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THE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
OF DR. JOHN EDWARDS
OF CAMBRIDGE.
(1637-1716)

A Thesis
Presented to

THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY, NEW COLLEGE,
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree,
Doctor of Philosophy,

by

HERMON STEVENS RAY,
May, 1956.
To
Rayberta, Charles and
Mary Esther
with
Faith, Hope and Love.
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PREFACE.

It was my original hope to make the theology of Charles Simeon and his influence within the Church of England the subject of my research. However, inasmuch as "the apostle of the Cambridge Evangelicals" had already been studied by others, I was grateful to the Very Reverend Hugh Watt, D.D., D.Litt., former Principal of the New College, Edinburgh, for his suggestion to study, instead, Dr. John Edwards. Edwards was a distinguished, but now forgotten, predecessor of Simeon at Holy Trinity Church. My interest, therefore, has been divided between the theological and historical aspects of seventeenth century religion, and their continuing or recurring influence upon the eighteenth century awakening. This accounts for the space devoted to the period of Edwards's life and that which followed, and to the survey of the works of his "successors", both prominent and obscure, in Calvinistic thought. The thesis has been limited to the subject; yet, to examine the background and the later significance of his ideas seemed a vital part of the task. It will be observed that, for the sake of a more readable text, quotations from Edwards's works have been edited as regards spelling and punctuation. The sense of the passages, however, has been carefully maintained. A number of titles, moreover, received abbreviation in the Bibliography and footnotes.
The aim, then, has been to discover and delineate the doctrines of the man in the light of his predecessors, contemporaries, and those who followed in his train. Little did the writer hope for as much significance as has been found; but the material has made the outline of the chapters. The thesis has grown from the reading of, and about, this voluminous writer of Cambridge, and the problem has been to limit the number of pages. Edwards brought introduction to several brilliant minds of the two centuries in which he lived. I thank him for this noble introduction to them and have sought to enter with sympathy into the experiences of their humbler contemporary in thinking and preaching.

I am deeply grateful to my scholarly and kind supervisors of research: the Rev. Charles S. Duthie, M.A., B.D., D.D., Principal of the Scottish Congregational College, Edinburgh, and Lecturer, Post-Graduate School of Theology, University of Edinburgh; and the Very Rev. John Baillie, D.D., D.Litt., D.L.D., L.H.D., D.Theol., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. Dr. Duthie has carefully guided the work from beginning to end. His patience and constructive criticisms are deeply appreciated, and I am indebted to him beyond words. My sincere tribute is also hereby expressed to the Rev. J.A. Lamb, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.(Scot.), Librarian of the New College, Edinburgh, whose courtesy and helpful assistance, along with that of Miss Erna Leslie, M.A., B.Com.(Senior), his assistant, and
secretary to the Principal, have made the library work a pleasure. I wish, further, to thank the staffs of the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh Library, the British Museum, London, the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and of both the St. John's College and Cambridge University Libraries. It has been my privilege to search for material, moreover, at the Dr. Williams's Library, London, the Public Library of Cardiff, Trinity College, Dublin, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. Everywhere a letter of introduction from Principal Baillie has been a password to courteous help. My typist, declaring herself already sufficiently thanked, remains unnamed. Finally and most of all, I would thank my wife, son and daughter, who have suffered long and been kind, as they worked and prayed for my success.

H.S.R.

Edinburgh, Scotland.

May 1, 1956.
CHAPTER I.

AN ERA OF CONVICTION AND CHANGE.

The study of thoughtful writers of the past throws light on the age in which they lived. Likewise, the story of the era helps to explain their ideas. As R.S. Paul reminds us,

A man cannot be separated from his environment. There is for us, heroes included, a time to be born, and ....we are bound to it, and conditioned by it. 1

When a person lives as long in the heart of Cambridge, reads as widely, and writes as much as Dr. John Edwards did, it is to be expected that he will reflect and affect his period, and that which follows. This is our interest, as we watch the ship of English Church and State sail across the stormy seas of the seventeenth century into the classical calm of the eighteenth, 2 with our Calvinist divine aboard. Never has there been such a rough voyage as that which fills his seventy-nine years, from before the renewing of the National Covenant in 1638 to the Bangorian Controversy of 1716. It is, indeed, "a place where two seas met," 3 - the oceans of faith and reason.

While Edwards published most of his theological works

in the eighteenth century, we feel that in spirit the opening years really belonged to the seventeenth.\(^1\) It was indeed a century of superlatives. As one reads the books on the era, one finds their prefaces are as dogmatic as the orthodox Caroline divines who began it, in calling this the period the most filled with religious controversy.\(^2\) Woodhouse well says:

> The Puritan turned to the theological aspects of a question as naturally as the modern man turns to the economic; and his first instinct was to seek guidance within the covers of his Bible, - or was it, rather, to seek there justification for a policy already determined on other, on political and economic grounds? 3

Nor do we forget that England was a part of the larger European movement of mind and men. Morley declares that the English have never been less insular in thought than in the seventeenth century.\(^4\) And, as a brilliant member of the French Academy insists, there never was a greater contrast, never a more abrupt transition than this,\(^5\) - 1680-1715, the very period of Edwards's publications.

But before he could send them to his London printers,

---

1. See Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, p. 5, for the key-words of "truth" and "nature" for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively.
2. See Burnet, History of My Own Time, p. iii, for a résumé of this "series of years during which occurred the most memorable events in our national history".
4. Morley, Oliver Cromwell, p. 42.
He had to pen them; and before he began to write books at all, he had learned to read and write the three classical languages. He had mastered the Fathers and his beloved Reformers. He became, moreover, familiar with his voluminous contemporaries. No wonder he was fifty-five \(^1\) before his stream of forty odd works began to pour out upon the harbour of post-Revolution England. He had explored the mountains and fields of knowledge, to revive, if he could, the religious verities which he hoped would dominate the life of Britain. Like Bayle and Le Clerc, our author wrote exegesis, philosophy and history, as well as doctrine and apologetics. Undergirding his scholarship, his conviction stood: *Veritas magna est, et prevalebit.*

Half a century of theological convulsions had gripped England and Edwards, from the time of his birth. How well did he understand that his people were struggling for freedom more than security? Even to us today, it seems almost a jungle of confusion. Yet we can see that two streams started to flow, which continued through the eighteenth century \(^2\) - "rationalism and sentiment". \(^3\) We know, too, that it was not merely much change, nor mere change, that was taking place all around

---

1. See Hazard, *The European Mind*, p. 242, for the fact that Locke also might have started publishing his ideas in 1671, but "spent nearly twenty years developing them".
our Cambridge author. It was the total war of minds, when both attackers and defenders believed they were fighting for their dearest convictions, freedom and finality.

As one reads of this turbulent era, one sees in the background the Protestant Reformation, an event which refuses to remain there. For to every great action in history there is an opposite, if not greater reaction. We list a few of the recurring crises which caused drastic changes, from the point of view of the Church of England and of Edwards: Laud executed in 1645; Charles I beheaded in 1649; the King and Prayer Book restored in 1660; the Puritans ejected in 1662; James II escaped from England in 1688; and the Trinitarian Controversy commenced in 1693. This stormy era, not of peace but the sword, was due, we believe, to some basic errors in religious thought. These were the "winds of doctrine" which blew up the frequent storms of the century.

Our John Edwards was keenly aware of the perilous voyage Britannia was making. He was being affected by the rolling of his political and ecclesiastical ship from before his birth, to the hour of his death. Moreover, we shall see

3. See Tulloch, Rational Theology, Vol. II, p. 487, for "No more than science can transcend nature, can religion transcend history."
4. See Edwards, Exercitations, Preface, for his list of crises in the paragraph which begins, "We live in a changeable world...."
how he was seeking to give the answer, as he believed it.
Like a ship's doctor, he was concerned for both the ship and
those who sailed with him, whether under the decrees of elec-
tion or reprobation. But the record of how well he did his
duty must wait until we have looked at the significant charac-
teristics of this century of Edwards's long life. What were
the cross-currents of thought which affected his religious
ideas and were reflected in them? Until his era of change,
most English people had been

.......in politics too confiding, in science too credulous,
in religion too intolerant. 1

But all was beginning to shift, even old convictions. Had
not religious faith always been the most powerful factor in
human history? 2

In each part of this period, the interests of Church
and State were so intertwined that religious and political con-
victions became entangled with prejudice and bigotry. Yet,
though passions of fear and resentment, self-interest and re-
venge, flared up successively from both Roundheads and Cava-
liers, there was a higher passion for principle. There lay

p. 308, for a change in beliefs of angels, palmistry and
witchcraft.
in the best of them a basic love and loyalty, rather than mere hate and lust for power. What historians claim for the age of Queen Anne can equally describe conditions during earlier reigns and the Interregnum:

There was much that was rotten, but the heart remained sound; otherwise, recovery would have been impossible. 1

As long as there is life, there is reaction. Thus despotism itself brings about freedom again.

What was this moral strength? How is it that English political institutions have continued to grow along the lines laid down during Edwards's ministry? Why is it that

.....the worship and formal belief of the established Church are still determined by the decisions of the seventeenth century? 2

There was only one great statesman, Oliver Cromwell, 1599-1658; and he died when Edwards was barely twenty-one. The age of light and reason had not yet fully dawned. The grand Reformers with their deep faith were dead, and the eighteenth century Evangelicals had just been born. A kind of petrified theology, 3 in which faith was reduced to a list of beliefs, lay heavy on the Church. In one sense, it was a century after

3. Richardson, The Church Through the Centuries, p. 194.
and before the major gains in Protestantism.

Rich, massive and powerful as the theological mind of the seventeenth century was, it was with rare exceptions, wholly uncritical. It failed in discriminating its sources, or estimating with any degree of accuracy its true proportions.  

How could such men revise the Prayer Book and make their revision stand for nearly three hundred years? "Tradition, philosophic, patriotic, scientific, lay like an incubus upon the intelligence" of Edwards's day.

How is it possible that our period was so decisive in the faith and life of the British people? May we venture this answer? In spite of all the confusion and weakening preoccupation with lesser things than the law or the Gospel, and although the medieval tradition still exercised an authority over man's thinking, the leaders of thought were men of profound conviction. They were capable of violent action for the sake of precious loyalties: yet twice in the seventeenth century the two parties suspended their dissensions for a common cause. This suggests that their basic convictions were sound. Where fundamental freedom or faith was at stake, party lines could join to fight together. Whether against Cromwellian militarism, Popery or France, England was united in the hour of supreme decision.

2. Ibid., p. 481
Indeed, it was this continuing religious conviction, more than all else, which marked these men of controversy, cruelty,¹ and occasional co-operation. They believed profoundly; therefore they were willing to bind or loose, kill or die. We do not wonder, then, that this has been considered

.....the golden age of the Church of England. Never did any branch of the Catholic Church boast of such an array of divines in an equally limited period. ²

But what convictions, specifically, wove together so strong a rope of religious concern? The authority of the Bible, the King, and the Church - these were the Big Three. And as the century grew old, there arose the relative and absolute authority of reason, the holy highway to the truth about the other three. The more we read what these men of conviction wrote, the more we admire the infinite patience ³ of Edwards, Baxter and Burnet; of Locke, Milton and Newton. Supporting them all, there was a profound devotion to what they believed. The Puritans, for instance, who wore their hair long just because Laud had ordered the clergy to wear it short, were maintaining the vital principle that non-essentials are non-essentials.⁴

¹. Tulloch, Rational Theology, Vol. II, p. 459, says, "persecution is the legitimate corollary of the dogmatic idea of the church".
³. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 167.
But the Word of God was all-important.

