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'The Sum of All Good': John Ryland, Jr. and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit

MICHAEL HAYKIN

Introduction

In a letter which the Welsh evangelist Howel Harris (1714–1773) wrote to George Whitefield (1714–1770) in 1743, Harris provided his friend with what can well be regarded as a classic description of the eighteenth century Evangelical Revival:¹

The outpouring of the Blessed Spirit is now so plentiful and common, that I think it was our deliberate observation that not one sent by Him opens his mouth without some remarkable showers. He comes either as a Spirit of wisdom to enlighten the soul, to teach and build up, and set out the works of light and darkness, or else a Spirit of tenderness and love, sweetly melting the souls like the dew, and watering the graces; or as the Spirit of hot burning zeal, setting their hearts in a flame, so that their eyes sparkle with fire, love and joy; or also such a Spirit of uncommon power that the heavens seem to be rent, and hell to tremble.

Given the extent of this outpouring it is no surprise to find eighteenth century evangelicals preoccupied with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Whitefield, for instance, preaching on the phrase 'and thy glory' from Is. 60:19 could declare:²

The ministers of Christ must take care that they do not preach an unknown God, and we must take care we do not pretend to live upon an unknown God, a God that is not appropriated and brought home to our souls by the efficacy of the Spirit. But, my brethren, we cannot say, God is our God, unless we are in Jesus Christ. Can you say, such a one is your father, unless you can give proof of it? You may be bastards, there are many bastards laid at Christ's door. Now, God cannot be my God, at least I cannot know him to be so, unless he be pleased to send into my heart the Spirit of adoption, and to admit me to enjoy familiarity with Christ.

My brethren . . . the grand controversy God has with England is for the slight put on the Holy Ghost. As soon as a person begins to talk of the work of the Holy Ghost, they cry, You are a Methodist: as soon as

you speak about the divine influences of the Holy Ghost, O! say they, you are an enthusiast. May the Lord keep these methodistical enthusiasts among us to the latest posterity. . . .

It is now about thirty-five years since I have begun to read the Bible upon my pillow. I love to read this book, but the book is nothing but an account of the promises which it contains, and almost every word, from the beginning to the end of it, speaks of a spiritual dispensation, and the Holy Ghost, that unites our souls to God, and helps a believer to say, My Lord, and my God! . . . Now when you have got the Spirit, then you may say, God is mine.

Nor was this preoccupation limited to ministers. Ann Griffiths (1776–1805), a relatively unknown Welsh Calvinistic Methodist hymnwriter, penned a moving confession of her faith in the deity of the Holy Spirit and her desire to know his presence and power in every area of her life. In a letter to a friend, Elizabeth Evans, she wrote:³

Dear Sister, the most outstanding thing that is on my mind at present as a matter for thought has to do with grieving the Holy Spirit. The word came into my mind, 'Know ye not that your bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in you?' [1 Cor.6:19]. And on penetrating a little into the wonder of the Person, and how he dwells or resides in the believer, I think in short that I have never been possessed to the same degree by reverential fears of grieving him, and along with this I have been able to see one reason, and the chief reason, why this great sin has made such a slight impression and weighed so lightly upon my mind, on account of my base and blasphemous thoughts about a Person so great.

This is how my thoughts ran about the Persons of the Trinity. I feel my mind being seized by shame, and even inhibited from speaking on account of the harmfulness of this. I thought of the Persons of the Father and the Son as co-equal; but as for the Person of the Holy Spirit, I regarded him as a functionary subordinate to them. O what a misguided imagination about a Person who is divine, all-present, all-knowing, and all-powerful to carry on and complete the good work which he has begun in accordance with the covenant of grace, and the counsel of the Three in One regarding those who are the objects of the primal love. O for the privilege of being one of their number.

Dear Sister, I feel a degree of thirst to grow up more in the belief in the personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit in my life; and this by way of revelation, not of imagination, as if I thought to comprehend in what way or by what means it happens, which is real idolatry. . . . O for the privilege of being under the detailed supervision of the Holy Spirit.

Revival went hand in hand with a quickened interest in pneumatology. Now, a striking illustration of this fact is afforded by the experience of the English Particular or Calvinistic Baptists in the late eighteenth century.

Up until the 1770s the Calvinistic Baptists generally shied away

from any contact with the Methodists, whom they regarded with disdain for a variety of reasons. The settled aversion of John Wesley (1703–1791) for Dissenters in general and Baptists in particular certainly did not endear him or his Arminian followers to the Baptists. And while Whitefield, the other key Methodist leader, was a Calvinist and not averse to establishing friendships with Dissenters, his preaching sounded too ‘Arminian’ to many of the Calvinistic Baptists, who were under the deadening influence of High Calvinism.⁴ All too many Calvinistic Baptist preachers of this era failed to address the unconverted from the pulpit, since they were genuinely fearful of interfering with the Spirit’s work in the salvation of sinners and wholly convinced that the unconverted were under no obligation to believe the gospel. Typical of Baptist disdain for the Methodists is the following extract from the Minute Books for 1754 of St. Mary’s Baptist Church, Norwich:⁵

It is unlawful for any . . . to attend upon the meetings of the Methodists, or to join in any worship which is contrary to the doctrines and ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Attitudes and theological perspectives, however, slowly began to shift. Only twenty years after the above declaration, John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825) wrote to his close friend John Sutcliff (1752–1814):⁶

’Tis the wisdom as well as the duty of the Dissenters to be friendly with the *orthodox* Methodists.

By *orthodox* Ryland evidently meant Calvinistic, for he went on to state with regard to the followers of the Wesleys:⁷

Both their doctrine and Policy are inimical to the Dissenters and I think contrary to the Word of God.

Apart from this qualification, Ryland’s statement displays an openness that would become increasingly common in the decades to come as the Calvinistic Baptists began to experience revival.

It should be noted, though, that the revival which came to the Calvinistic Baptists at the end of the eighteenth century was not wholly dependent on external sources. The openness to streams of revival outside of Calvinistic Baptist ranks was accompanied by wellsprings of renewal within. Illustrative of the latter is a man like Benjamin Beddome (1717–1795), who exercised a very fruitful ministry at Bourton-on-the-Water for over fifty years. In the period between 1743 and 1766, for instance, one hundred and ninety-six new converts were received into the church.⁸ The following text, taken from a sermon on Ps.72:15, well displays Beddome’s evangelistic vision:⁹

[We should pray] for the greater diffusion and efficacy of the gospel that, like a sharp sword, it might pierce the consciences of sinners

... Those that have tasted the sweetness of the gospel, should pray that others might taste it; those that have felt its power, that others might feel it. If it has brought forth fruit in us, we should pray that it might bring forth fruit in others; be adorned by them; and finally, issue in their salvation.

