

“A GREAT THIRST FOR READING”: ANDREW FULLER THE THEOLOGICAL READER

MICHAEL A.G. HAYKIN

“Mr. Fuller possessed considerable taste for reading: but as he had not time to consult many authors, his knowledge... was less various than profound”

—John Webster Morris

In his recent magisterial biography of William Wilberforce (1759–1833), William Hague notes that among the deepest joys of the great abolitionist’s life were his friendships and that he made it a rule to “never omit any opportunity to become acquainted with any good or useful man.”¹ This meant, as his sons later observed, that his house was “seldom free from guests,” some of whom would arrive early enough in the day to join Wilberforce at his breakfast and all of whom would provide a field for Wilberforce’s remarkable conversational skills.² Among the guests whom Wilberforce received at his home was the Baptist theologian Andrew Fuller, whose theological abilities Wilberforce deeply admired.³ On one occasion, Wilberforce endeavoured to quickly introduce Fuller to one of his sons after his arrival had been announced. “You know Andrew Fuller?” he asked him. “No, I never heard his name,” came the reply. “Oh then you must know him,” Wilberforce said, “he is an extraordinary man, whose talents have

raised him from a very low condition.” Fuller came in, Wilberforce later noted in his account of the visit by the Baptist author, “a man of considerable powers of mind,” but bearing “very plainly the *vestigia ruris*,” for he looked “the very picture of a blacksmith.”⁴ True to Wilberforce’s description, Fuller lacked formal education beyond the basics of reading and writing, but his “great thirst for reading”—something he once said of his confidant John Sutcliff (1752–1814) of Olney⁵ but a description that fit him perfectly—enabled him to become the leading Baptist theologian of his day.

Wilberforce definitely intended no ill in his phraseology, but the mention of the *vestigia ruris* recalls a frequent charge made by the Anglican establishment about the literary attainments of Dissenting ministers like Fuller. No matter how learned they were or became, it was common for eighteenth-century Anglican authors to characterize the writings of Dissent as rustic in style and wording.⁶ To be sure, this charge was not entirely without foundation. For example, when the Presbyterian Samuel Davies (1723–1761) spent eighteen months in Great Britain in the early 1750s on what turned out to be an arduous, though highly successful, fund-raising expedition for the then-fledgling College of New Jersey (later to be renamed Princeton University), he met quite a number of key British evangelicals and churchmen, among them the important London Baptist theologian, John Gill (1697–1771).⁷ In his diary Davies recorded some details of a visit he made to Gill on the morning of Wednesday, January 30, 1754—exactly a week before Fuller’s birth in the Cambridgeshire fens. Describing him as “the celebrated Baptist Minister,” he found Gill to be “a serious, grave little Man,” who was quite willing to lend his support to the American college. But Gill warned Davies not to expect much from the English Calvinistic Baptists as a whole: “in general,” he said, they “were unhappily ignorant of the importance of learning.”⁸

The Anglican charge of rusticity also stemmed, however, from two central affirmations of the literary world of Dissenters and Baptists like Fuller. First, seeking to preserve the Reformation insight of *sola scriptura*, this world emphasized that the Bible, as the inspired Word of the living God, was an utterly unique book, a claim that essentially put every other piece of literature into the shade. Second, this literary culture insisted, in clear contrast to the literary sphere of the Anglican establishment, that truly useful reading was not primarily dependent upon the level of one’s formal academic attainments such as a university degree. Rather, such

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reading was ultimately “spiritual,” that is, made possible only by the Holy Spirit, and was intimately tied to the heart.⁹ As will be seen, both of these literary convictions of the world of Dissent were foundational to Fuller’s thought about and experience of theological reading.

“THE BIBLE WAS HIS LIBRARY”: FULLER’S BIBLICISM¹⁰

The term “Bible,” Fuller was aware, went back to the Greek word *biblos*, which could be simply translated as “book.” To term the Scriptures then as “*the Bible*” suggested to Fuller that it is “the book by way of eminence, the book of books.”¹¹ It occupies such a place of pre-eminence because it is “unerring”¹² and is characterized by “Divine inspiration and infallibility.”¹³ In them God speaks and conveys knowledge about himself that can be obtained from nowhere else.¹⁴ As a good example in this regard Fuller points to the doctrine of the Trinity.¹⁵ Fuller is thus emphatic that the search for truth about God must begin at and be rooted in the Scriptures.

Many religious people appear to be contented with seeing truth in the light in which some great and good man has placed it; but if ever we enter into the gospel to purpose, it must be by reading the word of God for ourselves, and by praying and meditating upon its sacred contents. It is “in God’s light that we must see light” [cf. Psalm 36:9]... The writings of great and good men are not to be despised, any more than their preaching; only let them not be treated as oracular. The best of men, in this imperfect state, view things *partially*, and therefore are in danger of laying an improper stress upon some parts of Scripture, to the neglect of other parts of equal, and sometimes of superior importance.... If we adopt the principles of fallible men, without searching the Scriptures for ourselves, and inquiring whether or not these things be so, they will not, even allowing them to be on the side of truth, avail us, as if we had learned them from a higher authority. Our faith, in this case, will stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God.... Truth learned only at second-hand will be to us what Saul’s armour was to David; we shall be at a loss how to use it in the day of trial.¹⁶

Fuller here differentiated between the books of fallible men, albeit good thinkers, and the truth of God in Scripture. The writings of fallible men

are, at best, unable to sustain a lifetime of genuine spiritual growth. Since they stem from fallible minds, they are inevitably partial perspectives on the truth and inadequate to support the believer in a time of trial. By contrast, Scripture is a sure guide for the believer, it brings godly balance and perspective to his life, and provides him with a wholly adequate support in the face of life’s challenges. The importance Fuller placed on these convictions is evident from the fact that he made essentially the same point in an ordination or installation sermon based on Ezra 7:10. “Learn your religion from the Bible,” Fuller told the prospective minister:

Let that be your decisive rule. Adopt not a body of sentiments, or even a single sentiment, solely on the authority of any man—however great, however respected. Dare to think for yourself. Human compositions are fallible. But the Scriptures were written by men who wrote as they were inspired by the Holy Spirit.¹⁷

