

# The Making of an Evangelical Baptist Leader

John Rippon's early years, 1751-1773

ENGLISH NONCONFORMITY underwent a radical transformation during the long life of John Rippon (1751-1836).<sup>1</sup> In his early years the older Nonconformity which had become narrow and rigid seemed to have lost its soul. The reasons for this are complex and must involve social and political factors, but the main emphasis has usually been laid on the widely-adopted High Calvinism which held most of Nonconformity in a crushing grip of determinism. This was especially true of the Particular Baptists. Under the minutely systematic theology of men like John Gill (1697-1771),<sup>2</sup> chief architect of this unbalanced Calvinism, any form of mission was virtually a heresy. Inevitably the Baptists became an inward-looking community, and spiritual vigour sadly declined.

Yet by the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the nineteenth, in a period of crisis and social discontent, Nonconformity clearly had revived. With the whole church in England it shared in a renewal, the broad outworkings of which are familiar: humanitarian and philanthropic movements, beginnings of Missionary and Bible Societies, evangelism restored to its rightful place in the life of the church, popular education evolving. How had this come about?

The answer is usually linked with the Evangelical Revival, that movement which influenced most denominations in England, that "bracing breeze which had come sweeping down from the hills of Methodism over Baptist meadows, as well as Independent fields."<sup>3</sup> This nineteenth-century judgment has been recently confirmed, with a more modern metaphor: "Dissent had drawn an enormous blood-transfusion from the veins of the Evangelical Revival".<sup>4</sup> Dr. Walsh justified this image<sup>5</sup> by showing that Dissent received several of its leaders, even whole congregations, from the Revival: especially from the preaching of Whitefield. There was also a "legacy of method" which included itinerancy and the Methodist connexional system. The worship of Dissent, especially its style of preaching and the hymns sung, was also affected. Doctrinal rigidities began to relax in the enthusiasm for foreign missions, although political tensions after the French Revolution tended to halt this movement.

However, whilst much Dissent undoubtedly assumed a Methodist character, the influence of the Revival must not be over-simplified. B. L. Manning quite strongly rejected the imagery of Dissent as being awakened from a deep spiritual slumber by a Wesleyan trumpet.<sup>6</sup> Even though the rigidity of Calvinism restricted its appeal, it was this very Calvinism which preserved the Particular Baptists and Inde-

pendents from Arianism and Socinianism which so blighted the Presbyterians and General Baptists during the eighteenth century. Manning claimed that it was the confluence of the central doctrines of historic Christianity—largely preserved in the Calvinist system—with the Evangelical Revival which produced the modern missionary movements.<sup>7</sup>

However, the Dissenters in general, and the Baptists in particular, were largely insulated against the effects of the Revival as long as High Calvinism held sway. The range of its influence may not have been as extensive as has sometimes been implied, for there were always some who maintained an evangelistic ministry. Furthermore, although there were some numerical gains from the Calvinistic wing of the Revival, the widespread adoption of a more moderate Calvinism is rightly linked with the theological writings of Andrew Fuller (1754-1815)<sup>8</sup> among the Baptists, and Edward Williams (1750-1813)<sup>9</sup> among the Independents. Both these men rejected the High Calvinists' view that to direct an appeal to the consciences of sinners was futile: after all did not the men of the New Testament, and men like John Bunyan, do just that very thing? Yet the rapid spread of "Fullerism", as the moderate position became widely known, is perhaps explained by the fact that in many churches just such a position had long been practised, if not theologically justified, by many preachers. Certainly the preaching of the moderate theology was a key factor in the remarkable expansion of the Nonconformist churches, as contemporary historians realised: "The grand means of augmenting the dissenting body, was the faithful and zealous preaching of the Gospel by its ministers".<sup>10</sup>

The importance of John Rippon and of his contribution to Nonconformity, especially to the Particular Baptists in both Britain and America, lies in the fact that he represented a combination of the best elements of both old and new traditions. He was reared in the old Nonconformity, deep in the heart of the West Country. Yet from his church in Tiverton, and from the Academy at Bristol—which owed more of its methods and theology to Philip Doddridge than to John Gill and his supporters—Rippon emerged with a virile evangelistic fervour. He always remained a loyal Dissenter, grieved at injustices suffered by Dissenters, and increasingly tried to preserve the true historical and doctrinal heritages of Nonconformity. At the same time he was linked with Fuller as a promoter of the new theology, and also introduced many of the songs of the Revival to the Baptist community.

Rippon was in a unique position to exercise a widespread influence. He came from Bristol to the pulpit occupied for over fifty years by Gill. Here in what had been the very stronghold of High Calvinism Rippon maintained a long and patently evangelistic ministry.<sup>11</sup> His ministry was so successful that this in itself argued the force of "Fullerism". Yet Rippon preserved and enlarged the best traditions of Carter Lane. He remained concerned with the necessity of due

church order, and enlarged the social responsibility of the church to its own members. But from the secure confidence of a happy ministry, Rippon was able to lead the Baptists of his day in a way not sufficiently recognised by later historians. His influence on the thought and denominational patterns of the Baptists was unique. He began by sensing the need for a comprehensive denominational hymn-book, one which with Watts' books would provide a more adequate source for the homiletical bias of Baptist worship. Any good hymn-book helps to interpret and define the Christian faith for its own generation. Rippon was aware of this responsibility and the phenomenal success of his publications meant that he exerted a profound—and often overlooked—theological influence on his fellow-Baptists.<sup>12</sup> Again it was Rippon who by the publication of his *Baptist Annual Register* (1790-1802) not only provided a unique expression of the denomination's new maturity and confidence but promoted a deeper mutual awareness among Baptists. Whilst this periodical was published the denomination came to life. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society began, and in 1797 a society for Village Evangelism—the fore-runner of a Home Missions Society—also began. Rippon gave the societies, as well as the revival in English Association life and the expansion in both American and British churches, a wide publicity. He and his church gave personal support to these denominational movements. The leading place of Rippon and his church were formally recognised when, with Rippon as chairman and his church as host, the first stately national organisation of the Particular Baptists, the Baptist Union, was formed in 1812.

What were the formative influences which shaped the thought and general approach of this moderate Calvinist leader?

An examination of Rippon's early life in Tiverton, and of his time in the Bristol Academy provides some answers. In particular the study confirms the suggestion, tentatively made by others,<sup>13</sup> that Bristol Academy and its leaders played a significant role in the denomination's gradual adoption of a more moderate Calvinism.

### I. Tiverton (1751-1769).

Although some Baptist leaders of the eighteenth century entered the denomination as products of the Evangelical Revival, notably Robert Robinson<sup>14</sup> and John Fawcett<sup>15</sup> who were both converts of Whitefield, it is remarkable how many emerged from within Baptist ranks. For example, all these men were sons of Baptist ministers: Hugh and Caleb Evans, Andrew Gifford, Samuel Stennett, John Ryland, and Robert Hall.<sup>16</sup> John Rippon was yet another prominent leader reared from within the denomination. Perhaps the background of these men offers some balance to the depressing picture of eighteenth century Baptist piety that is usually drawn.