The Calvinistic Baptists began to experience widespread revival only in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. Immediately preceded in the 1780s by regular concerts of prayer,¹⁰ theological reformation,¹¹ and calls to repentance,¹² it brought forth, among other things, fresh pneumatological perspectives. The following paper seeks to examine some of these perspectives as found in the writings of John Ryland, Jr., a leading figure in this revival. Three areas, in particular, merit close attention: the Spirit's rôle in conversion; the Spirit's work of sanctification; and Ryland's emphasis on maintaining the unity of the Spirit across denominational boundaries. But, prior to focusing on these aspects of Ryland's pneumatology, a brief sketch of Ryland's life will help to set them in context.

John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825)

Ryland was the eldest son of one of the leading Calvinistic Baptist pastors of the eighteenth century, John Collett Ryland (1723–1792), who, though partial to High Calvinism, maintained throughout his life cordial relations with men such as Whitefield and Rowland Hill (1744–1833).¹³ In the words of William Jay (1769–1853), the Congregational preacher, John Ryland's father was:¹⁴

Much attached to many other preachers less systematically orthodox than himself; and laboured as opportunity offered, with them. He was, indeed, a lover of all good men; and, while many talked of candour, he exercised it. Though he was a firm Baptist, he was no friend to bigotry or exclusiveness.

Possibly the fact that Ryland, Sr. had been converted under Beddome's ministry contributed something to this catholic outlook.¹⁵ Be this as it may, growing up in such a home gave Ryland both breadth and depth: breadth with regard to his vision of the Church and depth with regard to his commitment to Calvinism, though he would later reshape certain aspects of the theological heritage which he had received from his father.¹⁶

In 1781 Ryland was invited by College Lane Baptist Church, Northampton, to become co-pastor with his father. When, four years later, his father moved to Enfield, near London, Ryland became the sole pastor. During these early years of ministry Ryland received much advice and encouragement from John Newton (1725–1807), the Anglican evangelical. Ryland's friendship with Newton began soon

after the latter had become the curate at the parish church in Olney in 1764. It lasted till Newton's death in 1807.¹⁷ It is only to be expected that Newton's irenic commitment to evangelical Calvinism left a deep imprint upon Ryland.

But it was the writings of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), which, after the Scriptures, exerted the strongest theological influence on Ryland. As Ryland declared in a letter to his fellow Baptist Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832):¹⁸

Were I forced to part with all mere human compositions but three, Edwards's *Life of Brainerd*, his *Treatise on Religious Affections*, and [Joseph] Bellamy's *True Religion Delineated* . . . would be the last I should let go.

And in a diary entry for May 12, 1786, Ryland had this to say regarding the influence of Edwards's *Treatise on Religious Affections*:¹⁹

I believe I may fairly attribute some confusion in my ideas, when so very young, to the want of more distinct instruction on some heads. O that my father had then thoroughly studied Edwards on the *Affections*! it might have rendered his ministry more useful to me and others.

Thirty years later Ryland's estimation of Edwards's writings was undiminished. In a postscript to the funeral sermon for his friend Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) he stated:²⁰

If I knew I should be with Sutcliff and Fuller tomorrow, instead of regretting that I had endeavoured to promote that religion delineated by Jonathan Edwards in his *Treatise on Religious Affections* and in his *Life of David Brainerd*, I would recommend his writings . . . with the last effort I could make to guide a pen.

The 'religion delineated by Jonathan Edwards' was devoted to a scholarly and contemporary defence of Calvinistic convictions as well as tracing the work of the Spirit in corporate revival and individual renewal. The latter was done with particularly penetrating insight and has prompted Dr. Martyn Lloyd-Jones to describe Edwards as 'the theologian of Revival.'²¹ Now, Ryland shared to the full this twin commitment of Edwards's theology, a fact which will become very evident in the course of this paper.

In 1793 Ryland moved to Bristol where, until his death in 1825, he was the pastor of Broadmead Church and the principal of Bristol Baptist Academy.²² An outstanding Hebrew scholar and inspiring preacher, Ryland exercised an important ministry during these years. In his time as principal around two hundred students attended the college. Many of them went on to become Baptist pastors and missionaries, imbued with Ryland's evangelical Calvinism and

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commitment to revival. Ryland was thus instrumental in paving the way for the tremendous growth the Baptists were to experience in the nineteenth century.

The Sovereign Spirit

In the annual circular letter issued by the Western Association in 1790 a warning was given to the churches in the Association to be on their guard 'against two errors in particular, which in our day prevail among persons professing godliness.' The first error was described as 'the leaven of Arminianism' and the second as 'the baneful and pernicious poison of Antinomianism.'²³ It would be another three years before Ryland left Northampton to begin his ministry in Bristol, but these 'two errors' would have lost none of their prominence during that period of time. In fact, Robert Hall, Jr. (1764–1831), in his funeral sermon for Ryland, noted that in Ryland's public ministry:²⁴

The two extremes against which . . . he was most solicitous to guard the religious public were, Pelagian pride and Antinomian licentiousness; the first of which he detested as an insult on the grace of the gospel; the last, on the majesty and authority of the law.

As Ryland's letter to Sutcliff cited above bears witness, Ryland was firmly convinced early in his theological career that Arminianism was an erroneous system of theology. Indeed, in his later published works, he never tired of upholding the irresistible sovereignty of the Spirit in salvation and the utter inability of sinful men and women to save themselves. The Spirit alone can produce genuine conviction for sin,²⁵ impart life to the sinner and so enable him or her to exercise faith in Christ,²⁶ make the heart conscious of the all-surpassing beauty of Christ,²⁷ effectually draw the sinner 'to God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ',²⁸ and thus apply the entire redemptive work of Christ to the soul.²⁹

Ryland was careful, however, to emphasize that the sovereignty of the Spirit's work in salvation cannot be employed as an excuse by impenitent sinners to justify their refusal to respond to the gospel. By such an emphasis Ryland was opposing what he regarded as one of the main failures of the High Calvinist position, which maintained that since people cannot exercise saving faith without the Spirit of God, then they are under no obligation to believe until the Spirit creates this faith within them.³⁰ This position had resulted in a wholesale neglect of evangelistic preaching; urging the lost to come to Christ was regarded by many High Calvinists as usurping what was the prerogative of the Spirit. As noted above, this position was widespread among the Calvinistic Baptists and had done much to

retard the influx and springing up of revival. Against the High Calvinists, Ryland insisted:³¹

The Operations of the Holy Spirit are neither the *Source* nor the *Measure of Duty*, though they are the undoubted *Cause* of a Sinner's *Compliance with Duty*. For total Depravity, or the entire Absence of supreme Love to God, is no justifiable excuse, nor can it free us from an obligation to be wholly and exclusively devoted to his service.