As the first of the above quotes makes clear, Fuller was certainly not to be classed with the majority of his fellow pastors, whom the doyen of Baptist thought during Fuller’s early days, namely, John Gill, had reckoned to be ignorant when it came to the value of learning. Perusal of Fuller’s works reveal a degree of competency in both Greek and Hebrew, and close familiarity with a number of the well-known biblical scholars of his day, men like Gill himself and the Anglican Thomas Scott (1747–1821), “the excellent commentator” as Fuller called him.¹⁸ In his preparation for preaching the text of Scripture, Fuller’s regular habit was to “consult the best expositors,” comparing their ideas about a text with his.¹⁹ Yet, Fuller—and Gill would have wholeheartedly agreed with this sentiment—firmly believed that the books of such authors should not be read as “oracular,” that is, placed on the same level as the text of the Bible. “We regard what no man did or taught as oracular,” Fuller adamantly affirmed, “unless he could prove himself Divinely inspired.”²⁰

Fuller, for instance, had a deep admiration for John Calvin (1509–1564), though he could admit in 1803 that he had not read him as deeply as another Baptist author of his day, Abraham Booth (1734–1806), had.²¹ In a catalogue of his books that Fuller drew up in the late summer of 1798, Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion* appears fourteenth on the list.²² This list also records Fuller’s ownership of Calvin’s commentaries on Acts and the Gospels.²³ Fuller’s reading of Calvin

was not as instrumental in the formulation of his theology, later known as “Fullerism,” as some have thought, though Fuller was helped by Calvin with regard to his formulation of the doctrine of imputation.²⁴ Nevertheless, Fuller was quite happy to describe himself as “a strict Calvinist,” though he was at pains to stress that this did not mean he believed everything Calvin taught. Nor, he stated, did this mean that he believed something simply because Calvin taught it.²⁵ As he argued near the close of the second edition of his *The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared* (1802): “If that system which embraces the Deity and atonement of Christ, with other correspondent doctrines, be friendly to a life of sobriety, righteousness, and godliness, it must be of God, and it becomes us to abide by it, not because it is the doctrine of Calvin or of any other man that was uninspired, but as being ‘the gospel which we have received’ from Christ and his apostles; ‘wherein we stand, and by which we are saved.’”²⁶

Even more telling in this regard is Fuller’s reading of those American theologians known as the New Divinity, in particular, Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790), Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803), John Smalley (1734–1820), Stephen West (1735–1819), and Jonathan Edwards, Jr. (1745–1801). Fuller read the works of these men avidly, and they, along with their teacher, the elder Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), occupied a central place in his literary world. As he told Edwards’ grandson, Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), during the latter’s tenure as the President of Yale College, “the writings of your grandfather, President Edwards, and of your uncle, the late Dr. Edwards, have been food to me.”²⁷ And when Bellamy’s *True Religion Delineated* (1750) was reprinted in England in 1812, Fuller wrote a preface for the edition. “Without pledging myself to advocate every sentiment contained in it,” he stated, “I do from my heart wish it may meet with a candid and careful attention from the religious public. Were the doctrines here inculcated to prevail among us, I should hope to see more true religion than I have yet seen.”²⁸

Eighteen or so years earlier, during the mid-1790s, Fuller had especially pored over the New Divinity’s writings on the atonement. In a letter to his close friend John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825), written on April 21, 1794, Fuller thanked his friend for sending him a copy of “Dr. Edwards [i.e. Jonathan Edwards, Jr.] on Free Grace and Atonement.” He had read it “with great pleasure. I suppose I read it sometime ago; but I never relished it so well before.” The following January, Fuller informed John Sutcliff that he had just received a package of pamphlets from the

younger Edwards. Among them was Stephen West's *The Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement Proposed to Careful Examination* (1785), a book that helped to make popular the governmental theory of the atonement among certain sectors of New England Calvinism. So precious did Fuller regard this item by West, that he told Sutcliff, "I w[oul]d not take 1/1 [a guinea]" for it.²⁹

Fuller subsequently embraced certain aspects of the New Divinity's governmentalism,³⁰ but he did not accept everything that he read in the books and pamphlets of his New England mentors.³¹ In the letter to Ryland, for instance, in which he praised the younger Edwards' book on the death of Christ, he admitted: "I do not coincide with every thing it contains."³² Fuller appreciated much of the thinking of the New Divinity theologians about the atonement, but he did not restrict himself to merely repeating what they wrote. This is evident from the fact that Fuller continued to talk of Christ's death in substitutionary terms.³³ Fuller was determined not to be a blind devotee of any man, no matter how gifted.

Greater even than his relish for the publications of the New Divinity men, Fuller loved the books of their teacher, Jonathan Edwards, Sr. "A great writer," Fuller once called Edwards,³⁴ and there is little doubt Fuller would have heartily endorsed the assertion by Miklós Vetö that Jonathan Edwards was "the greatest Christian theologian of the eighteenth century."³⁵ Yet, as Fuller commented to Edwards' disciple Samuel Hopkins on March 17, 1798:

I have observed that whenever an extraordinary man has been raised up, like Pres't Edwards, and who has excelled in maintaining some particular doctrine... it is usual for his followers and admirers too much to confine their attention to that doctrine, science, or manner of reasoning, as tho' all excellence was there concentrated... I must say it appears to me that some of your younger men profess a rage of imitating his metaphysical manner, till some of them become metaphysic-mad.³⁶

Given Fuller's own love for Edwards, this comment is noteworthy indeed. But it is completely in line with Fuller's fundamental biblicism.