In Edwards's boyhood people gathered eagerly to listen to sermons.¹ The keel of the British ship of Church and State was the Holy Scripture. Most of the Reformers were convinced of the accuracy and final authority of the Bible.² Later, whether among orthodox High Churchmen or Low, Cambridge Platonists, Latitudinarians, or among Presbyterian, Puritan or Independent divines, appeal to revelation and reason together became the one road, with its two sides, which all followed. However much it led to controversy, they believed the Bible. But before there was a road, where men might pass, going in opposite directions, religious thought was a one-way foot-path of Biblical finality. This era of conviction meant for Edwards and his fellow-orthodox divines the very opposite of such a commonplace denial of today as "Die Bibel ist kein Zettelkasten".³ That was just what they did consider it; a box of proof-texts of almost equal authority, from which a system of sound doctrine could be pieced together which would be binding upon the consciences of all. Although Luther, at first,⁴ had stressed faith as "fiducia" more than mere "assensus", those

2. Ibid., p. 153.
3. Barth, Dogmatik im Grundriss, p. 100.
4. See Richardson, The Church Through the Centuries, p. 194, for this reference to his later Schwaback Articles in which he stated: "The Church is nothing else than believers in Christ who hold.....the above enumerated articles."
who followed him through the Counter Reformation, and in conflict with the ascendancy of reason, reverted to the Roman Dogma of faith and Scripture in their determined effort to make the Church of England the Biblical bulwark of Protestantism. This, of course, interacted with the secret penetration of Socinian ideas into university circles and among the more scholarly clergy. This infiltration continued during the thirties and openly during the decade after Edwards's birth.1

At the English Reformation, moreover,

.....the king was regarded as directly and primarily the anointed of God; the Church was simply the whole nation in its religious aspect, for whose well-being the king was as directly responsible, as for the civil order and prosperity. 2

The sixteenth century maxim had been, therefore, *cuius regio, eius religio*. 3 But Charles I began to act more like a tyrant than God's chosen. He shelved rather than solved his problems. 4 His successive acts of oppression steadily brought a nation of loyal subjects to assert its greater loyalty to crown than king, to God than any human hierarchy. They regarded the throne itself with veneration, but the person who sat upon it with distrust. So hated, for instance, was his marriage to a Roman Catholic, that it was thought a judgment of God. Finally, in order to preserve the office, they removed the office-holder.

Religious conviction, however, to defend their king against "unholy hands", inspired the Cavaliers to resist the Roundheads to the death. Yet the latter believed in monarchy as such, though not in such a monarch. In 1637, we read, "No man may speak... for the king's part except he would have himself marked... to be killed one day".  

It became a bloody civil war; but who is to condemn the motives of either side in their efforts to save England and the Church, traditional and, or, true? It was, after all, for religious and political principles. To be sure, men were not as noble as their ideals. Still, they were willing to struggle, suffer and die for them. These ideals were largely moral thoughts, as in the age of the Reformation. In this period, 1640-1660, there was, as a recent author has described it, "the biggest free for all battle of books in the whole of modern history". That meant ideological warfare, religion and politics grappling to live or die.

3. See Kuyper, Calvinism, p. 289, for further "strong convictions".  
4. See McLachlan, Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England, p. 118, as he quotes from R.C.Latham's article on "English Revolutionary Thought in History" (1640-1660), XXX, No. III. See also Baillie, The Belief in Progress, p. 99, for his reference to "the heated controversy between the claims of the ancients and those of the moderns to which Swift in 1704 gave the name of the Battle of the Books".
In their determination to gain liberty of conscience, the Independents were defending a principle of far more value than their individual safety. If they could have trusted Charles to honour his word in granting this liberty as a permanent right, his terms might well have been accepted. 1

But to defeat the forces of an intransigent and perfidious king, and to prevent further civil bloodshed - this combined purpose was the cause to which Cromwell committed himself, because he believed it was God's guidance.

When the bitter fighting was finally over, the task of setting up a free civil and ecclesiastical system went forward with energy. Many of the old clergy were ejected from their benefices. Universities were purged of all who would not accept the new Covenant order. Fines were laid on the resisting Royalists. Some estates were confiscated by the "invincible" Independents. Victory in arms always presents a sad picture, especially after "intestine" 2 strife, as Edwards often writes. Never before nor since, has the civil authority of Great Britain been under military power. Yet we must not underestimate the spiritual factor in this Rebellion, nor its dominant rôle in Cromwell's rise to the office of Lord Protector, and almost to that of King.

The causes for this pendulum swing, from obstinate

2. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. xxiii; also The Heinousness of England's Sins, p. 12, for "intestine war". See also, S.P. of Cambridge, Account of the New Sect of Latitude Men (1662) for "intestine wars".
Charles I to enigmatic Cromwell, were both negative and positive. The tyranny of the king and his archbishop was matched by Puritan love of liberty and deep religious concern. Reform was in their blood. Even if the position men took was wrong, their protest was right. Calvin had not taught in vain active resistance, when godliness is menaced.

When "the great deliverance" came, not only England's body politic was swinging in mid-air, but its head and its heart. Why? The dominant Puritans lived in a world of the special providence of God. Cromwell believed that heaven was smiling upon him with success beyond his power or worthiness. Woodhouse describes the picture:

We have seen the Army on its momentous march to London, 'there to follow Providence, as God shall clear the way'. The way was cleared to Pride's purge, and the judicial murder of the King. 1

Thus, in a storm of Puritan zeal for positive reform, and both political and ecclesiastical freedom, Charles I was beheaded. 2 Then the Church of England, in which the Covenant was

1. Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty, p. 42.
2. This execution stirred the sympathetic heart of the English people, as that of Louis XVI did his French subjects, especially because of the quiet dignity and courage with which Charles I laid down his life. See Lamartine, Histoire des Girondins, Vol. V. pp. 86-87; "Sa morte....aliénait de la cause française cette partie immense des populations que ne juge les événements humains que par le coeur. La nature humaine est pathétique; la république l'oublia; elle donna à la royauté quelque chose du martyre, à la liberté quelque chose de la vengeance. Elle prépara, ainsi, une réaction."
commanded to be used, and the Prayer Book eliminated, replaced the bishop with the presbyter,¹ demanding of him at his ordination the very same vow.² Not only Edwards's father, but every minister, was now expected by law to be a defender of the Word. Just what the clergy believed to be taught by Scripture they vowed to preach.³ As representing the people and presenting to them the Gospel of God, preachers had the central place in the life of the land.⁴ Religious tracts flourished. The Bible alone was their basis of worship, the source of all comfort and Spartan-like courage, or Stoic endurance.

This prosperous Puritanism, even with its attendant Pharisaism, was not only a powerful but a righteous,⁵ if not a gracious force. Certainly the dominant place in the Puritan mind was held by Biblical religion. Its logical following of

1. See Richardson, The Church Through the Centuries, p. 214, for the forgotten fact that many Anglican divines of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries believed bishops did not excel presbyters as a distinct order.
5. See Wedgwood, The King's Peace, p. 99, for Baxter's description of Anglican clergy around Kidderminster as "decrepit.....or drunk". Miss Wedgwood grants some truth to this picture of the clerical laxity which added fuel to the flames of Puritan reform.
Luther and especially Calvin, its reform of literature and art, its emphasis upon conversion, as Cromwell had experienced it, and its concern for liberty - these were among its characteristics. However violent grew its stern protest against luxury, idleness and what Edwards, and his fellow-orthodox, called "ungodly ways", the Puritan manner of dutiful living included homes of love as well as of discipline. It infused much that was beautiful and strong into later British life.

But its excellence led to extremism, especially in its zeal for reformation of morals. This tendency

....is one of the most constant and indisputable notes of Puritanism. Reform the universities.... Reform the cities.... the countries.... the sabbath.... the ordinances, the worship of God.

Such a programme, of course, interfered with licentiousness, and sometimes with innocent merriment. This could be endured, but when the celebration of Christmas was frowned upon, and especially when only civil marriages were declared to be legal, the pendulum had swung too far. It had touched, like cold steel, the human hearts of both liberty and license-loving

1. See Oman, The Church and the Divine Order, pp. 271-272, for a description of Calvin's theology of infallible Scripture and Election, a legal conception of God and salvation, an omnipotent power. His grace meant His choice to save some out of "a lapsed mass of fallen men," as Edwards echoed it.
England. When a religion enforces restrictions upon life and love, change becomes inevitable. Church weddings were no more. Parish registers show almost totally blank pages for several years after 1643. However, the fanatic Parliamentary forces responsible for the destruction of Church property would some day see the re-establishment of Episcopacy and the retributive rejection of Puritan rule. Their Calvinistic system was felt by the less religious people to be something foreign, and far too severe. Fear that God was punishing them for allowing their king to be beheaded, and the natural desire for peace and ease, were slowing down the momentum of Cromwell's sway over them. Of course the weariness with religious government made the average Englishman want the king back. But there were some pious Churchmen who prayed, sincerely, for the return of a sovereign.

Yet why? As we study the character of England's great statesman, we must avoid both extremes of Clarendon's "brave bad man", and admiring Carlyle's noble "hero". Rather we agree with R.S. Paul's analysis and fresh treatment of the unique Cambridge student who was first elected to the Long Parliament for the borough of Cambridge. Whatever may have been his influence upon Edwards, his period was

....an experiment in the realm of Moral Theology, and as

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Cromwell accepted responsibility for leadership and govern-
ment, his life, to a large degree, personifies both the prob-
lems and the answers given. 1

This noble experiment has been misunderstood and maligned.
To a growing majority, for instance, it appeared that the
Puritans preached against bear-baiting, not to spare the bear
pain, but to prevent the people from having any pleasure.
But this trivial sort of objection to Cromwell's régime of dis-
cipline was more that of the natural man than the spiritual.
His reverent armies were models of good behaviour. Indeed,
he and his troops had survived all efforts to divide them; and,
with their theology of Providence, they interpreted their vic-
tories over the Royalist armies as providential. Cromwell the
Calvinist 2 was sure that he and his men were God's chosen ins-
truments for liberty, reform, and religious toleration. Cer-
tainly he was more "comprehensive" in his policy than his Epis-
copal successors. R.S. Paul quotes Cromwell as saying, in one
of his authentic letters:

I wish to be of the faction that desire to avoid the
oppression of the poor people of this miserable nation, upon
whom no one can look without a bleeding heart. 3

2. See Calvin, Institutes, I, v, 7, for Cromwell's convic-
tion that "the righteous are the special objects of God's
favour, the wicked and profane the special objects of
his severity".
To the masses who followed him he became not only supreme in
the army, but virtually the nation's prophet, priest, and king.¹

To Cromwell, who stood between two claims to exclusive power, the settlement had to be a guarantee of those religious liberties for which, in his strange way, he and his men had fought with courage and tenacity.² To us, this man of outstanding ability was an important part of the Cambridge and Calvinistic background of the setting and spirit of John Edwards, the last Calvinian champion of the half-century which followed Cromwell. Yet, the hero, both in politics and in religion, often appears as the villain in the end. And death, perhaps merciful death, brought the experiment to an untimely end. Even Cromwell's prodigious powers had not been sufficient to make a settlement of Church and State which would satisfy the demand for constitutionality. Was tradition still stronger than truth, and reaction more effective than reform?

At any rate, his weak son and successor, Richard, was soon relieved of so high and hard an office. The long muffled cry of the masses now rose to a shout: let the rightful king reign again. The new majority wanted the ancient Church. Sheer exhaustion at the load of Puritan rule prepared the

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forgetful people for a Restoration of traditional monarchy and pre-Rebellion Episcopacy. If only this change could have meant a policy of comprehension, even such as Cromwell had established, how much further misery England would have been spared! What was needed was a mediating position, like that which the Anglican Church had otherwise taken; for instance, between Roman Catholic emphasis upon tradition as equal with Scripture, and the complete rejection of tradition by some Protestants.

Why could there not be conviction without cruelty? Why must new, would-be pilots cause the ship of Church and State to list again, all the way from port to starboard? For extreme Laudians and Calvinians there could be no co-operation. But it would seem possible to have effected a harmony between the Episcopalians of the school of Usher, and such an inspired Presbyterian (he is hard to classify), as Baxter. The latter, as a moderate Puritan, believing bishops and presbyters were equal

1. See Sykes, The Crisis of the Reformation, p. 44, for "via media".
2. Ibid., p. 164.
in order, was even willing to have a bishop over him, as the permanent president of his presbytery. They all believed, or claimed to believe, in a supernatural Christianity. Before 1660,

....it would have been difficult to find more than a handful of men who openly avowed a disbelief in the miraculous sanctions of the Christian faith. 1

But the true prophets again went unheeded, and the false prelates, under the Clarendon Code, divided England between conformists and non-conformists.

Once more, perverted conviction drove out of the Church hundreds of men whom she could ill afford to lose. It was unfruitful religion "gone to seed". 2 Baxter himself conscientiously declined the Episcopate, when it was repeatedly offered to him. There could easily have been a revised liturgy which would allow extemporaneous prayer, and a baptismal service with or without the sign of the Cross. But no, soon after the Restoration which had promised so much relief, strong insistence was made upon Episcopal ordination. 3 Church history repeated itself again, only in the opposite direction of "vengeful"

2. See Oliphant, Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, p. 32, for the "lamentable declension of true religion" which led to the inevitable revival under Whitefield. Infidels had raised their heads with "unblushing confidence".
3. See Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 75.
religious persecution. ¹ Cromwell's fears were fulfilled, that Anglican supremacy would suppress not only the Independents but even the once powerful Presbyterian party of his Parliament. With no dominant personality to embody the ideals of liberty and toleration, political might made right; just as military prowess had proved the God-given authority to rule.