While it is true that sinners can fulfil what God requires of them only through the Spirit's indwelling and empowering, it does not follow that their obligations to God are circumscribed by what the Spirit enables them to accomplish. God commands all men to be 'wholly and exclusively devoted' to him, even though outside of the Spirit's enablement the fulfilment of this command is an utter impossibility for sinful men and women. Undergirding Ryland's argumentation at this point is a distinction between natural and moral inability which he had found in Jonathan Edwards's writings. Edwards had argued that men and women possess the natural ability to repent and believe in Christ, but, due to an habitual bias or inclination for sin, they cannot. The strength of this bias is sufficient to ensure that fallen men and women voluntarily choose sin instead of holiness, self instead of God. Man's consistent failure to live a life pleasing to God stems, then, not from any physical inability, but from moral inability.³² In the second part of Ryland's *Serious Remarks on the Different Representations of Evangelical Doctrine by the Professed Friends of the Gospel*, first published in 1818, Ryland gives some Scriptural illustrations of this difference between natural and moral inability.³³ For instance, alluding to the account of Joseph's exaltation in Gen.41, Ryland states:³⁴

Jacob *could not* rejoice in Joseph's exaltation, before he heard of it. Potiphar's wife *could not* rejoice in it, if she continued under the influence of her revengeful temper.

Jacob's inability to rejoice over his son's exaltation at the time of its occurrence was a natural one. He had no way of knowing about it, since he was not living in Egypt. On the other hand, if Potiphar's wife had continued to harbour anger at Joseph after his exaltation, her inability to rejoice can only be termed a moral inability, and thus culpable.

This distinction enabled Ryland to reject the determinism which often went hand in hand with the High Calvinist position, while at the same time maintaining against Arminianism the sovereignty of the Spirit of God in salvation. Since fallen men and women possess the natural ability to repent and believe, 'faith must be the duty of all that hear the gospel.'³⁵ But, though they possess the natural ability to

repent, they lack the moral ability actually to do so. Thus, Ryland affirmed: 'sinners always resist the Holy Spirit, as far as they can; if he were not almighty, none would be converted.'³⁶ It was such theological reasoning which helped to underpin the general return of the late eighteenth century Calvinistic Baptists to the evangelistic preaching characteristic of their forebears, men like Hanserd Knollys (1599–1691) and Benjamin Keach (1640–1704).

The Sanctifying Spirit

Antinomianism, the other error mentioned in the Western Association circular letter, was one position on an issue which absorbed the attention of the Calvinistic Baptist community in England from the 1770s to the 1820s, namely, what was the place of the law in the believer's life.³⁷ As early as 1787 Ryland had addressed this issue in *The Law Not Against the Promises of God*, in which he argued that genuine love to God is expressed by obedience to the law. In the 1790s Ryland was personally attacked by William Huntington (1745–1813),³⁸ a popular preacher of doctrinal antinomianism, who accused Ryland of subverting the gospel. Huntington maintained that the moral law should not be considered as a rule of life for the believer. As he declared in a sermon published in 1792:³⁹

Neither justification, sanctification, salvation, hope or help, life or love come from the Law or by the Law. Ministers of the Spirit and those evangelical servants, who serve God in the newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter, are not breakers of God's commandments; they are delivered from the law and wedded to Christ, that they might bring forth fruit unto God.

Huntington described the law as 'a killing letter,' 'a ministration of death,' and decried those who regarded it as a pattern for the Christian life as 'pharisees.'⁴⁰ Huntington tended to envision the Christian's freedom from the law as a freedom from any objective standard whatsoever. This tendency was strengthened by Huntington's insistence that the Scriptures know only of an imputed sanctification and that progressive sanctification has no Scriptural basis.

As to sanctification being a progressive work, it is best to consent to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, lest we set poor weak believers to inquiring how long this progressive work is to be on the wheels, what part of it is wrought, what measure of it is required, and how much remains to be done: and like Sarah with her bondwoman, they begin to forward the business by the works of the flesh, instead of lying passive to be worked on.⁴¹

Understandably, Ryland viewed Huntington's teaching as the foundation of not only doctrinal, but also practical antinomianism. In Ryland's words:⁴²

[It is] a false gospel, which would suit a carnal heart, which leaves the core of the controversy between God and man untouched; which seems to justify the sinner's enmity to the law and government of God, and misrepresent the Saviour, as if he had not intended to magnify the divine law . . . [It promotes] a redemption, not from sin, but from duty. A perseverance, not in grace, but in security. A mere witness of the Spirit, without the work of the Spirit.

Huntington and his followers 'preach but half a gospel,' Ryland declared, for they 'talk much of what Christ did *for* us in his flesh, but say nothing of that he does *in* us by his Spirit.'⁴³ If, as these texts imply, Ryland believed that Huntington countenanced practical antinomianism, he was mistaken. However, the explicit charge that Huntington generally failed to discuss the moral behaviour of the believer would appear to have been justified.

It was against the background of this quarrel with doctrinal antinomianism that Ryland stressed that the Spirit's work in sanctifying the believer is as important as his rôle in bringing that person to faith in Christ.⁴⁴ When 'the Spirit has led the soul to Christ, he will also cause him to run in the way of God's commandments.'⁴⁵ The Spirit enables saved sinners 'to conform to the law as a rule of conduct,'⁴⁶ to love holiness,⁴⁷ to mortify the flesh and its deeds,⁴⁸ to exercise 'an irreconcilable hatred of all sin, and an insatiable thirst after perfect conformity to the Saviour.'⁴⁹

On the basis of 2 Cor.3:18, Ryland further argued that Scripture regards this work of sanctification as a progressive work.

They [Huntington and his followers] deny that sanctification is progressive . . . [But] what is intended by our 'beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, and being changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord' [2 Cor.3:18]?⁵⁰

And Ryland well knew from personal experience that the believer's sanctification is never complete in this life and that he or she must wage a continual warfare against the world, the devil, and especially, the flesh. For instance, in a letter to Sutcliff in 1774, Ryland stated:⁵¹

You complain of self and pride – I join in the complaint and often think if I could get rid of these I need not mind other foes – blessed be God I hope I hate them.

Or to cite one of the entries in his diary, that for March 17, 1790:⁵²

Amidst all my trials and mercies I have very great reason to lament that I have not been more importunate and constant in prayer. Of all the evils that infest me, I think a formal attendance on this duty, with too frequent neglect of it, is the worst.

Ryland accordingly determined to keep April 1 'as a day of private humiliation and prayer, and fasting, to implore of God the reviving influences of his Holy Spirit.'⁵³

Running parallel with Ryland's intense concern with holiness was an equally intense fear of bringing grief to the One who sanctified him. In what really amounts to a personal confession, Ryland affirmed:⁵⁴

I earnestly seek the supply of the Spirit [cf. Phil. 1:19], and dread, above all things, grieving him by whom I am 'sealed to the day of redemption' [Eph. 4:30].

