

The Renaissance in Andrew Fuller Studies: A Bibliographic Essay

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INTRODUCTION¹

In 2007, John Piper gave his customary biographical talk at the annual Desiring God Conference for Pastors. His topic that year was Andrew Fuller (1754–1815), a figure considerably less well-known

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than previous subjects such as Athanasius, Augustine, Martin Luther, John Calvin, J. Gresham Machen, and Martyn Lloyd-Jones. In his talk, Piper argued that Fuller played a key role in bringing theological renewal to the British Particular Baptists in the late eighteenth century. That renewal, in turn, helped to launch the modern missions movement, led by Fuller's friend William Carey. For Piper, Fuller was a faithful pastor-theologian who espoused a missions-minded evangelical Calvinism and successfully challenged virtually every major theological

error of his day. In many ways, he was a Baptist version of Piper's personal theological hero, Jonathan Edwards. Piper's talk was subsequently published as *I Will Go Down If You Will Hold the Rope* (2012).² By all appearances, Fuller had finally arrived. The momentum had been building for years.

Andrew Fuller was the most important Baptist theologian in the years between the ministries of John Gill (1697–1771) and Charles Spurgeon (1834–1892). He was part of a group of like-minded friends that included John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825), John Sutcliff (1752–1814), Samuel Pearce (1766–1799), Robert Hall, Jr. (1764–1831), and William Carey (1761–1834). These men, but especially Fuller himself, emerged as the fountainhead of a soteriological movement among the British Particular Baptists that came to be called "Fullerism." Over the course of a generation, the so-called moderate Calvinism associated with Fuller became the mainstream understanding of salvation among a majority of Particular Baptists, as well as other broadly Calvinistic British evangelicals. Many Baptists in

tury North America also drank deeply from Fullerism, which informed the development of early American Baptist denominationalism around the central theme of cooperation in missions.

Baptists have always appreciated the influence of Fuller within their tradition. Many Baptist leaders preached dedicatory sermons upon Fuller's death, some of which were published. Several book-length biographies appeared, all of which were written by men who had been closely associated with Fuller. Fuller received a lengthy entry in William Cathcart's *The Baptist Encyclopedia* (1881) and was referenced in numerous other entries. Several editions of Fuller's works were published, both in Britain and in North America. Baptist theologians interacted with Fuller's thought, especially his understanding of the atonement and his (unfinished) attempt at a Christocentric systematic divinity that ordered the theological loci around the work of Christ. Nevertheless, by the turn of the twentieth century, Fuller, though still appreciated, was pushed further to the margins of Baptist life, especially among Baptists in North America.

The trend toward downplaying Fuller's legacy can likely be attributed to a combination of factors. First, more Baptists began writing systematic theologies after the mid-nineteenth century. Fuller, who had been an occasional and polemical theologian, provided a less comprehensive source for many Baptists. Second, Baptist soteriology was increasingly carving out a niche between Dortian Calvinism and Classical Arminianism; though a creative thinker in this regard, Fuller always identified himself with Dort. Third, perhaps Fuller was being eclipsed as subsequent generations of Baptists looked to role models such as Charles Spurgeon, John Clifford, and F. B. Meyer in Britain and Adoniram Judson, James P. Boyce, Augustus Strong, and E. Y. Mullins in North America. Finally, Baptist systematicians engaged far more with contemporary theologians than they did with older thinkers such as Fuller. For these reasons

(and likely others), until relatively recently only a handful of significant studies related to Fuller had been written over the past century.

This bibliographic essay explores the most important works related to Fuller, with particular emphasis on the growing corpus of material that has been written since the early 1980s. I argue that the last three decades constitute a renaissance in Fuller Studies, the roots of which began in the mid-twentieth century. In the past dozen years, this renaissance has matured considerably. The rising generation of scholars and pastors interested in the study of Fuller and/or the renaissance of his thought find themselves with a growing body of literature that includes published and unpublished scholarly studies, semi-popular writings, popular summaries, and reprinted primary source material. These writings are complemented by scholarly conferences that regularly focus upon Fuller and related topics and a wide variety of websites including blogs and online primary source repositories.

KEY EARLY STUDIES

Prior to 1980, most of the writings dedicated to Fuller fell into three categories. First, two short biographies were published. *Andrew Fuller: Pastor, Theologian, Ropeholder* (1942) by Gilbert Laws is the more significant study, while Arthur H. Kirkby's *Andrew Fuller* (1961) was published in a series of short biographies on leading English Nonconformists. Both volumes are now long out-of-print and difficult to acquire. Second, several studies highlight Fuller's role in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) and the subsequent influence of the BMS upon Particular Baptists. Many of them discuss Fuller in relation to his friendships, especially his relationship with the better-known Carey. Fuller's role in the missions movement and its effect on British Baptists was also a regular topic of discussion in Baptist history textbooks.¹³ In an important

article (1973), W. R. Ward argues that the missions movement transformed Particular Baptist life by introducing new structures into a heretofore more decentralized movement.¹⁴

Third, and by far the most numerous, several unpublished dissertations and theses and published essays and journal articles focus upon Fuller's evangelical Calvinism and the challenge it mounted against the reigning High Calvinism of the era. Dissertations include Pope Duncan's (1917), A. H. Kirkby's (1956), and John Eddins's (1957) respective studies of Fuller's soteriology.¹⁵ Edwin Allen Reed's Th.M. thesis (1958) provides a comparative study of Fuller's atonement theology with that of John Gill, John Smyth, and Thomas Helwys.¹⁶ Though broader in its focus, Fuller's soteriology also received significant treatment in O. C. Robison's dissertation (1963) on Particular Baptist theology in England between 1760 and 1820.¹⁷ James Tull wrote a chapter on Fuller emphasizing the relationship between soteriology and missionary zeal for his book *Shapers of Baptist Thought* (1972).¹⁸

During the mid-twentieth century, the most significant Fuller scholarship was published by scholarly journals in the United Kingdom. A handful of articles from this period stand out as especially useful. In 1965, G. F. Nuttall wrote an important article on the "Modern Question" of whether or not the non-elect are under obligation to repent and believe the gospel message. This issue was at the center of the debates over High Calvinism. Fuller offered the most influential affirmative answer to the Modern Question in his *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (1785; revised 1801).¹⁹ E. F. Clipsham wrote a series of four articles for *Baptist Quarterly* in 1963–1964 that represent the most significant published treatment of Fuller's soteriology prior to recent years. Contra Kirkby, Clipsham argues that John Calvin himself had minimal influence on Fuller, contending that Fuller's major theological influence was Jonathan Edwards.²⁰ Clipsham's views are widely affirmed by contemporary scholars.