**“A SPIRITUAL FRAME OF MIND”:
READING AS A CHRISTIAN³⁷**

Alongside this formal principle of the qualitative superiority of the Bible over all other books, Fuller also emphasized the hermeneutical principle that truly profitable reading of the Scriptures required the indwelling presence of the Spirit in the reader.³⁸ Thus, despite the fact that England had an abundance of copies of the Scriptures, a result of the invention of printing and which gave Fuller and his contemporaries a distinct advantage over many previous generations of the Church who had not had the benefit of printed texts, Fuller was not convinced that the people of his day necessarily had “more of a spiritual understanding into the mind of God.” For, as he argued:

The sacred Scripture is a rich mine abounding with substantial treasures; but it is a mine that must be worked. If we would read it to advantage, it must be with prayer and meditation. “My son,” said the wise man, “if thou incline thine ear unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding; if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures; then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God” [Proverbs 2:1-5]. A blessing is pronounced upon the man “who meditates in God’s law by day and by night. He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, which bringeth forth fruit in its season” [Psalm 1:2-3].³⁹

The Scriptures had to be read from the right perspective, namely, that of a humble dependence on the teaching ministry of the Holy Spirit. Just as the proper lighting is vital for viewing a painting, so the Scriptures must be read from the vantage-point of a “spiritual frame of mind.”⁴⁰ As Fuller told one of his correspondents, Isaac Mann (1785–1831), when the latter asked him some questions about the extent of the atonement: “Read the Bible not with a system before your eyes, but as a little child with humility & prayer.”⁴¹

Fuller never disparaged the importance of scholarship in the study of the Scriptures, as was noted above, but he regularly stressed its insufficiency if it were not coupled with a dependence upon the Holy Spirit as the illuminator of his Word. For instance, at the ordination of a Robert Fawcner in 1787, Fuller addressed the newly ordained pastor:

...the apostle exhorts that we “be not drunken with wine, wherein is excess; but filled with the Spirit” [Ephesians 5:18]. The word “filled,” here, is very expressive; it denotes, I apprehend, being overcome, as it were, with the holy influences and fruits of the blessed Spirit. How necessary is all this, my brother, in your work! Oh how necessary is ‘an unction from the Holy One!’ [1 John 2:20]. It is this that will enable you to enter into the spirit of the gospel, and preserve you from destructive errors concerning it.... We shall naturally fall in with the dictates of that spirit of which we are full. It is for want of this, in a great measure, that the Scriptures appear strange, and foreign, and difficult to be understood.... It is no breach of charity to say, that if the professors of Christianity had more of the Holy Spirit of God in their hearts, there would be a greater harmony among them respecting the great truths which he has revealed.⁴²

Again, in his criticism of some of the views of Robert Robinson (1735–1790), one of a handful of eighteenth-century Calvinistic Baptists who strayed from biblical orthodoxy,⁴³ Fuller stated his conviction that there are “truths in the Holy Scriptures—truths, too, which constitute the essence and glory of the gospel—truths the discernment and belief of which form the essence of true religion, which cannot be admitted without an answerable disposition; and... this disposition must be produced by the Holy Spirit.”⁴⁴

Not only must the Scriptures be read from the proper vantage point, but Fuller was also convinced that when the Scriptures—along with what he called “other useful publications”⁴⁵—were read in such a way, this reading entailed the transformation of the reader, for, as Fuller was fond of saying, “the company we keep, and the books we read, insensibly form us into the same likeness.”⁴⁶ Along with meditation and prayer, Fuller thus listed “reading” among the means of grace that the Spirit uses to cultivate Christian maturity.⁴⁷ And to ensure the full impact of the transformative reading the Bible, Fuller further recommended reading by oneself. Then, one can “read and pause, and think, and apply” the text to one’s life in a way that is not possible when others are present.⁴⁸ Such solitary reading was, however, not divorced from the larger context of the Christian community. As Fuller observed in a beautiful passage about the way truth gains ground: it is not by “converting the pulpit into a stage of strife... that truth is promoted.” Rather, it is “by reading, by

calm and serious reflection, by humble prayer, and by a free and friendly communication of our thoughts to one another in private conversation, that truth makes progress.”⁴⁹

It is in a tract on the factors involved in spiritual decline and revival that Fuller highlighted the transformative effects of reading Scripture. Fuller was concerned to discover why it was that “the bulk of Christians” in his day were “very deficient in spirituality, and come far short of the primitive Christians in a close walk with God.”⁵⁰ Fuller isolated three key reasons for this spiritual declension: a neglect of meditative and prayerful reading of the Scriptures; a failure to pray biblically; and a toleration of habitual sin.⁵¹ Addressing the first of these causes, Fuller noted that it has ever been “the pleasure of God to ‘magnify his word more than all his name.’” And the Baptist divine continued, “if we are under the influence of a right spirit, we shall magnify it too.” The “neglect of reading, meditating, and praying” over the Scriptures lies at the heart of “almost all the remarkable declensions in the church of God.” Conversely, when there have been “seasons of revival and reformation” in church history, the “grand means” of such times of spiritual renewal has been the Scriptures.⁵² As Fuller stressed, “it is by the knowledge of its sacred truths that we are freed from the slavery of sin, and our spirits sanctified.”

Now, the main scriptural text that Fuller cited in this tract to support his affirmation about the transformative effects of Scripture was 2 Corinthians 3:18. “In it,” that is, from the knowledge gained by a Spirit-directed reading of Scripture, Fuller maintained, “we behold the glory of the Lord, and are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of God.”⁵³ Such a logocentric reading of this profound passage has, however, little support from either the verse or its context. Paul’s point is rather Christological and pneumatological: it is by gazing upon the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ that the Spirit changes believers into the likeness of Christ.⁵⁴ But Fuller’s logocentric reading of this text is a good reminder of how utterly central the Scriptures were to his own life and that of his Baptist community.