Allusions to Paul's admonition in Eph. 4:30 are frequent in Ryland's writings.⁵⁵ In fact, preserved in his *Pastoral Memorials*, there are the notes of a sermon on this text entitled 'On Grieving the Holy Spirit.'⁵⁶ The sermon begins by emphasizing that Eph. 4:30 implies both the personality and deity of the Spirit. With regard to the latter Ryland states:⁵⁷

The greatness of the work here attributed to the Holy Spirit, strongly indicates his divinity: who, but a Divine Person, can conquer human obstinacy, renew the heart, bow the will, regenerate the soul, sanctify it, and seal it to the day of redemption. Surely, then, he is not a mere creature, or super-angelic spirit.

Here, Ryland uses a form of argumentation which had been commonly used since the patristic era. If the Spirit does what only God can do, then he must be God.⁵⁸ Ryland now turns his attention to the clause 'sealed unto the day of redemption.' The seal of the Spirit, Ryland suggests:⁵⁹

Consists in the impression of the divine image on the soul; really conforming us to God, in the temper of our minds. Without this, no immediate witness would be valid; and with it, it is unnecessary . . . This is truly a supernatural and divine work. It requires, indeed, the finger of God, to engrave his image on the soul, where it was totally effaced: to renew the resemblance of his moral perfections, and transform us into the likeness of his dear Son.

Ryland understands the seal of the Spirit to be the Spirit's progressive sanctification of the believer and reproduction of the character of Christ in the believer's life. Where this holy life is present, no other witness is needed to attest the reality of salvation. 'This seal,' Ryland concludes, 'is the best proof of our relation to God.'⁶⁰ Ryland's understanding of the seal of the Spirit has obviously been shaped by his rebuttal of doctrinal antinomianism. Yet, he was right to be sceptical of those who claimed that the Spirit had revealed to them

that they were children of God and yet whose lives bore no marks of holiness.⁶¹

Moreover, Ryland observes that to be sealed with the Spirit has eternal consequences.

Believers are here said to be *sealed* to the *day of redemption*, as the Spirit is the *earnest* of the promised inheritance [cf. Eph.1:13–14], the best proof of heirship, the preparation for and foretaste of eternal happiness. His vital, sanctifying influences insure everlasting blessedness.⁶²

Those who are indwelt by the sanctifying Spirit are stamped for eternity in heaven. This connexion between the Spirit and eternal bliss is often referred to by Ryland.⁶³ To take but one example that is particularly striking. It occurs in a sermon which Ryland preached in June of 1812 to students and subscribers of Stepney Academy, which trained men for ministry among the Calvinistic Baptists. Addressing himself to the students, Ryland exhorted them:⁶⁴

An ancient Painter among the Greeks mistakenly said, 'I paint for Eternity.' Ah! he knew not that this earth, and all it contains, shall be burnt up; and though that awful conflagration has not yet taken place, the admirable productions of his art have long since been lost. But you, my young brethren, may adopt the language of this eminent artist, and it shall be no vain boast, no expression of enthusiasm, but words of truth and soberness. For the image of Christ, which the Spirit of God, by your instrumentality, shall paint on the soul, will bear no symptom of decay in millions of ages, but shall shine in more vivid colors, when the sun shall be turned into darkness. O think of Eternity! keep Eternity in view and the immensity of bliss to be enjoyed by every soul, which by your successful ministry shall be truly converted to God!

The second half of Ryland's sermon on Eph.4:30 focuses on 'the danger and evil of grieving the Holy Spirit.' Here Ryland simply works through a number of items which especially grieve the Spirit. Among those which receive mention are: duplicity and deceit, all impurity, neglect of prayer and the Word of God, bitterness, 'sighting or undervaluing the Lord Jesus Christ, and his atoning blood and righteousness,' 'merely formal attendance on divine ordinances, placing a low value on his work and power, and abusing the doctrine of his influence.'⁶⁵ This evident concern to please the Spirit in all things is essentially bound up with Ryland's view of the vital importance of the Spirit for the believer's life. In a sermon on Lk.11:13 ['If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him!'] (KJV)], Ryland makes the following comment on the difference between this verse and its

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Matthean parallel, Mt.7:11, which has 'good things' instead of
'the Holy Spirit':⁶⁶

Nothing is so excellent, needful, or advantageous [as the Holy Spirit]. In the similar part of our Lord's sermon on the Mount, he had said 'good things,' indefinitely. Matt.vii.11. Here he tells us what is good, the chief good. Not as though he would revoke the former permission, or restrict us more from desiring any thing truly good; but he would give us a fuller discovery of the chief good. The Holy Spirit is equivalent to all good things. No other blessing can be safely enjoyed without him. . . . The Holy Spirit is the chief blessing for which we need to pray. His grace is the sum of all spiritual blessings, which we need infinitely more than any other blessing whatever.

There is a remarkable similarity of tone between these texts of Ryland relating to grieving the Spirit and the Spirit's importance for the Christian life and those of Whitefield and Griffiths cited at the beginning of this paper. It is a similarity which should remind us that the doctrine of the sanctifying Spirit was central to eighteenth century evangelicals engaged in seeking revival in their day.⁶⁷

The Unity of the Spirit

Like his father, Ryland maintained throughout his life a number of warm friendships with men who were not Baptists. Mention has already been made of Ryland's friendship with Newton. Other close Anglican friends included Thomas Scott (1747–1821), the Bible commentator,⁶⁸ and the abolitionist William Wilberforce (1759–1833),⁶⁹ with both of whom Ryland maintained a regular correspondence. Another regular correspondent was the Scottish Presbyterian minister John Erskine (1721–1803), who has been well described as 'the paradigm of Scottish evangelical missionary interest through the last half of the eighteenth century.'⁷⁰ And it was Erskine who was responsible for Ryland's opening a correspondence with such New England Congregationalist divines as Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803), Jonathan Edwards, Jr. (1745–1801), and Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), all of whom were Edwardsean in theology.⁷⁰ Of these various friendships, Ryland declared in 1814 in his *Candid Statement of the Reasons which induce the Baptists to differ in Opinion and Practice from so many of their Christian Brothers*:⁷²

I think I can safely affirm that I have endeavoured to promote a spirit of unfeigned love towards all real Christians . . . [and] very few of my own Denomination have ever had more of my affection and esteem than several of the ministers of the Establishment; and as far as opportunity of intercourse would admit, I have felt much the same disposition towards many in the Church of Scotland.

Elsewhere Ryland outlined what he regarded as the basis of his 'spirit of unfeigned love towards all real Christians.' Consider, for instance, the following text from a sermon entitled 'The Zeal of the Lord of Hosts,' preached in 1812 to the annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society. Ryland starts out by referring to the way that the Baptist missionaries in India, notably William Carey (1761–1834), Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), and William Ward (1769–1823), behaved towards missionaries from other denominations.

Our brethren in India have uniformly discovered a spirit of kindness towards their fellow-labourers sent out by other societies. Nor is there anything for which I more sincerely and earnestly pray than that both they and we may ever be kept from all party-spirit, from all self-seeking, and from all self-confidence and vain boasting.

