soul is immortal; the Body goes one Way, the Soul another; the Body returns to the Dust, the Soul goes to God; the Body being made of Earth returns to the Earth, but the Soul proceeding from God, ...it being created of God and infused into the Body, that goes to God that gave it,..."¹

In another book Keach says that the soul and body are "two distinct beings." He distinguishes by saying, "The one is material, the other immaterial; the one the house, the other the inhabitant."²

The increasing claims of reason in the popular mind of England at this time provide a clue to a deeper understanding of Keach's way of speaking of the relationship of the soul to reason. He writes that conversion begins in the soul, and were it not for this "rational or immortal part," man could be no more a proper subject than a beast. He feels that when we read of that part which "understands great mysteries," "thinks," "contemplates God," it is the soul. That which is capable of communion with God is "the spiritual part" or the "rational soul" of man. Keach, however, would never equate the soul of man and his natural reason. At the close of his book on the immortality of the soul he declares, "Know and be assured that he can be no true Christian

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1. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Supplement, p. 89. See Keach, The French Impostour Detected, or Zach. Housel Tryed by the Word of God, p. 61, where he states that the soul is an "immortal, incorporeal or immaterial substance, created by God, and infused into the body." This work is hereinafter referred to as The French Impostour Detected.
 2. Keach, The French Impostour Detected, p. 70.

that will believe no principle of Christ but what his own corrupt reason can comprehend."¹

Implicit in his former statements are Keach's views of the Resurrection and Eternal Judgment, yet he gives them as separate articles. He is consistent with his other ideas as he declares,

"We do believe that the Bodies of all Men, both the Just and Unjust, shall rise again at the last day, even the same numerical Bodies that die;...and that the dead in Christ shall rise first,...

We believe that God hath appointed a Day in which he will judg the World in Righteousness by Jesus Christ;...and that he will pass an eternal Sentence upon all, according as their works shall be Eccles. 12, 2 Cor. 5.10"²

Both of these views had been previously stated in The Larger Catechism.³

Keach wrote an extensive preface to a book by Robert Prudom during this period. The copy of this book which is still extant in the British Museum has very small print and the pages are yellow with age, but it can be read with a magnifying glass. In it Keach writes, "From my Youth, even when first I was brought into the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, I was stirred up to search the Mysteries of Prophetical Scripture." He states that he is fully persuaded concerning the "millenium," a thousand years reign of Christ with his saints upon earth, but that he is still seeking more light upon this subject. He is definitely against those who would set a specific date for the end of the world. He also feels

1. Ibid., pp. 62-64, 141.

2. Keach, The Articles of Faith, p. 34. See Keach, The Child's Delight, p. 43, Keach, The Baptist Catechism, p. 11, which agree with this position. Compare Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, pp. 3,4 where hell is compared to a fire.

3. The Larger Catechism, pp. 138, 139.

that all Christians are agreed on the following points which are consistent with his views on the souls of men at death, the resurrection, and the final judgment:

1. Jesus Christ will come personally from heaven to earth in the Day of Judgement. Job 19.25.¹
2. When Christ comes, he will bring with him the souls of his Saints. I Thess. 4.13,14.
3. The bodies shall then be immediately raised out of their graves and the souls and bodies shall be joined together.
4. When the body is raised, it shall be raised to glory, I Cor. 15.42, in incorruption. Phil. 34.21.
5. This Resurrection of the Saints shall be before the Resurrection of the wicked.
6. The Lord Jesus will take some time to judge the world and not do it in a moment.

Keach writes that Christ will judge the world as the Son of Man and not only as God. He does assert that how long "the Day of Judgement, or Kingdom of Christ, or Reign of the Saints, or Millennium" shall last is a matter of debate, but he feels it will be a thousand years.²

In one of his sermons of this period Keach describes the Second Coming of Christ:

- "...we have the Promise both of the Father and the Son for the coming of the Lord Jesus the second time:...
1. He will appear personally,...
 2. He shall appear very glorious."³

This concludes a discussion of the main tenets in Keach's eschatological views.

From this analysis it is clear that there are seven central

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1. See Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book II, pp. 216,217.
 2. Robert Prudom, The New World Discovered in the Prospect Glass of the Holy Scripture being a Brief Essay to the Opening of Scripture Prophecies Concerning the Latter Days, Also, Proving the Personal Reign of Christ With His Saints on Earth A Thousand Years, pp. 3-6.
 3. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book III, pp. 141,143.

characteristics of Keach's mature thought — the sovereignty of God, the authority of the canonical Scripture, the centrality of Christ, the evangelical imperative, the principle of religious liberty, the church as a local congregation of baptized believers and as all the faithful in all ages, and the second coming of Jesus as the inauguration of the millenium of Christ's reign.

Having studied his mature religious thought, the final events in the work of Keach must be examined.

2. Final Events in the Work

In 1703 there appeared a book by David Russen, Fundamentals Without a Foundation; or a true picture of the Anabaptists. In it he represents them as "the most vile and offensive sect that ever appeared in the world." He added, "And Benjamin Keach, another noted writer and teacher of theirs, has been lately accused as guilty of the same, that is, of uncleanness."¹ In his reply to Russen's book, Joseph Stennett challenged him to name the person who accused Keach, but he did not comply with this request. Stennett published a certificate as a postscript to his work which is as follows:

"Some of Mr. Keach's friends and neighbours, two of whom are members of Parliament, having given him the following testimony under their hands, I thought it proper to insert it here.

We whose names are underwritten (being neighbours and acquaintances of Mr. Benjamin Keach, and divers of us Pedobaptists, some of us in the communion of the Church of England) having for many years known his good conversation as a Christian and as a minister, do solemnly declare and testify that

1. Quoted in Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 369, 370.

that we are entirely satisfied that Mr. David Russen's assertion that the said Mr. Keach has been lately accused of uncleanness is false, groundless, and malicious; for we never heard of any such accusation made against him by any person whatsoever, or that he was ever charged with the least immodesty; and we believe Mr. Russen might with as much justice have accused any other pious and modest man in the world. This we think ourselves in justice bound to declare, to prevent Mr. Keach's labours and books (several of which even in Mr. Russen's opinion deserve commendation) from being slighted or rendered useless to any. In witness of which we set our hands, Sept., 1703.¹

Richard Wilkinson
Joseph Collett
John Hollis
Charles Cox
Joseph Worley
Benjamin Wyatt
Thomas Foster
John Standard
Joshua Farrow
John Roberts
Thomas Mayo
George Ongley
Edward Fleming
Anthony Quarles

William Willmott
Robert Cappel
John Valley
Richard Newnham
Valentine Glover
Richard Richardson
Edward Hinchliffe
John Cholmley
Joseph Chitty
*Thomas Hollis
William Leader
John Moore
John Gough
John Webb

Commenting on this incident, Joseph Ivimey says, "By these means the character of Mr. Keach so far from being injured shone the brighter, by having such a full and honourable testimony given to him."²

In less than a year after this incident a short illness put an end to Keach's life. During his sickness many friends gathered to give him comfort, but it soon became apparent that he could not live long. Nearing the end Keach sent for his friend, Joseph Stennett, and asked him to preach his funeral sermon from I Timothy 1.12, "I know in whom I have believed and am persuaded that he is

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1. Ibid., pp. 370, 371. Thomas Hollis was a member of an open-membership congregation in Pinners' Hall who was a great promoter of learning, endowing two chairs for professors at Harvard University. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 238.
 2. Ibid., p. 371.

able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."¹

Keach displayed extraordinary patience and resignation to the divine will during his illness. He asked his children to live in love, peace, and unity, and in a stedfast adherence to Christ and His ways. To his wife he said that he recommended her to a better husband, the Lord Jesus Christ.²

On July 18, 1704 at eleven o'clock in the morning Keach died, having reached the age of sixty-four. A large congregation assembled to hear his funeral sermon, but Mr. Stennett became ill and was unable to preach. Soon after this he did deliver the sermon but it was not published. Keach was buried from his own Meeting House at the Baptists' burying ground in the Park, Southwark.³ Spurgeon concludes by saying, "It was not a little singular that in after years the church over which he so ably presided should pitch its tent so near the place...and New Parkstreet should appear in her annals as a well-beloved name."⁴

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1. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 308.
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Ibid., p. 309.
 4. Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 33.