Fuller also appreciated the way in which Christian literature in addition to the Bible could have a transformative impact upon the lives of people. This had been very much his own experience. As a young man, reading the autobiography of John Bunyan (1628–1688), *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), as well as Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678/1684), and works by the Scottish Presbyterian Ralph Erskine

(1685–1752) had reduced him to weeping over his spiritual state and had played a role in his conversion in the late 1760s.⁵⁵ Over a decade later, in August of 1780, while reading an account of the ministry of the New England Puritan John Eliot (1604–1690) among Native Americans in Massachusetts, Fuller found his “soul drawn out in love to poor souls” who were lost in sin and his mind being compelled to re-think the way he did evangelism.⁵⁶ Then, reading and meditating on the life of another Puritan, James Janeway (1636–1674), in 1785, Fuller recorded in his diary, “Read part of the life of J. Janeway to-day, with much conviction and tenderness. O my life, how low to his!”⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, Fuller urged believers to “read the lives of holy men,” men like the Puritans mentioned above or “an Edwards, a [David] Brainerd, and a [Samuel] Pearce” and so learn something of the way the Gospel can change a life.⁵⁸

Edwards and Brainerd are still well-known names to today’s Christian world. Samuel Pearce (1766–1799) was one of Fuller’s closest friends and the subject of Fuller’s sole book-length biography. Known to contemporaries as the “Seraphic Pearce,”⁵⁹ he was in the words of E.F. Cliphsham, “a man of outstanding spirituality.”⁶⁰ Pearce’s life had been especially marked by a deep passion for the salvation of sinners and a profound missionary spirituality rooted in the glory of God, and Fuller was determined that the story of his life be told. In Pearce’s final days Fuller had accordingly informed Pearce of his plans to write such a memoir. You need not fear, he wrote to Pearce on August 30, 1799, “that I will puff off your character any more than you would mine. We are all of us, God knows it, poor unworthy creatures. Yet the truth may be told to the glory of sovereign grace; and I long to express my inextinguishable affection for you.”⁶¹ Fuller’s *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Pearce, M.A.* (1800)⁶² went through five editions by 1819 in England alone and was reprinted numerous times in the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic. In many ways it became the definitive spiritual classic of the early days of the modern missionary movement and holds an important place in what Dewey Wallace has called the “rich hagiographical tradition” of Protestantism.⁶³

In his “Concluding Reflections” to this biography of Pearce, Fuller noted that:

The great ends of Christian biography are instruction and example.
By faithfully describing the lives of men eminent for godliness, we

not only embalm their memory, but furnish ourselves with fresh materials and motives for a holy life. It is abundantly more impressive to view the religion of Jesus as operating in a living character than to contemplate it abstractedly. For this reason we may suppose the Lord the Spirit has condescended to exhibit, first and principally, the life of Christ; and, after his, that of many of his eminent followers. And for this reason he by his holy influences still furnishes the church with now and then a singular example of godliness, which it is our duty to notice and record. There can be no reasonable doubt that the life of Mr. Pearce ought to be considered as one of these examples. May that same Divine Spirit who had manifestly so great a hand in forming his character teach us to derive from it both instruction and edification.⁶⁴

Here, *in nuce*, is Fuller’s understanding of why Christians need to read the biographies of godly believers: they provide instruction and inspiration for living lives of holiness. In other words, such reading helps to form and shape Christian character.

A “CONSIDERABLE TASTE FOR READING”: FAVOURITE AUTHORS, PERSONAL LIBRARY AND READING HABITS

In the years following Fuller’s death in 1815, two memoirs of his life appeared. Both of them were written by men who had known Fuller well. The first was by John Ryland, Jr., “his oldest and most intimate friend,” the head of Bristol Baptist Academy and whom Fuller had asked to preach his funeral sermon.⁶⁵ The second was by John Webster Morris (1763–1836), also a friend of Fuller and a pastor, but one whom Fuller had seen little of after 1809. In addition to his pastoring, Morris had operated a publishing house, but in 1809 he had had to declare bankruptcy and was subsequently forced to leave pastoral ministry.⁶⁶ Morris’ memoir is definitely more critical of Fuller than that by Ryland.⁶⁷ Near the end of it, Morris has a noteworthy comment on Fuller’s reading habits and library.

Mr. Fuller possessed considerable taste for reading; but as he had not time to consult many authors, his knowledge of course was less various than profound; and for the generality of modern publications especially, he entertained no very high esteem. His library for several years was not much larger than John Bunyan’s, consisting

chiefly of a scanty collection of the writings of the Puritans, and those of the New-England school. He was very partial to Owen and Bunyan. The Holy War he considered as the ablest of Bunyan's works, written on true metaphysical principles, without any of the parade of argument. Owen on Indwelling Sin, and on Spiritual Mindedness, displayed, as he thought, a depth of judgment, and a knowledge of human nature, scarcely to be found in any other author. President Edwards on the Will, and also on the Affections, he constantly recommended; the one as containing the ablest defence of theological theses, and the other as delineating the genuine nature of experimental piety.⁶⁸

The three authors whom Morris specifically names were undoubtedly Fuller's favourite authors: John Bunyan, John Owen (1616–1683), and Jonathan Edwards. Fuller's appreciation for the works of Edwards and Bunyan has already been noted. Nearly as great as his love of Edwards' writings was his admiration for the books of John Owen.⁶⁹ Reading a work by this Puritan divine in the late summer of 1784, for instance, Fuller confessed to feeling “almost a sacred reverence for his character.”⁷⁰

As for Fuller's library, according to Morris, it consisted “chiefly of a scanty collection of the writings of the Puritans, and those of the New-England school,” that is the New Divinity men. Going through the list of books in his library that Fuller compiled in 1798, in which he mentioned by title around 310 books,⁷¹ as well as a few pamphlets, there are indeed a number by Puritan authors, some fifteen, including five by Owen. The works by “the New-England school,” if we include those of the elder Edwards, amount to about thirty-one, a tenth or so of the entire library.⁷² Morris thus clearly exaggerated when he described Fuller's personal library as being “chiefly... a scanty collection” of Puritan and New Divinity works. Moreover, as for its size, it is noteworthy that the library of Fuller's theological mentor Jonathan Edwards was only 301 volumes at the time of Edwards' death along with some 536 pamphlets.⁷³ In fact, a typical library of an eighteenth-century Baptist minister would have been between two hundred and three hundred volumes.⁷⁴ Known exceptions would have been Fuller's friend John Sutcliff, who, according to Fuller himself, had accumulated “one of the best libraries” in Buckinghamshire and the surrounding counties.⁷⁵ The London divine John Gill had also acquired a substantial library. His books filled several

rooms in the upstairs of his home, and one of his nieces, a Jane Blason, who was later in the employ of an aristocrat, commented that she never saw a comparable library in all of the great houses she visited.⁷⁶ This means that Gill’s library might well have contained upwards of three thousand books. Fuller’s library was much more modest, but, as John Walsh has noted of eighteenth-century reading habits, in a day when pastors and theologians owned fewer books than a typical minister today, those books “were far more highly prized and more deeply pondered.”⁷⁷