John Rippon was born on 29th April 1751 in Tiverton, Devon. Since the fifteenth century Tiverton's prosperity had been linked with the cloth industry. But wars and competition from Norwich and the

North, together with a resulting fall in the Dutch trade, caused a steady decline through the eighteenth century in the Devon cloth industry, especially at Tiverton.<sup>17</sup> Baptists had been in Tiverton since at least 1626, for that year Tiverton Baptists joined with churches at London, Lincoln, Salisbury and Coventry in corresponding with Dutch Mennonite churches.<sup>18</sup> These first Baptists were Arminian, or General Baptists. By 1656, when William Facy represented Tiverton at the Baptist Western Association,<sup>19</sup> the church had become Calvinistic, possibly due to the influence of Thomas Collier.<sup>20</sup> In 1769 the church had sixty-six members.<sup>21</sup>

Rippons were in Tiverton from at least the early seventeenth century.<sup>22</sup> Exact relationships cannot now be traced, but Grace and Mary Rippon were members of the Baptist church by 1739.<sup>23</sup> John Rippon "Senior",<sup>24</sup> presumably Dr. Rippon's grandfather, joined the church on 16th March 1746.<sup>25</sup> He was almost certainly a weaver for he was accused by the church<sup>26</sup> of participating in a town riot, known to have been common because of the introduction of Irish worsted,<sup>27</sup> in December 1749. In a more sedate old age Rippon "Senior" became the "doorkeeper" of the meeting-house,<sup>28</sup> and died on 30th March 1772.<sup>29</sup>

John Rippon "Junior" (1730-1800),<sup>30</sup> a sergemaker,<sup>31</sup> father of the later Dr. Rippon, gave his "experience" to the church on 4th November 1759.<sup>32</sup> His written account of this survives in a small note-book inscribed with his name and significantly dated 3rd November 1759.<sup>33</sup> Evidently he rehearsed in writing what he wanted to say to the church. Full of scriptural quotations and lamentations of an "undone Estate", the book became a spiritual diary. From this it is learnt that the ordeal of speaking to the church so affected Rippon that "he could not forbear to burst out into a flood of tears". He was baptized on 18th November and admitted to church membership on 25th November 1759. John Rippon "Junior", together with Samuel Dunscombe, was called to the work of preaching on 24th August 1763 after a trial of over twelve months.<sup>34</sup> Dunscombe went to Bristol for formal training and later settled at Cheltenham.<sup>35</sup> Rippon remained at Tiverton preaching wherever "Providence" directed. When Thomas Lewis in December 1765 left the Tiverton pastorate to settle in Exeter, Rippon supplied many pulpits for neighbouring ministers who came to preach at Tiverton.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly Rippon became well known in the district and received an invitation to settle as minister at Bradford, Wilts. in 1769. Unfortunately that church could not support Rippon and his young family, so the advice of Hugh Evans of Bristol to refuse the invitation was followed.<sup>37</sup> The times in Tiverton became even harder: by 1770 the population had decreased by eighteen hundred from what it had been forty years previously, and the number of poor in the parish had risen alarmingly.<sup>38</sup> Tragedy came into the life of the would-be pastor, for on 1st October 1775 the church sorrowfully recorded "the great reproach brought on religion by the evil conduct of our brethren John and William Rippon in their

running so much into debt and having not sufficiency to pay what they owe; on which account they had been obliged to leave their families and habitations and fly the country . . ." Both offenders were excluded from the church. Far from being in pastoral charge, Rippon "Junior" was not even a member of a church and was in complete disgrace. Happily, however, both men were later restored to the church.<sup>39</sup> Eventually Rippon's great desire was realised when he became the pastor at Upottery, Devon, some ten miles from Tiverton, whence he was dismissed on 30th October 1785. By this time he was aged fifty-five and his eldest son had been in the ministry for ten years. Unfortunately some Upottery members adopted Antinomian views, much to the distress of their pastor.<sup>40</sup> The church had only eighteen members at his death,<sup>41</sup> on 24th December 1800.<sup>42</sup> Two years earlier his son had written of him, in connection with his ministry at Upottery: "A man of the sweetest of tempers presides over this little society. Good judges say, he preaches better and better. May his last days be, as we trust they eminently are, his best days".<sup>43</sup>

John Rippon "Junior" (so described in the Parish Register) married Jane Hopkins, on 8th February 1750, but full details about their family are not known. There were at least three sons: John; Thomas born 1st August 1760;<sup>44</sup> and Theophilus born 29th January 1772;<sup>45</sup> and one daughter Mary, received into the church 2nd November 1768 and whose married surname was Cozins.<sup>46</sup> Thomas (1760-1835),<sup>47</sup> like John, lived most of his life in London. Trained in the strict school of Abraham Newland,<sup>48</sup> Thomas succeeded him as chief cashier for the Bank of England. Possibly haunted by the memory of his father's business failure, Thomas took only three days holiday in fifty years service and by thrift and precise judgment accumulated considerable wealth.<sup>49</sup> He published *An elegant Engraving of a Geographical Clock . . .* in 1794.<sup>50</sup> John frequently had his mail sent care of Thomas at the Bank. But the two brothers do not seem to have had much other contact. Little is known about Theophilus but by 1809 he was still in the Exeter district.<sup>51</sup> Various other Rippons were associated with both the Baptist<sup>52</sup> and Congregational<sup>53</sup> churches but precise relationships cannot be determined.

John Rippon "Minor" was thus born into a devout Baptist home where the talk must often have been of religious experience and meeting-house affairs. This would have increased after the death in December 1759 of the aged Rev. Henry Terry,<sup>54</sup> for his successor, a Welshman named Thomas Lewis, boarded with the Rippon family.<sup>55</sup> Described by Rippon as "that reverend and dear man"<sup>56</sup> Lewis was ordained on 24th September 1760. For the next five years Rippon was in the closest possible contact with Lewis. Nothing is known of Rippon's schooling, but it is conceivable that Lewis educated him, for many Dissenting pastors supplemented their income by teaching. Lewis left Tiverton for Exeter in December 1765.

About this time young Rippon, fourteen years old, began laboriously taking notes of sermons he heard. The manuscript volume is extant,<sup>57</sup>

and whilst it does not bear Rippon's name, is clearly his work.<sup>58</sup> The title page reads, "Sermons Preach'd At the Baptist Meeting in Tiverton Anno Dom; 1765" whilst the book contains 180 pages of notes of sermons preached between 1765 and 1767. The seriousness of Rippon's young mind is evident, but the book's main value is as an indication of the type of teaching delivered from the pulpit. The first ten sermons were preached by Lewis and are typically Calvinistic in their sombre emphasis. A good example is the first entry, a "Lecture" preached 6th January 1765. The New Year's text was the discomfiting Jeremiah 28:16, "This year thou shalt surely die". The many headings and sub-headings typical of the preaching style of the day were duly noted, whilst the value of the text was undisputed:<sup>59</sup>

"It will lead to watchfulness—This is ye Case Especially with the young—you are ready to Say. You shall have many years, Is not this the Language of thy heart, ys is ye way to harden yourselves—If ys is rightly attended that is ye Subject It wod Lead to wait for our Coming Lord—"

After Lewis had left, various local ministers visited Tiverton. Two of these in particular influenced Rippon. The first was the Rev. Henry Philips (1719-1789) whose memoir Rippon was later to write.<sup>60</sup> Another Welshman, Philips was a convert of the Welsh enthusiast Howel Harris.<sup>61</sup> With Philips the Evangelical Revival indirectly touched Rippon. Whilst in Tiverton, Philips stayed with Rippon's family and clearly made a deep impression on young Rippon;<sup>62</sup>

"Mr. Philip's freedom and affection procured him the love of the whole family. O how he used to pray with us! Some of the sermons that he preached in that town, on the one thing needful—on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus—on 42d Psalm, 5th verse—on Phil iii 13, 14, Isa xxxviii. 17 and particularly on Rev. xxii 17 made a deep impression, if I mistake not, on the minds of several who heard them."