Many whose consciences would not permit them to conform, under such conditions, were denied their benefices in a single day. Now the tale of woe included fines and imprisonments, suffering, starving, but stalwart men. The aristocracy and landed gentry along with their dependents, and the poor who were mostly Tories, supported the Establishment. ² The Whigs, largely the merchant class of larger towns like Cambridge, included the critical conformists, such as Edwards, and those outside the Church of England. In Scotland,

.... during the twenty-eight years of persecution which closed with the advent of William and Mary, it is computed that not less than 18,000 endured either death itself, or the utmost hardship on account of their religion. ³

Where was the King, with his promises of moderate

² See Moorman, History of the Church of England, p. 254, for a fuller discussion of Baxter's minimum objections at the Savoy Conference in 1661, when he faced Edwards's enemy, Dr. Gunning of Cambridge, a bitter opponent of comprehension, even toleration.
toleration: He did, indeed, make an effort to restrain the zeal of the new House of Commons; but that House was under the influence of deeper conviction, with stronger passions, than his own. Soon he had to yield, and pass a series of oppressive acts against the Separatists. To attend a dissenting place of worship became a "crime". Now, was the willingness to suffer rather than compromise, on the part of the non-conformists, as heroic as that of the Episcopal clergy in the early days of Cromwell? The answer is found in the story of Baxter and his mild but gallant fellow-Dissenters. The jails were soon crowded, and among the victims were some of whose courage and conviction any Christian group would be proud.

One writer goes so far as to say that Charles II was lazy, corrupt in morals, and without funds. Another goes even further and is astonished

.....how dreadfully ungodliness came in like a flood. The wickedness of the court was a spring which supplied a broad and strong current of immoralities throughout the land.

A third historian describes the dissolute period of the Restoration as a daring revolt against all authority. It was this atmosphere of license, after the severity of Cromwell, which

allowed Locke to become an innovator in philosophy and a Unitarian in belief.\(^1\) By the same token, Buckle insists that Newton became a Socinian, and Milton antagonistic to the Church of England. These, no doubt, are extreme views,\(^2\) which Edwards shared, and which aroused him to vehemence. Moreover, so responsible an author as Oman insists that in all her history Britain has never had such a

......sordid gang of self-seeking...... statesmen, as the generation who had been reared in the evil times of Charles II. 3

He, too, blames the Restoration court for the loose living of the day. It seemed to be flinging a protest against the bleak austerity of the Puritans. Plunging into extravagances, England became so indifferent to religion that Bunyan turned from a campaign against sin to one against complacency.\(^4\) The old principles of tradition, authority, and discipline were rapidly weakening their hold upon the people. Many writers, favoured by Charles II, expressed a reckless spirit in mocking a religion of which they were largely ignorant.\(^5\) Pattison agrees with our Edwards that piety was ridiculed, and profaneness encouraged.\(^6\)

\(^2\) See Morley, Library of English Literature, p. 340, for saner view.
Yet, despite the king's incompetence and the idle profligacy of his palace, and because the situation stimulated Parliament to greater activity, several significant reforms were made. The tyranny of the Church and the nobles was removed. The writ of De Heretico Comburendo, by which the bishops had the right to burn heretics, was destroyed in 1677. The Habeas Corpus Act became law in 1679. Censorship of the press was removed in 1694, just before Edwards became free from his parishes to publish books. But this freedom to print flooded the country with the verbiages of those who were mere scholars, rather than creative thinkers. They crowded their books with specimens of intellectual furniture gathered in their studies, most of which still had the odour of the old academic lamp. It was a day of bold questioning of God Himself. England was being influenced by the French reaction against extremes of religious conservatives. "Good sense" meant irreligion, and the antagonism to the strict old Puritans made it beneath the pride of a "gentleman" to be known to pray. No change, of course, is ever "ex abrupto".

Nevertheless, this Restoration of Charles II, because of profound changes, based on convictions of liberty in

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4. See Butterfield, The Englishman and His History, p. 75, for a favourable picture of the Restoration as a time of repairing "the great gash caused by the Civil War".
legislation, as well as in thinking, may be taken as the beginning of a new age. The tide has started to turn.¹ The King himself, in all his weakness, belongs to our modern day. The world of Charles II is quite different from that of his father. Many fresh ideas, standards and ways of religious thought now match the new scientific knowledge men have discovered. Thinking men are dis-satisfied with the scholastic methods and arid dogmas, although they have served the Church so long.² But now, the barren finality in thought is disappearing under the empiricism of Descartes. The solid fabric of the universe is passing into the kaleidoscopic configuration of flux.³ It is impossible for the conservatives in religion to succeed in holding the old lines. With a passion for new enquiries, daring writers fan the antagonism between the physical sciences and the theological spirit. It is natural, at first, for the clergy to array themselves against science, and seek to discredit it. This effort but serves to discredit religion. The old sanctions and sanctities are beginning to decay.⁴ After the Restoration, Episcopacy, though reinstated in her former pomp, has apparently

¹. Clarke, A Short History of the Christian Church, p. 372.
lost her ancient power. While the Church of England enjoyed such influence with the King, the morality of the people was at its lowest ebb. Some historians suggest that most of the clergy were so busy making war on schism, they had no time to make war on vice. Bayrş quotes Baxter as suggesting that most divines of this period spent a hundred hours studying differences, for every hour they spent on how to heal them. He calls that a disgraceful disproportion of time. Edwards, however, sought to minimise the differences between his Church and his "dissenting brethren", and referred to "Mr. Baxter" with brotherliness.

But now a veritable tidal wave of reason has swept over England, once "the land of the Book". The age of extreme Calvinism lies buried in the sands of obscurantism, and with it the old austerities, credulities and Biblical dogmatism. Although the innovators try to show that they are restorers of ancient ways, the tide of religious conviction is now running, not toward the shores ofScripturism and precedent, but out to the

1. See Plummer, The Church of England, p. 18, for his quotation of Bishop Burnet, in the preface to the third edition of his Pastoral Care, which Edwards recommends to his preachers. Burnet believes the clergy were less influential and more despised, not merely because of scandalous conduct, but because they had no zeal.
sea of liberty and logic. Science, classical philosophy, religion and even the Bible, must now be tried at the bar of reason. Fortunately the first jury is sympathetic as well as fair.

A brilliant group of thinkers, known collectively as the Cambridge Platonists, proved that zeal and charity could dwell together; they showed that religious conviction was not the necessary counterpart of a closed mind. They offered a solution which at that time not many were ready to apply. These reverent men, with a quiet enthusiasm of their own, thought of reason as a divine light, and even the voice of God. Unfortunately for the transition from the world of the Commonwealth to the new society which replaced it, they were not in positions of high authority where their voices counted. Thus, their less reverent, but more influential successors, the Latitudinarians, took over the tasks of both jury and counsel.

What they advocated, indeed, was a restoration of reason to its rightful place. A disorderly and chaotic 'enthusiasm' cannot lead us to an intelligent comprehension of the truth.

They had a cool contempt for the warmer, smaller streams of

2. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 37.
3. See Cragg, Grimshaw of Haworth, p. 39, in which he says: "The Latitudinarians loved reason not too well but too exclusively." Thus they led through a valley full of bones, and very dry ones at that!
4. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 65.
sentiment, under the ambiguous term "Enthusiast", which ran in an opposite direction to their broad river of reasonableness which is called "Latitudinarian".

While it would be hard for fighters for the old faith, like Edwards, to grant it, Tulloch is right in calling the Cambridge divines

... the defenders of the reality in religion, in the reaction of unbelief that followed the dogmatic excesses of the time.

They were able to avoid both bigotry and trivial ceremony, and to harmonize the practical with the dogmatic side of Christianity. They, therefore, more than others, were responsible for the British marriage of progress with tradition. Their compromise, of course, would be considered weakness by the orthodox; for theirs was an attack on Calvinism from the inside.

Although graduates of Emmanuel, the Puritan college at Cambridge,

1. See Moorman, A History of the Church of England, p. 247, for a description of the growth of mysticism and belief in direct spiritual guidance. Each individual makes his own approach to God, depending on inspiration rather than revelation or even reason.

2. Ibid., p. 256, explains that "their apotheosis of common sense appeared to their enemies to savour of Socinianism". While they lacked the grandeur of the earlier Caroline divines, and the depth of the Cambridge Platonists, the best of them taught a religion which was reasonable, sincere, and clear to the common man. Though not heroic, it was "conscientious".

they insisted on a broad-minded and simpler system of thought than the old-school Calvinians were preaching. Predestination they considered neither intellectual nor ethical. The extreme outlook of the strict Calvinists, rather than the content of Geneva theology, had been the chief offender in the loss of Christian faith and the corresponding gains of Deistic ideas. They had driven men to doubt, by their very dogmatism. Henry More and his colleagues were trying now to counter Hobbes's materialism by demonstrating the reality of the world of spiritual truth. But while High Church Tories and Low Church Whigs were competing for privileges at court, the foundation of Biblical beliefs was being undermined by Deism. With its Christian mask, but pantheistic and Unitarian head, it was even denying the fact that God was in Christ.

In the meantime, the year 1678 was regarded by others besides Burnet as most tragic for the Protestant religion. In February, "alas", a king of England openly declared himself a Roman Catholic. While Protestants fought among themselves, the Papists had moved in. But it was not for long.

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1. See Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, p. 907, for his warning against extremism. "The carrying anything too far does commonly lead men into the opposite extreme".


intended to force on an unwilling people the legitimacy, if not the ascendancy of his Roman Church. 1 Yet once more, in our period, this time in the adult life of Edwards, the nation united on the basis of an underlying conviction. In a choice between James II, the Roman Catholic, and William of Orange, a Dutch Calvinist, the majority of the clergy decided to accept the Revolution. 2 The love of tolerance, mixed with weariness of religious strife, moved men again to co-operate in the most masterly episode in English history, the Revolution of 1688. There was all the difference in the world between the frustrated attempt to exclude the King in 1680, and the orderly method by which the whole nation disposed of him in 1688. 3 Apart from the triumph of wise religious principles, 1679-1681 might have seen a further chapter of internecine strife. Instead, in 1689, the Bills of Comprehension and Toleration, with concessions to all but Roman Catholics and Unitarians, were passed easily. 4 After a century of controversy, a broader conviction is growing. The Dissenters, Burnet admits, have a

2. See Moorman, A History of the Church of England, p. 262, for the fact that clergy who used their pulpits or pens against Rome were punished.
3. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions. In the "Epistle Dedicatory" he calls 1688 "the late happy revolution". It was no time to be bound by a rigid doctrine of Passive Obedience. The King of Kings was more important to England.
4. Burnet, A History of My Own Time, p. 530. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 119, for Burnet's belief in "...Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the very being of a Church".
much larger religious knowledge than those who attend the Estab-
lished Church. One explanation, he believes, is the free
circulation of cheap editions of many religious books, sent
out by charitable societies in London. We shall see later
that Edwards explains it on doctrinal grounds.

Indeed, the last years of the seventeenth century saw
a significant advance in the missionary life of the Church,
both among conformists like Edwards, and the growing non-con-
formists. The honoured S.P.C.K. started work in 1698. In
1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign
Parts evidenced a wholesome concern for the unevangelized mil-
lions in nations abroad, just as a new caring for the poor in
England and Scotland stimulated prison reform, Charity Schools,
and the foundation of hospitals. Such societies as that for
the Reformation of Manners checked the excesses of blasphemy
and profanation of the Lord's Day. Were the old Puritans com-
ing to life again? These agencies represented the growth of
a new type of conviction in Britain. In an age largely vul-
gar and cruel, we see, at last, a belief expressed in the

3. See Wordsworth, Scholae Academicae, p. 1, for a further
treatment of the new hope which Queen Anne's Bounty gave
to the Church with the building of many fine churches and
grants to the poverty-stricken clergy.
importance of social welfare. Men were no longer merely individuals; they had become parts of a pattern of life which needed religion. What connection did this social improvement have with the fact that as the century ended, Nature and reason had begun to gain upon Aristotle and the Rules?¹

In 1700, Daniel Defoe wrote his satire, The Trueborn Englishman, in which each country got its share of kindly ridicule. Two years later good Queen Anne came to the throne. Her brief reign helped both the Church, and British life and letters. Now it was truly "Great Britain", for the Union of English and Scottish Parliaments took place in 1707. And in this new Union, they were engaged in debating nobler, more theological questions than France.² Thus the French historian admitted, and gave a pertinent reason for his comparison - the contrasted ideas of religion.