CHAPTER V
CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE WORK AND THOUGHT OF KEACH

This dissertation is an attempt to fill a longstanding lacuna in the annals of Baptist history. In the sphere of public worship Keach is significant for the whole of England; however, most of his contributions were made by speaking to and for the Baptists. No serious study has ever been made of Keach, not even a biography; yet there is no dubiety concerning his widespread reputation during and immediately following the years of his work. It affords a fitting conclusion for the analysis of his work and thought to examine the causes which contributed to his renown as well as those which brought a diminution of that popularity in subsequent years.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to select the one factor which produced Keach's success with the people, for several factors contributed to that end. The key to Keach is expressed in the phrase, tenacity for truth, particularly as he found it in the Scripture. It was not that he developed a policy or practice independently and found justification for it in the Bible, but that he studied the Scripture in order that it might be his "rule of faith and practice." Keach was not always accurate in his interpretation, but he did search the Word of God and seek to practise its principles.

Perhaps the strongest factor which contributed to his popular acclaim was Keach's writings. He was a constant rival of John Bunyan

and, for their day, may be considered as equally popular. Each took hints from the other and each wrote on many of the same subjects. Henri Talon, who made an extensive study of Bunyan, called Keach "the rival" of the Bedford tinker.¹

Allegories, expository sermons, catechisms, poems, hymns, and polemics flowed from the pen of Keach at a terrific pace. The word prolific is an understatement for this man who produced nearly fifty works, two of which were in tall quarto; indeed, it might be said that he had a sort of furor scribendi. Yet, it was not so much the mass of material as it was the subjects and the types of writing that appealed to the people.

The King James version of the Bible was produced in 1611, and by Keach's day (1640-1704) this version was read and discussed among the masses of the people. Keach's sermons were almost wholly expository, therefore they were discussed with interest. His enormous volume on the Scripture metaphors was printed and consulted until 1858, almost two centuries subsequent to its first publication. Adam Clark, a Methodist minister who lived until 1832, complained that many pastors depended on it too much. Keach's work in tall quarto on the parables of Christ was read and reprinted until 1856.

Catechisms, poetry, and allegories were quite as acceptable to the popular mind as Scriptural exposition. Puritan writings may seem simple, not to say naïve, to many erudite people today;

1. Talon, op. cit., p. 288.

nevertheless, one of the strongest emphases of the Puritan population was education. Two of Keach's catechisms exerted an important influence in both Britain and America. Principal H. Wheeler Robinson designated Keach "A Baptist Teacher."¹ The thirtieth edition of his Instructions for Children was published in Southwark as late as 1763, which indicated its popularity in Britain. In the United States it is certain that part of this book formed a section of The New England Primer, "the most widely used school book in America."² Keach's Baptist Catechism was adopted by the earliest Baptist Association, The Philadelphia Association, in 1742 and was widely used among early Baptists in the United States.

When it is remembered that he died in 1704, it is also significant that his poetry and allegories were published for quite a number of years after his death. Poems, such as The Glorious Lover for example, were published as late as 1764. War with the Devil, his first allegory which appeared in 1673, was reprinted until 1776; and The Travels of True Godliness as well as The Progress of Sin was published as late as 1849.

Polemics on the religious problems of the day, such as the Quaker's position, Roman Catholicism, Sabbath-Day observance, and Congregational Hymn-Singing, were eagerly devoured in an age when they did not compete with radios, magazines, and newspapers in every manor-house and cottage. One of the most important contributions of Keach for subsequent generations was his pioneering

1. Robinson, Life and Faith of Baptists, p. 37.

2. Infra, Appendix C.

persistence in congregational hymn-singing against formidable opposition. Although his position was in advance of his age, he was one of the strongest contenders for this practice and he prepared the way for later hymn-writers to receive a ready acceptance. Today the liturgy in a seventeenth-century Protestant congregation would be considered extremely bare, for only psalms, not hymns, were in general use. But Keach felt that the Bible taught Christians to sing "Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs"; therefore, he led the way for the whole of England by introducing hymn-singing into the public worship of a congregation. His hymns, per se, were very poorly constructed; however, his Spiritual Melody not only represented the real beginning of modern hymnals¹ in England, but it contained hymns which exerted a suggestive influence on both Isaac Watts and Augustus Toplady as well.²

There can be no serious doubt that the people in his day felt that Keach's writings would endure. In an elegy after his death one person declared, "Thy Worth, Great KEACH, thy works shall still endure, So many volumes of thy juster Praise."³

Having dealt with the writings of Keach, it is well to examine another important factor in his popular success, his preaching. It has been shown that it was necessary to enlarge his Meeting House several times until finally it held "nearly a thousand people."⁴

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1. By "hymnal" is meant a collection of hymns to be used for the liturgical needs of a definite congregation. See Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. V, p. 496.
 2. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, 1.
 3. An ELEGY On the much Lamented Death of that Faithful and Laborious Minister of the Gospel, Mr. BENJAMIN KEACH, 1704.
 4. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 363.

This was certainly a large congregation for a small despised sect to embody in seventeenth-century England. Keach's construction of a sermon and style of preaching appealed to the people of his day. His power was his self-evident sincerity, his compelling earnestness, and his transparent honesty. His congregations heard the current religious views expressed in the language of the people; and the thought content of a moderate Calvinist fell upon receptive ears. From beginning to end, Keach's preaching was Christocentric. Charles H. Spurgeon, his most popular pulpit successor, said of Keach, "He was very solid in his preaching, and his whole conduct and behaviour betokened a man deeply in earnest for the cause of God...his teaching was sweetly spiritual, intensely scriptural, and full of Christ."¹ It is unnecessary to multiply examples from the works of Keach; he says of a "True Minister":

"Christ must be the Subject of all his preaching, we preach Christ and him crucified...all is provided and purchased by Christ; all is enjoyed in Christ; nothing will do us any good without Christ;...all is to set forth the Honour and Glory of Christ."²

Not only did his writing and preaching tend to increase Keach's popularity, but his persecution and practical work were factors which contributed to that end as well. As a Dissenting pastor, Keach was severely persecuted during the early periods of his ministry. Stories of a man snatched from his Meeting House, threatened with being trampled to death by horses, imprisoned on

1. Spurgeon, op. cit., pp. 31,26.

2. Keach, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd, Book I, p. 252.

several occasions, and placed in the pillory for two hours on separate days, all for his religious convictions, travelled fast in seventeenth-century England. W.T. Whitley writes of Keach,

"For this (The Child's Instructor) he was indicted, convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in two market towns. The incident proved his making, for Londoners had their eye on Bucks because of the death-sentence passed there on conventiclers."¹

A fourth factor in Keach's popularity was his practical endeavours. Spurgeon states,

"He was a practical man and he trained his church to labour in the service of the Lord...He was mighty at home and useful abroad. By his means other churches were founded and meeting houses erected; he was in fact as a pillar and a brazen wall among the Baptist churches of his day, and was in consequence deservedly held in honour."²

The most significant church founded by Keach was the one which later became the famous "Spurgeon's Tabernacle". This was the congregation which he served personally from 1672 until his death in 1704. He was also instrumental in getting meeting-houses erected in Essex as well as several districts in London.

For his own congregation Keach published a book called The Articles of Faith. "This Confession is the first one we hear of in America." (i.e., for Baptists)³ In Pennsylvania the Philadelphia Association adopted the London Confession of 1689, signed by Keach, with the addition of two articles from his Articles of Faith, the articles on singing and the imposition of hands. (This last practice became the "hand of fellowship" which is

1. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 132.

2. Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 33.

3. William Joseph McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith, p.294.

generally extended to all new members of a congregation today). In South Carolina the Charleston Association adopted this amended Confession in 1767, retaining the article on singing but omitting the one on the imposition of hands; and through this Association it came to be an accepted standard for the second largest Protestant communion in the United States — the Southern Baptist Convention. Writing in 1911 a Southern Baptist church historian declared, "Many churches and other Associations, both North and South, adopted this Confession. In recent years it has been losing ground, especially in the North, but it is still widely used and in the South is probably the most influential of all Confessions."¹

Keach's writing, preaching, persecution, and practical efforts contributed to his widespread popularity during and immediately following the years of his work. How is it, then, that the reputation of this minister could decline until today his name is not remembered in many circles?

One possible reason is that Keach did not concentrate his efforts upon one single work which would immortalize his name. F.J.H. Darton writes, "Benjamin Keach may be called a professional. He may have had a genuine 'spiritual bee' in his bonnet, but he wrote too mechanically, too readily, and too catch-pennily,..."² There is a real sense in which he was both the product of and the prophet to the Baptists of his age. Among his contemporaries his

1. Ibid., p. 298. See Appendix C.

2. F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England, pp. 61,62.

popularity as an author was considerable; yet, he wrote for his own day and generation without great concern for his future influence.

Consider Keach's Travels of True Godliness as an example. This work and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress were published within five years of each other. Both were allegories; both were for the purpose of evangelism; both went through scores of editions and were published in foreign languages. In fact, a superficial examination of these two books might make the reader wonder why one is forgotten and the other is read today. Upon careful consideration it will be seen, however, that Bunyan's characters represent a little more and a little less than their names imply in abstraction; they are more human than Keach's characters and therefore more interesting to the reader. Keach's men do and say exactly what the reader would expect — to name them is to characterize them; therefore, the person reading can anticipate the actions and reactions of Keach's characters until he blissfully slips into slumberland.

A second factor in the decline in popularity of Keach's works is a change in public concern. For innumerable reasons people do not read their Bibles as often as they did in the Seventeenth Century; therefore, biblical exposition is seldom the topic of conversation in everyday life. It is also apparent that the polemical questions which concerned Keach are no longer keen problems for debate. Although in January, 1953 there was a

bill introduced in the House of Commons to regulate Sabbath observance on Sunday, a heated argument on the correct day for Sabbath observance would be indeed difficult to resurrect. The Roman Catholics and the Quakers receive at least no ostensible persecution. On the whole, it may be concluded that the twentieth-century public is not concerned with the particular problems which confronted Keach.

Another consideration for the diminution of Keach's fame is the fact that his views were in advance of his day, and as a consequence, the majority of later Baptists have accepted them without being conscious of the contribution which Keach made to their work and worship. Particularly is this true of the distinctive contribution he made in the sphere of congregational hymn-singing. His hymns had mixed metres, poor spelling, quaint and sometimes crude expressions; but their purpose was laudable, their ideas orthodox, and their suggestive influence on Watts and Toplady significant.

With regard to Keach's preaching, his manner and style have become outmoded. Although thoroughly acceptable in his own day, his sermons would fall upon unappreciative ears at the present time. Few contemporary ministers would think of opening Keach's works in search of material for their own preaching purposes, for the minutiae of details in the outlines and the enormous multiplication of "reasons" and "uses" would stifle their interest. Many of Keach's views are repeated Sunday by Sunday in Baptist pulpits, but not in the manner and style employed by this early

preacher. Change of fashion and taste then, rather than intrinsic error in Keach, is responsible for not a little of his waning popularity.

For a man to maintain a widespread reputation in the sphere of religious thought he must either say something unique, express an old truth in a new way, or organize a body of teachings into an impressive and convincing system. None of these were either the ambition or the accomplishment of Benjamin Keach. He preached moderate Calvinism in the language of the people of his day.

A final reason for the fact that Keach's name is relatively unknown in modern circles is that he was not an extensive organizer, like C.H. Spurgeon for example. No institution for the care of the poor and underprivileged and no school for the training of ministers bear his name. Although Keach was interested in these enterprises, he did not found any institution that would have perpetuated his popularity by keeping his name before the general public. He was instrumental in getting meeting houses erected; however, these contributions were not enough to insure his lasting fame.

Keach's writing, preaching, and religious thought were no new things under the sun. He had not the sublimity of Milton, the human insight of Bunyan, the oratory of Spurgeon, or the poetic ability of Watts; yet, his devotion to Christ and evangelistic zeal, his earnestness and concern, burned just as brightly as in any of those religious giants.

Fortunately, not all have forgotten the name and significance of Benjamin Keach. From within the Baptist Movement Joseph Ivimey declared that he was "a man with an active mind," "a genius", and "a faithful servant of Christ."¹ John Stoughton, a man outside the Baptist Movement, stated, "Keach and Kiffin were amongst the Baptist magnates at the end of the Revolution, and were far more influential than Bunyan."²

For a statement on the preaching of Keach there are the words of Charles Haddon Spurgeon:

"Very sweetly did Mr. Keach preach the great fundamental truths of the gospel, and glorify the name and work of Jesus. His Gospel Mine Opened, and other works, rich in savour, show that he was no mere stickler for a point of ceremony, but one who loved the whole truth as it is in Jesus, and felt its power...We quote a few sentences from one of his sermons, only remarking that such clear evangelical statements are found throughout all his works ...He was a leading spirit in the Baptist body."³

In addition to the other statements quoted from Escott on Keach's significance in the field of hymnology the following may be considered:

"The individual hymns are disappointing...But, despite their amateurishness, these compositions have some historical importance as early examples of the homiletical hymn, a genre in which Watts and especially Doddridge was later to excel...The Baptist hymn-writer

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1. Ivimey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 360,361. Compare Armitage, op. cit., p. 547, "Few men amongst the Baptists ranked higher during his period."
 2. Stoughton, op. cit., "Church of the Revolution," p. 453.
 3. Spurgeon, op. cit., pp. 31,33. Alexander Gordon in The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. X, p. 1142, adds, "He was a masculine preacher,...and, for a self-taught man...he was well read."

more than any of Watts' predecessors grasped the truth if roughly, that a hymn-book is not only a book of praises, or a vade-mecum of the devotional life, but also a medium for the conveyance of moral and religious teaching."¹

By way of conclusion the author wishes to concur with the following part of W.T. Whitley's evaluation: "Keach is thus a fair type of what Baptists were to be for long; earnest, self-educated, intensely evangelical and orthodox,...Within his limits he wielded great influence."² This quotation makes an interesting conclusion for this entire dissertation — the Baptist Movement in England in the late Seventeenth Century as revealed in the work and thought of Benjamin Keach, 1640-1704.

1. Escott, op. cit., pp. 128,129.
2. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 178.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES BY KEACH

A. Works by Keach in English

The following is a key to the libraries where Keach's works may be located. Both the Angus Library and the Gould Collection are at Regent's Park College, Oxford, England. C.H. Spurgeon's personal library was purchased by William Jewell College as a collection.

A The Angus Library, Regent's Park College.

B Bristol Baptist College, Bristol.

C University Library, Cambridge.

D The Baptist College, Manchester.

G The Gould Collection, Regent's Park College.

H The Memorial Hall, London.

j Spurgeon's personal library, William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri, U.S.A.

l Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

M British Museum, London.

N New College, University of Edinburgh.

O Bodleian Library, Oxford.

p Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.

r Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

S National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

t Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A.

U Baptist Union Library, London.

W Doctor William's Library, London.

y McAlpin Collection, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York, U.S.A.