The last of these sermons was one recorded by Rippon in his book of notes. It suggests that Philips was an advocate of a direct appeal to the conscience of his hearers; this was to be expected from a convert of Howel Harris. Essentially Calvinistic in its emphasis upon the prior call of God; "no man will come to X till they are drawn by ye Effectual calling of God";<sup>63</sup> the evangelical appeal was still pronounced as the last heading shows: "The Universality of ye Invitation and a further Description of those yt are Invited Whosoever will Let him come and take ye water of Life freely."<sup>64</sup> Philips settled at Salisbury where he remained from 1766 until his death.<sup>65</sup>

The other minister to influence Rippon was the Rev. Robert Day (1721-1791), who was minister at Wellington, Som. from 1745 until his death, and for whom Rippon also compiled an affectionate memoir.<sup>66</sup> Rippon described Day's coming to the churches in the area; "He appeared among them, to use one of his own expressions "with a sacred shine upon his countenance", we saw his face as an angel of

God".<sup>67</sup> Day baptized Rippon and four others in Tiverton on Friday 25th September 1767.<sup>68</sup>

Shortly after Rippon's baptism a young student from Bristol Academy, Daniel Sprague, came on a year's probation to the Tiverton church. The letter of invitation to the pastorate was signed by the three John Rippsons on 26th February 1769.<sup>69</sup> But by the time of Sprague's ordination, 12th July 1769, John Rippon "Minor" was himself a student in Bristol. On 4th June 1769 Hugh Evans, President of the Academy, had written to John Rippon "Junior", "Your son goes on very well and will I trust, be a great comfort to you and a blessing to many".<sup>70</sup> Rippon had begun training for his life's work.

The most important result of Rippon's boyhood and early manhood in Tiverton was the formation of a genuine religious conviction, undoubtedly of prime importance for his life's work. To what extent his future specialised hymnodic and historical interests had developed is uncertain.

The Tiverton church had agreed at Henry Terry's insistence and amidst considerable controversy, to permit hymn-singing in 1732.<sup>71</sup> Since 1761 they had decided to stand whilst singing, although some retained scruples about the "Decency of ye posture".<sup>72</sup> Rippon's father was familiar enough with the hymns of Watts to quote him whilst giving his "experience",<sup>73</sup> but whether he was sufficiently an enthusiast to stimulate a love for Watts' work in his son is unknown.

As to Rippon's historical interests there are two points of possible relevance. The first is the antiquity of the church, for it is of some interest that the man who was to give considerable time and energy to preserving and writing the history of other churches should himself have been reared in possibly one of the very oldest Baptist churches in England. Coupled with this is the presence in the town of a distinguished local historian, Martin Dunsford, whose family had long associations with Dissenters. His brother Jabez (1741-1795) was a leading Baptist deacon whilst Martin was evidently a member of the Congregational church,<sup>74</sup> although one "M. Dunsford" was later active in the inauguration of Western Unitarianism.<sup>75</sup> Rippon knew the family well, and wrote a detailed family history;<sup>76</sup> he subscribed to Dunsford's history of Tiverton<sup>77</sup> and advertised it in his *Register*.<sup>78</sup> Acquaintance with this history enthusiast may well have stimulated the historical interests of Rippon; but this cannot be more accurately demonstrated.

Throughout all his life Rippon maintained a lively interest in the Tiverton Baptist church and assisted it in various ways.

## II. Bristol (1769-1773).

Rippon was eighteen years old when in the spring of 1769 he arrived in Bristol to commence his ministerial studies. The city was the leading port for the American trade, second only to London in size and importance. The bustling activity of the docks in the heart of the city and the virile life of the historic Dissenting churches must

have excited young Rippon; but the most determinative influences upon him came from the Baptist Academy.<sup>79</sup>

The origin of the Academy is traced to the will of Edward Terrill (1635-1686), a writing master, and ruling elder of the Broadmead church in Bristol.<sup>80</sup> Dated 3rd June 1679, this deed provided an endowment for the Broadmead pastor who should be a holy man, well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, and who was to devote three afternoons per week to the instruction of young men intended for the ministry.<sup>81</sup> Caleb Jope<sup>82</sup> was evidently the first selected to fulfil Terrill's designs, but he was unsuccessful and not until the appointment of Bernard Foskett (1685-1758) in 1720 did the Academy effectively function. During the thirty-eight years of his tutorship approximately sixty-four students, in equal numbers from England and Wales, were prepared for the Baptist ministry.<sup>83</sup> These included distinguished men like Benjamin Beddome (1717-1795) Thomas Llewellyn (1720-1793), John Collett Ryland (1723-1792), John Ash (1724-1779) and Benjamin Francis (1734-1799).<sup>84</sup> Two of Foskett's students succeeded him as President: Hugh Evans (1713-1781)<sup>85</sup> in 1758, although he had been an assistant since 1739; and his son Caleb Evans (1737-1791)<sup>86</sup> who assisted his father from 1759 and then succeeded him after his death. Both these men were tutors when Rippon entered the Academy.

The contribution of the Dissenting academies to English education has been increasingly recognised.<sup>87</sup> Following the Act of Uniformity of 1662 they had been commenced with the primary aim of training ministers, but soon began giving a broad and progressive education to young Dissenters whatever their future calling. Foremost among the eighteenth century academies was that established at Northampton by Philip Doddridge (1702-1751). Bristol Academy under both Hugh and Caleb Evans was conducted in the Doddridge tradition<sup>88</sup> as evidenced in at least three aspects. (1) It was personal rather than institutional, a small group of pupils gathered around a notable tutor. The teaching was given in the President's home wherein the students lived. This family atmosphere produced a body of disciples daily learning from their master's example. When Rippon entered the Academy he was one of very few students. Details before 1770 are very difficult to locate, but few men are known to have been resident immediately before then. (2) The Academy was closely related by its foundation to the Broadmead church. The tutor was also pastor. His example in the pulpit and in the life of the church provided a means of ministerial preparation of the highest order. (3) The routine and curriculum of Bristol closely followed the formative patterns devised by Doddridge.

Bristol was the only Baptist Academy specifically designed for ministerial education. London Baptists in 1752 had formed an Education Society but its function had been to assist individual students to be trained by individual ministers such as Thomas Llewellyn, Samuel Stennett and William Nash Clarke.<sup>89</sup> However, the year after



Rippon's commencement at Bristol the nature of the Academy was revised with the formation of the Bristol Education Society. Rippon recalled that the idea and its fulfilment came from Caleb Evans: "He devised—he planned—he executed".<sup>90</sup> The scheme was to invite gifts of capital and annual subscriptions to ensure that adequate funds were available for the training of suitable applicants. On 1st January 1770 a letter was sent from Bristol advertising the scheme and underlining the dire need: insufficient ministers to supply destitute churches and suitable applicants unable to receive the necessary training. Bristol could only meet a small part of this need from the Terrill fund. Largely due to Caleb Evans' "anxious solicitude" and "unremitted exertions" the meeting called for 7th June 1770 was an unqualified success<sup>91</sup>: the Society was duly formed, an account of its formation was printed, and within the year £474.19.0 capital had been given together with £106.1.0 in annual subscriptions.<sup>92</sup> Students applying had to be recommended by a Baptist church but no credal tests were applied.