Although the vast majority of Fuller’s books were works of theology, which is not surprising, there was a smattering of philosophy, like *On Human Understanding* by John Locke (1632–1704) and a number of works by Deists, including one by Voltaire (1694–1778). There was also a good number of books by Anglican writers, including a copy of *The Book of Common Prayer*. As for Baptist authors, what is striking is that there are none from the seventeenth century apart from Bunyan. A good number of eighteenth-century Baptists are represented, however. Obviously there was Gill, whose *Body of Divinity* (1769–1770) and commentary on the Scriptures was *sine qua non* for every Baptist pastor of Fuller’s day.⁷⁸ Then, there were books by Fuller’s close friends Ryland and Pearce, as well as Baptist pastor-theologians who had been an enormous help to Fuller theologically, men such as Abraham Booth, Caleb Evans (1737–1791), the Principal of Bristol Baptist Academy, and Robert Hall, Sr. (1728–1791), of Arnesby, Leicestershire. Three Baptist hymnals—those of Joseph Stennett I (1663–1713), John Fawcett (1740–1817), and John Rippon (1751–1836), whose hymnal was the most influential hymn book in Baptist circles well into the nineteenth century⁷⁹—from which Fuller nourished a deep love for hymnody and poetry.

In the above quote from Morris, he stated that Fuller “entertained no very high esteem” for “the generality of modern publications.” While there is little doubt that Morris knew Fuller well, this comment simply does not reflect the reality of Fuller’s reading. Fuller certainly had no taste for the infidelity current in his day, typified by the writings of men like the Deist Thomas Paine or the Socinian Joseph Priestley (1733–1804).⁸⁰ But he had a profound respect for the writings of various contemporary Paedobaptists, like the disciples of Jonathan Edwards mentioned earlier, or for those of a good number of Baptist authors, like those mentioned above, whom he knew personally. **E**

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DR. MICHAEL A.G. HAYKIN is Professor of Church History and Biblical Spirituality at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. He is also the Director of The Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies. He is the author of numerous articles and books like, *The Armies of the Lamb: The Spirituality of Andrew Fuller* (Joshua Press, 2002) and *The God Who Draws Near: An Introduction to Biblical Spirituality* (Evangelical Press, 2007).

ENDNOTES

1 *William Wilberforce: The Life of the Great Anti-Slave Trade Campaigner* (London: HarperCollins, 2007), 506.

2 Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce* (London: John Murray, 1839), III, 388.

3 Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, III, 389.

4 Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, III, 389. Hague does not mention Wilberforce's friendship with Fuller. Even more striking is the omission by Hague of any mention of William Carey (1761–1834), Fuller's close friend, especially in view of the space devoted by Hague to Wilberforce's role in securing the freedom for British missionaries to minister in India.

5 The quote is taken from Fuller's funeral sermon for Sutcliff: *Principles and Prospects of a Servant of Christ in The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, revised Joseph Belcher (1845 ed.; repr. Harrisonburg, Virginia: Sprinkle Publications, 1988), I, 354.

Comparatively little research has been done on the life or theology of John Sutcliff. There is a biographical sketch by Fuller attached to his funeral sermon for Sutcliff: *Principles and Prospects of a Servant of Christ (Complete Works, I, 349-356)*. Kenneth W. H. Howard, who was pastor of Sutcliff Baptist Church in Olney from 1949–1954, has written a fine biographical piece: “John Sutcliff of Olney,” *The Baptist Quarterly*, 14 (1951–1952), 304–309. More recently, I have written *One heart and one soul: John Sutcliff of Olney, his friends, and his times* (Darlington, Co. Durham: Evangelical Press, 1994).

6 David D. Hall, “The Literary Practices of Dissent” in Kevin Herlihy, ed., *Propagating the Word of Irish Dissent 1650–1800* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 21.

7 The standard biographical sketch of Gill is John Rippon, *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. John Gill, D.D.* (Repr. Harrisonburg, Virginia: Gano Books, 1992). For more recent studies of Gill and his theology, see Graham Harrison, *Dr. John Gill and His Teaching* (Annual Lecture of The Evangelical Library; London: The Evangelical Library, 1971); Tom 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 Book House, 1986), 73-107, *passim*; George M. Ella, *John Gill and the Cause of God and Truth* (Eggleston, Co. Durham: Go Publications, 1995); Michael A.G. Haykin, ed., *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697-1771): A Tercentennial Appreciation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997); and Timothy George, “John Gill” in his and David S. Dockery, eds., *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (Rev. ed.; Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 11-33.

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8 *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753–55*, ed. George William Pilcher (Urbana/Chicago/Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 65.

9 Hall, “Literary Practices of Dissent”, 11–23, *passim*.

10 The quote is from J.W. Morris, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller* (New ed.; London: Wightman and Cramp, 1826), 359. For an extended treatment that well discloses Fuller’s attitude towards the Scriptures, see *The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared, as to their Moral Tendency* (*Complete Works*, II, 195–206). For a brief overview of Fuller’s biblicism, see also Peter Morden, *Offering Christ to the World: Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) and the Revival of Eighteenth-Century Particular Baptist Life*. Studies in Baptist History and Thought (Carlisle, Cumbria/Waynesboro, Georgia: Paternoster Press, 2003), 36–38.

11 “The Apostolic Office” (*Complete Works*, III, 498–499).

12 *On Spiritual Declension and the Means of Revival* (*Complete Works*, III, 629).

13 *The Nature and Importance of an Intimate Knowledge of Divine Truth* (*Complete Works*, I, 160). In his *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems* (*Complete Works*, II, 196) Fuller noted that the “Scriptures profess to be Divinely inspired, and assume to be the infallible standard of faith and practice.”

14 *Nature and Importance of an Intimate Knowledge of Divine Truth* (*Complete Works*, I, 160–161).

15 *Nature and Importance of an Intimate Knowledge of Divine Truth* (*Complete Works*, I, 160–163).