These letters indicate the libraries where at least one copy of the work by Keach can be located. The idea for this mnemonic device is found in W.T. Whitley's A Baptist Bibliography.

KEACH, Benjamin, The ANTICHRIST stormed; or, the popish church proved to be mystery Babylon, London, Printed for Nath. Crouch, 1689.

A,B,J,M,O,r,U,y

_____, The Articles of Faith of the Church of Christ or Congregation Meeting at Horsley-down, London, Printed in the Year, 1697.

A,y

_____, The Ax Laid to the Root, or One Blow More at the Foundation of Infant Baptism and Church Membership, London, Printed for the Author and are to be Sold by John Harris, 1693, Parts I and II.

A,B,C,M,O,r,y

_____, The Baptist Catechism, or a Brief Instruction in the Principles of the Christian Religion, sixteenth edition, London, Printed for John Robinson, 1764.
 another edition, Bristol, Printed in 1775.
 another edition, Revised by John Rippon, London, Sold by Baptist Ministers throughout England and America, 1794.
 another edition, Charleston, South Carolina, 1813.
 another edition, Commonly Called Keach's Catechism, Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1851.

A,M,r,t.

At least three books with this title appeared. One was prepared by William Collins and printed 1693/4. Another was published by B. Beddome in 1752. The one by Keach has his portrait in the front and is often called by his name as the last reference indicates. Compare Joseph Angus, Baptist Authors and History, 1527-1800, p. 16 which clarifies this point.

_____, Beams of Divine Light; or, Some Brief Hints of the Being and Attributes of GOD, and of the Three Persons in the GOD-HEAD. Also proving the Deity of CHRIST and of the HOLY GHOST, London, Printed by K. Astwood, and Sold by William Marshall, 1700.

G

Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 136 states that Keach wrote this small work. Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 310-314 fails to include it; however, this must have been merely a careless error. It has "B.K." as the author and the ideas agree with Keach's tenets.

_____, Believer's Baptism: or, Love to the Antient BRITAINS Displayed, London, Printed for John Marshall, 1705.

A,M

A critical comparison of this book with another by Keach titled Light broke forth in Wales Expelling Darkness; or the Englishman's Love to the Antient Britains, London, 1696 shows that they are the same book with only the title changed. See Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 130 which agrees with this information.

_____, The Breach Repaired in God's Worship; or Singing of Psalms, Hymns, and Spirituals Songs proved to be an Ordinance of Jesus Christ, London, Printed in the Year, 1691.

second edition, London, Printed for John Marshall, 1700.

A,G,M,N,O,p,r,S,W,y

_____, A Call to Weeping, or a Warning Touching Approaching Miseries, London, Printed for and Sold by John Marshall, 1699.

H

This was a sermon preached March 20, 1699 at the funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Westen.

_____, The Child's Delight or Instructions for Children and Youth, third edition corrected, London, Printed for William and Joseph Marshall, n.d.

The text contains the dates 1693 and 1703.

A,M.

Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 127 shows that this was the third edition of Instructions for Children. It was not only corrected but amended; therefore, it is treated as a separate work in this study.

_____, Christ Alone the Way to Heaven or Jacob's Ladder Improved, London, Printed by Benjamin Harris, 1698.

A,B,H,O,y

This book contains four sermons on Genesis 28:12,13.

_____, A Counter Antidote to purge out the Malignant Effects of a Late COUNTERFEIT prepared by Mr. Gyles Shute to prevent the prevalency of Anabaptism, London, Printed for H. Bernard, 1694.

A,C,M,O,y

_____, The Counterfeit Christian: or The Danger of Hypocrisy, London, Printed by John Pike, 1691.

A,r,W,y

This work contains two sermons on Matthew 12:43-45.

_____, DARKNESS VANQUISHED: or, Truth in its Primitive Purity, London, Printed and are to be sold by Benjamin Harris, 1675.

B

This is an answer to Henry Danvers, A Treatise of laying on of hands.

, The Display of Glorious Grace or The Covenant of Peace
Opened, London, Printed by S. Bridge, 1698.

A,M,N,O,r,y

This work contains fourteen sermons on "The Covenant" between God and man.

 , DISTRESSED SION RELIEVED, or the Garment of Praise for
the Spirit of Heaviness, Humbly Dedicated to their
Present Majesties, London, Printed for Nath. Crouch, 1689.

A,B,H,l,M,O,r,S,U,y

 , An Elegy on the Death of that Most Laborious and Painful
Minister of the Gospel, Mr. John Norcot, died March 24, 1675/6,
London, Printed for Ben. Harris, 1676.

M,r

 , The Everlasting Covenant or a Sweet Cordial for a
Drooping Soul, London, H. Bernard, 1693.

A,B,M,r,W,y

This work was a funeral sermon for Henry Forty. In 1699 it was advertised again as a new book, with the title abbreviated and Forty's name dropped. A copy with this date is at Trinity College, Dublin.

 , The French Impostour Detected or Zach. Housel Tryed by
the Word of God, third edition, London, Printed for Ebenezer
Tracy, Sold by William Likly, 1702.

M

This work was a polemic against Zachary Housel whom Keach felt denied the immortality of the soul.

 , The Glorious Lover, A Divine Poem Upon the Adorable
Mystery of Man's Redemption, London, Printed by J.D. for
Christopher Hussey, 1679.

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1764.

H,j,l,M,r,S

 , The Glory of a True Church and Its Discipline Displayed,
London, J. Robinson, 1768.

A,G,M,p,r,y

 , God Acknowledged or The True Interest of the Nation and
All that fear God, London, George Larkin, 1696.

another edition, London, Printed for William Marshall and
John Marshall, 1696.

H,M,O

This was a sermon preached December 11, 1695, the day appointed by the King for "public prayer and humiliation."

_____, A Golden Mine Opened; or the Glory of God's Rich Grace displayed in the Mediator to all Believers; and His direful wrath against impenitent sinners, London, Printed and Sold by the Author at his house in Horse-lie-down, 1694.

A,j,M,N,r,t,y

This work contains forty sermons under the heads — "A Trumpet Blown in Zion," "The Blessedness of Christ's Sheep", "The Trial of the False Professor", and "The Great Salvation".

_____, Gold Refined or Baptism in its Primitive Purity, London, Printed for the Author and are to be sold by Nathaniel Crouch, 1689.

A,j,M,r,y

_____, The Gospel Minister's Maintenance Vindicated, London, John Harris, 1689.

A,

This was recommended "To the Baptized Congregations, by several Elders in and about the City of London."

_____, Gospel Mysteries Unveil'd; or an Exposition of all the Parables and Many Express Similitudes contained in the Four Evangelists Spoken by Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Wherein also Many things are Doctrinally handled, and Practically improved by way of Application, London, Printed by R. Tookey, and are to be sold by William Marshall, 1701. another edition, London, 1856.

A,B,C,M,N,O,p,r,t,U,W

Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 311 says that this book appeared in 1704; however, the investigator found a copy which clearly indicates 1701.

_____, The Grand Impostour Discovered or The Quakers Doctrine weighed in the Ballance, and Found Wanting, London, Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1675.

A,O,r,y

_____, Instructions for Children or The Child's and Youth's Delight, ninth edition, London, Printed for J. How, n.d. Fifteenth edition, London, Printed for John Marshall, 1723. twenty-fifth edition, London, Printed for John Marshall, 1738. thirtieth edition, Southwark, Printed for John Robinson, 1763.

A,B,M

_____, The JEWISH SABBATH Abrogated: or, the Saturday Sabbatarians confuted, London, Printed and Sold by John Marshall, 1700.

A,B,C,H,j,M,N,O,p,r,S,W,y

_____, Laying-on-of-Hands upon Baptized Believers, as such, Proved an Ordinance of Christ, second edition, London, Printed and are to be sold by Benjamin Harris, 1698.