FULLER REDISCOVERED, 1980–2000

The early 1980s witnessed a marked increase in interest in Fuller among both scholars and pastors. Most of the scholarship written during this period was in the form of unpublished dissertations and theses, journal articles, and book chapters. Some of this material was biographical in nature. Two of the book chapters summarize Fuller's life and thought: Phil Roberts's contribution to *Baptist Theologians* (1990) and an essay by Tom Nettles in the second volume of *The British Particular Baptists* (2000).²¹ Three short dictionary entries were also written during this period by E. F. Clipsham (1995), Brian Stanley (1999), and William Brackney (1999), respectively.²² These resources remain helpful starting places for those interested in Fuller Studies. Fuller also received increased attention in broader studies of Calvinism, missions, Baptist history, and English Dissent. The key themes among scholars remained Fuller's influence upon the missionary movement and his soteriological convictions, though gradually others topics emerged as well.

Fuller was regularly linked to the missions movement. Studies of the BMS and biographies of William Carey frequently discuss the role Fuller played in leading the BMS during its earliest decades. Brian Stanley's bicentennial history of the BMS (1992) gives extensive treatment to Fuller's role in the formation of the BMS and his term as secretary of the society.²³ Timothy George's biography of William Carey (1991) covers the same material.²⁴ That same year, Bruce Shelley wrote a short article for *Christianity Today* wherein he argues that Fuller was "the unsung hero" behind Carey's missions career.²⁵ In a 1992 journal article in *Baptist Quarterly*, William Brackney situates the early BMS in the context of the larger voluntary religious tradition. In the article, Brackney also examines Fuller's roll as secretary of the BMS during its first two decades.²⁶ Doyle Young wrote a key study of this topic during this period. His 1981 dissertation and a subsequent journal article published the following year give even greater attention to Fuller's role in the BMS. Young goes so far as to argue Fuller is a co-father of the modern missions movement in the English-speaking world.²⁷

Other studies look more at the fruit of the missions' movement in the British Isles. In a 1980 journal article, L. G. Champion challenges W. R. Ward's earlier argument that the restructuring of British Baptist life first introduced by the missionary movement were more social and organizational than theological in nature. Champion argues that Fullerism played a decisive role in the transformation of Particular Baptist life in the half century between 1775 and 1825.²⁸ In his monograph *Established Church, Sectarian People* (1988), Deryck Lovegrove demonstrates that Fuller and his friends also engaged in home missions via village preaching. The Fullerite Baptists were one part of a wider trend emphasizing itinerancy among Nonconformists around the turn of the nineteenth century.²⁹

Fuller's evangelical Calvinism remained a constant theme among scholars throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In his book *The Great Debate* (1982), Alan P. F. Sell recounts Fuller's role in the struggles between High Calvinists and evangelical Calvinists over the Modern Question in eighteenth-century Britain.³⁰ In his 1989 monograph devoted to the responses of London Calvinistic Baptists to the Evangelical Revival, Philip Roberts argues that Fullerism played a key role in breaking up the High Calvinist hold on London Baptists.³¹ Throughout the 1980s, Tom Nettles frequently wrote on Fuller's soteriology. In two articles published in *Reformation Today* in 1985, Nettles introduces Fuller as a missions-friendly evangelical Calvinist and apologist for a pure gospel who brought renewal to Particular Baptist life. Because Baptists in America had increasingly departed from their earlier Calvinistic roots, Nettles believes that Fuller holds out the promise for similar renewal among contemporary Baptists.³² Nettles's views about Baptists and Calvinism are further articulated in his book *By His Grace and For His Glory* (1986); he dedicates a chapter to Fuller, expanding on his earlier articles.³³

Several doctoral theses and monographs during this period addressed Fuller's views of Calvinism and their legacy among British Baptists. In 1986, Robert Oliver wrote a dissertation on the emergence of the

Strict and Particular Baptist movement in England. Oliver argues that Fullerism was considered a departure from Calvinistic orthodoxy among the Strict and Particular pastors, who preferred the views of John Gill.³⁴ Peter Naylor covers much of the same ground in his 1992 book examining Particular Baptist theology during the long eighteenth century.³⁵ In a 1989 dissertation, Thomas Ascol compares and contrasts the federal theologies of Fuller and John Gill. Ascol argues that Fuller's federalism was implicit rather than explicit, but was crucial to his soteriology, especially Fuller's view of the extent of the atonement.³⁶

In his 1991 dissertation, Roger Hayden argues against the notion that Particular Baptists were hopelessly captive to High Calvinism prior to Fuller's publication of the first edition of *Gospel Worthy* in 1785. Hayden demonstrates that an evangelical, Edwardsean Calvinism had long prevailed among the Particular Baptists of the West Counties, especially those affiliated with Bristol Baptist Academy. In fact, Fuller's circle of friends was first introduced to the writings of Edwards through the influence of pastors in the West.³⁷ In his 1996 monograph *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition*, Bruce Hindmarsh regularly references Fuller and (especially) Ryland. The latter was a close friend of Newton's. Hindmarsh situates Fuller's so-called Strict Calvinism along a spectrum of views advocated by various English evangelicals. He also recounts the story of the evangelical renewal within the Northamptonshire Association.³⁸

Frequently, scholars emphasized the discontinuity between Fullerism and other forms of Calvinism. Some suggest that Fuller's modified Calvinism was friendlier to the free offer of the gospel than traditional Calvinism. In his widely used textbook on Baptist History (1987), Leon McBeth argues that Fuller affirmed basic Calvinist orthodoxy but made room for evangelism and missions. The implication was that Calvinism, without the modifications associated with Fullerism, was less friendly toward these emphases.³⁹ In a 1991 monograph challenging the idea that Southern Baptists have deep theological roots in Calvinism, Wiley Richards was more explicit. He

argues that Fuller's views marked a departure from Calvinism and actually facilitated the decline of Reformed soteriology among heretofore Calvinistic Baptists.⁴⁰ In an assessment more apologetical than historical, High Calvinist George Ella argues that Fuller was not a Calvinist at all, but was in fact a crypto-Arminian and antinomian who rejected Calvinistic orthodoxy. Rather than bringing renewal, Fullerism was the source of a theological downgrade that infected the Particular Baptists and many other erstwhile evangelicals. Ella's *Law & Gospel in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (1996) was the only published book-length study of Fuller during this period.⁴¹

Closely related to the theme of Calvinism is Fuller's critique of Sandemanianism. The Sandemans (or Glasites) were a Scottish movement that severed repentance from saving faith in an effort to guard against salvation by works. Many Baptists in Scotland had imbibed of Sandemanian views, provoking a response from Fuller. An address first delivered by Martyn Lloyd-Jones on Sandemanianism in 1967 was published in a 1987 anthology of Lloyd-Jones's writings titled *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors*. Lloyd-Jones argues that Fuller provided the definitive answer to Sandemanian heterodoxy.⁴² In a 1993 dissertation, Thomas South explores Fuller's arguments against the Sandemans, comparing the Glasites with the so-called Free Grace movement that emerged among Zane Hodges and others in the 1980s.⁴³ In a 1998 article, Michael Haykin recounts Fuller's dispute with the Sandemans. Like South, Haykin makes practical application to contemporary evangelicalism.⁴⁴