Rippon was fortunate to be in the Academy at this significant time. The extant records of the Academy date from 1770 and from these it does not appear that Rippon was ever given financial assistance by the Society: he was accepted before the Society's formation and presumably was supported privately. But in other ways the beginnings of the Society benefited him. There was the example of what could be achieved by a carefully planned programme of organisation: in later days Rippon was to lead in a number of new religious organisations. More immediately, the course to be followed by the students supported by the Society were recorded in detail and these form the basis of our knowledge of the Academy's curriculum.

Undoubtedly the greatest single obstacle to the success of the new Society was the idea, still prevalent among Baptists, that an educated ministry was synonymous with an unspiritual or "carnal" ministry. Considerable pains were taken by the leaders of the infant Society to refute this position, and their efforts provide a useful guide to their whole approach to the responsible task of ministerial education. In the Introduction to the account<sup>93</sup> of the Society's formation it was insisted that learning was subordinate to genuine piety, but did not even the most pious ministers (such as Dr. Gill) admit the value of learning? Answering a common objection, it was also argued that learning was not designed to replace or perfect the work of the Holy Spirit, indeed the Spirit could use the ordinary means of education to improve God-given gifts.

The intimate and domestic nature of the Academy is reflected in the many personal recollections given by Rippon in his essay on the Academy. Hugh Evans was specifically remembered for his prayers, preaching, teaching, and personal interest in each student. So friendly and respected was Evans that Rippon commented that most students regarded him more as a father than a tutor.<sup>94</sup>

At the direct instigation of Hugh Evans, Rippon was formally

called into the ministry by the Tiverton Church. Although Rippon had entered the Academy in 1769 with the clear intention of training for the ministry, this "call" had never been ratified in any way by his home-church. This does not appear to have been unique. Thomas Dunscombe, brother of Samuel, a friend of Rippon's from Tiverton and one of the first two students supported by the new Education Society, was also accepted prior to the church's call.<sup>95</sup> Joseph Kinghorn in 1784 wrote from Bristol that not all students were described as "preachers", and only those with a definite call from their home church were permitted to conduct public services.<sup>96</sup> Rippon's case first came before the Tiverton church on 23rd December 1770:<sup>97</sup>

"In consequence of a letter being received from the Rev. H. Evans of Bristol by the Pastor of this Church relative to our Brother John Rippon Minor who was under his tuition, in which he desires the Church to exercise his abilities, and if they approved of him to call him to the Work of the ministry, that he might hereby be capable of supplying some destitute church occasionally around Bristol there being so many in want at this time of some to break the bread of life to them; the Church was stopped and consulted upon the affair, and it was agreed to hold the Wednesday following as a day of fasting and prayer on account of the melancholy state of the Nation at present, and our low state as a church seeing there appears little or no moving upon the sanctuary waters at which time it was appointed that br. Rippon should exercise his gift."

Accordingly Rippon preached on 26th December and it was then agreed to call him to the work of the ministry,<sup>98</sup>

". . . the pastor of the Church did in their name and by their authority and as their mouth call him to go forth and preach the gospel of Christ wheresoever Providence may open a door unto him, hoping the Lord has given him abilities for to be useful to his fellow men."

This whole procedure is of interest. The influence of the Presidents of the Academy has been insufficiently recognised. Hugh Evans was active in Association affairs whilst local churches sought his advice especially about ministerial settlements. In this example, the Tiverton church readily and speedily followed his suggestion, although the fact that the Tiverton pastor was a recent Bristol graduate may have facilitated the business. On the other hand, it is equally important to note that Evans would not permit any student to preach in public until he had been regularly called by his home-church. This concern for a stated call was an important aspect of Baptist polity and Rippon himself was later to draw up detailed rules in his own church to prevent any form of irregular ministry.<sup>99</sup>

Evans' personal assistance to Rippon is also evidenced by his activity in the latter's settlement at Carter Lane.<sup>100</sup> Clearly Hugh Evans was an attractive and influential figure, greatly venerated by Rippon.

Similarly, Caleb Evans was also deeply respected: "We all of us

felt a sincere affection for him, and in some of us it seemed to be a mixture of the filial and fraternal."<sup>101</sup> He appears to have displayed the strengths and weaknesses of the Welsh temperament. His preaching, for example, was eloquent and passionate,<sup>102</sup> but on the other hand, his emotions could be easily roused. Rippon remembered that, "His temper was not formed for approving virtue with coolness, nor for censuring vice with apathy";<sup>103</sup> whilst Samuel Stennett observed that "on some extraordinary occasions, he might in a small degree be carried beyond that evenness of temper he aimed always to preserve."<sup>104</sup> Evans was involved in a defence of the Trinitarian faith against the Rev. E. Harwood,<sup>105</sup> opposed John Wesley over his attitude to the American Revolution,<sup>106</sup> and provoked the eccentric Antinomian William Huntington to a bitter attack.<sup>107</sup> Like his father before him Caleb was active in the life of the churches of the west.<sup>108</sup>

In two areas did the interests of Evans probably stimulate Rippon. Combining with John Ash of Pershore, Caleb Evans published in 1769, the year Rippon came to Bristol, *A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship*, which soon became known popularly as the "Bristol Collection". This book was replaced in popularity among Baptists by Rippon's *Selection* published in 1787.<sup>109</sup> It is sufficient to note here that Rippon's interest in hymns can only have been stimulated, if not kindled, by the effort of his distinguished seniors. Again, Evans' known support for the Americans in their difficulties can only have deepened Rippon's interest in everything American.<sup>110</sup> More than this cannot be said.

The enlarged scope of the Academy in 1770 led to the appointment of James Newton (1734-1790)<sup>111</sup> as classics tutor. Assistant to John Tommas (1724-1880),<sup>112</sup> pastor of the Pithay church Bristol, Newton exerted a quiet influence upon his students. Rippon recorded, "Some of us . . . who in our later years at the academy were under his care, perfectly recollect with what humility, prudence and affection, he entered on his office among us, and with what patience and assiduity he sustained it."<sup>113</sup> In 1784 Kinghorn rather shrewdly observed of Newton, "A student will soon be intimate with him who learns plenty of Latin and Greek."<sup>114</sup>

The broad basis of the Academy's formal course was defined by Hugh Evans in 1773:<sup>115</sup>

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

The details of the curriculum agree with Doddridge's approach.<sup>116</sup> The plan was advertised to include: English Grammar, the "learned Languages", Logic, Oratory, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Jewish Antiqui-

ties, Chronology, Ecclesiastical History, and a System of Divinity.