Hazard selects as three types of British religious thought:

...the puritanical mysticism of Bunyan, the enlightened conformity of a Clarke or Tillotson, and...the uncompromising Deism of a Toland, Locke or Newton. ³

The Frenchman calls most British writers of the period obscure

¹ Willey, Eighteenth Century Background, p. 22.
² Hazard, The European Mind, p. 64.
³ Ibid., p. 64.
and in need of pruning. He may have read some of Edwards's secondary works, written, perhaps, more as "record" than as "message". But he adds that Calvinism triumphed, side by side with victorious Britain. Then follows a tribute to the principles of Calvinists and their "product" in Locke's ideals. The philosopher's refusal to promise unconditional obedience to authority, he says, is on a level with the brave resistance which the Calvinians of the sixteenth century maintained against the bishops and princes. Our historian is no theologian. But in his sense of the word, at least, Calvinism comes into its own, and with it, Great Britain's supremacy over la belle France.

We believe that the spirit of the Reformation, if not the Geneva Reformer himself, much less his theology, was responsible for Britain's continuing prestige over that of the sceptical, Romanist, or atheistic French. Something saved Bible-loving Britain from an invasion of eighteenth-century anti-religious fervour at its worst. Something spared her the throes of a bloody revolution. That "something", we think, was the Calvinism imported from Europe and planted here in the sixteenth century; then cultivated in the early seventeenth. Moreover, let us agree with Woodhouse that:

1. See Hartog, *Words in Action*, p. 13, where he quotes this distinction, first made by John Locke.
2. See Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter*, p. 111, "Calvin did not object in principle to episcopacy". Thus Calvinists could be loyal to both "godly prince and godly bishop".
Calvinism itself, the main seed-ground of the Puritan movement, is (as Troeltsh has emphasised) deeply influenced by the sect-ideal; 1 the principle of religious freedom of conscience.

That ideal made for Cromwellian Puritanism and liberty. But it was only the "Party of the Left". The "Party of the Right", the Puritan Church type, which included John Edwards, maintained the Church-ideal. The balance of these two wings made possible a continuing religious life of both freedom and the fundamentals of Christian faith. For, we believe that Puritanism means a determined and varied effort to erect the holy community, and to meet with compromises and adjustments the problems of its conflict with the world. 2

Thus, it is not necessary to claim a uniformity in all Puritan or even Calvinian thought. It is sufficient, rather, to recognize a continuity. Edwards often links the "Calvinists and Puritans". 3 But the struggle between mutually exclusive convictions continues throughout our period, as 'homo sapiens' follows his immemorial quest for truth and happiness. It is a changed and changing world, from that into which conservative Edwards was born three score years before.

But the very changes which we consider progress, he

2. Ibid., p. (37).
declares to be apostacy. Authority is no longer treated with respect. Most writers, to be sure, when Edwards wrote his *Veritas Redux*, or *Evangelical Truths Restored*, are more concerned about human rights than man's duties to God. There appears to be a clash between new science and the Scriptures, the old tension between reason and revelation. Much travel, too, has stimulated heterodoxy. Religious thought abroad, as many books are translated, influences ideas at home. These "modernists" are overturning the altars of the gods themselves!

Indeed, Socinianism and Arminianism, two challengers of Calvinism, like Calvin himself, had both come from beyond the shores of Britain.

Faustus Socinus, born at Sienna in 1539 of a noble and distinguished family, was destined, like his uncle, for the law; but his real interests lay in the world of theological speculation. 1

He was a European *par excellence*, and so was his movement. In fact we may consider Socinianism as a mixture of Italian rationalism and Polish Anabaptist tendencies, with their roots in the soil of Spain; yes, in the heart of the martyr, Michael Servetus. Put to death by Calvin himself, he gave a blood transfusion to the souls of others who threw their influence on the

side of humanism and reason and against Calvinism. Especially did they single out the intolerant zeal which dragged Servetus to the stake. Anti-Trinitarian, and with a low Christology, this movement of radical thought emphasized Christian life more than belief. Actually, it was a rationalistic, rather than a religious view of things.

Two leading characteristics are at once apparent, and place Socinianism in its proper perspective. These are its scrupulous and vigorous Biblicism, and its acknowledgment of the rights of reason in religion. Like other reformers, Socinus found the seat of religious authority in the Bible. Hence he had one foot planted firmly in the camp of orthodoxy. But the other rested upon ground foreign to most theologians of his day. Human reason, he maintained, was a necessary adjunct to revelation, a source too, of religious insight.

McLachlan considers this attempt to combine scripturalism and rationalism a compromise. He calls Socinus a precursor of Arminius. Elsewhere Socinianism has been defined as a "supernatural rationalism" or a "rational supernaturalism." It is unfortunate that its theology has at times been interpreted on the basis of controversial writings, such as those of Edwards, which the heretical movement evoked. However, Faustus Socinus "denied

1. See Baillie, The Belief in Progress, p. 98, for the double meaning in the word "humanism". Edwards was a "humanist" in the sense of loving classical literature, Socinus in that of "the restriction of interest to the present life of man on earth".
the divine nature of Christ;¹ intolerably, to most British thinkers and virtually all the common people. Burnet later warned the Remonstrants against incurring the charge (though unjust) of Socinianism. Such a label would do great harm, he wrote Van Limborch, among the Anglicans, who were most fervently attached to this tenet.² Socinus's attempted substitution of a mere God-bestowed 'divinitas' of function for Christ's essential 'deitas' of nature was resented alike by Roman Catholics of Europe and British Protestants. Also unacceptable were his attacks upon the vicarious atonement and predestination. As Denney well states:

It is a common idea that Socinianism (or Unitarianism) is specially connected with the denial of the Incarnation. It began historically with the denial of the Atonement....to begin here is to end, sooner or later, with putting Christ out of the Christian religion. ³

This is exactly what we shall hear Edwards say. But let it also be said to the lasting credit of both Arminianism and Socinianism, that they were devoted to the principle of religious toleration and even liberty.⁴ Naturally,

¹ Writers affected by Socinian thought represent an anti-

dogmatic, rationalizing, tolerant tendency within the English religious scene. They contend for freedom of thought and worship; defend the rights of reason to interpret what is and what is not revelation. 1

Socinianism presented a Christ who was Revealer but not the Reconciler. This concept of Christianity, through the infiltration from Holland to England of books, banned by the States General, influenced the Latitudinarian Churchmen of Edwards's day. Stressing reason and religious tolerance, Socinianism made an appeal to Locke; 2 and he was the leading prophet of the rational, though still reverent, spirit in philosophy and faith. 3

But to Edwards and his England, it has been a time of threatened invasions from France, both military and papist. Alien armies of European ideas have landed from Holland and everywhere. The symbols of strength and security, of reverence and religion itself - the Bible, the King, and the Church - have not been inviolate, as Edwards fought to make them. Is it not high time, he argues, for defenders of the faith to appear in pulpit and in print? Britain needs sailors to stand watch on the decks of the ship of Church and State, as she plows through

2. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, p. 319. Locke is "enraged", Edwards says, if accused of Socinianism; yet he is not strong enough for the Trinity, and denies the satisfaction of Christ. Upon these two doctrines, declares Edwards, stand the whole warp and woof of the Christian religion.
the storms of conviction and change. For not only do men make
movements of thought; the stresses of the clashing concepts of
freedom and fundamentalism discover and develop unusual men.

Hazard may be content to divide the significant reli-
gious thought of seventeenth century Britain into that of such
representatives as Bunyan, Tillotson and Locke. But there is al-
ways another type of mentality, like that of Edwards, however
queer or quaint historians of progress like Hazard or Ogg, may
consider him. Obscure John Edwards of Cambridge may challenge
all three of his famous contemporaries: the mysticism of Bunyan,
the conformity of Tillotson, and especially the Deism toward
which Locke's ideas seem to be leading. But let this critical
conservative, this kind of a Calvinist, be heard. G.R.Cragg,
who does quote our Calvinian divine, may have Edwards in mind
when he wisely grants:

An anchor out of the stern may help to forestall disas-
ter, and often those who are slow to change preserve values
which neither they, nor their more brilliant critics, fully
comprehend. 1

Be that as it may, there is no question but that the winds of
doctrine are blowing, the seas of faith and reason are raging,
and Britannia is trying to sail successfully through a time of
tempests.

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1. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 10.
CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF DR. JOHN EDWARDS.

If there were anything lacking for such a stormy period to produce at least one John Edwards, it was supplied by his unusual parents. Although the Cambridge records list him as the second son of Thomas, a clerk of Hertford, we know the father was minister of the church there on February 26, 1637, when John was born. He was, moreover, the author of Gangraena; and while he at first conformed, Thomas Edwards always was an extreme Puritan at heart. If only he had possessed the quality of a John Flavel (1630-1691), or a Richard Baxter (1615-1691), he might have had an abler son and heir. Thomas showed a stubborn non-compliance with the Church of England, into which he had been ordained at Cambridge. There, in 1642, he had been elected to a Fellowship at Queens' College. But, at the declaration of Parliament against Charles I, he renounced Episcopacy and professed himself a Presbyterian. As the Independents under Cromwell gained over his waning Presbyterians, Thomas Edwards turned his heavy artillery from the eclipsed Episcopal Church, to bombard the Sectaries. All Independents became evil to him. With strange sense of conviction, he felt he must oppose them as

he had the Church of England. It is no wonder that so "furious" a writer was hated for his Autopologia and other diatribes. Remembered as a fanatic — the incarnation of intolerance itself — he was driven out of England to tolerant Holland. As Cromwell's triumphant army, with the aid of the Scots, entered wicked, yet religious London, where the Edwards family were then living, the father had to leave his wife and ten year old son, John, and seek asylum abroad. There he died in the same year, 1647.

John's wealthy mother was an heiress of considerable fortune. Thus, though widowed young, she could give John not only the finest beginnings at home, church and school, but many years at Cambridge. Even without a living father, the boy was introduced to nobility and moved in circles of refinement. Indeed, there was never any economic pressure upon this young man. From his writings we gather that his was a life of leisure, though he seems not to have travelled abroad, as many of this period were beginning to do. From his mother, no doubt, he inherited also a pious and studious nature to read and take notes, memorize and meditate, preach and write.

While we find no reference to either parent, and little

1. See Thomas Edwards, Reasons Against Toleration.
2. See Edwards, A Treatise of Repentance, p. 8, for a boyhood memory of "the great city of this nation". Also Wedgwood, The King's Peace, pp. 31-32.
teaching of filial devotion, even in his lengthy treatment of the Fifth Commandment, he does teach that next to God Himself, parents are to be most honoured. However, he proceeds to divide them into three kinds: natural, civil and spiritual. Often he speaks of the Church of England as his true mother. But, unspoiled by his natural or spiritual mother, he becomes devout and diligent. Though he preaches the importance of conversion, there is no account of his own. Unlike Paul, Augustine or Calvin whom he emulates, Edwards gives little evidence of any life-changing encounter with Christ, as a basis for his religious thought. He had no such sudden conversion as had they. Still, the teaching of his boyhood, at home and school, makes him as sure of what he believed as if he had been spectacularly won. He could have said, with his French master, 'God subdued my heart to teachableness'. As R.S. Paul points out,

Some form of religious conversion is implicit in the religion of Calvin's Institutes, for it emphasizes that in the face of Man's sin, we are saved by the Grace of God alone.

Edwards was grateful for all his mother gave him. Of

2. See Goodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 205.
3. See Edwards, A Further Enquiry into Remarkable Texts, p. 229, for his admiring "our Apostle".
the estate which he inherited, and which was later augmented by his first, well-to-do wife, he often wrote in humble thankfulness, as the following extract shows:

I revere.....the divine bounty that hath vouch-safed to entrust me with a small stock (such as is suitable to my poor abilities) to carry on so laudable a design. I intend it shall not lie dead, but be employed to the glory of the great eternal Donor. 1

But many others are also writing books. As we look at the year of his birth, 1637, these are some of the publications, each one registered with the King's Stationery Office: Hobbes, Commentary on Aristotle, Translations of Virgil and Plutarch (quoted by Edwards), latest plays of Fletcher, practical handbooks, works on navigation and medicine, A Posy of Godly Prayers, and St. Francis de Sales's Devout Life, in English.