M,y

In the "Epistle to the Reader" Keach writes that Darkness Vanquished, which was the first impression, is not extant, therefore he writes this book; however, the investigator found a copy of the first book at Bristol Baptist College.

_____, Light broke forth in Wales Expelling Darkness; or the Englishman's Love to the Antient Britains, London, Printed and Sold by William Marshall, 1696.

A,B,D,H,j,M,O,r,y

This was a polemic against James Owen, Children's Baptism from Heaven.

_____, The Marrow of True Justification or Justification without Works, London, Dozman Newman, 1692.

A,G,M,r,S,U,W,y

This work contains sermons on the text, Romans 4:5.

_____, The Medium betwixt two Extremes, London, Printed for Andrew Bell, 1698.

A,y

This is a sermon on Justification from Romans 8:1. It has a postscript against Samuel Clark, Scripture Justification.

_____, Pedo-Baptism disproved, Being an Answer to two printed Papers by the Athenian Society called the Athenian Mercury, London, Printed for the Author and Sold by John Harris, 1691.

A,B,O,r,y

_____, The Progress of Sin; or, The Travels of Ungodliness, London, Printed in the Year, 1684.

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A,B,D,G,j,M,N,O,r,S,U,y

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A,j,M,U,y

This was a polemic against William Burkit, Rector of Milden in Suffolk.

_____, Sion in Distress or The Groans of the Protestant Church, second edition, London, Printed by George Larkin for Enoch Prosser, 1682.

another edition, London, Printed and are to be Sold by Most Booksellers, 1692.

H,l,M,N,O,r,S,W,y

_____, Spiritual Melody, London, Printed for John Hancock, 1691.
M,N,S

_____, Spiritual Songs, Being the Marrow of the Scripture in Songs of Praise to Almighty God; from the Old and New Covenant, second edition, London, Printed for John Marshall, 1700.

A,M,O

This book also contains A Feast of Fat Things by Keach. The first edition simply reversed the titles. See A Feast of Fat Things Full of Marrow, London, Printed by B.H., 1696.

_____, A Summons to the Grave; or The Necessity of a Timely Preparation for Death, London, Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1676.

W,y

This was the funeral sermon for John Norcot.

_____, The Travels of True Godliness from the Beginning of the World to the present day, in an Apt and Pleasant Allegory, the third edition, London, Printed for John Dunton, 1684.
fifth edition, London, Printed by A.W. for J. Clarke, 1736.
seventh edition, London, Printed for S. Gilbert for M.

Beddington, 1718.

another edition, Schenectady, New York, 1796.

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John Johnstone; London, Ward and Company, 1849.

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A,B,D,j,l,M,N,O,r,S,U,W

_____, and Thomas Delaune, TROPOLOGIA, or a Key to Open Scripture Metaphors, London, Printed by John Richardson and John Darby for Enoch Prosser, 1681.

another edition, London, Printed by John Darby, 1682.

another edition, London, William Hill Collingridge, City Press, 1858.

A,B,M,N,O,p,r,t,U,W,y

Book I was by Delaune and Books II and III were by Keach. In 1682 TROPOSHEMATOLOGIA, or "The Second Part", was added as Book IV. It was written by Keach and the facts of publication are: London, Printed by J.D. for John Hancock and Benj. Alsop, 1682.

_____, "A Trumpet Blown in Zion" is occasionally listed as a separate work, but it was also included in A Golden Mine Opened.

_____, War With The Devil; or the Young MANS Conflict with the Powers of Darkness, fourth impression, London, Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1676.
seventh impression, London, Printed for B. Harris, 1684.
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"a new edition", Leeds, Printed by John Binns, 1795.

A,B,C,D,H,I,M,O,r,S,U,W,y

This book is "in a dialogue discovering the corruption and vanity of youth, the horrible nature of sin, and deplorable condition of fallen man. With an appendix containing a dialogue between an old apostate and a young professor."

B. Works by Keach Translated into Welsh.

_____, Esponiad ar y cyffelybiaethau, a roddir yn yr Ysgytnyrau Sanctaidd, i Dduw'r Tad. Wedi ei dynu allan o waith Mr. Keach, yn nghyd ag ereill, gan T. Lewis, Caerfyrddin, 1811.

M,r

This work is an exposition of the figures of speech in the Bible, extracted from the work of Keach and others by Titus Lewis, Printed and Sold by Jonathan Harris, 1811.

_____, Goleuni gwedi torri allan Ynghymry, gan ymlid ymmaith dywyllwch: neu Gariad y Sais tuac at ye Hen Gymry: gan gynnwys ateb i lyfr, yr hwn a elwir, Bedydd Plant o'r nefoedd; yr hwn a osodwyd allan yn y jaith Gymraeg, gan Mr. J. Owen, Llundain, 1696.

M

This is Keach's Light broke forth in Wales which was written against James Owen, London, William Marshall, 1696.

_____, Teithiau gwir dduwioldeb, o ddechreuad y byd hyd yr amser presenol; mewn dammeg:...Wedi ei gyfieithu o'r pumed argraffiad Seisnig, gan W. Jones, Caergybi, 1854.

M

This is Keach's Travels of True Godliness translated by William Jones from the fifth English printing, Printed and Published by William Jones, 1854.

C. Questioned Authorship Involving Keach.

CONFIDENCE Corrected, ERROR Detected, and TRUTH Defended; or some farther REFLECTIONS Upon the TWO Athenian Mercuries, Lately Published about INFANT-BAPTISM, London, Printed in the Year, 1692.

On the title page the author is given as "Philaethes Pasiphilus". Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 125, suggests (B. KEACH?) as the author. The evidence, however, is strongly against this suggestion. One point is that his son-in-law, Thomas Crosby, fails to include this work in his tabulation of the writings by Keach. See Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 310-314 for an almost complete list of the works by Keach. A second point is the pseudonym given in Latin. Why should a man use a Latin name for this one work and fail to use one for any of his other writings? It cannot be that he wishes to hide his identity, for he boldly affirms it in every other case. One possible reason for the suggestion of Keach as the author is that he did write a pamphlet titled Pedo-Baptism disproved, an answer to two Athenian Mercuries. It is probable that Confidence Corrected was written by a man who shared Keach's views, perhaps a friend of Keach. One man is known to have been a Latin scholar, to have written on "sacred Philology", and to have collaborated with Keach at an earlier date — his name was Thomas Delaune.¹ This possibility is made more probable by the observation that the "McAlpin Collection" of books located at Union Theological Seminary, New York, has this work:
"Delaune, Thomas, A Plea for the Nonconformists...., By Philaethes, London, Printed for the Author, 1684.

The Protestant Tutor. The problem of the authorship of this book is critically analysed in Appendix C of this study.

A Sober Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle Concerning Singing, London, Printed in the Year, 1691.
 Crosby, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 312 states that this pamphlet was written by Keach. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 125 asserts that it was written by Thomas Whinnel. The evidence is strongly in favour of Whitley's choice. The preface contains a recommendation of the work signed by Keach and others; however, the "Epistle Dedicatory" has several statements which indicate Whinnel's authorship and is signed only by Whinnel.

II. OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES.

The ARTICLES OF FAITH of the Church of Christ or Congregation meeting at Tallow-Chandlers Hall, Elias Keach, Pastor, as asserted this 2d of the 7th Month, 1697, London, Printed in the Year, 1697.

1. Compare Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 183 which reveals that Delaune lived past 1687.

The Athenian Gazette: or Casuistical Mercury, Resolving all the most Nice and Curious Questions Proposed by the INGENIOUS, London, Printed for John Dunton, 1691, Vol. I-IV.
This was a short weekly paper written chiefly by Dunton.

AUGUSTINE, The Confessions of Augustine, John Gibb and William Montgomery, ed., Cambridge, At the University Press, 1927.
This book has the Latin text.

BALMFORD, William, The Seaman's Spiritual Companion, London. Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1678.
This book has a preface written by Benjamin Keach.