A good illustration of this scheme in practice is the course followed by Thomas Dunscombe. During his first year he translated into English:<sup>117</sup> the Gallic and Civil Wars in Caesar's Commentaries; the first six books of Virgil's *Aeneid*; two works by Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion;<sup>118</sup> the three first orations of Cicero; the four Gospels; and Two Centuries of Turretinus;<sup>119</sup> while at the same time thirty chapters of Ecclesiastical History had been translated into Latin. Gill's *Body of Divinity* (1770) and the first part of Watts' *Logic* (1724) had been abridged; Willymott's *Particles*<sup>120</sup> had been studied and a weekly essay on a Scripture passage had been written. Rippon presumably followed a similar course. It is, however, to be noted that Dunscombe was highly regarded for his classical skill. Possibly other students did much less classical work. John Ryland Senior in 1773 wrote to James Manning in America that Rippon was one of thirty-one listed Baptist ministers in England who could read Greek.<sup>121</sup>

Further insight is provided by the list, *A Few useful books for a young Minister*, which Caleb Evans gave to one of his students, probably Dunscombe,<sup>122</sup> in 1773 and which Rippon later published.<sup>123</sup> After Bibles and Lexicons the list is divided into Expositions; On Revelation and the Deistical Controversy; Divinity; Practical Writers; Lives; History; Miscellaneous. The writers most cited are Watts (four works) and Doddridge (three); the latter is "to be valued for sublimity, perspicuity, penetration, and unbounded love". Both these writers together with others listed here were much quoted by Rippon in his later works. For example, Rippon commented<sup>124</sup> about Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, "Who can read the close of even the first chapter and not feel a present deity? I know of no other forty lines in prose which ever produced a greater effect on my own mind than the concluding part of that chapter". This section was "The Meditation of a Sinner, who was once thoughtless, but begins to be awakened". Again, Rippon admitted in the introduction to his *Discourses on the All-Sufficient Gracious Assistance of the Spirit of Christ* (1800) that several quotations from "Dr. Owen, Dr. Charnock and other favourite authors" had been noted "in my very earliest studies".<sup>125</sup> The High-Calvinists were recommended by Gill ("the touchstone of orthodoxy with many") and Brine. Also to be noted as significant for Rippon's development are the books of President Jonathan Edwards, whom Evans described as "the most rational, scriptural divine, and the liveliest Christian, the world was ever blessed with". One of Edwards' books recommended was his *Freedom of the Will*, which greatly influenced both Ryland and Fuller in their movement towards a moderate Calvinism.<sup>126</sup> The influence of Edwards on British Baptists was "theological, devotional and practical",<sup>127</sup> and it is notable that his books were so highly commended in the Bristol Academy.

Over and beyond the formal tuition the Bristol tutors sought to

fulfil their responsibility by inculcating properly devout habits. On 12th April 1770 Caleb Evans delivered an Address to the Students which greatly impressed at least Dunscombe who kept the original manuscript<sup>128</sup> and Rippon who published it and recommended it to later students.<sup>129</sup> After emphasizing that the only true motive for ministerial work was love for Christ, Evans urged the advantages of diligence, regularity, steadiness, and perseverance for successful study. Possibly Evans' suggestion of compiling a "common place book" was the origin of Rippon's later compiling notes entitled "Rough Schemes of scriptural subjects"<sup>130</sup> although the extant book has no date.<sup>131</sup>

Reference has been made to the weekly preaching by students. This "conference" could be quite an ordeal: even such a talented youth as Robert Hall found the experience unnerving and gave up in despair.<sup>132</sup> Once a student had been regularly called by his home church he was permitted to conduct services, as noted above. Rippon is known to have preached at centres as far removed as Faringdon in Berkshire<sup>133</sup> and Falmouth in Cornwall, the latter during the summer vacation of 1771.<sup>134</sup>

Significant for any young student is the influence of his fellow-students. Dunscombe was his closest friend, and their extant correspondence reveals a lively and affectionate relationship.<sup>135</sup> Many of Rippon's student-friends greatly assisted him in his later works, especially by supplying information for the *Register* and assisting in its sale. Special mention should be made of John Sutcliff (1752-1814) who entered the Academy in 1772, and who became a cautious but wise leader of the Missionary Society.

Clearly of central importance was the theological position of the tutors. W. T. Whitley suggested<sup>136</sup> that under Hugh and Caleb Evans the Academy became tainted with Socinianism. This conclusion may be doubted, indeed there are several indications that there was a hardening against heterodoxy. The only evidence cited by Whitley is quite misleading. He referred to the defection from the Particular Baptists to the General Baptists of William Richards (1749-1818),<sup>137</sup> a Welshman of independent mind, in 1798. Richards was only in the Academy for a period of two years,<sup>138</sup> more than twenty years before his defection, and was influenced by a general Welsh movement towards Socinianism.<sup>139</sup> Others later became Socinians,<sup>140</sup> but in no case is there evidence of a link with the Academy's teaching. Certainly both Hugh and Caleb were tolerant. But after carefully examining all the publications of both the Evans, and reading memoirs of several Bristol men, the inescapable conclusion has been that both men were strictly orthodox in their Christology, and believers in a moderate Calvinism.

Hugh Evans published only a few sermons which argued for a duly ordered and educated ministry. Examination of notes of sermons preached by him in 1755, as recorded by a member of Broadmead,<sup>141</sup> suggests his Trinitarian orthodoxy. For example, Christ is described

as "rich" in all the "Glories of the Deity", whilst the Holy Spirit is spoken of as a "distinct Person from the father & Son".<sup>142</sup> Again, the Antinomian position was rejected.<sup>143</sup>

More materials are available for Caleb Evans who was "closely attached to the system of theology which we call Calvinism".<sup>144</sup> His first serious publication was a defence of the Deity of the Son and Holy Spirit.<sup>145</sup> Most valuable as a basis of his Calvinism is his Confession of Faith which he delivered at his ordination on 18th August 1767.<sup>146</sup> It is to be observed that this ordination was somewhat belated and represented not so much a young man's simple repetition of expected clichés as a mature belief. Evans referred to his belief in the unity of the Godhead in three divine Persons; original sin; universal depravity; redemption of the elect; the vicarious atoning sacrifice of Christ; the necessity of regeneration; baptism and the Lord's Supper as institutions of Christ; resurrection of the dead; the last judgment. Far from being Socinian, Caleb Evans in 1788 could write of Joseph Priestley, then their principal advocate:<sup>147</sup> ". . . surely he has gone to the *ne plus ultra* of heresy. Further he cannot go and retain the *name* of Christian, for the substance of Christianity he has long since discarded."

Of special significance, however, in Caleb Evans' theology is a number of indications that he was an advocate of that moderate, evangelistic Calvinism which Andrew Fuller was later to champion so effectively. For example, on 16th August 1775 Evans preached to the Education Society a sermon entitled *The Kingdom of God* in which he insisted that to pray for the Kingdom necessitated a corresponding personal activity to promote its advance:<sup>148</sup>

"When we pray for the advancement of this kingdom, if we are not willing to do all we can to advance it, our prayers cannot be genuine, they are hypocritical; . . . When we pray that the kingdom of God may come, we are supposed to express a willingness to do whatever God may enable us to do, as *workers together with him* . . . Then surely we cannot but prize the gospel, a gospel ministry, gospel means of grace, and be ready cheerfully to embrace every opportunity of spreading the gospel and encouraging its ministers." Evans' own sermons evidence a direct appeal to the unconverted, as demonstrated in a series of sermons preached in 1789 entitled *Christ Crucified* . . .:<sup>149</sup>

"Are there any here who are convinced of sin, who feel the burden of it upon their consciences, and find it too heavy for them to bear, who know in themselves that a just and holy God might justly abandon and cast them off, and give them up to despair and misery for ever, and who are secretly and anxiously crying out, What shall we do to be saved? We preach to them Christ crucified . . ."