Never, indeed, may we listen to that spurious moderation, which requires a dereliction of principle, or a disregard to what we believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God; but never may we lay an undue stress on those things wherein they may differ who 'worship God in the Spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh' [Phil.3:3] 'All who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity' [Eph.6:24] shall share in our love; all who appear to be led by the Spirit of God shall be acknowledged as the children of God [cf. Rom.8:14] and as our dear brethren; yet we will follow none of them farther than we see them following the footsteps of Christ. But nothing in which bad men can possibly unite shall unite us so closely as those things in which good men cannot disagree.⁷³

Drawing especially upon a couple of Pauline texts, Eph.6:24 and Rom.8:14, Ryland distinguishes two aspects of the foundation of Christian fellowship: sincere love for the Lord Jesus and being 'led by the Spirit of God.' In Ryland's funeral sermon for Fuller, Ryland explained what he understood by the latter phrase, 'led by the Spirit of God.' He stated:⁷⁴

Christ is in his people by the abiding influence of his Holy Spirit, who having renewed them in the spirit of their minds, so powerfully regulates their disposition and conduct, as to conform them more and more to the likeness of their blessed Redeemer. . . . They live after the Spirit, and 'through the Spirit mortify the deeds of the body' [Rom.8:13]; they are 'led by the Spirit' [Rom.8:14], who produces in them filial reverence, affection, and confidence, and teaches them to obey, follow, and imitate God as his dear children. Thus their disposition resembles the disposition of God's own Son.

In other words, the experience of being led by the Spirit into paths of holiness and conformity to Christ is an essential part of the foundation of Christian unity. The text from 'The Zeal of the Lord of Hosts' is also noteworthy in that it rejects both sectarianism and an

ecumenism which sacrifices deeply-held Biblical convictions. Ryland was certainly a committed Baptist, but he was also concerned that his fellow Baptists not place undue weight on that which distinguished them from other denominations. As he advised the students of Stepney Academy:⁷⁵

Always show you are more concerned to turn sinners to God, than to make proselytes to a party. While you teach men to observe all things whatsoever our blessed Lord has commanded, whether with reference to moral duty, or positive institutions, let it appear, in the latter case, that you regard the thing signified as far more important than the sign.

In administering the Ordinances of the New Testament be careful to point out their important signification. Urge them who are buried with Christ by Baptism into death, to remember their obligations to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness; to be separate from the world and devoted to God. What avails the observance of a more significant and scriptural mode of administering the ordinance, if its end be not kept constantly in view? It is not the Baptism of adults, but of believers, for which we plead; let them who profess to have believed, be urged so to walk as to prove they abide in him, whose name they bear. Let them live the life of faith, and fight the good fight of faith. 'He that believeth and is Baptized shall be saved' [Mk.16:16]. Were the Greek term translated, I am persuaded it should be rendered, He that believeth and is immersed or overwhelmed etc. Overwhelmed with what? with Water? Yes, that is the sign, and thus only we think the ordinance should be administered. But, what is the thing signified? He that is overwhelmed with a sense of Obligation, of Guilt, of Danger, of Gratitude, of Love; he that is immersed in the Holy Spirit, shall be saved. We had rather have the thing signified without the sign, than the sign without the thing signified: though we think both should go together.

One cannot read the above text without realizing Ryland's commitment to the Baptist way. But equally apparent is Ryland's concern that this commitment not become a wall of complete separation between him and non-Baptists who share the same salvific experience as him, namely, that of being 'immersed in the Holy Spirit.'

Another key text which considers this issue of the unity of the Spirit is the sermon 'The Communion of Saints,' based on 1 Jn.1:7.⁷⁶ In this sermon Ryland first of all indicates what cannot be regarded as a true basis for Christian unity. Genuine fellowship cannot be based upon 'our connexion with any visible head upon earth,' such as the bishop of Rome.⁷⁷ Nor does it depend upon external circumstances or 'modes of worship in which bad men may unite, or concerning which it is possible for good men to differ.'⁷⁸ Rather, with the Johannine text as a basis, Ryland asserts that true fellowship is founded on:⁷⁹

Divine illumination: and that, such an illumination as influences the general course of life: 'if we walk in the light' [1 Jn.1:7]. . . . Every true

saint has some spiritual light, by which he sees so much of the divine glory as induces him to walk with God. . . . It depends upon our reliance on Christ's atonement: 'the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin' [1 Jn.1:7]. All who are of the true circumcision 'rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh' [Phil.3:3]. They have seen the evil of sin in so strong a light, that nothing can satisfy them of the possibility of its being pardoned, but a view of the Lamb of God, as satisfying divine justice by the sacrifice of himself. . . . It depends also on the hope of eternal life. True saints all place the essence of future bliss in the everlasting enjoyment of God. They are willing to receive heaven as a free gift to them, to which they are entitled only through Christ, and for which they are made meet by the 'renewing of the Holy Spirit' [Titus 3:5].

Ryland proceeds to argue that those who 'walk in the light,' rely upon the crucified Christ, and partake of the same hope all enjoy who have fellowship with the Triune God:⁸⁰

They now have fellowship with the Father, rejoicing that he is glorified in their salvation. . . . They have fellowship with the Son, who is 'the way and the truth and the life' [Jn.14:6] . . . And they are all joint partakers of the Holy Spirit, enjoying communion with him, as the sanctifier, monitor, and comforter, by whom they are bound in one body, and 'sealed to the day of redemption' [Eph.4:30].

If these be the true foundation stones of Christian unity, how then, Ryland asks, should Christians of different denominations behave toward one another? In a word, they should seek to have 'cordial and intimate fellowship' with one another.⁸¹ Among other things, this entails 'the acknowledging of every good thing which is in our brethren' and rejoicing 'that they follow Christ, and that they are owned by him in advancing his kingdom.'⁸² Ryland does not feel that it need involve the Lord's Table. He states:⁸³

In thus recommending to all saints, fellowship one with another, I make no direct reference to their *communing together at the Lord's table*. My sentiments and practice on that head are not unknown. *That* communion might be practised without the existence of this fellowship; and *this* may exist without that.

Ryland, like his father before him, was a firm believer in open communion, that is, in allowing unbaptized believers to partake of the Lord's table. But, as Ryland points out, the Lord's table is not intrinsic to genuine fellowship. What is essential is partaking of 'the same sanctifying Spirit.' As Ryland states near the end of his sermon:⁸⁴

No human polity, no worldly establishment, no sectarian regulations nor even an external agreement with the most scriptural mode of

church government, can form so noble a bond of union, as the powerful influence of the same sanctifying Spirit. Ah! if we partook of this in a higher degree, how should we be taught, as by a divine instinct, to love one another!