While most scholars focused upon Calvinism and missions, some explored other aspects of Fuller's thought and influence. In their 1980 book *Baptists and the Bible*, Russ Bush and Tom Nettles examine Fuller's view of biblical inspiration and authority. They argue that Fuller affirmed the supernatural character of Scripture as a revelation from God, free from factual error and sufficient for Christian life and ministry.⁴⁵ Haykin comes to the same conclusion in a 1989 article contrasting Fuller's view of Scripture with that

of the famous Deist, Thomas Paine.⁴⁶ In two articles published in *Baptist Quarterly* (1996–1997), T. S. H. Elwyn discusses the circular letters written for the Northamptonshire Association between 1765–1820. Fuller wrote many of these circular letters, which serve as a window into the thought of the pastors in the association during this period.⁴⁷

Haykin emerged as the key scholar engaging a wider range of Fuller's theology and legacy. He devoted a 1986 article to Fuller's understanding of pneumatology, particularly in reference to revival and the proclamation of the gospel to the ends of the earth.⁴⁸ Three years later, he wrote a similar article on Fuller's contemporary John Ryland, Jr. The latter essay also makes frequent reference to Fuller's views of the subject.⁴⁹ In a 1993 article, Haykin compares the Socinian Joseph Priestly's and Andrew Fuller's respective views on praying to Christ.⁵⁰ A year later, he wrote a short article on the strategic friendship between Fuller and John Ryland Jr.⁵¹ In a 1995 article in *Evangelical Quarterly*, Haykin examines the transformation of Particular Baptist identity towards a more explicitly evangelical position between 1780 and 1820. Fuller played a key role in that evolution, along with friends such as John Sutcliff.⁵²

Also in 1995, Haykin wrote a short introduction to Fuller's early years for *Reformation Today*.⁵³ In 1996, Fuller was one of several figures examined in an article about Particular Baptist views of Matthew 5:39a. Like most of his British contemporaries, who were writing in the age of the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic Wars, Fuller believed in the legitimacy of war for the sake of self-defense.⁵⁴ In 2000, Haykin expounded upon Fuller's baptismal spirituality based upon a circular letter Fuller wrote on the topic in 1802.⁵⁵ In addition to these articles, Haykin wrote a 1994 biography of Fuller's contemporary John Sutcliff. Fuller factors heavily into the narrative, as do related themes such as Fullerism and the formation and early history of the BMS.⁵⁶

THE FULLER STUDIES RENAISSANCE SINCE 2001

The renewed interest in Fuller Studies that began circa 1980 entered into a new stage of maturity around the turn of the twenty-first century. Scholars have continued to write helpful dissertations, theses, and articles related to Fuller. Many of these writings address similar topics to studies from the previous two decades, though often in greater depth or with new layers of nuance. The new century has also witnessed the publication of an important collection of essays and several scholarly monographs; each of the latter is revised from an earlier thesis or dissertation. In addition to these publications, a new think tank related to Fuller has facilitated further scholarly interest in Fuller and has sponsored conferences that will bear fruit as the conference papers are published in the coming years. A new journal also promises to become a key venue for studies of Andrew Fuller, Fullerism, and related topics.

Five important book-length studies have been published since 2003. Peter Morden's *Offering Christ to the World: Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) and the Revival of Eighteenth Century Particular Baptist Life* (2003) is a revision of the author's M.Phil. thesis (2000).⁵⁷ The book is primarily biographical in nature, examining Fuller's life and ministry, but the author remains keenly sensitive to theological issues. Morden focuses upon Fuller's role in the theological and missiological revitalization of Particular Baptist life between about 1770 and 1820. *Offering Christ to the World* is presently the scholarly introduction to Fuller, at least until Morden finishes his anticipated critical biography of Fuller. The latter is currently scheduled to be published in 2015, in conjunction with the two hundredth anniversary of Fuller's death.

Michael Haykin has edited an important collection of essays titled *'At the Pure Fountain of Thy Word': Andrew Fuller as an Apologist* (2004).⁵⁸ A couple of the chapters were lightly revised from

previously published articles, but most were original essays.⁵⁹ Morden begins the book with a biographical chapter on Fuller and also contributes a second chapter on Fuller's apology for missions. Gerald Priest offers a chapter that advances a critical, revisionist interpretation of Fuller's debate with hyper-Calvinism and the Modern Question, while Curt Daniel looks at Fuller's quarrel with antinomianism, a common error among High Calvinists. Clint Sheehan discusses Fuller's controversy with Arminians, the genesis of which lies with the publication of *Gospel Worthy*. Haykin contributes two chapters addressing Fuller's responses to Deism and the Sandemanians, respectively. Tom Nettles examines Fuller's controversy with the Socinians while Barry Howson discusses Fuller's contest with the famous universalist William Vidler. Robert Oliver's chapter focuses upon Fuller's controversy with his fellow evangelical Calvinist Abraham Booth, the latter of whom was convinced Fuller's views of justification and the atonement were not sufficiently Calvinistic. Greg Meadows adds a helpful bibliography at the conclusion of the book.

Paul Brewster's *Andrew Fuller: Model Pastor-Theologian* (2010) is a revision of the author's doctoral dissertation (2007).⁶⁰ Brewster argues that Baptist theology has declined over the past century, especially in North America. He holds forth Fuller as a role model for contemporary pastor-theologians, especially in Fuller's theological method, his soteriological views, and his application of doctrine to practice. As a Southern Baptist pastor, Brewster is especially keen to demonstrate that Fuller's missions-minded, evangelical Calvinism offers a pathway to renewal in a denomination that frequently debates Reformed soteriology. This book serves as a fine introduction to Fuller for pastors and seminary students in particular.

A. Chadwick Mauldin's short monograph *Fullerism as Opposed to Calvinism: A Historical and Theological Comparison of the Missiology of Andrew Fuller and John Calvin* (2011) is a revision of the author's MA thesis (2010).⁶¹ Mauldin compares

the missiology of Fuller and John Calvin, arguing the latter is biblically and practically inferior to the former. Mauldin contends that Baptists should identify with Fuller more than Calvin and argues for a renewed use of the “Fullerite” descriptor for Calvinistic Baptists. Mauldin also includes a published interview on Fuller’s legacy with James Leo Garrett, the dean of Southern Baptist theologians and an expert on Baptist historical theology.

Chris Chun’s *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (2012), a revision of the author’s doctoral dissertation (2008), represents the most substantial work of scholarship yet published on Fuller.⁶² While scholars have long known that Edwards exercised a decisive influence on Fuller and his circle of friends, Chun carefully demonstrates the extent of this influence. Chun demonstrates where and how Fuller interacted with Edwards and later Edwardseans such as the New Divinity men. Fuller frequently cited Edwards in his works, though even in writings lacking direct citation, Fuller often used Edwardsean theological categories to make his point. On the issues of justification and atonement, Fuller has received considerable criticism from some quarters for his alleged modifications to popular Calvinist categories. Chun shows that Fuller was closer to the views of Edwards in these matters than to the New Divinity men whom Fuller is often accused of emulating.