BAXTER, Richard, Confirmation and Restauration the Necessary Means of Reformation and Reconciliation for Healing of the Corruptions and Divisions of the Churches, London, Printed by A.M. for Nevil Simmons, 1658.

_____, Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-membership and BAPTISM, London, Printed for Robert White, 1651.

_____, The QUAKERS CATECHISM, or The Quakers questioned, London Printed by A.M. for Thomas Underhill, 1655.

BUNYAN, John, The Works of John Bunyan, George Offer, ed., London, Blackie and Son, 1853, I, II, III.

DANVERS, Henry, A Treatise of Laying on of Hands with the History thereof, London, Printed for Fran. Smith, 1674.

An ELEGY On the much Lamented Death of that Faithful and Laborious Minister of the Gospel, Mr. BENJAMIN KEACH, died July 18, 1704, London, Printed by R. Tookey, 1704.
This work was written "By a Member of his Congregation".

EXELL, Joshua, Plain and Exquisite Scripture Proof, that St. John Baptist, and all the Primitive Baptizers, did baptize by Sprinkling, or pouring water upon the person or persons they baptized, and not by dipping the person into water, London, Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by Thomas Parkhurst, ...and William Langford, 1693.

FLAVEL, John, The Whole Works of John Flavel, London, Printed for J. Mathews, 1699, I-VI.

HOUSEL, Zachary, His Assertions by Holy Scriptures, London, Printed for the Author in Gravel Lane, Hounds-Ditch, 1697.

KIFFIN, William, Remarkable Passages in the Life of William Kiffin, Written by Himself, William Orme, ed., London, Printed for Burton and Smith, et. al., 1823.

LIGHTFOOTI, Johannis, HORAE HEBRAICAE et TALMUDICAE in QVATUOR EVANGELISTAS, Lipsiae, Typis Joh. Heinrici Richteri, 1684.

A Looking-Glass for CHILDREN, a Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with some Little Children: Recollected by Henry Jessey ... Together with sundry seasonable Lessons and Instructions to Youth... Written by Abraham Chear, Collected by H.H., second edition, London, Printed for Robert Boulter, 1673.

MARLOW, Isaac, A Brief DISCOURSE Concerning SINGING in the Public Worship of GOD in the Gospel Church, London, Printed in the Year, 1690.

_____, The Controversie of SINGING Brought to an End, London, Printed in the Year, 1696.

_____, Truth Cleared, or a brief narrative of the rise, occasion, and management of the present controversy concerning singing in the worship of God, London, Printed in the Year, 1691/92.

MASON, J., Mentis Humane Metaphorosis Five Conversio; The History of the Young Converted Gallant or Directions to the Readers of that Divine Poem Intituled Warre with the Devil, London, Printed by B.L. for Benjamin Harris, 1676.

MILTON, John, Paradise Lost, A POEM in Ten Books, London, Printed by S. Simmons, 1669.

The New English Tutor; To which is added Milk for Babes
The copy of this book at the British Museum contains no title page giving either the publisher or the date of publication. P.L. Ford in The New England Primer, p. 18 shows that it was published during Queen Anne's reign.

OWEN, John, The Doctrine of Justification by Faith Through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, Explained, Confirmed, and Vindicated, London, Printed for R. Boulter, 1677.

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PARK, James, False Fictions and ROMANCES REBUKED; In answer to Pretended Matter Charged against the QUAKER in a Book Intituled, The Progress of Sin, Written by B.K., London, Printed in the Year, 1684.

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The Protestant Tutor, London, Printed for Ben. Harris, 1679.
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PRUDOM, Robert, The New World Discovered in the Prospect Glass of the Holy Scripture; Being a Brief Essay to the Opening of Scripture Prophecies Concerning the Latter Days, Also Proving the Personal Reign of Christ, With His Saints on Earth a Thousand Years, London, Printed by R. Tookey for the Author, 1704.

This work has an extensive preface by Benjamin Keach.

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ROTHWELL, Edward, A Vindication of Presbyterian Ordination and Baptism, London, Printed for R. Ford and Sold by John Whitworth, 1721.

A Serious Answer to a Late Book Stiled A Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle Concerning Singing, London, 1692.

SHUTE, Gyles, A Replication to a Late Book Written by Mr. Benjamin Keach against Infant Baptism Intituled a Counter-Antidote, London, Printed for the Author, Published and Sold by Randal Taylor, 1694.

A Sober Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle Concerning Singing, London, 1691.

STEED, Robert, An Epistle Written to the Members of a Church in London Concerning Singing, London, Printed for the Author, 1691.

S.W., J.C., J.L., Lovers of Peace, Truth Vindicated, London, Printed in the Year, 1691.

WATTS, Isaac, Divine and Moral SONGS for the Use of Children, London, John Van Voorst, 1848.

_____ , The Psalms of David, Together with Hymns and Spiritual Songs, London, John Snow, 1851.

WRIGHT, Joseph, Folly Detected, London, Sold by John Harris, Printed in the Year, 1691.

III. UNPUBLISHED WORKS

ESCOTT, Harry, Isaac Watts' Work in Hymnology with Special Regard to Its Derivative and Original Features, a Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1950.

LUMPKIN, William Latane, The Local Baptist Confessions of Faith of the Civil War-Commonwealth Period, a Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1948.

MILLER, Alexander Bremner, Growth of the Idea of Religious Toleration in England from 1689 to 1727, a Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1939.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC During the Reign of Charles II, Numbers xcv. 16 and Vol. 419, Document 55.

STINTON, Benjamin, A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters Relating to the English Antipedobaptists Collected from Original Papers of Faithfull Extracts, 1712.
This manuscript was written by the son-in-law of Keach who succeeded him as pastor of the church and is very valuable in the study of early Baptist history. It is now a part of the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford. Certain sections of this work have been published, but it has never been published in its entirety.

WHITLEY, W.T., The Early History of the General Baptist Church Now Meeting in Borough Road, Southwark, April, 1932.
This typewritten work is seven pages in length.

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ARMITAGE, Thomas, A History of the Baptists, New York, Bryan Taylor and Company, 1887.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

A PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN KEACH

This reproduction is made from the portrait of Keach which belongs to the reign of William III.¹ It was painted by J. Surman and engraved by Vandergucht. There were other engravings, such as the one by Jan Drapentier, but this one appears most frequently in his books.

1. James Granger, A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution, Vol. III, p. 336.



L. Surman Pinx.

M. Vanderpacht Sculp.

Benjamin Leach
Ætatis 60. Anno. 1701

Engraved by William Marshall at J. Todd's in Newgate Street.

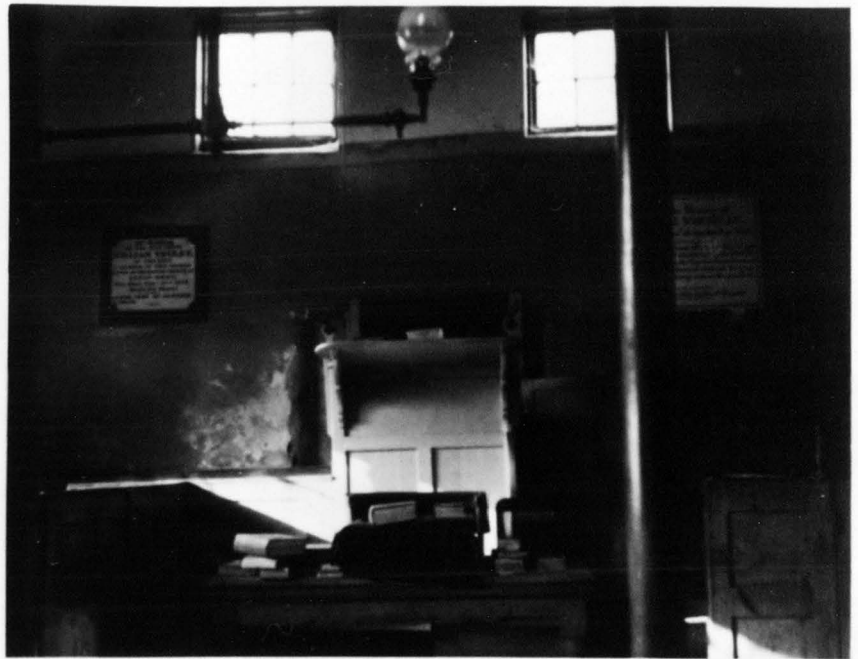
APPENDIX B

PICTURES OF "KEACH'S MEETING HOUSE", WINSLOW

These are pictures made by the investigator when he carried out his research at Winslow in North Buckinghamshire, England. A discussion of the Meeting House and the incidents connected with it are found in Chapter I of this study.