One very important way in which Ryland sought to realize his view of Christian unity was through concerts of prayer. In 1784 John Erskine had sent to Ryland a copy of Edwards's *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer For the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth*. In this treatise Edwards appealed for the establishment of regular prayer meetings where there could be fervent prayer that God 'would appear for the help of his church . . . and pour out his Spirit, revive his work, and advance his spiritual kingdom in the world.'⁸⁵ Ryland shared Edwards's treatise with his friend Sutcliff, who in turn used it as the basis for a proposal to the Baptist ministers of the Northamptonshire Association that monthly prayer meetings be established to pray for the outpouring of God's Spirit in revival. This proposal was duly adopted and a circular letter sent to the churches of the Association encouraging them 'to wrestle with God for the effusion of His Holy Spirit,' not only upon their churches, but also upon those of other denominations. 'Let the whole interest of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered,' the prayer call urged.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Christians of other denominations were invited to join the Calvinistic Baptists in concerted prayer for revival and mission. Ryland, at the time pastoring with his father in Northampton, entered wholeheartedly into this call to prayer. For instance, in his diary entry for January 21, 1788, Ryland records:⁸⁷

Brethren Fuller, Sutcliff, Carey, and I, kept this day as a private fast, in my study: . . . each prayed twice – Carey with singular enlargement and pungency. Our chief design was to implore a revival of the power of godliness in our own souls, in our churches, and in the church at large.

And four years later, at the height of the French Revolution, Ryland urged in the circular letter of the Northamptonshire Association for that year:⁸⁸

Surely the state both of the world, and of church, calls loudly upon us all to persist in wrestling instantly with God, for greater effusions of his Holy Spirit. . . . Let us not cease crying mightily unto the Lord, 'until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high' [Is.32:15]; then the wilderness shall become as a fruitful field, and the desert like the garden of God. Yes, beloved, the Scriptures cannot be broken. Jesus must reign universally. All nations shall own him. All people shall serve him. His kingdom shall be extended, not by human might, or power, but by the effusion of his Holy Spirit [cf. Zech.4:6].

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The revival which did indeed come to not only the English Calvinistic Baptists, but other denominations as well, both in Great Britain and abroad, was due in large measure to these concerts of prayer.

Conclusion

It is not uncommon for contemporary Christian authors to charge the Church of the past with neglecting, in both doctrine and practice, the third person of the Trinity. For instance, Stanley Horton has recently asserted:⁸⁹

Very few books were written about the Spirit in the 1700s and 1800s. Many of the writers of systematic theologies had very little to say about Him.

In the light of our examination of Ryland's pneumatology, Horton's statement reveals a somewhat superficial understanding of the history of the doctrine of the Spirit. Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. offers a more accurate assessment. Referring to John Calvin (1509–1564) and the tradition which bears his name, he states that 'the work of the Holy Spirit has been a constant and even distinctive concern' for this tradition.⁹⁰ And, as Richard Lovelace has pointed out, it fell to the leading eighteenth century representative of this tradition, Jonathan Edwards, to develop what amounted to 'a fullblown theology of radical dependence on the Spirit.'⁹¹ Now, it is clear from what has been argued in this paper that Ryland's pneumatology was essentially Edwardsean. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to find Ryland exhorting the Baptist students at Stepney in a manner of which Edwards would have heartily approved and which can hardly be described as neglecting the Spirit:⁹²

Pray fervently for the influences of the Holy Spirit as the sum of all good. Seek from him a sanctified heart, a holy mental taste, a spirit congenial with the Truth.

MICHAEL HAYKIN is Professor of Church History at Central Baptist Seminary, Toronto, Canada.

NOTES

- 1 Cited Eifion Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1985), p.243.
- 2 'God a Believer's Glory' in his *Sermons on Important Subjects* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1833), pp.762–764, *passim*.
- 3 Cited A.M. Allchin, 'Ann Griffiths, Mystic and Theologian' in his *The Kingdom of Love and Knowledge. The Encounter between Orthodoxy and the West* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), pp.64–65, 66, 67. For a brief account of Ann Griffiths's life, see A.M. Allchin, *Ann Griffiths* ([Cardiff]: The University of Wales Press, 1976).

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- 4 On the relationship between the Methodists and the Dissenters in general, see Duncan Loomer, *English Dissent under the Early Hanoverians* (London: The Epworth Press, 1946), pp.108–21; for the relationship between the Methodists and the Calvinistic Baptists, see A.C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press Ltd., 1947), pp.159–160; Olin C. Robison, 'The Particular Baptists in England, 1760–1820' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Regent's Park College, Oxford University, 1963), pp.141–154.
- By the term 'High Calvinism' is meant what is presently denoted as 'Hyper-Calvinism.' The term 'Hyper-Calvinism' was not in general use in Ryland's time. On occasion, Ryland uses the term 'False Calvinism' to describe this theological perspective. See his *Serious Remarks on the Different Representations of Evangelical Doctrine by the Professed Friends of the Gospel* (Bristol: 1818), 2:27. For a concise description of this theological system, see Peter Toon, 'Hyper-Calvinism' in Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright, ed., *New Dictionary of Theology* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1988), pp.324–325.
- 5 Cited Charles B. Jewson, 'St. Mary's, Norwich', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 10 (1940–1941), p.283. Whitefield had spent three weeks preaching in Norwich the previous year. In a letter written from Norwich and dated April 18, 1753, Whitefield speaks of preaching to 'thousands . . . twice every day,' who 'hear with the greatest eagerness' [*The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A.* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771), III, pp.10–11]. A couple of weeks later, Whitefield could say of his time at Norwich: 'The word ran and was glorified there' (*Ibid.*, III, p.12). For the use of Whitefield's *Works* I am indebted to Mr. Leigh P. Powell.
- 6 *Letter to John Sutcliff* (August 26, 1774) [American Baptist Historical Society Library, Rochester, New York].
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 'Memoir' in *Sermons printed from the manuscripts of the late Rev. Benjamin Beddome* (London: William Ball, 1835), p.xxvi.
- 9 'Christ the Subject of Prayer' in *Sermons*, p.240.
- 10 See Michael A.G. Haykin, 'Can we Pray and Work for Worldwide Revival? Revival – The Perspective of John Sutcliff (1752–1814)', *Reformation Today*, 104 (July–August 1988), pp.9–17.
- 11 See Michael A.G. Haykin, 'The Holy Spirit and Revival Among Eighteenth Century Calvinistic Baptists', *The Gospel Witness*, 67, No.7 (June 23, 1988), pp.5–8.
- 12 See, for example, the circular letter written by Andrew Fuller in 1785 for the Baptist churches of the Northamptonshire Association: *Causes of Declension in Religion, and Means of Revival* [*The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller* (Repr. Harrisonburg, Virginia: Sprinkle Publications, 1988), III, pp.318–324].
- 13 On J.C. Ryland's friendship with George Whitefield, see 'Extracts from the Diary of the Late Rev. Dr. Ryland', *The Baptist Magazine*, 53 (1861), p.279; *The Autobiography of the Rev. William Jay*, ed. George Redford and John Angell James (2nd. ed.: London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1855), p.297. On his friendship with Rowland Hill, see *ibid.*, p.297; Edwin Sidney, *The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, A.M.* (3rd. ed.: London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1835), p.87.
- 14 *Autobiography of the Rev. William Jay*, p.297.
- 15 On J.C. Ryland, Sr.'s conversion, see William Newman, *Rylandiana: Reminiscences relating to the Rev. John Ryland, A.M.* (London: George Wightman, 1835), p.3.
- 16 L.G. Champion, 'The Theology of John Ryland: Its Sources and Influences', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 28 (1979–1980), p.17.
- 17 For a discussion of this friendship as it is revealed in letters from Newton to Ryland, see L.G. Champion, 'The Letters of John Newton to John Ryland', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 27 (1977–1978), pp.157–163. See also Champion, 'Theology of John Ryland', pp.17–18, 26.
- 18 Cited Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich: A Memoir* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander, 1855), p.183. Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790) studied under