The importance of Evans' moderate Calvinism cannot be over-emphasized, for scores of Bristol students were influenced by him. In 1775 Evans said that next to the education of pious candidates the aim of the Education Society was "the encouragement of missionaries

to preach the gospel wherever providence opens a door".<sup>150</sup> Earlier in 1773 the Society had financed a "Gospel Mission" into Cornwall; the details are unknown other than that the "Rev. Francis" was missionary.<sup>151</sup> Presumably this was some form of itinerant tour on a more modest scale than that undertaken by Steadman and Saffery in 1796.<sup>152</sup> But the implications are clear. Years before Fuller published his *Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation* (1785) Bristol men had been influenced towards the same position. Evans may not have had the courageous vision of William Carey to take the Gospel to heathen lands, but fourteen years before the formation of the Missionary Society he had been speaking of missionaries preaching wherever God led them. It is significant that some of the most enthusiastic supporters for the new Missionary Society were Bristol men like John Sutcliff, Samuel Pearce, William Staughton, and John Rippon. The significance of the Bristol Academy's influence upon the gradual decline of the High Calvinism of men like Gill and Brine, and the spread of "Fullerism" must be carefully noted.

Clearly Rippon's time in Bristol exerted a profound influence upon him. The daily routine of his studies,<sup>153</sup> the strong evangelical emphasis of his tutors, the companionship of his friends, the worshipping life of the Bristol churches all helped mould the direction of Rippon's life. He became a subscriber to the Education Society in 1773, the year he left the Academy, and gave an annual subscription for the rest of his life. Accorded the distinct honour of delivering the annual address to the Society in 1795 Rippon sought to repay something of his debt by carefully compiling materials towards a history of the Academy. Young men called to the ministry by his own church were, whenever possible, quite firmly directed to Bristol for their training.<sup>154</sup>

A useful conclusion to this study and a prelude to the examination of Rippon's ministry at Carter Lane is the charge preached by Caleb Evans to Thomas Dunscombe at Coate, Oxon, 4th August, 1773.<sup>155</sup> Rippon was in the congregation,<sup>156</sup> and only the preceding Sunday had written to the Carter Lane church accepting their invitation to become pastor.<sup>157</sup> His beloved mentor was the preacher, his closest friend was beginning his life's work, and he himself was on the threshold of a long ministry. Evans addressed himself to the practical aspects of the work of the ministry and two of his most promising students presumably drank in every word.

Six aspects of the minister's public work were noted by Evans.

i. *Preaching the word.* Delivery should be without awkward gesture or affectation, Evans exhorted. Most pointedly he urged that Dunscombe should preach directly to the consciences of his hearers:<sup>158</sup> "Preach to them the *ability* of Christ to save; to save unto the *uttermost*, to save *all* that come to God by him. Preach the *willingness* of Christ to save."

ii. *Public Prayer.* Method, but not formality was counselled, whilst "preaching prayers" should be avoided.

iii. To preside over and regulate the *singing of psalms*. Rippon's hymn-books were to result from his pastoral work, and he doubtless heeded Evans' advice: <sup>159</sup> "And a most enlivening, delightful part of worship it is when properly conducted. Do not think it beneath your attention, my brother, to endeavour to chuse out for your people suitable compositions . . ."

iv. To *administer the ordinances* of baptism and the Lord's Supper, conforming to the pattern of the Word of God.

v. To preside in the *government of his (Christ's) house*. Evans suggested that ministers should *rule*, but not *lord* it over the church. Discipline should be according to the Bible and characterised by tenderness and humility.

vi. *Visitation*. Prudence was necessary so that a minister was not a stranger to his people and yet was not always visiting so as to neglect other duties.

Rippon's ministry followed the advice of his tutor, and he fulfilled a notable evangelical ministry.<sup>160</sup>

At no one point can any one decisive influence which produced this result be clearly documented. Nevertheless at several points, his years of preparation brought him into contact with a moderate evangelical Calvinism; perhaps the combination of all these influences moulded his attitude. First, at Tiverton he came into contact with Henry Philips, who it has been noted, was a convert of Howel Harris. At Bristol several factors have been noted: his tutors were themselves moderate Calvinists; he was commended to read, and probably read, Jonathan Edwards' works; Doddridge's personal and vital religious writings influenced him; he came into contact with men like Benjamin Francis, and others, in the Associations; he formed a lasting friendship with John Sutcliff who himself had been schooled by John Fawcett.

Then he moved to London. A group immediately left Carter Lane because of his preaching.<sup>161</sup> Is it a mere coincidence that among the first to oppose Fuller's writings was William Button, whom that group had chosen as an alternative to Rippon?<sup>162</sup> Again, in London Rippon was in contact with at least two London ministers who practised a direct appeal. One was Andrew Gifford, and Rippon though more than fifty years younger than Gifford became so friendly with him that he preached his funeral sermon. Abraham Booth (1734-1806), in London since 1769, published *Glad Tidings to Perishing Sinners; or the genuine Gospel a complete Warrant for the Ungodly to believe in Jesus* in 1796, the title of which amplifies his position.<sup>163</sup> Although he was in London Rippon was in constant touch with Sutcliff,<sup>164</sup> and Ryland Junior, from whom he had a weekly letter for six years.<sup>165</sup> Accordingly he was in touch with the movements stirring in that area.

Rippon's whole-hearted adoption in his ministry of this moderate Calvinism is of basic significance for understanding the contribution he brought, not only to his own church, but to the whole denomination.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For Rippon, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, (hereafter *D.N.B.*), s.v. "Rippon, J."; for a fuller study see my unpublished thesis, "John Rippon, D.D. (1751-1836) and the Particular Baptists" (Oxford D. Phil., 1967).

<sup>2</sup> For Gill, see *D.N.B.*, and the memoir by Rippon in J. Gill, *Exposition of Old Testament*, vol. 1 (1810 ed.), pp. ix-lxiv. For his theology, see R. E. Seymour Jr., "John Gill, Baptist Theologian" (unpublished Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1954); B. R. White, "John Gill in London, 1719-1729", *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 22 (1967), pp. 72-91; O. C. Robison, "The Legacy of John Gill", *ibid.*, vol. 24 (1971), pp. 111-125.

<sup>3</sup> J. Stoughton, *History of Religion in England*, vol. 6 (1901 ed.), p. 364.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Walsh, "Methodism at the end of the Eighteenth Century", in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, (ed. R. E. Davies and E. G. Rupp), vol. 1 (1965), p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 293-308.

<sup>6</sup> "Congregationalism in the Eighteenth Century", in *Congregationalism through the Centuries* (1937), p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. E. F. Clipsham, "Fuller and Fullerism", *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 20 (1963), pp. 99-114, 146-154, 214-225, 268-276.

<sup>9</sup> For Williams, see W. T. Owen, *Edward Williams, D.D.* (1963).

<sup>10</sup> D. Bogue and J. Bennett, *History of Dissenters . . .*, vol. 4 (1812), p. 312.

<sup>11</sup> For this and what follows, see details in my thesis.

<sup>12</sup> See my thesis, ch. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Most recently by N. S. Moon, "Caleb Evans, Founder of the Bristol Education Society", *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 24 (1971), p. 177. Cf. G. F. Nuttall, "Calvinism in Free Church History", *ibid.*, vol. 22 (1968), p. 425.