In addition to these scholarly books and anthologies of essays, historians and theologians have continued to publish a variety of other works related to Fuller. Fuller’s soteriology and his contributions to the missionary movement continue to attract the attention of scholars. Haykin has written two articles for *Reformation Today* on Fuller’s defense of the free offer of the gospel (2001).⁶³ Haykin also authored an essay describing Fuller’s nuanced and oft-debated understanding of particular redemption (2002), a theme also addressed in an article by Jeremy Pittsley (2008).⁶⁴ Bart Box devoted his 2009 dissertation to the topic, arguing, like Haykin and

Pittsley, that Fuller affirmed penal substitution, but revised his view of the extent of the atonement so that the limitation was due to God’s covenantal purposes rather than the nature of propitiation.⁶⁵ In his constructive monograph on Baptist identity (2003), Paul Fiddes expresses appreciation for Fuller’s Edwardsean emphasis on a covenantal understanding of the atonement’s extent rather than a traditional limited atonement. Fiddes hopes that contemporary Baptist theologians of mission will further develop this view of the atonement, open the covenant of salvation to at least some non-Christians, and combine elements of *theosis* to conversionist understandings of salvation.⁶⁶

Morden has contributed a book chapter on *Gospel Worthy* (2009) that traces the development of Fullerism and emphasizes the movement’s debt to broader evangelical tendencies in Britain.⁶⁷ Fuller’s soteriology and its influence has also received helpful treatment in two important studies of Baptist historical theology written by William H. Brackney (2004) and James Leo Garrett (2009), respectively.⁶⁸ Clive Jarvis authored a revisionist essay challenging the prevailing thesis that High Calvinism had a widespread, spiritually deadening effect on Particular Baptists prior to the advent of Fullerism (2005).⁶⁹ In his history of the Strict and Particular Baptists (2001), Kenneth Dix frequently addresses the role that Fullerism played in the division among nineteenth-century Calvinistic Baptists.⁷⁰ In his study of English Calvinistic Baptists from John Gill to Charles Spurgeon (2006), Robert Oliver devotes considerable attention to Fuller’s engagement with High Calvinism, antinomianism, and Abraham Booth, among other topics.⁷¹ In his study of the relationship between Calvinism and the terms of communion, Peter Naylor argues that Fuller affirmed both evangelical Calvinism and closed communion, though later Fullerites such as Robert Hall, Jr. abandoned the latter practice.⁷²

The influence of Jonathan Edwards upon Fuller

and his colleagues in the Northamptonshire Association is an important sub-theme within studies of Fullerism. In addition to Chun's dissertation, he published two articles on Edwards and Fuller. The first demonstrated how the Edwardsean distinction between moral and natural ability provided impetus to Fullerism's missionary impulse (2006), while the second essay (2008) summarized the argument of Chun's dissertation.⁷³ Tom Nettles also authored an article that discusses the impact of Edwards upon Fuller (2008).⁷⁴ Peter Beck wrote an essay (2005) arguing for a close continuity between Edwards's view of justification and that of Fuller.⁷⁵ In 2012, Haykin and Daniel Weaver transcribed, edited, and published a previously unknown letter from John Ryland, Jr. to Samuel Hopkins that distanced Ryland and Fuller from the controversial New Divinity idea that one should be willing to be damned for God's glory.⁷⁶

Several studies describe how Edwards's ideas were disseminated among Fuller and his colleagues. In an essay on Edwards's reception among eighteenth-century British evangelicals (2003), Bruce Hindmarsh traces how Edwardsean thought took hold among Fuller and his friends.⁷⁷ Roger Hayden has published a revised version of his aforementioned doctoral dissertation on evangelical Calvinism at Bristol Baptist Academy (2006); the Bristol men were the initial means through which some of the Northamptonshire Baptists were first introduced to Edwardsean thought.⁷⁸ Nathan Finn has authored a journal article (2007) on Fuller's older contemporary, Robert Hall, Sr., arguing that Hall was a key mentor for Fuller and his friends and the individual responsible for introducing Fuller to Edwards's *Freedom of the Will* and popularizing the book within the Northamptonshire Association.⁷⁹ Jonathan Yeager's biography of John Erskine (2011) contends that Erskine was an inveterate sharer of books who played a key role in disseminating Edwardsean literature to Fuller and his colleagues, as well as promoting Fuller's works outside of Baptist circles.⁸⁰ Haykin has contributed a chapter (2012) to a collection of essays on Edwards's

theological legacy which demonstrates how Fullerism influenced the theological trajectory of British Baptists and many Baptists in North America, especially in the antebellum South.⁸¹

Fuller's relationship to missions has remained a key theme in recent years. Morden has authored an article for *Baptist Quarterly* (2005) that highlights Fuller's role in founding of the Baptist Missionary Society and his leadership of the BMS.⁸² Haykin has published a book chapter (2007) that focuses upon Fuller's theology of missions and demonstrates how it informed William Carey's *Enquiry*.⁸³ He has also written a series of four popular articles (2009–2010) that examined how theological renewal gave rise to missionary zeal among Fuller's generation of Particular Baptists.⁸⁴ Building upon the earlier work of Deryck Lovegrove, Paul Brewster has written a two-part article (2011–2012) that examined Fuller's role in home missions in Britain, especially through his own itinerant preaching ministry in remote villages without an evangelical witness.⁸⁵

Two chapters in a recent *festschrift* for Leon McBeth (2008) discuss Fuller's influence on Carey and, subsequently, Baptist missions and denominationalism.⁸⁶ Kelly Elliott frequently discusses Fuller and his Northamptonshire Association colleagues in her 2010 dissertation on nineteenth-century Baptist missions in the East and West Indies.⁸⁷ Haykin edited a short book (2012) on the life and piety of Samuel and Sarah Pearce. Haykin's introduction frequently highlights Fuller's friendship with Samuel and his editing of Pearce's *Memoirs*.⁸⁸ Short biographical treatments of Fuller in historical dictionaries and textbooks have continued to treat Fuller's role in the missionary movement, often linking this topic with Fuller's evangelical Calvinism and influence on Carey.⁸⁹

Besides these perennial themes, scholars have also engaged other aspects of Fuller's thought and legacy. Haykin has authored an essay (2006) that examines the relationship between faith and patriotism in Fuller's thought; when in tension, the former trumped the latter.⁹⁰ Haykin has also contributed a number of short articles about some of Fuller's contemporaries

for *Evangelical Times* (2001–2002), most of which discussed themes such as Fullerism, revival, modern missions, etc. These articles were later compiled and published as a short book (2006).⁹¹ Paul Brewster has authored a journal article (2006) describing Fuller's theological method.⁹² In a 2008 article, Nigel Wheeler examines Fuller's view of pastoral ministry through the lens of his ordination sermons.⁹³ The following year, Wheeler completed his dissertation (2009) on the same topic.⁹⁴ Keith Grant has written a Th.M. thesis (2007) on Fuller's theology of preaching, arguing Fuller offers an example of the sort of evangelical pastoral theology that took hold in Britain following the Evangelical Awakening of the eighteenth century.⁹⁵ A published version of Grant's thesis is forthcoming from Paternoster Press in 2013.