16 *Nature and Importance of an Intimate Knowledge of Divine Truth* (*Complete Works*, I, 164).

17 *On an Intimate and Practical Acquaintance with the Word of God* (*Complete Works*, I, 483).

18 “Spiritual Pride” (*Complete Works*, III, 565, n.*). For other references to Scott by Fuller, see *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems* (*Complete Works*, II, 161, n.*); *The Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord’s Supper Inconsistent with the New Testament* (*Complete Writings*, III, 512); “Remarks on Two Sermons by W.W. Horne of Yarmouth” (*Complete Works*, III, 582, n.*); “Reviews: The Rev. Thomas Scott’s ‘Warrant and Nature of Faith,’ etc.” (*Complete Writings*, III, 749–752); “Reviews: The Rev. A. Booth’s ‘Glad Tidings,’ etc.” (*Complete Writings*, III, 752–753).

For two older biographies of Scott, see John Scott, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott* (London: L. B. Seeley, 1822) and A.C. Downer, *Thomas Scott the Commentator* (London: Chas. J. Thyne, 1909). For a recent sketch, see D.B. Hindmarsh, “Scott, Thomas” in Timothy Larsen, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press/Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 591–593. Hindmarsh describes Scott as “probably the most intellectually capable and theologically astute evangelical clergyman in the Church of England in his generation” (“Scott, Thomas”, 593).

For Fuller’s reading of Gill, see Barry Howson’s article, “Andrew Fuller’s Reading of John Gill,” in this issue.

19 *Thoughts on Preaching* (*Complete Works*, I, 714). See also *Thoughts on Preaching* (*Complete Works*, I, 718); *The Young Minister Exhorted to Make Full Proof of His*

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Ministry (Works, I, 520); “Reading the Scriptures” (*Complete Works*, III, 788-789); and the comment of John H. Watson, “Baptists and the Bible as Seen in Three Eminent Baptists”, *Foundations*, 16 (1973), 248.

20 *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems* (*Complete Works*, II, 165). See also “Reviews: Mr. Bevan’s Defence of the Christian Doctrines of the Society of Friends” (*Complete Works*, III, 759).

21 *Six Letters to Dr. Ryland respecting the Controversy with the Rev. A. Booth* (*Complete Works*, II, 711). For actual quotations from Calvin’s writings, see *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems* (*Complete Works*, II, 240); *Three Conversations: Imputation, Substitution, and Particular Redemption* (*Complete Works*, II, 682, 684). For others, see E.F. Clipsham, “Andrew Fuller and Fullerism: A Study in Evangelical Calvinism. 2. Fuller and John Calvin”, *The Baptist Quarterly*, 20 (1963-1964), 146-154.

22 “List of Books belonging to Andrew Fuller of Kettering” (Ms. G95B, Bristol Baptist College Library, Bristol, England). Peter Morden (*Offering Christ to the World*, 35, n.42) places it as no.15, but it is actually no.14.

23 “List of Books belonging to Andrew Fuller of Kettering”, nos.126 and 127.

24 See Clipsham, “Andrew Fuller and Fullerism”, 152, for this point.

25 Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 77).

26 *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems* (*Complete Works*, II, 233).

27 Letter to Timothy Dwight, June 1, 1805 [cited Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 85)].

28 “Address to the Editor” in Joseph Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated* (3rd ed.; repr. London, 1812), vii.

29 Letter to John Ryland, April 21, 1794, in John Ryland, Jr., *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love, and the Patience of Hope Illustrated; in the Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller* (London: Button & Son, 1816), 365-366; Letter to John Sutcliffe, January 22, 1795 (Letters of Andrew Fuller, typescript transcript, Angus Library, Regent’s Park College, Oxford).

30 For more details, see Michael A.G. Haykin, “Particular Redemption in the Writings of Andrew Fuller (1754-1815)” in David Bebbington, ed., *The Gospel in the World: International Baptist Studies* (*Studies in Baptist History and Thought*, vol.1; Carlisle, Cumbria/Waynesboro, Georgia: Paternoster Press, 2002), 107-128.

31 See Morris, *Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 295-299; Morden, *Offering Christ to the World*, 93-97.

32 Letter to John Ryland, April 21, 1794 in Ryland, *Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller*, 366.

33 Robert W. Oliver, “The Emergence of a Strict and Particular Baptist Community among the English Calvinistic Baptists 1770-1850” (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Council for National Academic Awards, 1986), 113-114; Thomas Kennedy Ascol, “The Doctrine of Grace: A Critical Analysis of Federalism in the Theologies of John Gill and Andrew Fuller” (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1989), 212, n.88.

34 *Expository Discourses on the Book of Genesis, interspersed with Practical Reflections* (*Complete Works*, I, 63). For the elder Edwards’ influence on Fuller, see Roger Hayden, *Continuity and Change: Evangelical Calvinism among eighteenth-century*

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Baptist ministers trained at Bristol Baptist Academy, 1690-1791 (Milton under Wyckwood, Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire: Nigel Lynn Publishing & Marketing for Rev. Dr. Roger Hayden and the Baptist Historical Society, 2006), 203-204; see also Tom Nettles' article, "The Influence of Jonathan Edwards on Andrew Fuller," in this issue.

35 "Book Reviews: *America's Theologian: A Recommendation of Jonathan Edwards*. By Robert W. Jensen", *Church History*, 58 (1989), 522.

36 Allen C. Guelzo, *Edwards on the Will. A Century of American Theological Debate* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 88. As Fuller observed in *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, or the Duty of Sinners to Believe in Jesus Christ* (2nd ed.; *Complete Works*, II, 397): "Truth ought to be dearer to us than the greatest or best of men." See also Fuller's defense of closed communion, where, against those who cited the piety of the paedobaptists "[John] Owen, [Isaac] Watts, [Philip] Doddridge, [Jonathan] Edwards" as a reason to have the Lord's Table open to all believers, Fuller maintained that "if it were a question of feeling, their names would doubtless have weight; but if it relate to the revealed will of Christ, they weigh nothing" [*The Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord's Supper Inconsistent with the New Testament (Complete Writings*, III, 509)].