- Jonathan Edwards and was one of the leading proponents of Edwardsean theology in New England after Edwards's death in 1758. For a discussion of Edwards's influence on Ryland, see Champion, 'Theology of John Ryland', pp.18–19. In Champion's words, 'Ryland appears to have read carefully most of Edwards's writings' (*ibid.*, p.19). See also George Smeaton, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Repr. London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1958), pp.342, 347.
- 19 'Extracts from the Diary of the Late Rev. Dr. Ryland', p.281.
 - 20 *The Indwelling and Righteousness of Christ no Security against Corporeal Death, but the Source of Spiritual and Eternal Life* (London: W. Button & Son, 1815), p.47.
 - 21 'Jonathan Edwards and the Crucial Importance of Revival' in his *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1987), p.361.
 - 22 For his ministry during these years, see especially Norman S. Moon, *Education for Ministry, Bristol Baptist College 1679–1979* (Bristol: Bristol Baptist College, 1979), pp.27–39.
 - 23 Philip Gibbs, *On Truth and Error* [in John Rippon, ed., *The Baptist Annual Register* (London: 1793), I, p.56].
 - 24 'A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John Ryland, D.D.' [*The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.*, edd. Olinthus Gregory and Joseph Belcher (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1854), I, p.221].
 - 25 'The Holy Spirit the Author of Conviction' [*Pastoral Memorials* (London: B.J. Holdsworth, 1826), I, pp.342–349].
 - 26 *The Necessity of the Trumpet's giving a certain Sound* (Bristol: 1813), p.24. See also *Indwelling and Righteousness*, pp.26, 45; 'Christ the Life of Men' (*Pastoral Memorials*, I, p.293): 'Unless Christ shall impart life by his Holy Spirit, men will love darkness and rebel against the light.'
 - 27 *Indwelling and Righteousness*, pp.16, 44–45. See also 'The Pleasantness of Religion' (*Pastoral Memorials*, I, p.125): '[The Spirit] shows . . . the Saviour's all-sufficiency, suitableness, loveliness, and glory.'
 - 28 *Indwelling and Righteousness*, pp.16–17. See also *The Practical Influence of Evangelical Religion* (London: 1819), pp.11–12; 'The Pleasantness of Religion' [*Pastoral Memorials*, I, pp.124–125]: '[The Holy Spirit] knows how to work on the human mind without doing violence to its natural faculties. He draws with the cords of a man, and with bands of love. He circumcises the heart to love the Lord.'
 - 29 *Necessity of the Trumpet's giving a certain Sound*, p.21; 'The Pleasantness of Religion' (*Pastoral Memorials*, I, p.124).
 - 30 See *Serious Remarks*, 2, p.12 where Ryland cites High Calvinists who urge, 'Man cannot believe without the Spirit of God, therefore faith is not their duty.' See also Andrew Fuller's rebuttal of this position in *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (*Works*, II, pp.379–380).
 - 31 *Necessity of the Trumpet's giving a certain Sound*, p.22.
 - 32 See especially Edwards's *A Careful and Strict Enquiry Into the Modern Prevailing Notions of the Freedom of Will*, Part I, Section IV [*The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (1834 ed.; repr. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1986), I, p.11].
 - 33 *Serious Remarks*, 2, pp.19–23. I would like to thank Thomas J. Nettles for making me a xerox copy of this important treatise.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, p.20.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, p.13.
 - 36 'The Abominations of the Human Heart' (*Pastoral Memorials*, I, p.188). See also *Necessity of the Trumpet's giving a certain Sound*, pp.22–23; *Godly Zeal, Described and Recommended* (Nottingham: 1792), p.7:
 'A man thoroughly engaged in the promotion of truth and holiness, might well sink into despair, upon perceiving that the carnal mind is enmity against God, cannot brook subjection to his law, nor be induced sincerely to comply with the gospel, by the wisest and best of means; if it were not for the comfortable

assurance that God can turn the heart, and take away the very disposition to resist, by the energy of his Spirit'.

- 37 In what follows I am indebted to the detailed discussion of this controversy by Robert W. Oliver, 'The Emergence of a Strict and Particular Baptist Community among the English Calvinistic Baptists, 1770-1850' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London Bible College, 1986), pp.120-146.
- 38 For a treatment of Huntington's ministry and theology, see Robert Oliver, 'Law and Grace in the life and teaching of William Huntington', *Reformation Today*, 65 (Jan.-Feb. 1982), pp.14-21; *idem*, 'Strict and Particular Baptist Community', pp.125-146. In a recent study, Henry Sant seeks to absolve Huntington from the charge of doctrinal antinomianism: 'The Sinner Saved. An essay in the Life of William Huntington', *Bible League Quarterly*, 356 (January-March 1989), pp.205-211. For Ryland's depiction of Huntington's character and conduct, see *Serious Remarks*, 2, pp.38-42. See also Andrew Fuller, 'The Voice of Years' (*Works*, III, pp.762-764).
- 39 Cited Oliver, 'Strict and Particular Baptist Community', p.130.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p.130.
- 41 Cited *Ibid.*, p.132.
- 42 'The Enmity of the Carnal Mind' [*Pastoral Memorials* (London: B.J. Holdsworth, 1828), II, pp.12-13]. See also *Necessity of the Trumpet's giving a certain Sound*, p.33; 'The Believer's Conflict Distinguished from the Struggle of Natural Conscience' (*Pastoral Memorials*, II, p.121): 'I am greatly afraid that some modern professors wish to substitute an immediate witness of the Spirit for the extensive and important work of the Spirit. They seem to deny all internal sanctification'
- 43 *Serious Remarks on the Different Representations of Evangelical Doctrine by the Professed Friends of the Gospel* (Bristol: 1817), 1, p.58.
- 44 Cf. Ryland's description of his good friend Samuel Pearce (1766-1799): 'His outward conduct was remarkably blameless and exemplary, he evidently had a deep, abiding, humbling sense of the evil of sin, of his own native depravity, and remaining sinfulness; of his absolute need of Christ as an atoning sacrifice, and the Lord his righteousness; and of the Love of the Spirit, and the importance of his work as a sanctifier'. [*The promised Presence of Christ with his People a Source of Consolation under the most painful bereavements* in Andrew Fuller, *Memoirs of the Late Samuel Pearce, A.M.* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1801), p.221, italics added].
- 45 'Remarks on the Quarterly Review, for April 1824, Relative to the Memoirs of Scott and Newton' (*Pastoral Memorials*, II, p.349).
- 46 'The Enmity of the Carnal Mind' (*ibid.*, II, p.14). See also 'The Indwelling of the Spirit' (*ibid.*, II, p.19).
- 47 'The Indwelling of the Spirit' (*ibid.*, II, p.15). See also 'The Love of the Spirit' (*ibid.*, II, p.46): 'Can a man have the Holy Spirit, and not love holiness? Surely not.'
- 48 *Practical Influence*, p.28; 'The Indwelling of the Spirit' (*Pastoral Memorials*, II, p.17).
- 49 'The Indwelling of the Spirit' (*Pastoral Memorials*, II, p.19).
- 50 *Serious Remarks*, 2, p.54.
- 51 *Letter to John Sutcliff* (August 26, 1774).
- 52 'Extracts from the Diary of the Late Rev. Dr. Ryland', pp.282-283.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p.283.
- 54 'On Devotedness to Christ. (*Pastoral memorials*, II, p.29).
- 55 See, for instance, 'The Days of Heaven Upon Earth' (*ibid.*, I, pp.18-19); 'The love of the Spirit' (*ibid.*, II, pp.44, 46); 'Separation from the World' (*ibid.*, II, p.98); 'Obedience the Test of Love to God' (*ibid.*, II, p.295); 'On Steadfastness in Religion' (*ibid.*, II, p.299); 'On Lukewarmness in Religion' (*ibid.*, II, p.302).