<sup>14</sup> For Robison (1735-90), see G. W. Hughes, *With Freedom Fired* (1955), and *D.N.B.*

<sup>15</sup> For Fawcett (1740-1817), see *D.N.B.*

<sup>16</sup> For the two Evans, see below, and for the others, see *D.N.B.*

<sup>17</sup> W. G. Hoskins, *Devon* (A New Survey of England), (1954), pp. 127-130.

<sup>18</sup> See B. Evans, *Early English Baptists*, vol. 2 (1864), pp. 21-51; C. Burage, *Early English Dissenters*, vol. 1 (1912), pp. 270-276; *Transactions of Baptist Historical Society* (hereinafter *B.H.S. Trans.*) vol. 3 (1912-13), pp. 1-7; 193-211; vol. 4 (1914-15), pp. 124, 228-254. There is no documentary evidence for the tradition of the church as existing from 1607, as in H.B. Case, *The History of the Baptist Church in Tiverton 1607 to 1907* (1907).

<sup>19</sup> G. F. Nuttall, "The Baptist Western Association, 1653-1658", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 11 (1960), p. 215.

<sup>20</sup> So W. T. Whitley, (ed.), *Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptists*, vol. 2 (1910), p. 53f., note 3; *B.H.S. Trans.*, vol. 3, p. 6. For Collier, see *D.N.B.*

<sup>21</sup> Tiverton Baptist churchbook, 1769 membership list.

<sup>22</sup> Parish Register of St. Peter's, Tiverton records the baptism of "Richard Rippon" in April 1608; there are several references to Rippsons from this time onwards.

<sup>23</sup> Tiverton churchbook, membership list, May 1739.

<sup>24</sup> Following the practice of the Tiverton churchbook the three generations of John Rippsons are designated as "Senior", "Junior", and "Minor". Note that H. B. Case, *op. cit.*, ch. 6, has confused the three Rippsons.

<sup>25</sup> Tiverton churchbook.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 31st Dec. 1749.

<sup>27</sup> M. Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of the Town and Parish of Tiverton . . .* (1790), pp. 230-232, especially p. 231, note 256.

<sup>28</sup> Tiverton churchbook, 19th April 1772.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, note in membership list compiled 2nd September 1769.

- <sup>30</sup> *Baptist Annual Register*, (hereafter *Register*) vol. 3 (1798-1801), p. 260 note.\*
- <sup>31</sup> H. Evans to J. Rippon ("Junior"), Bristol, 4th June 1769; British Museum Additional Manuscripts (hereinafter B.M.Add.MSS.) 25386, f.444.
- <sup>32</sup> Tiverton churchbook.
- <sup>33</sup> In the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 21st July 1762, 10th June and 24th August 1763.
- <sup>35</sup> For Dunscombe (1738-97), see *Register*, vol. 3, pp. 122-124.
- <sup>36</sup> Tiverton churchbook, December 1765. For Rippon supplying Bampton, cf. *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 3 (1926-27), p.95.
- <sup>37</sup> H. Evans to J. Rippon, Bristol, 4th June 1769, B.M.Add.MSS. 25386, f.444.
- <sup>38</sup> M. Dunsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 56f.
- <sup>39</sup> John on 25th May 1777 and William on 25th January 1802.
- <sup>40</sup> W. T. Andress, *History of Newhouse U pottery* (1932), p.12.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Register*, vol. 3, p. 260 note.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10 note.
- <sup>44</sup> *D.N.B.* says 1761, but his will in Somerset House gives it as here.
- <sup>45</sup> Tiverton Baptist Birth Register, Non-Parochial Register no. rg/4 1221, (in Public Record Office).
- <sup>46</sup> Tiverton churchbook.
- <sup>47</sup> See *D.N.B.*, and W. Marston Acres, "A Former Chief Cashier", *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street* (Staff Journal Bank of England), vol. 3, no. 22 (June 1926).
- <sup>48</sup> For Newland (1730-1807), see *D.N.B.*
- <sup>49</sup> *D.N.B.* says £60,000, but the probate was for £40,000.
- <sup>50</sup> Cf. *Register*, vol. 2, p. 221. A copy in Angus Library.
- <sup>51</sup> From a reference in a letter from R. Hatch to J. Rippon, Exeter 11th November 1809, B.M.Add.MSS. 25387, f.193.
- <sup>52</sup> Cf. Tiverton churchbook.
- <sup>53</sup> W. P. Authers, *The Tiverton Congregational Church 1660-1960* (1960), p. 26 refers to a Jenny Rippon.
- <sup>54</sup> H. B. Case, *History of the Baptist Church in Tiverton 1607-1907* (1907), p. 41.
- <sup>55</sup> *Register*, vol. 1, p. 129 note.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>57</sup> In the Angus Library.
- <sup>58</sup> The evidence is: (i) date of compilation; (ii) one sermon by "father"; (iii) handwriting; (iv) shorthand efforts similar to a method later used by Rippon.
- <sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, f.3.
- <sup>60</sup> *Register*, vol. 1, pp. 128-138.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128. For Harris (1714-73) see *D.N.B.*, and G. F. Nuttall, *Howel Harris 1714-1773: The Last Enthusiast* (1965).
- <sup>62</sup> *Register*, vol. 1, p. 129 note.
- <sup>63</sup> MS Book of Sermons, f.88.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, f.86.
- <sup>65</sup> See G. A. Moore, *Brown Street Baptist Church, Salisbury, 1655-1955*, (1955), pp. 13-20.
- <sup>66</sup> *Register*, vol. 1, pp. 260-267.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263 note.
- <sup>68</sup> Tiverton churchbook. Cf. *Register*, vol. 1, p. 263 note.
- <sup>69</sup> Tiverton churchbook.
- <sup>70</sup> B.M.Add.MSS. 25386, f.444.
- <sup>71</sup> H. B. Case, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- <sup>73</sup> See the diary referred to above.
- <sup>74</sup> W. P. Authers, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- <sup>75</sup> W. T. Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, vol. 2 (1922), ref. 54-792.

<sup>76</sup> *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 303-308.

<sup>77</sup> M. Dunsford, *op. cit.*, list of subscribers.

<sup>78</sup> *Register*, vol. 1, pp. 322f.

<sup>79</sup> No authoritative history of the Academy has been written. Rippon's essay (see note 81) is basic for the early period. *Bristol Baptist College: 250 Years 1679-1929* (1929), is a useful summary. See also S. A. Swaine, *Faithful Men; or Memorials of Bristol Baptist College . . .* (1884); F. Tres-trail, *Reminiscences of College Life in Bristol* (n.d.); A. G. Hamlin, "Bristol Baptist College 1679-1959" (typescript); J. W. Ashley Smith, *Birth of Modern Education* (1954), pp. 210-218; N. S. Moon, *art. cit.*

<sup>80</sup> For Terrill and the Broadmead church, see E. B. Underhill (ed.), *Broadmead Records* (1847); R. L. Child, *Broadmead Origins* (1940).

<sup>81</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay towards an History of the Baptist Academy at Bristol* (1796), (hereinafter *Brief Essay*), p. 13.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13f; J. Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, vol. 4 (1830) 263ff.

<sup>83</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, pp. 14-23.