Three events of that year strike us as related to Edwards. The one which More put into his calendar for 1637 was "Stony Sabbath in Edinburgh".2 This expressed a part of the Presbyterian revolt against Laud's insistence that the Prayer Book be read in Scotland. When Charles I, "the happiest king in Christendom" 3 and his Arminian Laud, tried to force upon the Calvinistic Scots 4 the English liturgy, they drew fire

1. Edwards: Sermons on Special Occasions, Preface.
4. Ibid., p. 198, explains that the cry in Scotland was for a return to 1560, when the Scots had forced James VI to sign a confession of faith to establish Calvinist worship and discipline in Scotland permanently. It is no wonder, "even children were signing the Covenant", (p. 203). This "return" to the Reformation was Edwards's cry.
from liberty-loving Edinburgh, just as Toland's Christianity
Not Mysterious 1 later drew fire from mystery-stressing Edwards.
The second event happened in Cambridge 2 itself: religious
persecution in the University and the intolerant Church. The
third related fact, which marked the year of the birth of so or-
thodox a thinker, was that "liberal" Chillingworth turned back
from Romanism and wrote his Religion of Protestants. 3 Often
Edwards, who later criticized the other's weakness on the funda-
mentals of the faith, quoted him approvingly in his strong writ-
ing against Popery. 4

Thus this boy whose name was John (whether after John
the Baptist or Calvin himself), was plunged by birth into a sea
of controversy - anti-Laudian, anti-Roman and anti-Trinitarian.
The stress and strain of the clashing claims of revelation and
reason, authority and freedom, tradition and fresh truth, must
have been in the atmosphere. Growing up through those hectic
days of violence to national leaders, and death for his own
father, he became a man of reaction. Certainly he must have

1. Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background, p. 280, ad-
mits, as Edwards saw, that Toland's book was "the immediate
offspring of Locke's dangerous The Reasonableness".
3. Alexander, The Shaping Forces of Modern Religious Thought,
p. 93, agrees with those who regard it as "the bulwark of
the Protestant faith".
4. See Edwards, Remains, (Vol. III) pp. 126-127. For criti-
cism of Chillingworth, see Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith
and Justification, p. xii.
decided in youth to be true to both King and Church of England. These became the twin passions of his life; to reform the Church and State at the heart. Whatever else Edwards was, he was John the loyal. But for this task of calling his England back to the Reformation, and especially to Geneva, he needed a dedicated mind. How did he acquire it? A little came from his extreme, Puritan father, more from his rich, reverent mother; most of all from his Church and classical schooling.

But what are the sources for our knowledge of this life? Apart from his many books, which we scan in vain for anything approaching an autobiography, there is one biographical source, Dr. Andrew Kippis, editor of Biographia Britannica. He sends us to the files of "The Gentleman's Magazine", to check his reference to how he came to include John Edwards in the second edition of his ponderous work. We appreciate the story of that early "research", when we read in the issue for January 1793 how near Dr. Edwards, like a certain Mr. Wright, came to being omitted from all published biography.

"No-one having hitherto attempted to save from oblivion the memory of Mr. Thomas Wright...."; so began the magazine sketch of his life. But this, even if otherwise worthy,

1. See Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration, pp. 281-287, for more on Thomas Edwards (1599-1647).
appeared too late for the *Biographia Britannica*, which was about
to go to press. In the bound volume of the magazine for that
year, we find the following letter to the editor, Urban, from
the editor of the *Biographia*, under the heading of Crown Street,
Westminster, November 20, 1792:

> Being engaged in drawing up accounts of such of the
> Edwardses as are entitled to a place in the *Biography*, I
> find in Mr. Cooke's *Historical Register* a Dr. John Edwards,
> a Cambridge divine, who flourished from the year 1665 to
> 1714, and who from the number and size of his theological
> publications, seems to have been of some consequence and
> popularity in his day. As I am a total stranger to every-
> thing relating to him, except his university degrees and
> the title of his works, I shall be thankful of your corre-
> spondents for information concerning him, either by private
> communication, or through the medium of your repository.
> .....Unless the intelligence be given in your *Magazine* for
> December, or in the Supplement at the farthest, it will
> come too late.

Signed, The Editor of the *Biographia*. ¹

We look in the next issue, but find only one response,
dated December 6, and addressed to "The Gentleman's Magazine":

> Mr. John Edwards, mentioned by Mr. Cooke, as Fellow
> of St. John's College, took his degree of M.A. at that col-
> Your correspondent will probably find something of him in Mr.
> Baker's *History of St. John's College* in the Harleian Lib-
> rary, 7086.

(Unsigned.) ²

². Ibid., Vol. LXII, p. 1089.
Kippis writes that he did receive a biography of Edwards; and it has proved reliable. To accounts found in biographical dictionaries, we add the corroborative testimony of several manuscripts.¹ These are fragments of letters, signatures in Church registers, a testimonial, correspondence from others to Edwards; and, most important, the long MS. Add 58, Cambridge University Library, which is discussed in the Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw, long Librarian there. The latter is presented under "A View of the University During the Reign of Queen Anne". References to Edwards in letters include those of Whitefield to Wesley and of Howell Harris, the Welsh Reformer.

Thus we proceed with the facts of his life and thought. Baptized in All Hallows Church in Hertford, John early began his education at the Merchant Taylors' School of London. And that meant also early each morning. Before daylight the boys were on their way to six o'clock classes,² finishing their breakfast as they went. Preparing for college was a serious business in a day when a dozen languages were spoken in Britain. Catechisms were learned in Latin; but for recreation, John might read, in English, Raleigh's History of the World, which Cromwell of

1. These manuscripts were examined at Cambridge University Library, the British Museum, and the National Library of Scotland, in Edinburgh.
2. Wedgwood, The King's Peace, p. 82.
Cambridge recommended to his son, Richard. The printed word was taken gravely, and remembered.

Sixteen year old John is admitted as sizar to St. John's College, Cambridge, on March 10, 1653. Matriculating in 1654, our student lays a broad foundation for the later tribute of biography that he deserves a high rank as a Calvinist thinker. The Alumni Records reveal the following degrees and distinctions: B.A., 1657-58; Fellow, 1659. Then M.A., 1661; B.D., 1668, and D.D., 1699.

For over forty years he was truly John Edwards of Cambridge. There he earned both degrees in Arts and both in Divinity. The atmosphere of Cambridge libraries and churches, colleges and streets, became the air he breathed. Furthermore, the influence of Puritan teaching had been strong there, and was still to be felt. After brief departures from the town, to preach or to recuperate his health, he was drawn back to live in

2. Just seventeen years earlier his departed father had been elected Fellow of Queens' College.
3. See Ledgwood, The King's Peace, p. 77, for the fact that theology dominated the universities; but the classics, philosophy, ancient history, mathematics and medicine were all taught. Edwards gives evidence of a knowledge of all these, substituting law for medicine. See also The Works of President Edwards, Vol. I, p. 7n, "There was another writer... of the name of Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jesus College, Cambridge." This should be Jonathan Edwards of Oxford to whom John Edwards of Cambridge refers in his The Socinian Creed, p. 206. An example of "collation".
Cambridge. He felt its charm, and the challenge of what he believed was its need for Calvinism. Let us fill in the details of that picture, with its lights and shadows. For they affected his religious thought and the products of both his pulpit and writing desk. But how did he learn logic and rhetoric, how become the preacher and would-be moral reformer of life around him? What kept him true to his quiet boyhood call?

Soon after admission to St. John's College, he was chosen scholar of the house, and appointed moderator. When middle bachelor, he was elected Fellow. The courageous Master of St. John's, Dr. Anthony Tuckney, was a Westminster divine under whose sponsorship John advanced in self-confident learning. What he had lost by the death of his Presbyterian father, young Edwards now gained from this fatherly principal.1 In a sermon at St. Mary's, December 22, 1553, the kind old Master vindicated the character of some Cambridge ministers as noble spirited preachers who freely gave to God that which cost them so much, but for which

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, for a Catalogue of Authors in which he recommends several of Tuckney's books to young preachers. See also Tuckney, The Balne of Gilead, Dedication: "I should even in these sad times of our heaviness, rejoice in hope that the winter will pass, and the rain blow over.....and the Son of Righteousness.....will encourage our hearts after all winter storms."

2. See ibid., Dedication, for Tuckney's emphasis, gentler than that of Edwards, on God's love, faithfulness, power and wisdom, which no doubt was a "corrective" to the latter's more severe father.
they received nothing from the people.¹

Now, the pendulum begins to swing to the left. Letters between Tuckney and Whichcote give evidence that the popular Platonists' point of view ² will not long tolerate that of the Presbyterians. Dr. Tuckney is forced to resign as Master in June, 1661, when he objects to the use of the Prayer Book.³ That is the beginning of the end for Edwards's Fellowship. No doubt it is partly due to a failure in his self-control. He quarrels with the Master, and resigns in disgust and discouragement.

He had barely managed to get along with Tuckney's successor, Dr. Gunning; and we do not wonder, when we read of his strong Arminian theology.⁴ Then, as if things were not bad enough, 'there arose a Master who knew not Edwards'.⁵ Dr. Turner turned out not only John Calvin's ideas of predestination and irresistible grace, but his ardent follower. We read that

.....the notable Calvinist, John Edwards, was forced to resign in 1670 from St. John's College at Cambridge, because of his views. He long continued active; but by 1700 was almost the sole remaining example of a prominent

5. See Sykes, The English Religious Tradition, p. 51, for "The wheel had turned full circle."
Anglican Calvinist. High and Low Churchmen alike were Arminians. 1

On Edwards's departure, the Fellows presented him with a testimonial.

In the University Library, however, we verified his signature, along with the autographs of seven other "Senior Fellows" of the College, affixed in 1672 to such a testimonial. This signature of Edwards corrects the above date of Stromberg. The inscription in Latin was given to

......our beloved in Christ, Thomas Barrett, Master of Arts and Member of our College, who has shown himself studious and modest both in the aforesaid University and in this College. 2

The manuscript explains the occasion on which Edwards was present to sign his name as Fellow:

Since it is an ancient and approved custom of our University that those who have added probity of morals to the study of good literature should be honoured by a public testimony to their erudition and probity...... 3

Before he was forced to move out of St. John's, several

2. Our translation of Testimonial Manuscript.
3. Ibid. The unmistakable date, 1672, on this manuscript makes us believe Stromberg to be in error as to his date for Edwards's resignation. We prefer, upon this evidence to believe he did not resign in 1670, as our recent author states, but in 1672 or later. See also Bradshaw, Collected Papers, p. 71, for reference to Edwards's signature in the University Registry.
members of the royal family visited the College. It is easy, in the familiar old court,\(^1\) to visualize this scene in 1669:

Thence his Highness (King Charles II)\(^2\) went to the College of St. John the Evangelist, where, on entering the court, he was met by Dr. Gunning the Master, who, with the collegians, waited to pay their respects to him; and, a complimentary discourse in Latin having been first pronounced, they accompanied his Highness through the halls and apartments most worthy of notice, conducting him into the library, which, both in number and curiosity of the books, surpasses that of the University. \(^3\)

This excellence of the library\(^4\) explains the loyal way Edwards styled himself, "Sometime Fellow of St. John's".

But, having to leave his Fellowship, he became a commoner at Trinity Hall, and performed the exercises as a student in the civil law. Calvin, before him, had taken legal training. This course of study had been restored at Cambridge in 1554-55.\(^5\)

Evidences of such training appear in the legalistic spirit and style of most of his writing.\(^6\) In listing the professions,

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1. See Thompson, *Cambridge and Its Colleges*, p. 174, "The court and tower belong to 1520".
2. See Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, p. 139; Charles II "succeeded in creating a new kind of rule based not on parliament, whose criticism he resented, but on the Church of England, in the tenets of which he did not believe.
4. See Mayor, *Cambridge Under Queen Anne*, pp. 116, 128 and 418, for such references as: "fine," "I think... the finest of that University," and "more tidy"; "..... mostly theologica, among which, however, many noble opera occur".
6. Edwards, *The Doctrines Controverted between Papists and Protestants*, p. vi, gives us this sample: "In all the courts of judicature the testimony of an adversary is laid hold upon with great eagerness."
Edwards put lawyers next to divines. If he got his devotion to the syllogisms of logic at St. John's, he must have learned lawyer-like appeal at Trinity Hall. The purpose of his writings, whatever the subject, was the vindication of the cause of Christianity.¹ In describing the Bible, he called it the source of the finest proofs and arguments.²

John Edwards was active, not only in the University, but also in community ³ and church affairs. His introduction into holy orders, moreover, had been as nobly made as that of his academic career. Sir Robert Carr presented him to Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, who conferred the order of Deacon in 1664, and selected him to preach the sermon when he, along with others, was ordained. Consecrated priest of the Church,⁴ but called to be a prophet, Edwards soon became vicar of Holy

¹. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, Preface.
³. See Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III, p. 529: "Unlike France....England was never greatly influenced by anti-clericism, because the English clergy, ....fitted intimately into the social order of things; and their influence in the parish was second only to that of the squire. It was partly for this reason that scepticism was seldom aggressive, or joined with ridicule." Edwards, an extremist, considered it otherwise.
⁴. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyterian, p. 236. The traditional "Anglican doctrine of the episcopacy, and the "Anglican principle" must have been impressed upon young Edwards at ordination, to have kept him so loyal and conforming.
Trinity, in the heart of Cambridge. This significant year of the Plague was the first of four evangelistic ministries. The other three were: Bury St. Edmunds, 1668; St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, 1676, and St. Peter's, Colchester, 1683-1686. During the long interims, he withdrew to write his equally lengthy discourses; so that by the time of his retirement, he was ready to start publishing at a rapid rate.