37 The quote is from "Reading the Scriptures" (*Complete Works*, III, 788).

38 David Hall traces this hermeneutical principle back to the Reformation: "Literary Practices of Dissent", 17.

39 *On Spiritual Declension and the Means of Revival (Complete Writings*, III, 617).

40 "Reading the Scriptures" (*Complete Works*, III, 788). Fuller attributed this observation to his friend Samuel Pearce (1766-1799) of Birmingham. See also *Habitual Devotedness to the Ministry (Complete Works*, I, 507): "A spiritual state of mind is the best expositor."

Conversely, in his rebuttal of the attacks that Thomas Paine (1737–1809) levelled at Christianity in *The Age of Reason* (1794, 1795), Fuller observed: "Mr. Paine's spirit is sufficiently apparent in his pages, and that of the sacred writers in theirs. So far from writing as they wrote, he cannot understand their writings. That which the Scriptures teach on this subject is sufficiently verified in him, and all others of his spirit: 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned' [1 Corinthians 2:14]. As easily might the loveliness of chastity be perceived, or the pleasures of a good conscience appreciated, by a debauchee, as the things of God be received by a mind like that of Mr. Paine." [*The Gospel Its Own Witness (Complete Works*, II, 73)]. In sum, "Paine read the Scriptures to pervert and vilify them" [*The Satisfaction Derived from Godly Simplicity (Complete Writings*, I, 540)]. As Fuller had noted in *A Defence of a Treatise entitled The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation containing A Reply to Mr. Button's Remarks and The Observations of Philanthropos (Complete Works*, II, 459): "Reading controversies may be advantageous, or it may be hurtful; and that according to the spirit with which it is attended to."

41 Letter to Isaac Mann, September 2, 1806 (Letters of Andrew Fuller). It needs to be noted that Fuller's biblicism was qualitatively different from that which

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accompanied the anti-creedalism that prevailed in many quarters of the transatlantic Baptist community in the nineteenth century. See his “Creeds and Subscriptions” (*Complete Works*, III, 449–451) and *Nature and Importance of an Intimate Knowledge of Divine Truth* (*Complete Works*, I, 164–165), where Fuller affirms the necessity of both creedal statements and systematic theology.

42 *The Qualifications and Encouragement of a Faithful Minister Illustrated by the Character and Success of Barnabas* (*Complete Works*, I, 138–139).

43 On the life and thought of Robert Robinson, see especially Graham W. Hughes, *With Freedom Fired. The Story of Robert Robinson Cambridge Nonconformist* (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1955); L.G. Champion, “Robert Robinson: A Pastor In Cambridge”, *The Baptist Quarterly*, 31 (1985–1986), 241–246; Len Addicott, “Introduction” to his, L.G. Champion, and K.A.C. Parsons, eds., *Church Book: St Andrew’s Street Baptist Church, Cambridge 1720–1832* ([London]: Baptist Historical Society, 1991), viii–xviii; Karen Smith, “The Liberty Not to Be a Christian: Robert Robinson (1735–1790) of Cambridge and Freedom of Conscience” in Marc A. Jolley with John D. Pierce, eds., *Distinctively Baptist: Essays on Baptist History. A Festschrift in Honor of Walter B. Shurden* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2005), 151–170; Michael A.G. Haykin, “Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing”: Robert Robinson’s Hymnic Celebration of Sovereign Grace” in Steve West, ed., *Ministry of Grace: Essays in Honor of John G. Reisinger* (Frederick, Maryland: New Covenant Media, 2007), 31–43.

44 *Strictures on Some of the Leading Sentiments of Mr. R. Robinson* (*Complete Works*, III, 604). Similarly Fuller argued, “We may be acquainted with the original languages, and be able to criticise texts; and yet not discern the mind of the Spirit. ‘Spiritual things must be spiritual discerned’ [cf. 1 Corinthians 2:13–14].”

Cf. the following statement made by Thomas Scott on May 24, 1794 in a letter to John Ryland, Jr.: “If we once think ourselves competent to understand the Bible by dint of our own sagacity, and skill in languages and criticism, without an immediate and continual dependence upon the teaching of the Holy Spirit, we are within a few paces of some dreadful downfall. Witness [Martin] Madan... and R. Robinson; who in their several publications... either expressly disavow, or tacitly pass by the mention of such a dependence.” (cited Scott, *Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott*, 247). See also Watson, “Baptists and the Bible”, 248–249.

45 *Spiritual Pride* (*Complete Writings*, III, 571).

46 Letter to Mr. and Mrs. James Chater and Mr. and Mrs. William Robinson, April 5, 1806 [cited Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 87)]. See also *Thoughts on Preaching* (*Complete Works*, I, 714); *The Backslider* (*Complete Works*, III, 654); “Progressiveness of Sin and of Holiness” (*Complete Works*, III, 665): “The more we read the Holy Scriptures, the more we shall imbibe their spirit, and be formed by them as by a model.”

47 *True Wisdom* (*Complete Writings*, I, 466). See also “Inward Witness of the Spirit” (*Complete Writings*, I, 625), where “reading... the word” is noted as a means that God uses to bring people to “embrace the gospel way of salvation”; “Truth the Object of Angelical Research” (*Complete Writings*, I, 663); *Spiritual Pride* (*Complete Writings*, III, 566): “Conscience becomes more enlightened by reading and hearing

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the word”; *The Increase of Knowledge* (*Complete Works*, I, 418): “We have a written religion; and though it is not essential to salvation that we should be able to read and write, yet these are essential to our making any considerable proficiency in the knowledge of God.”

48 *The Backslider* (*Complete Works*, III, 654).

49 “Remarks on Two Sermons by W.W. Horne” (*Complete Works*, III, 582). Cf. a remark by Fuller in a letter to Thomas Steevens (1745–1802), pastor of Colchester Baptist Church, Essex, with reference to criticism of his theology in Norfolk and Suffolk: “though you think me fond of fighting, I am too much a lover of peace and quietness, to embroil myself in unnecessary disputes, and which, in that case, I suppose, would be like a bear with his nose in a wasp’s nest” [Letter to Thomas Steevens, May 18, 1793 in “Extracts from the late Rev. A. Fuller’s Correspondence with the late Rev. Mr. Steevens, of Colchester”, *The Baptist Magazine*, 8 (1816), 454].