"KEACH'S MEETING HOUSE"
Winslow, Bucks



Note the light appearance of the pulpit.
Each year a collection is taken to pay
for having it cleaned. Two of the books
were written by Keach and donated by the
Vicar of Winslow, February, 1917.

APPENDIX C

THE INFLUENCE OF KEACH IN THE UNITED STATES

Benjamin Keach exerted an influence in the United States in the spheres of Education and the Baptist Movement by writing a section of The New England Primer and affecting the early history of both the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions.

To an historian of literature in the United States the importance of The New England Primer can hardly be over-estimated. Sandford Fleming stated that it was "the most universally studied school-book that has ever been used in America" and that three million copies of it were printed.¹ Several works on this important school-book have been written: George Livermore, The Origin, History, and Character of The New England Primer, 1849; The New England Primer, P.L. Ford, editor, 1897; and The New England Primers Printed in America prior to 1830, compiled by Charles F. Heartman, 1915. The most extensive is the book by Ford; however, the investigator must concur with the opinion of C.F. Heartman: "Ford wrote a readable book on The New England Primer, but the real book on the subject, the scientific historical treatise on The New England Primer remains to be written."²

The relevant point for this study is the question of authorship. What can accurately be determined as Keach's relationship

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1. Sandford Fleming, Children and Puritanism, p. 80.
 2. The NEW ENGLAND PRIMER Printed in America prior to 1830, Compiled by Charles F. Heartman, p. 1.

to this early school-book? It has been largely due to the opinion of Paul Leicester Ford that the view has been stated which makes Benjamin Harris the author of the Primer,¹ but this point must be critically re-examined in the light of historical research.

Ford established the fact that The Protestant Tutor is the legitimate predecessor of the New England Primer: he says of the Tutor,

"...its character proves it to be the legitimate predecessor of the New England Primer, for it contains the Alphabet, followed by the Syllabarium, the "Alphabet of Lessons", the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, the Poem of John Rogers with the picture of his burning, the "figures and numeral letters", and the "Names of the Books of the Bible", all of which were embodied in the New England Primer."²

A careful perusal of Ford's footnotes reveals that the main argument for the Harris authorship rests on this statement by John Dunton in Letters from New England, page 144:

"Mr. Harris, I think, also Printed the Protestant Tutor, a Book not at all relish'd by the Popish Party, because it is the design of that little Book to bring up Children in an Aversion to Popery."³

It is to be observed that even in this statement Harris is said to have printed the book, not written it.

No copy of the first edition of The New England Primer is extant; however, in Henry Newman's almanac of 1691 titled News from the Stars this advertisement appeared:

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1. Wilberforce Eames, "Early New England Catechisms" in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. XII, p. 149.
 2. The New England Primer, P.L. Ford, ed., p. 16.
 3. Quoted in The New England Primer, P.L. Ford, ed., pp. 15,16.

"There is now in the Press, and will suddenly be extant, a Second Impression of The New England Primer enlarged, to which is added, more Directions for Spelling; the Prayer of King Edward the 6th and Verses made by Mr. Rogers the Martyr, left as a legacy to his Children:" (Sold by Benjamin Harris)

It did have "Printed by R. Peirce for Benjamin Harris." The (Sold by Benjamin Harris) was added by J.T. Winterich, the author of the book in which this notice is recorded.¹

If a reference by Miller and Johnson in The Puritans be added to this evidence it is interesting to contemplate the possibility: they list in their bibliographical data on "Education" this entry:²

Keach, Benjamin, The Protestant Tutor for Children, Boston, 1685.

It is possible that this reference came from Charles Evans,

American Bibliography:

KEACH, Benjamin

The Protestant Tutor for Children. The Donor thereof... Heath and Persev...The Gospel of Jesus Christ. To which is added Verses made by Mr. John Rogers a Martyr in Queen Maries Reign...Boston in New England, Printed by Samuel Green, and are to be Sold by John Griffin in Boston, 1685.

Evans adds, "Benjamin Harris, the printer of the first London edition of 1679, is also said to be the author."³

It is apparent that the relationship of Benjamin Harris to Benjamin Keach is important for this inquiry. There can be no doubt that Harris printed and sold many of Keach's books. E.C. Starr, the present Curator of the American Baptist Historical

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1. John T. Winterich, Early American Books and Printing, p. 37.
 2. Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, The Puritans, p. 821.
 3. Charles Evans, American Bibliography, p. 65.

Society, declared,

"A native of England, Harris made his mark in London publishing circles largely through the works of the Reverend Benjamin Keach, ...Keach gave his books very interesting titles, such as The War with the Devil; ...This was the title of the book with which Harris opened his publishing career. Now Keach was one of the most widely read men of his day, and withal a voluminous writer, and it was no small advantage for a young publisher to have such a volume for a starter."¹

It is a simple matter to substantiate the fact that Harris printed many other books by Keach. Note the following for example:

1. Christ Alone the Way, London, Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1698.
2. Darkness Vanguished, London, Printed and are to be sold by Benjamin Harris, 1675.
3. Elegy On the Death of...John Norcot, Printed for Ben. Harris, 1676.
4. Feast of Fat Things Full of Marrow, Printed for B.H., 1696.
5. The Grand Impostour Discovered, Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1675.
6. Laying-on-of-Hands, Printed and are to be sold by Benjamin Harris, 1698.
7. A Summons to the Grave, Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1676.

One further fact may be added to this information. Harris re-issued Keach's book titled The Banqueting House, or a Feast of Fat Things in 1696 as A Feast of Fat Things, with other songs and a hundred hymns, and with yet another title page in 1700, Spiritual Songs...² It can therefore be safely assumed that Harris was not only quite familiar with Keach's works but that he often took liberties with the titles. Clifford K. Shipton, Archivist of Harvard University and Librarian of the American Antiquarian

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1. Edward Caryl Starr, "Benjamin Harris, Publisher Extraordinary" in The Colgate-Rochester Divinity School Bulletin, December, 1939, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 75.
 2. Whitley, A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 125.

Society, wrote in private correspondence,

"Keach certainly was the author of the Child's Instructor which was published before the Protestant Tutor was printed by Harris. Keach wrote other things of this sort; Harris did not. To what extent Harris, the compiler, was indebted to Keach, the author, one would have to decide after comparing the whole series."

It would be easy to make a superficial judgment on the basis of this evidence which would say that Keach wrote the book but Harris published it, omitting his name. On no page of the Protestant Tutor is there an author named. The decision to make Keach the author of the whole book, however, cannot be completely conclusive. In one section of his book Ford agrees with the suggestion made by Shipton as he states that the New England Primer was "compiled by Benjamin Harris."¹ This statement has the strongest weight of evidence, i.e., that Harris compiled the book from several sources; for a critical comparison of The Protestant Tutor and Keach's catechisms revealed two possibilities: either Keach wrote the whole of the book and it was published without giving him the credit, or the more likely probability that Harris used Keach's work as one of his sources for the compilation. The New English Tutor, which was the title of the book printed in London,² did contain a section from Keach's Instructions for Children verbatim.