Whether in the college or in the Trinity parish, he wholeheartedly gave himself to writing, except when the Plague drew him out to be a pastor to the suffering people. Loving books more than people, he was first scholar, then minister. The older he became, the more devoted he grew to his study. The results of this concentration were seen in the various books which Edwards gave to the world. However, with a few

1. See Cambridge Antiquarian Communications, Vol. IV, p. 313 ff., for the "Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity". It had boasted such great Puritan divines as Sibbes, Preston and Goodwin. Its ministers were the public preachers of the town of Cambridge. "There is no doubt that the Trinity Lectureship" (which Edwards held), "had not only become a well-established institution, but was also felt to be an important power in Cambridge." Ibid., p. 325. See also Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, Vol. III, p. 468, for a description of the Wednesday lecture which was given by a "combination of the worthiest and best preachers of the University at that time, all of them Fellows of Colleges".

2. See Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, Vol. III, p. 625, for the fact that the post of chaplain to the Mayor of Cambridge and Corporation was for one hundred years usually, if not exclusively, held by the Trinity minister.
significant exceptions, it was to the world of his own day and generation in England.

In our Cambridge research we identified his handwriting among the relics of the old church by comparing it with specimens found in the University library. Before the Plague and after, our preacher buried many dead and baptized the newborn, entering their names upon Registers of Holy Trinity and later of St. Sepulchre's (now known as "the Round Church"). One author says that during the Plague he left his residence in the College and moved into the town to devote himself to his sick parishioners. One may well believe it; although the records of the town show that far more were dying there than inside the University walls. In spite of his wealth, love of ease had no place in the heart of Edwards. He served his sheep with a tenderness one does not feel in his later, more critical preachments.

In the preface to that first printed sermon, he calls himself "minister of Trinity Parish in Cambridge"; indicating

1. See Mullinger, St. John's College, p. 143, for this tribute: "His exertions among his parish during the Plague won him the good opinion of all."

2. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, Vol. III, p. 620. One issue of the bulletins which attests the relative immunity of the colleges reads: "All the colleges (God be praised) are and have continued without any infection of the Plague."

his duty as more important to him than his degrees, even in a college community. He assures us, moreover, that he loved to preach. These are the opening words of his sermon on November 11, 1665, as he declared war on sin:

To the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge, especially to my loving parishioners of Trinity, grace and peace. Sin, beloved, is poison. I wish unfeignedly I could by any holy skill, ease you of the more disastrous venom at your hearts. O that this paper might prove a plaister to draw it. 1

With plain, pointed preaching, 2 Edwards laid the foundation for Trinity's continuing Low-Church tradition. His first charge later became the church of Charles Simeon's famous ministry of fifty-four years. Thus the apostle of the Cambridge Evangelicals later preached the Gospel where Edwards once stood and poured out his heart, saying: "If you find any good, thank God for it, not me." 3

Sincerely he shares the motive of his sermon. This kind of witnessing he seldom does, except in an occasional preface, through the later, less pastoral years of his life. Rather, he becomes progressively impersonal. But now, in the

2. See Moorman, A History of the Church of England, p. 259, for the change in preaching style of Tillotson and South from the old Puritan homiletic tradition of stiffness, to a new directness, clarity and force. But, for an amusing incident of South preaching before drowsy Charles II, and his "indecorous courtiers", see Burnet, History of My Own Time, p. 650n.
flush of his ordination to the Gospel ministry, under the inspiration of a heroic facing of danger among his first flock, the shepherd of souls opens his heart wide to say,

I must tell you, I designed not language but living well. A gaudy and flaunting style 1 is no ways suitable to these mournful times. The God of all blessing bless you and yours, and keep you from sin and sickness. This is the earnest prayer of yours in all Christian service, John Edwards. 2

His text, aptly chosen from a concordance-like knowledge of Scriptures, is:

What prayer and supplication soever be made by any man, or by all Thy people Israel, which shall know every man the plague of his own heart, and spread forth his hands towards this house. 3

Is Edwards a forerunner of the Cambridge Evangelicals? 4 This


3. 1 Kings: 8: 38.

4. Edwards's early evangelical influence in Cambridge may be indicated in these entries in Alderman Newton's Diary: "December 25, 1668, the Vice-Chancellor preached a good sermon on these words, "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Newton's Diary, p. 36; May 29, 1669; "At the town charge, there was a very good dinner provided, to which were invited by Mr. Mayor, Mr. Edwards, minister... .", etc. This is explained by Cooper in his Annals of Cambridge, Vol. III, p. 456, under date of 1657: "17th August, the Corporation voted the mayor the yearly allowance of twenty marks for the entertainment of ministers such as he shall think fit to invite to dinner upon the lecture days holden at Trinity Church."
question is suggested by his characteristic appeal,

I have only this to beg of you that you would be mindful of me at the throne of grace, beseeching the Lord that He would crown my ministry with the conversion and salvation of many souls, and that He would make me feel the power and influence of these saving truths upon my own heart, which I deliver unto you. 1

From that Plague year 2 until he died half a century later, no-one can question his devotion to the Church of England and its Articles, although he was writing criticisms of its practices. He loved to refer to it as

.....that Church, of which we have the honour to be members, and which we have a thousand times proclaimed to be the best and purest, and most apostolical church in the world. 3

Yet he felt free to hold up the Dissenters, the Scots, or even some noble pagans, as examples by which to put to shame the laxity within his English communion; but Edwards's special appreciation and patronage were for the sober Dissenters. He would have agreed with David Ogg, in his splendid new book:

England was more fortunate than France, where as dissent was supposed to be non-existent, it could have

2. See Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, Vol. III, p. 518, for this: "Among those who left the University on this occasion was the great Newton, who retired to his estate at Woolsthorpe, and there the fall of the apple from the tree suggested to him the principle of universal gravitation."
claimed no status. The English Dissenters occupied an intermediate position, such as accorded well with the English genius for compromise....there was a recognition....that the Protestant Dissenters were not a political danger, but....the state for long refused to admit them to full citizenship....placed as it were on the margin of society, they were able to view that society from a broad angle.....It was this that helped to make Richard Baxter such a penetrating critic of his England. 1

Kippis reports on Edwards that he sought to edify his hearers, yet his sermons contained choice and profound remarks. From the testimony of his parishioners, he did not affect eloquence; but rather sought to be intelligible, and practical. Like Calvin, he applied the doctrine which he preached. 2 His church was well attended by the gown, and persons of standing in the University: Sparrow, 3 Master of Queens'; Dr. Beaumont, Master of Peterhouse; and Dr. Pearson, Master of Trinity College. They expressed appreciation for his pulpit work. The admiration between the last-mentioned Master and Edwards was mutual. Our author was bold enough, repeatedly, to take to task John Calvin, 4 but only once, John Pearson. 5 Also, John Beaumont's

2. See Hunter, The Teaching of Calvin, p. 300, for "The application was the main thing with him'.
3. Mullinger, A History of the University of Cambridge, p. 157, describes him as a man of "inferior ability".
name appears on the "Imprimatur" page of Edwards's early publications.

Although the Rev. Mr. Edwards was offered a good living near Cirencester by Sir Edward Atkins, he remained at Cambridge without any charge. Upon receipt of his B.D. in 1668, however, he was prevailed upon by Sir Robert Carr and Sir Thomas Harvey to become the lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds, at a salary of one hundred pounds a year. There again, he was making a fine reputation as a preacher, when he resigned to return to Cambridge.

In 1676, John Edwards was called to old St. Sepulchre's. (It too is still in the Evangelical tradition.) Here, as at Holy Trinity a decade earlier, he attracted people of prominence in both the University and the town. Offered two considerable benefices in Norfolk, he declined in favour of others who needed them more than he did.¹ During that year he married Mrs. Lane, widow of Alderman Lane, an eminent attorney. She protected our marathon writer in his hours of home study, until he no longer cared for what he called "the unnecessary diversions" of friends.

Later he accepted his last parish, a less valuable preferment at St. Peter's in Colchester, merely for the prospect of usefulness. For three years he was found to be very accept-

¹. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. II, p. 200, for one of many references to the point of view of a man of means, with money to lend.
able, but abruptly withdrew to Cambridgeshire. The reasons
given for this retirement vary. It appears to have been due
to his wife, who, like his mother, had been accustomed to the
luxuries of life in a larger place. This wealthy woman seemed,
to the people of Colchester, to be unfriendly and aloof from them.
Edwards himself was not socially inclined as a pastor. Perhaps
the people did not appreciate their "writing scholar". ¹ Certainly he must have spent most of his time at his desk, for many
of his works were published under the authorship of "Minister of
St. Peter's Church, Colchester".

There was a misunderstanding again, and the sensitive
nature of orthodox Edwards, who considered himself different
from other people, made him resign. Hurt by the unkind treat­
ment of his fellow-clergy, ² discouraged, no doubt, by the sickly
habits of his wife, and his own worsening health, ³ this indepen­

¹ See Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature,
p. 544, for his appreciation of Edwards's "astuteness, learning and piety" in these writings, especially A Discourse Concerning.....the Books, and Exercitations, which he wrote about this time; so Bickersteth agrees in Christian Student.
² Edwards speaks in severe language of both Dr. Gunning and Dr. Turner, successively bishops of Ely, and rebukes the Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1711 for refusing to print his sermon at the University Press. See also The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, pp. 223-224, for Baxter's similar opinion of Gunning.
³ Some writers suggest apoplectic and convulsive fits, bodily
pain and weakness, and especially the gout.
dent preacher left Colchester for the seclusion of a village. He preferred writing to meeting people and their problems. Now he could study to his heart's content, and rest his body and nerves. There, among nothing but books, he rallied his powers of brain and hand for the real ministry of his life, his pulpit of the press. But country life was inconvenient for securing new books and for getting his own works ready for publication in London. So, as if by some "irresistible grace", such as he was stressing, energetic Edwards and his delicate wife are ready to move again; and where else than into Cambridge itself?

In 1667, he is once more enjoying its bookshops and University, as well as the opportunities to preach on special occasions. Life begins at sixty for this man with a passion to publish. "By reason of strength" his years are nearly four score, and this becomes the productive period of his career. He does not think a book a year is too frequent an appearance for one who would otherwise have been preparing at least a hundred sermons every twelve months. How the influence of his writing compares with that of his preaching we wonder; but it was written of Cromwell that though he and his officers were strong preachers, more influence was exerted on the minds of the soldiers by pamph-
lets than by the pulpit. 1

It is remarkable that notwithstanding his numerous publications, Edwards never possessed a library. Rather his habit of study was to procure the loan of old books from the Public and University libraries, 2 and to rent new ones from booksellers. The rates were six pence for an octavo, a shilling for a quarto, two shillings for a folio. Thus he forced himself to read them within a limited time. Otherwise, he might never have taken such detailed notes, the quotations from which, alas, too often padded his volumes. 3

John Edwards at sixty-two had frequently been urged by his admiring friends to take a D.D., and finally agreed just before the turn of the century. He preached an English sermon at the Cambridge Commencement on Sunday, July 2, 1699, and a Concio ad Clerum and Determinatio Questionis to the schools on a theological problem. While he seemed to have found a new lease of life, he lost his lady in 1701. "After a decent time," the biographer says, Edwards

2. See Bradshaw, Collected Papers, p. 71.
3. See Edwards's Preface to The Socinian Creed, in which he quotes so many authors of that school of thought, with this comment: "Nor have I gathered from some few or dubious expressions in their writings, or from some scraps and sentences, but from the plain tenor and scope of what they write." We certainly vouch for his extensive, if at times inaccurate research. See Tulloch, Rational Theology, Vol. II, p. 476.
...married again; this time a Catherine, the niece of Alderman Lane, who had been brought up several years under Mrs. Edwards before her marriage to the Doctor. 1

This gifted younger wife survived the divine long enough to glimpse the dawning of the revival for which her husband preached and published so much, but which he was not privileged to see.