In addition to the aforementioned collection of essays on Fuller as an apologist, some scholars have continued to highlight Fuller's polemical ministry. Alan P. F. Sell has contributed two important articles on Fuller's polemical theology. In the first article (2003), he thoroughly examines Fuller's moral critique of Thomas Paine's Deism.⁹⁶ In his second article, a book chapter in a collection of his own historical theological essays (2005), Sell summarizes Fuller's arguments against the Socinians.⁹⁷ In 2008, Aaron Jason Timmons authored a Th.M. thesis on the defense of Christ's deity in the anti-Socinian writings of John Gill, Dan Taylor, and Andrew Fuller.⁹⁸ In his monograph history of Sandemanianism (2008), John Howard Smith makes periodic reference to Fuller's criticisms of the movement.⁹⁹

In 2008, the journal *Eusebia* dedicated an issue to the topic "Reading Andrew Fuller." Several of the articles in that issue have already been referenced in this essay. Other contributions include Michael Haykin's summary of Fuller's reading habits. Fuller drank deeply from the well of Puritans and later evangelical Dissenters, Jonathan Edwards and the New Divinity men, and other Baptist writers.¹⁰⁰ Jeffrey Jue's article examines continuities and discontinuities between Fuller's views of Scripture, justification, and eschatology compared to the various Reformation and post-Reformation authors he read.¹⁰¹ Carl

Trueman offers a provocative essay on Fuller's reading of John Owen, arguing that Fuller either misunderstood or misrepresented Owen's understanding of the atonement. This was done in an effort to protect the free offer of the gospel, which Fuller (wrongly, Trueman contends) was convinced was threatened by an Owenist construal of limited atonement.¹⁰² Barry Howson's essay looks at Fuller's reading of Gill, finding that Fuller makes both positive and negative references to his alleged High Calvinist predecessor, though not very many of either, despite Gill's influence among the Particular Baptists.¹⁰³

In addition to these various studies about Fuller and his thought, Fuller is often discussed in works focused primarily upon other figures of his era. Ken Manley regularly references Fuller in his biography (2004) of Fuller's contemporary John Rippon.¹⁰⁴ Frank Rinaldi periodically discusses Fuller in his monograph (2005) on Daniel Taylor and the New Connexion of General Baptists.¹⁰⁵ In his 2010 dissertation on John Gill's soteriology, Jonathan Anthony White frequently compares Gill's views with those of Fuller.¹⁰⁶ Michael Sciretti compares Fuller's evangelical Calvinism to Anne Dutton's soteriology in his 2009 dissertation on the latter.¹⁰⁷ Cody Heath McNutt regularly references Fuller in his 2012 dissertation on Robert Hall, Jr., as does John Jin Gill in his dissertation on Alexander Carson, also completed in 2012.¹⁰⁸

PRIMARY SOURCE REPRINTS

The renaissance in Fuller Studies has been blessed with increasingly available primary sources. In the quarter century since 1988, Fuller's written corpus has been republished for the first time since the mid-nineteenth century. These reprints are both a fruit of the growing interest in Fuller and fuel for further study of him. The more accessible primary source material has become, the more scholars have become interested in Fuller's life and doctrine. During the past twenty-five years, two different editions of Fuller's works have been published, in addition to a handful of individual works and collections of shorter writings.

In 1988, Sprinkle Publications reprinted a three-volume edition of *The Complete Works of Andrew*

Fuller, which had been previously edited by Fuller's son Andrew Gunton Fuller in and revised by Joseph Belcher for the American Baptist Publication Society in 1845. Tom Nettles contributed a short preface to the first volume titled "Why Andrew Fuller?" The volume begins with a memoir of Fuller's life written by the younger Fuller. The remainder of the volume includes sermons, shorter writings on Scripture, a series of letters on systematic divinity, and a series of letters on preaching. Volume two contains Fuller's "controversial publications" against Socinianism, universalism, High Calvinism, Arminianism, anti-nomianism, and Sandemanianism. It also includes shorter writings on imputation, penal substitution, particular redemption, the nature of Calvinism, and an apology for the Baptist mission in India. Volume III includes Fuller's sermons on Genesis and Revelation, his circular letters, his biography of Samuel Pearce, and a wide variety of miscellaneous shorter writings. These three volumes, often referred to as the "Sprinkle Edition," continue to serve as the key primary sources for scholars and others interested in Fuller Studies.¹⁰⁹ In 2007, Banner of Truth reprinted the same material from an 1841 English edition in one volume. Michael Haykin wrote a short introduction to the "Banner Edition" of Fuller's works.¹¹⁰

At the turn of the twenty-first century, publishers increasingly began reprinting individual works by Fuller, mostly for popular consumption by pastors and students. Michael Haykin has edited a collection of Fuller's letters titled *The Armies of the Lamb* (2001). The anthology includes an important introductory essay by Haykin that examines Fuller's spirituality. Haykin contends that Fuller's piety was cross-centered, revival-friendly, Calvinistic, and missionary.¹¹¹ Haykin has also written a short introduction to a reprint of Fuller's 1801 memoir of his friend Samuel Pearce (2005), a fellow Particular Baptist pastor who died at age thirty-three. Pearce is sometimes called "the Baptist Brainerd" because of his reformed piety, missionary zeal, and premature death.¹¹² That same year, Solid Ground Christian Books republished Fuller's 1801 tract *The Backslider*.¹¹³ In 2009,

the same publisher reprinted Fuller's *Expository Discourses on the Book of Genesis*, first published in 1806.¹¹⁴ With the advent of print-on-demand publishing, a number of other publishers have reprinted many of Fuller's writings and various nineteenth-century biographies of Fuller. Such companies include Forgotten Books, Nabu Press, Ulan Press, Kessinger Publishing, and BiblioLife.

THE ANDREW FULLER CENTER FOR BAPTIST STUDIES

Fuller Studies received a significant boost in 2007 when The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary established The Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies (AFCBS). The AFCBS, under the leadership of Michael Haykin, now generates much of the interest in the scholarly study of Fuller and Fullerism, particularly in North America. The AFCBS hosts a website (www.andrewfullercenter.org) where Haykin and Steve Weaver regularly contribute to a blog that focuses upon Fuller and other topics in Baptist history and historical theology. The website also includes book reviews, study guides, and audio resources related to a variety of topics. Several of Haykin's journal articles and unpublished papers dedicated to Fuller are also available at the Fuller Center website. His short essay "Why Read Andrew Fuller (1754–1815)?" is a helpful resource for students and pastors who are interested in learning more about Fuller's life and thought.¹¹⁵

In addition to its website, the Fuller Center hosts a Baptist Studies conference every fall, drawing scholars from North America and the British Isles. Audio files from the conferences are available at the AFCBS website. The proceedings from past conferences are due to be published by Pickwick Press beginning in 2013. Several of those books will include material related to Fuller, some exclusively so. These include volumes on the following topics: Andrew Fuller: The Reader (2007 conference); Baptists and the Cross (2010 conference); Baptists and War (2011 conference); and Andrew Fuller and His Friends (2012 conference).¹¹⁶ The Fuller Center also sponsors a scholarly journal. The former journal, *Eusebia*, pub-

lished several Fuller-related articles and dedicated one entire issue to the theologian. The Fuller Center's current journal, *The Andrew Fuller Review*, is transitioning into a refereed scholarly journal dedicated to Fuller Studies and similar topics.