50 *Spiritual Declension* (*Complete Writings*, III, 615).

51 *Spiritual Declension* (*Complete Writings*, III, 616–626).

52 *Spiritual Declension* (*Complete Writings*, III, 616).

53 *Spiritual Declension* (*Complete Writings*, III, 616). For two other examples of this way of reading 2 Corinthians 3:18, see *Socinianism Indefensible on the Ground of its Moral Tendency* (*Complete Works*, II, 251) and “Progressiveness of Sin and of Holiness” (*Complete Works*, III, 665).

For other citations of this Pauline text by Fuller, see *Strictures on Sandemanianism* (*Complete Works*, II, 599, 603 [in a quote from Jonathan Edwards]). In an early use of this text, in the sermon *The Nature and Importance of Walking by Faith* (1784), Fuller considered faith as the means of transformation “from glory to glory” (*Complete Works*, I, 119).

54 See Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 309–320.

55 Letters to Charles Stuart, 1798 [cited Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 3, 5)]. His liking for Bunyan’s works, especially Bunyan’s *Holy War*, stayed with him all of his life. See Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 44); “Political Self-Righteousness” (*Complete Writings*, III, 676); Morris, *Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 359.

56 Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 23). On his re-thinking evangelism, see below.

57 Cited Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, I, 44).

58 “Reviews: Memoirs of Rev. James Garie” (*Complete Works*, III, 756); “Remarks on Two Sermons by W.W. Horne” (*Complete Works*, III, 582).

59 See, for example, *The Life and Letters of John Angell James*, ed. R. W. Dale (3rd ed.; London: James Nisbet and Co., 1861), 67; John Angell James, *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times* (4th ed.; London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1848), 272. The phrase appears to have originated with Pearce’s friend, John Ryland, Jr.: see Ernest A. Payne, “Samuel Pearce” in his *The First Generation: Early Leaders of the Baptist Missionary Society in England and America* (London: Carey Press, 1936), 46.

60 “Pearce, Samuel”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H.C.G.

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Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 43:286.

61 Letter to Samuel Pearce, August 30, 1799 (Letters of Andrew Fuller).

62 *Complete Works*, III, 367–446. On the life and ministry of Pearce, see, in addition to Fuller’s memoir, S. Pearce Carey, *Samuel Pearce, M. A., The Baptist Brainerd* (3rd ed.; London: The Carey Press, n.d.); Michael A.G. Haykin, “Samuel Pearce: Extracts from a Diary: Calvinist Baptist Spirituality in the Eighteenth Century”, *The Banner of Truth*, 279 (December 1986), 9–18; *idem*, “Calvinistic Piety illustrated: A study of the piety of Samuel Pearce on the bicentennial of the death of his wife Sarah,” *Eusebeia*, 2 (Spring 2004), 5–27.

63 “The Image of Saintliness in Puritan Hagiography” in John E. Booty, ed., *The Divine Drama in History and Liturgy. Essays presented to Horton Davies on his Retirement from Princeton University* (Allison Park, Pennsylvania: Pickwick Publications, 1984), 24.

64 *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Pearce, M.A. (Complete Works, III, 444).*

65 *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love, and the Patience of Hope Illustrated; in the Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller* (London: Button & Son, 1816; 2nd ed. 1818). For the quote, see *Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller*, vi.

66 On Morris, see Haykin, *One heart and one soul, passim*, but especially, 279–286. For his memoir of Fuller, see *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller* (New ed.; London: Wightman and Cramp, 1826). A first edition had appeared in 1816.

67 See also the remarks of Morden, *Offering Christ to the World*, 2, on Morris as a biographer.

68 *Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 359.

69 See Carl Trueman’s article, “John Owen and Andrew Fuller,” in this issue.

70 Andrew Gunton Fuller, “Memoir” (*Complete Works*, 42).

71 A few of these titles consisted of multiple volumes, like the nine-volume edition of John Gill’s *Exposition of the New Testament* (1746–1748) and *Exposition of the Old Testament* (1763–1766).

72 “List of Books belonging to Andrew Fuller.”

73 “Jonathan Edwards’ Last Will, and the Inventory of His Estate” in Michael A.G. Haykin, ed., *A Sweet Flame: Piety in the Letters of Jonathan Edwards* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 164, n.2).

74 E-mail letter from Peter Thuesen to author, August 22, 2007. Not many Baptist libraries of this era have survived, but there is that of the Gloucestershire Baptist Benjamin Beddome (1717–1795), now housed in the Angus Library, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford, which has just under three hundred volumes.

Also, for a fascinating discussion of an eighteenth-century Irish Baptist library, see Elizabethanne Boran, “Education and Dissemination of the Word: A Baptist Library in the Eighteenth Century” in Herlihy, ed., *Propagating the Word of Irish Dissent*, 114–132.

75 *Principles and Prospects of a Servant of Christ (Complete Works, I, 354, n.*)*.

76 Rippon, *Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. John Gill, D.D.*,

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77 “Origins of the Evangelical Revival” in G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh, eds., *Essays in Modern English Church History in Memory of Norman Sykes* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966), 159.

78 “List of Books belonging to Andrew Fuller”, nos. 9 and 136.

79 Rippon’s hymnal was used by Fuller’s congregation at Kettering, as he notes in his listing of his books when he states that in addition to his own copy of this hymnal there was “also 1 in pulpit” (“List of Books belonging to Andrew Fuller”).

80 Michael A.G. Haykin, “‘The Oracles of God’: Andrew Fuller’s Response to Deism” in Michael A.G. Haykin, ed., *‘At the Pure Fountain of Thy Word’: Andrew Fuller as an Apologist* (Carlisle, Cumbria, U. K. /Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press, 2004), 122–138 and idem, “A Socinian and Calvinist Compared: Joseph Priestley and Andrew Fuller on the Propriety of Prayer to Christ,” *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 73 (1993), 178–198.