Though he is not able to welcome any change in what he often describes as "this corrupt age", Edwards is at work writing, and occasionally preaching, right up to the year of his death. He challenges, criticizes, and appeals for a reform in Cambridge, as well as for a return of the Church to evangelical principles, so neglected in his degenerate day. 2 He has been crusading since his undergraduate days; and well he might, if we believe Pepys's Diary written on the verge of the Restoration, when the kind of outmoded Puritanism 3 Edwards so admires, is on its last legs. 4 We refer especially to the college drunkards who call

2. Edwards, Some Brief Observations on Mr. Whiston's..., p. xii.
3. See, for instance, Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III, p. 515, for "the Puritan expulsion of music from the church." But outside the church the Puritans encouraged music". This was the position of Edwards.
4. Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, (edited by Braybrooke), Vol. I, Feb. 23, 1659; "we came to Cambridge by eight o'clock in the morning.... To the Three Tuns, where we drank pretty hard, and many healths to the King.... There was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, especially on Saturday nights....no such thing among them nowadays at any time."
forth dry and not preachments from our defender of sobriety.

More than those of most would-be reformers, his efforts are considered timely, at least by the college historian of St. John's, who admits that

.....the direct assertion of John Edwards that nearly half of the members of the University oscillated between mental depression and wild excess is corroborated to some extent by the evidence. 1

In an unpublished manuscript of his is found this testimony of our reformer of pulpit 2 as well as of parish:

With the immorality of these academics is joined profaneness and impiety. I have heard them with these ears swear and curse and damn like hectors..... They show little regard and reverence for the Lord's Day. 3

But drinking, he insists, was the chief cause of all ills, next to heresy itself. 4

Among manuscript letters at the end of the century, there is a corroboration of this by one who says that Edwards was of his own year at the University. 5 He is writing a fellow-minister on the 29th of October, 1694;

2. Lightfoot: Dr. Edwards's Vindication Considered, p. 5.
4. See Burnet, History of My Own Time, p. 907, for supporting testimony to "the spreading corruption of this age".
5. MS. Covel's Correspondence. (1662-1722). Cambridge University Library.
You know the truth, it was a drunken company and we came to meet the same, and that with the good wine and a good deal of it. 1

He drank so much that it took him hours to get from Catherine Hall to Christ College. But, he assures his reverend confessor, he will do so no more. Showing the influence of Romanism, against which evangelical Edwards was so vociferous, his friend closes his letter to the "reverend sir" with "dear father". The postscript places his letter in a historical context: "Thursday night the Queen died of smallpox, so we have lost the chief support of our Church interest." 2

Just a few years before this, the two works which moulded the mind of Cambridge for a century, 3 were published. Newton had written his Principia in 1687 and John Locke his famous Essay in 1689. Yet this stimulation of the intellect had left morals at a low ebb. The usual device to escape from ennui was the cup; and hard drinking was followed by its concomitant loss of mental balance, if not complete derangement, as Edwards claimed. This was our reporter's version:

It is observed that among the University men almost half of them are "hyped" (as they call it) that is, disordered

1. MS., Covel's Correspondence (1662-1722). Cambridge University Library.
2. Ibid.
in their brains, sometimes mopish, sometimes wild, the two different effects of their laziness and debauchery. 1

A twentieth century book on Cambridge, published just before World War I, suggests:

.....the spirit remains the same. Probably if one knew the facts one would find little real change, beyond an improvement in manners, since the days of Gunning, when dignitaries of the University used to jolt home.....singing strange songs and tangled in uncouth embraces. 2

So strongly does Edwards attack drinking that Robert Lightfoot, in a letter to a friend, pokes fun at him about some advice he gives the younger clergy. 3 Surely the strict old Puritan of the Church has slipped a little. Toward the end of some sixty pages on the right and wrong kinds of ministerial recreation, Edwards recommends as harmless, a glass of wine or some other liquor, with a friend. 4 However, like William Prynne in his earlier Histriomastix, John Edwards makes unqualified attacks on the evils of the stage, another source of social and moral declension. The burden of his efforts at reform, moreover, is church life and religious thought. The manuscript we have mentioned is a large fragment of a book in quarto, 5 written in

2. Tennyson, Cambridge from Within, p. 8.
4. Lightfoot, Dr. Edwards's Vindication Considered, p. 5.
black ink, with copious footnotes. Although the beginning and the end of the volume are missing, the work is an appeal for the restoration of the Church to a state of apostolic simplicity. Our author is within the Church of England, yet is vehemently opposed, not only to the corruptions of his day, but also to the whole development of Church organisation, and especially the diocesan Episcopacy.1

This last work 2 by Dr. John Edwards, one page of which is printed with a facsimile of his handwriting, unchanged like his thought, from nearly fifty years before (Dec. 3, 1666), is a stinging protest against the condition of both the University and the Church he loves, during the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne. He is eloquent but apparently not effective. His sparks of revival die as the eighteenth century frost falls.

And so we see the old preacher without a pulpit 3 go down fighting. But he does not give up until he has reached

1. See Bradshaw, Collected Papers, pp. 69-83.
2. The Library description of the manuscript as "against the Church of England" is technically inaccurate. Edwards is always for his dear Church in ideal, and is simply calling her back to her "pristine purity". See also, Specimen of the Handwriting of Dr. John Edwards, from MS. Add 58, University Library, Cambridge.
3. See Jones, The Charity School Movement, p. 261. These schools were begun as a "bulwark against the spread of what appeared to be the two greatest evils of the day - Popery and poverty".
from Cambridge to the Highlands of Scotland in philanthropy and the raising of support for their Charity Schools. ¹ Having no son to succeed him, he turns from the younger clergy of Cambridge to the under-privileged children of the hills. The only ways in which this evangelical ever goes abroad are by means of his pen ² and his purse, some packages which he ships to Scotland; and, as we later learn, books to America.

Of those packages, we read in some manuscript letters at the National Library of Scotland. They are believed to have been written to John Edwards of Cambridge in 1708 and 1709. The writer has read his discourse occasioned by the happy union of England and Scotland, entitled "One Nation and One King". In it Edwards had gone so far in friendship as to say:

Thus I wish the Church (I had almost called it the Kirk) of England, and that of our neighbours were entirely one. ³

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¹ See Edwards, remains, (Vol. III) p. 380, where he mentions his "age, indispositions, and frequent infirmities" which prevent his pulpit appearances, but permit him, by the help of the press, to write with the same frequency as he formerly preached.

² We shall see how Whitefield finds Edwards's The Preacher in America. Also his Veritas Redux, on the ship crossing the Atlantic. See, also, Edwards, The Heinousness of England's Sins, p. 8, for his reference to "the trouble or danger of crossing the seas".

³ Edwards, "One Nation and One King", p. 10. See also Barker, The Character of England, p. 68; "There is truth in the judgment that with all its wide appeal, the Church of England has never been a popular Church as the Kirk of Scotland has been popular. Yct....., seventeenth century Anglicanism left a grand legacy to English religion."
Then, to practise what he had preached, Edwards must have sent some parcels of food, clothing or books to Scotland. This was part of his generous response to the Scottish appeal, dated January 6, 1708, and repeated later. After acknowledging the two parcels he had sent, Edwards's correspondent reminded our philanthropist that some in South Britain were still "very cold in designs of this nature, set on foot for this country which they looked upon as foreign." 1

As we read on, we find these lines which echo the style and spirit of Edwards himself:

But now, by the blessing of God, this prejudice being removed, the promoters of this undertaking are hopeful that all sincerely good men in this Island will readily and cheerfully espouse so useful and necessary a work intended for the spiritual good of so many souls who at present perish for lack of knowledge. 2

Edwards is asked to secure others to help in rescuing the children in the Highlands from ignorance and barbarity, which would indeed be a happy result of the Union. 3 In order to facilitate the promotion of such a good cause, the writer informs Edwards that he has desired

.....those who manage this affair to send you five or six

2. Ibid., p. 311.
3. Ibid., p. 311.
more proposals under the cover of a member of Parliament, which you will be pleased to distribute among souls whom you judge most likely to serve the design. 1

He also asks, with confidence, that our well-to-do preacher collect money to add to his own contributions. In letters to others, he refers to the fact that he has thus written to "Mr. Edwards", whom he considers his Cambridge "representative". But no amount of supporting or promoting causes of education, relief or reform, could take the place in Dr. Edwards's heart of his main concern: to publish books which might correct the thinking of people then and later.

Moreover, much of his printed material was first preached during his parish charges at Cambridge, Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester. He also delivered many sermons on special occasions, days of national significance, when he was invited to appear before distinguished audiences. Such Puritan preachers within Cambridge were few, but they were men of ability, and earlier exerted a disproportionate amount of influence;2 by Edwards's time it had almost disappeared. He was an exceptional figure in Cambridge.

Thus, among the nineteen volumes of his collected works,

exclusive of his three huge *Theologia Reformata*, the first two contain sermons on difficult texts, and the next three are on the books of Scripture, its authority, style and perfection. He has three volumes entitled *The Preacher*, (including *The Hearer*, which was translated into Welsh). Two other collections include sermons preached on a wide range of occasions: before Charles II at Newmarket, the judges at the Cambridge assizes, at the election of a chief magistrate, before the clergy at the Archdeacon of Ely's visitation, and at the opening of a great fair. On special days of national fasting or thanksgiving, our Dr. Edwards was the usual speaker in and around Cambridge. He was an Englishman who loved Scotland; yet he could write, like an Old Testament prophet, on *The Heinousness of England's Sins*. (This sermon was "designed to be preached but prevented by sickness".) He did give several fearless messages before his Alma Mater, including one entitled *Great Things Done by God for Our Ancestors*. Some of these were reprinted in second and third editions, price threepence.

He was loyal to the Crown, as to the established Church; but neither the divine right of kings nor that of bishops bound his conscience. Like Calvin, he preached that there was a limit to non-resistance and to passive obedience. He showed deep respect for the discipline of his religion, but there was an exception to every rule. He believed it Biblical and best to live and

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preach under authority, but never to compromise with what he felt was heresy. His interpretation of Holy Scripture, guided by Paul, Augustine and Calvin, was the final authority. And so he preached occasionally from the pulpit, and daily by his pen. He had not studied to amuse but to satisfy the reader. Thus Edwards explained his seriousness; and assured us that he not only practised freedom of thought, but liked forthrightness in others. He had a passion for public righteousness as well as personal religion.

In politics he was a Whig. Kippis believes that the Vice-Chancellor of the University, in refusing a permit to print, at the Cambridge press, a sermon Dr. Edwards had preached at St. Mary's, was influenced by political prejudice against our author. In that discourse Edwards had sung of deliverance from Popery, the blessings of the Revolution, and the praises of King William. The notion of old-fashioned Puritans that Arminianism tended to Popery, as Socinianism to Deistic thought, had been expressed by our tactless preacher.

No one would question that he was entitled to the

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2. Clark and Foxcroft, A Life of Gilbert Burnet, p. 243, refers to his "whiggish" old age, in which he too became more friendly to Dissenters.
common prefix given to seventeenth century divines - "learned".¹

But he was brave as well as scholarly. In a Church which would not listen, stood this solitary figure in 1715, the year before his death, crying in the wilderness for the way of Geneva.

Drawing upon his endless supply of religious knowledge, Edwards continued his solemn call for doctrinal revival and primitive duties. With more enthusiasm than historical sense, one follower called him "the Paul, the Augustine, the Bradwardine, the Calvin of his age". So Kippis reported to us.

Let us consider another tribute which we have deciphered on the front page of Volume Ten of The Works of Dr. John Edwards, in New College Library, Edinburgh. Who wrote it we do not know; perhaps the first owner of the book, published in 1699. But it has the marks of appreciation of our author. In ink which is dim, and handwriting quaint, the reader has penned, with great care and pride of ownership, his own frontispiece-tribute:

Born 1637, Died 1716 - Edwards was a man of piety and considerable learning. A very great number of difficult papers are examined in his works, and he must be no ordinary scholar who does not find instruction in them.