The Fuller Center is also sponsoring the most significant undertaking by scholars of Fuller Studies to date. In 2012, the AFCBS announced the forthcoming publication of a scholarly edition of *The Works of Andrew Fuller*, a project that has been in the works since 2005.¹¹⁷ The "Works Project," which is projected to include approximately fifteen volumes, will be published by Walter de Gruyter. Each volume will include a critical edition of one or more of Fuller's writings, textual annotations, extensive indices, and a substantial scholarly introductory essay. The project is modeled after the widely acclaimed Yale University Press edition of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. Michael Haykin serves as the general editor of *The Works of Andrew Fuller* and Ian H. Clary serves as associate editor. Individual volume editors include Haykin, Peter Mordey, Tom Nettles, Robert Oliver, Ryan West, Nathan Finn, Chris Chun, Crawford Gribben, Steve Weaver, Stephen Holmes, Timothy Whelan, and Michael McMullen. The first volumes are scheduled for publication in 2014.

CONCLUSION

The past quarter century has witnessed a renaissance in the study of Andrew Fuller's life, theology, and legacy. This renaissance has piggybacked on a number of scholarly trends, particularly ongoing interest in the legacies of Edwardsean theology and the spread of Global Christianity since the nineteenth century. Pastors in particular remain interested in Fuller because of his constructive contributions to Calvinistic soteriology, his stalwart commitment to evangelism and missions, and his role as a key pastor-theologian in the Baptist tradition. These topics and others have generated dozens of dissertations, theses, journal articles, book chapters, and monographs. Some of the most

helpful material will likely be published over the next decade or so, including at least one critical biography, a monographic study of Fuller's pastoral theology, a book-length treatment of Particular Baptists and the Evangelical Revival, several collections of essays, an edited companion to Fuller's thought, and the critical edition of *The Works of Andrew Fuller*.

There remains much work to be done in Fuller Studies. Current and would-be scholars should consider topics such as Fuller's theology of prayer, his ecclesiology, his exegesis, his influence upon Baptists in North America, and his controversies with Arminian and High Calvinistic critics in between the first and second editions of *Gospel Worthy*. Another worthy study would be a synthesis of Fuller's theology, much like Fred Zaspel's recent book on the theology of B. B. Warfield.¹¹⁸ Though much has been written on Fuller's view of the atonement, further investigation is needed into the continuities and discontinuities between Edwards's understanding of the cross and that of Fuller. A comparison of Fuller's evangelical Calvinism with the views of Richard Baxter, with whom Fuller was accused of sympathizing, would also be useful. (Fuller denied being a "Baxterian" in his soteriology.) Fuller's close friend John Ryland, Jr., another influential Baptist Edwardsean, still awaits a critical biography and any number of more focused studies on various aspects of his thought.

No doubt there are many other topics worth pursuing. Hopefully, a cadre of intrepid doctoral students will decide engage these topics and others, furthering the advancement of Fuller Studies for another generation. Hopefully, this bibliographic essay will help some of those scholars navigate the recent literature about Fuller's life and thought as they make their own contributions to the ongoing scholarly renaissance in Fuller Studies.

ENDNOTES

¹ I would like to thank my research assistant Josh Herring and the Inter-Library Loan department at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary for helping me to track down a number of obscure sources. Thanks also to Keith Grant and Paul Brewster for reading an earlier

draft of this essay and offering helpful suggestions.

² John Piper, *Andrew Fuller: I Will Go Down if You Will Hold the Rope!* (Minneapolis, MN: Desiring God Foundation, 2012). An e-book edition can be downloaded for free from <http://www.desiringgod.org/resource-library/books/andrew-fuller> (accessed January 11, 2013).

³ The *Baptist Magazine* published extracts from sermons preached by John Ryland, Jr., William Newman, and Joseph Ivimey. See *Baptist Magazine* 7 (1815): 510–16, available online at <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/fuller.adw.tributes.death.html> (Accessed January 25, 2013). Ryland's sermon, preached at Fuller's memorial service, was subsequently published. See Ryland, *The Indwelling and Righteousness of Christ no Security against Corporeal Death, but the Source of Spiritual and Eternal Life* (London: W. Button & Son, 1815).

⁴ J. W. Morris, ed., *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church at Kettering, and First Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society* (London: T. Hamilton, 1816); John Ryland, Jr., *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love, and the Patience of Hope, Illustrated; In the Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church at Kettering, and Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society, From its Commencement, in 1792* (London: W. Button & Son, 1816); Andrew Gunton Fuller, *Men Worth Remembering: Andrew Fuller* (London: Houghton and Stoddard, 1882).

⁵ William Cathcart, "Rev. Andrew Fuller," in *The Baptist Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia: Louie H. Everts, 1881), 421–23.

⁶ For interactions with Fuller's soteriology, see Francis Wayland, *Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches* (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1857), 18–19, and James P. Boyce, *Abstract of Systematic Theology* (1887; reprint, Cape Coral, FL: Founders Press, 2006), 312–17. For brief discussions of Fuller's christocentric ordering of his systematic divinity, see Alvah Hovey, *Manual of Systematic Theology and Christian Ethics* (Boston: Henry A. Young & Co., 1877), 17, and Augustus Hopkins Strong, *Systematic Theology: A Compendium and Commonplace Book Designed for the Use of Theological Students* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907), 1:50.

⁷ British Baptists tended to pay more attention to Andrew

Fuller than Baptists in North America. Probably the reason for this is due to provenance more than anything else.

⁸ I appreciate Keith Grant suggesting to me some of the factors discussed in this paragraph.

⁹ For example, three Southern Baptists wrote systematic theologies between 1917 and 1981. None of them mentioned Fuller in their respective works. See E. Y. Mullins, *The Christian Religion in Its Doctrinal Expression* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1917); W. T. Conner, *Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Broadman, 1937); Dale Moody, *The Word of Truth: A Summary of Christian Doctrine Based Upon Biblical Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981).

¹⁰ Because the renaissance in Fuller Studies has been led by a combination of scholars and pastors, the growing body of Fuller-related literature includes scholarly, semi-scholarly, and popular works. This essay makes reference to works in each of these categories.

¹¹ Gilbert Laws, *Andrew Fuller: Pastor, Theologian, Ropeholder* (London: Carey Press, 1942); Arthur H. Kirkby, *Andrew Fuller* (London: Independent Press, 1961).

¹² Noteworthy works include Ernest A. Payne, *The Prayer Call of 1784* (London: Carey Press, 1941), and E. F. Clipsham, "Andrew Fuller and the Baptist Mission," *Foundations* 10.1 (1967): 4–18. The relationship between Fuller and Carey remained a constant theme in biographies of Carey. For example, see Basil Miller, *William Carey: Cobbler to Missionary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1952), and John Bailey Middlebrook, *William Carey* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1961).