Ford indicates that this section was an integral part of the original Primer. "The last piece of any importance which can be

1. The New England Primer, P.L. Ford, ed., p. 17.

2. Ibid., p. 18.

considered an integrant of The New England Primer is what was called "A Dialogue between Christ, Youth and the Devil,..."¹ Unfortunately he is inaccurate as he states, "...as no printing of it can be found pre-dating its appearance in that publication (Primer), it seems probable that it was composed by the man whom Dunton described as "the neat and poetical Ben. Harris."² This section is clearly the work of Keach, not Harris. A quotation of parts of the sections reveals their identity:

The New English Tutor
A Dialogue between Christ, Youth,
and the Devil

Youth
Those days which God to me does
send,
In Pleasure I resolve to spend,
Like as the Birds i'th'lovely
Spring,
Sit chirping on the Boughs and
Sing,

Death
They in their Youth go down to
Hell,
Under eternal Wrath to dwell,
Many don't live out half their
Days,³
For cleaving unto sinful Ways.³

Instructions for Children
A short Dialogue, showing the
woeful State of ungodly Youth

Youth
The days which God to me doth
send,
In Pleasure I resolve to spend;
Like as the Birds i'th'lovely
Spring
Sit Chirping on the Boughs and
Sing.

Death
They in their Youth go down to
Hell,
Under eternal Wrath to dwell:
Many don't live out half their
Days.⁴
For cleaving unto Sinful Ways.⁴

Keach is not only significant in the sphere of Education but in the Baptist Movement in America as well. He published his Articles of Faith on August 10, 1697,⁵ and his son, Elias Keach, adopted the work of his father and published the ARTICLES OF FAITH

1. Ibid., p. 44.

2. Ibid., pp. 44,45.

3. The New English Tutor, pp. 51,72.

4. Keach, Instructions For Children, pp. 135,147.

5. Keach, The Glory of a True Church, p. 74.

for his own congregation the "2nd of the 7th Month, 1697".¹ It has to be remembered that at this period churches used Julian's calendar, not the Gregorian calendar; therefore, this date would be September second. In the preface Elias states that it was subscribed by his congregation "on the 15th of the 6th Month, commonly called August, 1697."² William Joseph McGlothlin says that for Baptists, "This Confession is the first one we hear of in America."³ How did this happen?

Elias Keach immigrated to America and was welcomed by the Cold Spring Baptist Church, founded in 1684. In the Stinton manuscript there is a copy of "A Letter from Pensilvania giving an Account of ye State & number of ye Baptized Churches in that Province in the year 1715." This letter shows that he left the Cold Spring congregation and united with another group of immigrants at Lower Dublin near Philadelphia. Here he was baptized by Thomas Dungen, "an Antient Teaching Disciple," in 1687.⁴ During 1688 Elias organized these people into what is now the oldest Baptist church in Pennsylvania, as Cold Spring died out fourteen years later.⁵ In subsequent years Elias returned to England and became Pastor of a Baptist congregation at Tallow-Chandlers Hall, but he kept in contact with his friends in America.

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1. The ARTICLES OF FAITH of the Church of Christ or Congregation meeting at Tallow-Chandlers Hall, Elias Keach, Pastor, as asserted this 2d of the 7th month, 1697, title page.
 2. Ibid., p. vii.
 3. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith, p. 294.
 4. Stinton Manuscript, Number 26, pp. 121-126.
 5. Whitley, History British Baptists, p. 191.

The earliest Baptist Association in the United States was the Philadelphia Association, organized in 1707. As this Association grew and developed, it became desirable to have a Confession of Faith which would reveal their central views; therefore, they contacted Elias Keach in London. He must have sent them a copy of the Particular Baptist Confession of 1689 and a copy of his father's Articles of Faith as well as other documents, for in 1724 they referred to "the Confession of Faith, set forth by the Elders and Brethren met in London, 1689, and owned by us."¹ It is to be remembered that Benjamin Keach took an active part in the Assembly of 1689 and with others signed this Confession "in the Name and on behalf of the whole Assembly."²

McGlothlin continues, "Finally, the Association assembled at Philadelphia September 25, 1742, ordered the printing of a new edition of this Confession, the first of this or any other Baptist Confession to be printed in America. It was to have two additional articles, Concerning Singing of Psalms in the worship of God, and laying on of hands upon baptized believers...The two articles, which are numbers XXIII and XXXI are reprints of Articles XXVII and XXIII of Keach's Confession."³ It is interesting to notice that the practice of laying-on-of-hands upon newly baptized members of a congregation has gradually become "the hand of fellowship" which is extended to all new members in most Southern Baptist

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1. McGlothlin, op. cit., pp. 293,294.
 2. Supra, Chapter III, Section B.
 3. McGlothlin, op. cit., p. 295.

congregations today.¹

The Charleston Association of South Carolina adopted this same statement of faith in 1767, retaining Keach's article on singing but omitting his practice of laying-on-of-hands. By this entree it came to be the accepted standard for the Southern Baptist Convention for many years. A Southern Baptist church historian writing in 1911 declared, "Many churches and other Associations, both North and South, adopted this Confession. In recent years it has been losing ground, especially in the North, but it is still widely used and in the South is probably the most influential of all Confessions."²

The third influence of Keach in America was due to his book, The Baptist Catechism. McGlothlin shows that catechisms were not used by American Baptists for any great length of time; however, "The earliest and most widely used was The Baptist Catechism,... adopted by the Philadelphia Association in 1742."³

By way of a summary and conclusion it may be acknowledged that Keach wrote a section of the most widely used school-book in America, The New England Primer, two articles in the Philadelphia Confession of Faith which was the accepted standard used by many Baptist congregations in both the North and South for the first two centuries, and The Baptist Catechism, the one most extensively employed by early Baptists in the United States. In this way his influence permeated the Baptist Movement not only in his native land but on foreign shores as well.

1. Vedder, op. cit., pp. 162,163.

2. McGlothlin, op. cit., p. 298.

3. Ibid., p. 307.

APPENDIX D

A SPY'S REPORT ON DISSENTERS IN LONDON, 1682.

This report is Document 55 in Volume 419, State Papers Domestic for the reign of Charles II, which is located in the Public Record Office, London.

The names of all the minsters with thire Repactetive meting houses and nombers of pepell be longing to each meting hous in the boror au felde too my knoldg

nams	houses	nombrs
Mr. Matox.h.	-0-1	aboutt 0300
Mr. Rossell.h.	-0-1	aboutt 0550
Mr. Chestr.h.	-0-1	aboutt 01500
Mr. Vinsett.h.	-0-1	abutt 2000
Mr. Ford.h.	-0-1	abutt 1000-3
Mr. Dodes.h.	-0-1	aboutt 0040
Mr. Dedrom.h.	-0-1	aboutt 0600
Plos.		
Mr. Caslik.h.	-0-1	aboutt 0250
Mr. Flaynell.h.	-0-1	aboutt 0030
Mr. Rafson.h.	-0-1	abutt 0500
Presbyterons	10	5420
Mr. Ceah 3	-0-2	abutt 350 pirtiler baptises ¹
Mr. Jonse 5	-0-3	abutt 200 the same
Mr. Claiton 6	-0-4	but 1500 ginarrall baptises
Mr. Adoms 4	-0-1	butt 300 monerky Judgmentt

Mr. Danvers 7	-0-1	aboutt 700 monerky Judgmentt
Mr. Grifeth 3	-0-2	aboutt 450 ginerall batises
Mr. Knoleses 9	-0-2	about 200 pitikler baptises

On the back of this document it appears to be by Constant Oates:

Constant Oates his acc^t of Conventicles 1 Jun '82
 I Constant Oates do intend too visett these glebes and to
 give ann a coumpt that shall be juste in sarving the king

1. This Mr. Ceah is Benjamin Keach.