<sup>84</sup> For Francis, see J. Ryland, *Funeral Discourse . . . death of the Rev. Benjamin Francis, to which is annexed A Sketch of Rev. Francis's Life*, by Thomas Flint (1800); for the others, see *D.N.B.*

<sup>85</sup> For Hugh Evans, see C. Evans, *Elisha's Exclamation, A Sermon Occasioned by the death of the Rev. Hugh Evans . . .* (1781); J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, pp. 23-31; *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, (hereinafter *D.W.B.*); N. S. Moon, *art. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> For Caleb Evans, see S. Stennett, *The Mortality of Ministers contrasted . . . decease of the Rev. Caleb Evans . . .* (1791); J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, pp. 31-51; *D.W.B.*; N. S. Moon, *art. cit.*

<sup>87</sup> See I. Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (1914); H. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts* (1931); J. W. Ashley Smith, *op. cit.*

<sup>88</sup> *Cf.* J. W. Ashley Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 215; G. F. Nuttall, (ed.), *Philip Doddridge* (1951), p. 120.

<sup>89</sup> *Cf.* J. W. Ashley Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-210.

<sup>90</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, p. 33.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>92</sup> *An Account of the Bristol Education Society* (1770).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, p. 27f.

<sup>95</sup> Tiverton churchbook, 7th, 10th July 1771.

<sup>96</sup> M. H. Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich* (1855), p. 77.

<sup>97</sup> Tiverton churchbook.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Carter Lane churchbook, 18th August 1788, *cf.* S. J. Price, "Brother Giles becomes a recognized Minister", *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 5 (1930-31), pp. 37-41; H. Davies, *Worship and Theology in England, From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (1961), pp. 137-139.

<sup>100</sup> Evans commended Rippon to the church, Carter Lane churchbook, 7th December, 26th December 1772.

<sup>101</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, p. 42.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>104</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>105</sup> See W. T. Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, refs. 22-766 ff; 17-767ff.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, refs. 7-775 to 9-775, 5-776 to 9-776.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, ref. 30-789. For Huntington (1745-1813), see *D.N.B.*

<sup>108</sup> *Cf.* S. Stennett, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>109</sup> For details of editions of Rippon's *Selection* see my thesis, pp. 183-201.

<sup>110</sup> *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 235-241.

<sup>111</sup> For Newton, see *Register*, vol. 1, pp. 150-154. W. T. Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, ref. 16-782 erred; this work was by John Newton. *Cf.* J. Bull, *John Newton . . .* (1868), p. 259.

- <sup>112</sup> Cf. *Register*, vol. 3, pp. 313-319.
- <sup>113</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, p. 35.
- <sup>114</sup> M. H. Wilkin, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- <sup>115</sup> *The Able Minister* (1773), p. 43.
- <sup>116</sup> Cf. G. F. Nuttall, (ed.), *Philip Doddridge*, ch. 5.
- <sup>117</sup> *Bristol Baptist College* . . . (1929), p. 23.
- <sup>118</sup> H. Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1622).
- <sup>119</sup> J. A. Turretinus, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Compendium a Christo nato usque ad annum MDCC* (1734).
- <sup>120</sup> W. Willmott, *English particles exemplify'd in sentences designed for Latin exercises: with the proper rendering of each particle inserted in the sentence* (1703).
- <sup>121</sup> R. A. Guild, *Early History of Brown University, including the Life, Times, and Correspondence of President Manning 1756-1791* (1897), p. 245.
- <sup>122</sup> Dunscombe was ordained in 1773, and the list refers to Turretine "which you translated".
- <sup>123</sup> *Register*, vol. 1, pp. 253-256. Cf. J. W. Ashley Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-284.
- <sup>124</sup> J. Rippon, *Discourse on the Origin and Progress of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor* . . . (1802), p. 37.
- <sup>125</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
- <sup>126</sup> J. Ryland, *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love and the Patience of Hope illustrated in the Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller* . . . (1816), pp. 9, 58.
- <sup>127</sup> E. A. Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement", *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. 21 (1943), pp. 227ff.
- <sup>128</sup> T. Dunscombe, *Tribute of Affection to the Memory of the late Dr. Evans* . . . (1792), p. 33.
- <sup>129</sup> *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 345-351.
- <sup>130</sup> In the Angus Library.
- <sup>131</sup> W. T. Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, dated it 1800: ref. 61-800.
- <sup>132</sup> S. A. Swaine, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- <sup>133</sup> E. A. Payne, *Baptists of Berkshire* (1951), p. 86.
- <sup>134</sup> L. A. Fereday, *The Story of the Falmouth Baptists* (1950), p. 48.
- <sup>135</sup> Cf. B.M.Add.MSS, 25386, f.421 et seq.
- <sup>136</sup> Cf. *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 6 (1932-33), p. 184; *Minutes of the . . . General Baptists*, vol. 2, p. 244 n.14.
- <sup>137</sup> See *D.N.B.*
- <sup>138</sup> J. Evans, *Memoirs of . . . William Richards* (1819), p. 10.
- <sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-117.
- <sup>140</sup> These included Job David, Rippon's friend at Frome.
- <sup>141</sup> MS. Book of Sermons in Angus Library.
- <sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, f.169; unnumbered page, sermon on John 16:8.
- <sup>143</sup> See sermon on Proverbs 28:9.
- <sup>144</sup> J. Rippon, *Brief Essay*, p. 43.
- <sup>145</sup> C. Evans, *The Scripture doctrine of the deity of the Son of God and Holy Spirit* . . . (1766).
- <sup>146</sup> *A Charge and sermon, together with an introductory discourse and confession of faith, delivered at the ordination of . . . Caleb Evans* (1767).
- <sup>147</sup> C. Evans to J. Manning, Bristol, 20th September 1788, in R. A. Guild, *Early History of Brown University, including the Life, Times, and Correspondence of President Manning 1756-1791* (1897), p. 460.
- <sup>148</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 20f.
- <sup>149</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53.
- <sup>150</sup> C. Evans, *The Kingdom of God* (1775), p. 24.
- <sup>151</sup> Cf. *Account of Bristol Education Society for 1773*, p. 29; . . . for 1774, p. 17. Benjamin Francis was the missionary, see J. Ryland, . . . *Funeral Discourse . . . death of the Rev. Benjamin Francis, to which is annexed A Sketch of Rev. Francis's Life* . . . by Thomas Flint (1800), p. 46.

<sup>152</sup> *Register*, vol. 2, 459-464.

<sup>153</sup> For details of daily routine in 1784, cf. M. H. Wilkin, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>154</sup> See my thesis, pp. 120-129.

<sup>155</sup> C. Evans, *A Charge and Sermon; delivered at the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Dunscombe . . .* (1773).

<sup>156</sup> J. Stanley, *The Church in the Hop Garden* (n.d.), p. 132.

<sup>157</sup> Carter Lane churchbook, 1st August 1773.

<sup>158</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>160</sup> For details, see my thesis.

<sup>161</sup> Thirty members left to form what became the Dean Street church. Carter Lane churchbook, 10th January 1774.

<sup>162</sup> J. Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists*, vol. 4 (1830), pp. 335f.

<sup>163</sup> For Gifford, see L. G. Champion, *Farthing Rushlight* (1961); J. Rippon, *A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Reverend Andrew Gifford, D.D.* (1784). For Booth, see D.N.B. and J. Rippon, *A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Abraham Booth . . .* (1806).

<sup>164</sup> Cf. letters to Sutcliff, preserved in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>165</sup> J. Rippon to R. Furman, 18th July 1793, in S. W. Lynd, *Memoir of the Rev. William Staughton, D.D.* (1834), p. 27f.

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