¹³ A. C. Underwood and Raymond Brown stand out among textbook writers in that they provided more significant treatment to Fuller's theology and ministry. See A. C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1947), 161–67, and Raymond Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Baptist Historical Society, 1986), See especially chapters 6 and 7.

¹⁴ W. R. Ward, "Baptists and the Transformation of the Church, 1780–1830," *Baptist Quarterly* 25.4 (1973): 167–84.

¹⁵ Pope Alexander Duncan, "The Influence of Andrew Fuller on Calvinism" (Th.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1917); A. H. Kirkby, "The Theol-

- ogy of Andrew Fuller in its Relation to Calvinism" (Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1956); John W. Eddins, Jr., "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace" (Th.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1957).
- ¹⁶ Edwin Allen Reed, "A Historical Study of Three Baptist Doctrines of Atonement as Seen in the Writings of John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, John Gill and Andrew Fuller" (Th.M. thesis, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, 1958).
- ¹⁷ O. C. Robison, "The Particular Baptists in England, 1760–1820" (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1963).
- ¹⁸ James E. Tull, *Shapers of Baptist Thought* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1972; reprint, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 79–100.
- ¹⁹ G. F. Nuttall, "Northamptonshire and The Modern Question: A Turning Point in Eighteenth-Century Dissent," *Journal of Theological Studies* 16.1 (1965): 101–23.
- ²⁰ E. F. Clipsham, "Andrew Fuller and Fullerism: A Study in Evangelical Calvinism: 1. The Development of Doctrine," *Baptist Quarterly* 20.3 (1963): 99–114; E. F. Clipsham, "Andrew Fuller and Fullerism: A Study in Evangelical Calvinism: 2. Fuller and John Calvin," *Baptist Quarterly* 20.4 (1963): 147–54; E. F. Clipsham, "Andrew Fuller and Fullerism: A Study in Evangelical Calvinism: 3. The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," *Baptist Quarterly* 20.5 (1965): 215–25; E. F. Clipsham, "Andrew Fuller and Fullerism: A Study in Evangelical Calvinism: 4. Fuller as a Theologian," *Baptist Quarterly* 20.6 (1964): 269–76. For Kirkby's arguments about the influence of Calvin upon Fuller, see A. H. Kirkby, "Andrew Fuller: Evangelical Calvinist," *Baptist Quarterly* 15.5 (1954): 195–202.
- ²¹ Phil Roberts, "Andrew Fuller," in *Baptist Theologians* (eds. Timothy George and David S. Dockery; Nashville: Broadman, 1990), 121–39; Tom J. Nettles, "Andrew Fuller (1754–1815)," in *The British Particular Baptists, 1638–1910* (ed. Michael A. G. Haykin; Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2000), 2:97–141. Roberts's chapter was later reprinted in Timothy George and David S. Dockery, *Theologians in the Baptist Tradition* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2001), 34–51.
- ²² E. F. Clipsham, "Fuller, Andrew," in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography 1730–1860* (ed. Donald M. Lewis; Vol 1: A–J; Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 414–15; Brian Stanley, "Fuller, Andrew," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (ed. Gerald Anderson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 230–31; William H. Brackney, "Fuller, Andrew (1754–1815)," in *Historical Dictionary of the Baptists* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 171.
- ²³ Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992). See especially chapters 1 and 2. See also R.L. Greenall, ed., *The Kettering Connection: Northamptonshire Baptists and Overseas Mission* (Leicester, UK: Department of Adult Education, University of Leicester, 1993).
- ²⁴ Timothy George, *Faithful Witness: The Life and Mission of William Carey* (Birmingham: New Hope, 1991). See especially chapters 4 and 5.
- ²⁵ Bruce Shelley, "Where Would We Be Without Staupitz?" *Christianity Today* (December 16, 1991), 31.
- ²⁶ William H. Brackney, "The Baptist Missionary Society in Proper Context: Some Reflections on the Larger Voluntary Religious Tradition," *Baptist Quarterly* 34.8 (1992): 364–77.
- ²⁷ Doyle L. Young, "The Place of Andrew Fuller in the Developing Modern Missions Movement" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981); Doyle L. Young, "Andrew Fuller and the Modern Missions Movement," *Baptist History and Heritage* 17.4 (1982): 17–27.
- ²⁸ L. G. Champion, "Evangelical Calvinism and the Structures of Baptist Church Life," *Baptist Quarterly* 28.5 (1980): 196–208.
- ²⁹ Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- ³⁰ Alan P. F. Sell, *The Great Debate: Calvinism, Arminianism, and Salvation* (Worthing, West Sussex, UK: H.E. Walter, 1982), 76–87.
- ³¹ R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and the Evangelical Revival, 1760–1820* (Wheaton: Richard Owen Roberts, 1989). See especially chapter 5.
- ³² Thomas Nettles, "Why Andrew Fuller?" *Reformation Today* 17 (January 1985): 3–6; Thomas Nettles, "Andrew Fuller and Free Grace," *Reformation Today* 17 (January 1985): 6–14.