- Cf. 'On Sober-Mindedness' (*ibid.*, II, p.230): 'Dread the thought of not being . . . led by the Holy Spirit.'
- 56 *Ibid.*, II, pp.156-160.
- 57 *Ibid.*, II, p.157.
- 58 For further discussion of the Spirit's deity, see 'The Indwelling of the Spirit' (*ibid.*, II, p.16); 'The Love of the Spirit' (*ibid.*, II, p.41).
- 59 *Ibid.*, II, pp.157-158.
- 60 *Ibid.*, II, p.158.
- 61 Cf. Ryland's statement with reference to Huntington and his disciples in *Serious Remarks*, 2, pp.49-50:
 Oh that they would regard every part of the divine word, and imitate the practical improvement of evangelical truth, which was never omitted by the apostles of our Lord! . . . They maintained the work of the Spirit, not a mere witness of the Spirit to a man's safety, without any corresponding evidence: 'Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God' [Rom. 8:12-14]. With what eyes must they read the Bible, who can overlook these passages, and innumerable others of similar import!
- 62 *Pastoral Memorials*, II, p.158.
- 63 See, for example, 'The Final Account' (*ibid.*, II, pp.32-33); 'The Design of Spiritual Gifts' (*ibid.*, II, pp.68-69); 'The True Idea of Christ Within' (*ibid.*, II, p.200); 'The Spirits of the Just' (*ibid.*, II, pp.260-261).
- 64 *Advice to Young Ministers, respecting their preparatory Studies* (Bristol: 1812), pp.9-10.
- 65 *Pastoral Memorials*, II, pp.159-160.
- 66 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 268, 269.
- 67 See Timothy L. Smith's statement to this effect in his 'Foreword' to Harald Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification* (Repr. Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press of Zondervan Publishing House, 1980). See also his 'George Whitefield and Wesleyan Perfectionism', *The Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 19, No.1 (Spring 1984), p.67.
- 68 See Ryland's funeral sermon for Scott, 'The Spirits of the Just' (*Pastoral Memorials*, II, pp.256-262). In this sermon Ryland states that he 'esteemed him as one of the best men and the most judicious divines that I ever knew' (*ibid.*, II, pp.261-262). Further evidence of Ryland's friendship with Scott may be found in 'Remarks on the Quarterly Review' (*ibid.*, II, pp.345-353); *Serious Remarks*, 1, p.38. Some of Scott's letters to Ryland are reproduced in *Letters and Papers of the Late Rev. Thomas Scott*, ed. John Scott (London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1824), pp.121-142, 251-257. See also Champion, 'Theology of John Ryland', p.26.
- 69 Champion, 'Theology of John Ryland', pp.26-27.
- 70 J.A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea. Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810* (Kampen, The Netherlands: J.H. Kok N.V., 1970), p. 166.
- 71 J.E. Ryland, 'Memoir' (*Pastoral Memorials*, I, p.49). In a diary entry for April 12, 1786 Ryland notes:
 This morning was surprised and rejoiced at receiving a most friendly letter from the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Newhaven, son of the great President Edwards, proposing a correspondence with me, to which he was induced by the kindness of Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh. May the Lord make this most welcome correspondence useful to me as a Christian and as a minister! ('Extracts from the Diary of the Late Rev. Dr. Ryland', p.280).
- 72 Cited Champion, 'Theology of John Ryland', p.26.
- 73 *Missionary Sermons* (London: Carey Press, [1924]), p.26.
- 74 *Indwelling and Righteousness*, pp.17, 18. As Ryland stated on another occasion: 'while we admit, that God alone infallibly knows them that are his, yet we feel

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ourselves bound to treat those as real Christians, who appear to bear the fruits of the Spirit' ['Remarks on the Quarterly Review' (*Pastoral Memorials*, II, p.350)].

75 *Advice to Young Ministers*, pp.28–29.

76 *Pastoral Memorials*, II, pp.277–284.

77 *Ibid.*, II, p.278.

78 *Ibid.*, II, p.278.

79 *Ibid.*, II, pp.278–279, *passim*.

80 *Ibid.*, II, p.279, *passim*.

81 *Ibid.*, II, p.280.

82 *Ibid.*, II, p.280.

83 *Ibid.*, II, p.281.

84 *Ibid.*, II, p.283.

85 *Works*, 2, p.282.

86 Cited Maurice F. Hewett, 'Sutcliff: The Meeting and the Man' (Unpublished typescript, Bristol Baptist College, n.d.), p.70. Page references are from a copy made by Kenneth W.H. Howard in 1951 and which is now in my possession.

87 Ryland, 'Memoir' (*Pastoral Memorials*, I, p.17, footnote).

88 *Godly Zeal Described and Recommended*, pp.1–2, 15.

89 'Responses to Hoekema' in his *et al.*, *Five Views on Sanctification* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987), p.96.

90 'The Holy Spirit', *The Westminster Theological Journal*, 43 (1980), p.61.

91 'Pneumatological Issues in American Presbyterianism', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 31 (1986), pp.345–346.

91 *Advice to Young Ministers*, p.15.