- ³³ Thomas J. Nettles, *By His Grace and For His Glory: A Historical, Theological, and Practical Study of the Doctrines of Grace in Baptist Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1986), 108–30.
- ³⁴ Robert W. Oliver, “The Emergence of a Strict and Particular Baptist Community among the English Calvinistic Baptists” (D.Phil. thesis, London Bible College, 1986).
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- ³⁶ Thomas Kennedy Ascol, “The Doctrine of Grace: A Critical Analysis of Federalism in the Theologies of John Gill and Andrew Fuller” (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1989).
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- ³⁸ D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: Between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 122–25, 144–55.
- ³⁹ H. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* (Nashville: Broadman, 1987), 181–83.
- ⁴⁰ W. Wiley Richards, *Winds of Doctrine: The Origin and Development of Southern Baptist Theology* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 51–59.
- ⁴¹ George M. Ella, *Law & Gospel in the Theology of Andrew Fuller* (Durham, UK: Go Publications, 1996).
- ⁴² Martyn Lloyd-Jones, *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1987), 170–90.
- ⁴³ Thomas J. South, “The Response of Andrew Fuller to the Sandemanian View of Saving Faith” (Th.D. thesis, Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, 1993).
- ⁴⁴ Michael Haykin, “Andrew Fuller and the Sandemans,” *Evangelical Times* (September 1998), available online at <http://www.evangelical-times.org/archive/item/69/Historical/Defenders-of-the-faith/> (accessed January 11, 2013).
- ⁴⁵ L. Russ Bush and Tom J. Nettles, *Baptists and the Bible: The Baptist Doctrines of Biblical Inspiration and Religious Authority in Historical Perspective* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 109–19.
- ⁴⁶ Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘The Oracles of God’: Andrew Fuller and the Scriptures,” *Churchman* 103.1 (1989): 60–76.
- ⁴⁷ T. S. H. Elwyn, “Particular Baptists of the Northamptonshire Association, 1765–1820: Part 1,” *Baptist Quarterly* 36.8 (1996): 368–81; T. S. H. Elwyn, “Particular Baptists of the Northamptonshire Association, 1765–1820: Part 2,” *Baptist Quarterly* 37.1 (1997): 3–19.
- ⁴⁸ Michael A. G. Haykin, “Andrew Fuller and ‘The Promise of the Spirit,’” *Banner of Truth* 278 (November 1986): 1–8.
- ⁴⁹ Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘The Sum of All Good’: John Ryland Jr. and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” *Churchman* 103.4 (1989): 332–53.
- ⁵⁰ Michael A. G. Haykin, “A Socinian and Calvinist Compared: Joseph Priestly and Andrew Fuller on the Propriety of Prayer to Christ,” *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis* [Dutch Review of Church History] 73.2 (1993): 178–98.
- ⁵¹ Michael A. G. Haykin, “On Friendship: John Ryland and Andrew Fuller,” *Reformation Today* 140 (July–August 1994): 26–30.
- ⁵² Michael A. G. Haykin, “The Baptist Identity: A View from the Eighteenth Century,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 67.2 (April–June 1995): 137–52.
- ⁵³ Michael A. G. Haykin, “The Early Life of Andrew Fuller,” *Reformation Today* 148 (Nov–Dec 1995): 7–10.
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- ticular Baptist Life” (M.Phil. thesis, Spurgeon’s College, University of Wales, 2000).
- ⁵⁸ Michael A. G. Haykin, ‘At the Pure Fountain of the Thy Word’: Andrew Fuller as an Apologist (Studies in Baptist History and Thought; Vol. 6; Carlisle, Cumbria, UK, and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2004). For the sake of space, I will not provide a separate bibliographic entry for each chapter.
- ⁵⁹ See Gerald L. Priest, “Andrew Fuller’s Response to the ‘Modern Question’—A Reappraisal of The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation,” *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 6 (Fall 2001): 45–73, and Haykin, “The Oracles of God.”
- ⁶⁰ Paul Brewster, *Andrew Fuller: Model Pastor-Theologian*, *Studies in Baptist Life and Thought* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010). See also idem, “Andrew Fuller (1754–1815): Model Pastor-Theologian” (Ph.D. diss., Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007).
- ⁶¹ A. Chadwick Mauldin, *Fullerism as Opposed to Calvinism: A Historical and Theological Comparison of the Missiology of Andrew Fuller and John Calvin* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011). See also idem, “Fullerism as Opposed to Calvinism: A Historical and Theological Comparison of the Missiology of Andrew Fuller and John Calvin” (M.A. thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2010).
- ⁶² Chris Chun, *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller*, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* (Vol. 162; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012). See also idem, “The Greatest Instruction Received from Human Writings: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in the Theology of Andrew Fuller” (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 2008).
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- ⁶⁴ Michael A. G. Haykin, “Particular Redemption in the Writings of Andrew Fuller (1754–1815),” in *The Gospel in the World: International Baptist Studies*, *Studies in Baptist History and Thought* (ed. David Bebbington; Carlisle, Cumbria, UK, and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2002), 1:107–28; Jeremy Pittsley, “Christ’s Absolute Determination to Save: Andrew Fuller and Particular Redemption,” *Eusebia: The Bulletin of the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies* 9 (Spring 2008): 135–59.
- ⁶⁵ Bart D. Box, “The Atonement in the Thought of Andrew Fuller” (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009). Stephen Holmes differs from Box and other similar interpreters in that he argues Fuller rejected penal substitution by rejecting the idea that guilt can be transferred from one person to another. Though Holmes notes that Fuller was an evangelical, he believes Fuller was a forerunner for more liberal views of the cross. See Stephen Holmes, *The Wondrous Cross: Atonement and Penal Substitution in the Bible and History* (Bletchley, Milton Keynes, UK and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2007), 66.
- ⁶⁶ Paul Fiddes, *Tracks and Traces Baptist Identity in Church and Theology* (Studies in Baptist History and Thought; Vol. 13; Bletchley, Milton Keynes, UK and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2003), 236–37, 255–59. Stephen Holmes carries on a more explicitly evangelical engagement with Fuller in his own constructive monograph on Baptist identity. See Stephen Holmes, *Baptist Theology* (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 2012), 25–27, 61–62, 76–77.
- ⁶⁷ P. J. Morden, “Andrew Fuller and *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation*,” in *Pulpit and People: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Baptist Life and Thought* (ed. John H.Y. Briggs; Studies in Baptist History and Thought; Vol. 28; Carlisle, Cumbria, UK, and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2009), 128–51.
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⁷⁰ Kenneth Dix, *Strict and Particular: English Strict and Particular Baptists in the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxfordshire, UK: Baptist Historical Society for the Strict Baptist Historical Society, 2001).

⁷¹ Robert W. Oliver, *History of the English Calvinistic Baptists, 1771–1892: From John Gill to C.H. Spurgeon* (Edinburgh, UK and Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 2006). See especially chapters 5–8 and appendix B.

⁷² Peter Naylor, *Calvinism, Communion and the Baptists: A Study of English Calvinistic Baptists from the Late 1600s to the Early 1800s* (Studies in Baptist History and Thought; Vol. 7; Bletchley, Milton Keynes, England, and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2003). See especially chapters 9, 11, and 12.

⁷³ Chris Chun, “A Mainspring of Missionary Thought: Andrew Fuller on Natural and Moral Inability,” *American Baptist Quarterly* 25.4 (2006): 335–55; idem, “‘Sense of the Heart’: Jonathan Edwards’s Legacy in the Writing of Andrew Fuller,” *Eusebia: The Bulletin for the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies* 9 (Spring 2008): 117–34.

⁷⁴ Thomas J. Nettles, “The Influence of Jonathan Edwards on Andrew Fuller,” *Eusebia: The Bulletin for the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies* 9 (Spring 2008): 91–116.

⁷⁵ Peter Beck, “The Gospel According to Jonathan Edwards: Andrew Fuller’s appropriation of Jonathan Edwards’ *Justification by Faith Alone*,” *Eusebia: The Bulletin of The Jonathan Edwards Centre for Reformed Spirituality* (Spring 2005): 53–76.

⁷⁶ “A Significant Letter from John Ryland to Samuel Hopkins,” transcribed and edited by Daniel T. Weaver and Michael A. G. Haykin, *The Andrew Fuller Review* 3 (Summer 2012): 29–33.

⁷⁷ D. Bruce Hindmarsh, “The Reception of Jonathan Edwards by Early Evangelicals in England,” in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons* (eds. David William Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 201–21. This theme is also briefly touched upon in Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movements and Ideas in the

English-Speaking World; Vol. 1; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic, 2004), 207–08, 269.

⁷⁸ Roger Hayden, *Continuity and Change: Evangelical Calvinism among Eighteenth-Century Baptist Ministers Trained at Bristol Academy, 1690–1791* (Oxfordshire, UK: Nigel Lynn and the Baptist Historical Society, 2006).

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⁸¹ Michael A. G. Haykin, “Great Admirers of the Transatlantic Divinity: Some Chapters in the Story of Baptist Edwardseanism,” in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology* (eds. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 197–207. Edwards’s influence on Fuller is also referenced in the same volume’s introduction by the editors and the chapters written by David W. Kling and Michael J. McClymond, respectively.

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