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¹. See Burnet, History of My Own Time, p. 924. "I acquainted myself with knowledge.....and that in a great variety, and with more compass than depth." In the proposal for printing by subscription Edwards's Theologia Reformata, we read: "All is endeavoured to be so formed as not to be below the genius of the learned, nor above the capacity of others."
We continue, with magnifying glass and bright light, to read the remaining lines of our unknown penman:

Though a decided Episcopalian, he was the son of the noted Thomas Edwards, the author of *Gangraena*, and the most violent Presbyterian of the violent period in which he lived. 1

It was a day in which many "unworthy sons of the Church of England" seemed intent upon rising in the Church. Men thought that by their learning they would win for themselves posts of honour. 2

But Edwards turned down opportunities for professional advancement. He showed no ecclesiastical ambition. Rather he chose the unprofitable charge, because he believed it right for him. He did not care for the company of prelates or professors, much less for their compliments; although he was gracious in his remarks of dedication to bishops and one archbishop. He worked for a revival, in the fond hope that his ideas would be accepted later. His watchword was "Back to the Reformation." Those who appreciated him regarded him highly. 3

R.S. Paul, in writing of Cromwell's schoolmaster, could have been describing

3. Mullinger, in his St. John's College, p. 143, says: "Extravagantly eulogized by his admirers, Edwards was most remembered by his very unfavourable estimate of the state of the College and the University after the Restoration.
Edwards, who although he

.....remained within the Church of England, .....was a rigid Calvinist, and an uncompromising Puritan. He was a graduate of Cambridge.....his Puritan zeal was such that he added the office of 'lecturer' in the town. 1

Most references to Edwards suggest a limited estimate of his worth. They admit his distinction to be a zealous attachment 2 to Calvin's "Five Points". They admire the many theological fruits of our author's literary application; but they believe he will be most acceptable to followers of the Calvinian school.

Comparisons are odious, yet the superlative is found in such generalizations as this: some of the most learned men of the Church are "the late Archbishop of Canterbury and.....Dr. Edwards". 3 A Unitarian admits that at least the Trinitarians will acknowledge him as their orthodox champion. 4 And the previous admirer, who supports Edwards in his attack on Locke, answers the criticism of too much severity. These anti-Trinitarian critics of Edwards have represented him in false colours; but now the discovery which a bishop has made justifies Mr.

2. See Edwards, Exercitations, Preface, for his apology for devotion: "I had rather be taxed for my zeal than for my indifference." His is a true "concernedness".
3. F.B., A Free but Modest Censure of Late.....Writings, p. 3
4. ------ The Exceptions of Mr. Edwards in his "Causes of Atheism", p. 20.
Edwards's proceedings, and all men of judgment conclude that he had good reason to alarm the world of the danger of Mr. Locke's writing. With this judgment several nineteenth century historians have agreed. One of them records that Locke's treatise provoked an attack by Dr. Edwards, who was excusably indignant at any attempt to lower the conditions of salvation.

Another writer on the history of English religious thought dismisses all of Locke's opponents, except Stillingfleet, as unknown to fame. Their books, he says, are forgotten and their names found only in Locke's answers to them. The author of *The Reasonableness* dealt with them severely, and they had the satisfaction of knowing that they at least stung him to anger. Of these,

...the best known is John Edwards, who wrote *Some Thoughts Concerning the Causes of Atheism*, and afterwards, *Socinianism Unmasked*. In answer to these Locke wrote *A Vindication* and *A Second Vindication*.

Such is the irony of Edwards's religious struggle, that while he won single battles, he lost his war against Locke, general unbelief, and the popular Arminians of the day. Later came the revival of moderate Calvinism, and there even arose some extreme Calvinists such as Romaine, Toplady, Hawker, and Whitefield.

1. F.B., *A Free but Modest Censure of Late...Writings*, p. 8.
Or were they rather Augustinians, like Edwards? Alas, he did not live long enough into the eighteenth century to be able to see and rejoice — except by faith. He admitted that his truths were going out of fashion, but the Calvinian cause would one day be honoured. In the meantime, he would continue to displease his present age, in hope that the next generation would be favourable to what he was writing.

In *A Treatise on Predestination*, an impartial compiler of material on the subject gives a balanced judgment. He lists Edwards's works on Election and describes him as a zealous Calvinist, who, although he confused Arminianism with Romanism, should be read as a good antidote to some principal mistakes of Predestinarians.¹ Now, however, issues in theology have changed, as indeed they had already changed during the closing years of his life. Thus, the number and quality of our author's long discourses cause Andrew Kippis to close his eighteenth century "research" on John Edwards by a brilliant warning. He refers to the assertion that 'all unprejudiced men of the day voted him unanimously to be one of the most valuable writers of his time'. If this be true, and yet his works have fallen into oblivion, voluminous writers have reason to reflect on the slim prospects of future renown.

Once again, before we examine the controversial writings

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of Dr. Edwards, we turn through the Diary of Samuel Newton, Alderman of Cambridge, 1662-1717. We notice how effective our defender of the faith must have been in his attack upon Whiston, the heretical professor of Mathematics there. The entry for November 13, 1711, is that Mr. Whiston\(^1\) was expelled from the University for maintaining the Arian error, which was contrary to the teaching of the Church.\(^2\) Edwards at seventy-four still has passion not only to purge his Alma Mater but to purify his "mother" since boyhood, the Church of England.

We turn on through the Diary to August 1, 1713, and read, "Sunday morning about seven o'clock Queen Anne died".\(^3\) But John Edwards at seventy-six is still writing. In fact, he is just publishing his opus magnum in two volumes. His "Body of Divinity" is later augmented by a third tome printed posthumously.\(^4\) Hazard exclaims:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Annum Mirabilis!} Ah, 1713, what a prodigious year! .......When Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Addison and Steele, were all at the brilliant apex of their genius,
\end{quote}

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1. See Edwards, Some Brief Observations on Mr. Whiston's Late Writings, p. xi, where he insists: "I take no delight in making reflections on the performance of my brethren.....But .......as I am a member, much more as I am a minister of the Church of England, which I heartily reverence and esteem, I am obliged to take notice of the gross deviation.....from the Articles of our Church."


4. I estimate that the writings he left behind in manuscripts were nearly as many as those which he saw published.
and when England had suddenly combined to present such a galaxy of literary talent as was to be matched, or even approached, nowhere on the continent of Europe.

It is no wonder that our scholarly but slow-moving Edwards, the Calvinian of Cambridge, cannot compete with such artists. Fifty years earlier he might have succeeded, if he had concentrated on abbreviating his works. But as it is, when Theologia Reformata appears among such popular works as those born in 1713, it is too verbose, too laden with scholasticism. Edwards has outlived his era. His is an early seventeenth century mind trying to publish in the age of reason. England is not yet ready for George Whitefield, the next great Calvinist; nor is Cambridge ready for its "Evangelicals". Only a few readers will take time to read this monument to his tireless amassing of religious knowledge. Edwards's work will inevitably be laid aside in favour of Locke and other less sombre, less repetitious writers. But Edwards, at seventy-seven, is still preaching "A Sermon on the Accession of King George the First".

Let us turn on through the Diary. At last, after other brief entries of a busy alderman, who has little patience to write at the end of a day's work, we come to another Monday. We wonder if it was the day after Easter? It is April 16, 1716. We read, "On Monday died Dr. Edwards".

His life was over, but his works remained behind him, with his wife. He had tried hard to keep the world from changing. Rather he had struggled to put back the hands of the Reformation clock, but in vain. Now loudly, sometimes bitterly, he had called, with Jeremiah:

Thus saith the Lord, ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, we will not walk therein.

Indeed, these lines are taken from the last page of his long, unfinished manuscript in the Cambridge University Library:

I exhort and beseech those who read these papers to attend to the excellent advice of the prophet, 'Stand ye in the ways, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein'. Let us write after the ancient copy. Let us embrace Christianity as it was delivered at first, and as it came from the inspired Apostles, the very original... We should enquire whether the religion we espouse, and all the parts of it, be as old as our Saviour and His disciples. And by this way of enquiry we may be able to judge of the several pretences to religion in the world, and to discover which are false and groundless. All must be reduced to the primitive pattern, to the divine prescription. We should satisfy ourselves that all things in Christianity are agreeable to the true archetype and idea of it. That which the ancient Fathers... 2

The sentence breaks off at the word "Fathers". Apparently he was unable to finish it. Or was that an appropriate end to his

1. Jeremiah, 6: 16.
2. Edwards, MS. Add 58, University of Cambridge Library.

Last page.
life and labour?

Seventy-nine years belong to Edwards's earnest living, and over half as many works; some of which were written for exposition and others for revival. They champion the cause of Protestant orthodoxy. Too long they have gathered dust on the library shelves. As with Calvin's books, there are several kinds: controversial, doctrinal, counsel to the clergy, Evangelical Truths Restored; and volumes of sermons. It has been our task to read them all, and re-read the significant parts. There is some wheat among the chaff. The man certainly had a brain, a heart, and a pen. He exerted an influence for his day and his Tomorrow, our Yesterday. Yes, and as we write of his orthodoxy and 'walk with God', we wonder if Today we shall be able to say of John Edwards, as it was said of Abel, "God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead, yet speaketh". Certainly it will be true of Edwards, as of the Anglican reformers, that he

.....laid great stress upon the reform of the church to ensure purity and soundness of doctrine, 'the most precious jewel of the Gospel'..... 4

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1. See Flynn, The Influence of Puritanism, p. 152, where we note that the great Richard Baxter's far better works rest on the shelves "gathering dust".
3. See McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 203, for his classification of Calvin's production as "liturgical, exegetical, catechetical, systematic, and controversial".
CHAPTER III.

CHAMPION OF PROTESTANT ORTHODOXY

Like the Apostle Paul, John Edwards was a controversialist throughout most of his ministry. While his first printed sermon, The Plague of the Heart, was against sin in general, thirty years later he published Some Thoughts Concerning the Several Causes... of Atheism, with Some Brief Reflections on Socinianism and on "The Reasonableness of Christianity." Thereafter, he challenged heretical ideas and those whose writings had "a tendency to irreligion". Since sin and heresy were poisons, he offered antidotes. An unbound autograph was being prepared for the press at the time of his death; as

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, "A Catalogue of Some Authors", in which, after some books on preaching itself, Edwards first recommends 'The Ancient Apologists'. See also Denney, The Death of Christ, p. 117, for what might be applied to Edwards: "St. Paul could use his Gospel... in controversy,... but it was not devised for controversial... ends. The truth always has in itself to be its own vindication."

2. See the Cambridge University Library's description of Edwards's fragment of a discourse, MS. Add 58. Extracts are printed in Bradshaw's Collected Papers, p. 69 f. The manuscript belonged to Samuel Knight, D.D., Prebend of Ely, who died in 1746, and from whom it descended to J.P. Baumgartner of Milton Hall, Cambridge, who presented it to the Library in 1861. It has 114 leaves, 8" by 6", of paper, written in the unmistakable hand of John Edwards, with English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew footnotes. To some of the pages are pasted parts of letters, on the backs of which Edwards has made additions to his manuscripts. These fragments of letters were also of value in our research.
long as he had the strength to write, the elderly divine was fighting the evils of his Church of England.

Like Paul, Edwards anathematizes all who are preaching any other doctrine than that for which he contends. A conscientious champion of orthodoxy, he practises defence by attack. Among his targets are names as unknown as that of a Mr. Bold, and as famous as John Locke himself. Like Paul, our evangelist dips his pen into strong ink to proclaim "The mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ, in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge". We hear Edwards echoing the words of the Apostle, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit". This, in fact, inspires one of his most scholarly sermons. Like Paul, Edwards is strongly Trinitarian; and that conviction colours his polemical writings.

But, while Paul contends for the simplicity of the Gospel, and the all-sufficiency of Christ and His Cross against the syncretistic accretions of Judaistic law of Gnostic philosophy,

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. viii. "I stand in awe of no names, be they never so great, when I am convinced that I have a good cause." Later Edwards criticized Archbishop Tillotson.
3. Ibid., 2: 8.
5. See Baillie, God was in Christ, p. 156, for "this doctrine is a symbolical epitome of the truth about God".
Edwards is fighting for his plurality of fundamental tenets. 1 With pathetic devotion he defends the Articles of his Church, and Calvin's "Five Points".

I demand a reason of this. I require a particular and full account, why every one of those articles is not to be received as fundamental. I shall insist upon it till he (Locke) either assigns some reason, or confesses he cannot. 2

Unashamed to be criticized by Locke as among "the creed-makers and systematic men", 3 he holds his ground of orthodoxy and its long list of "essential" doctrines. With his accusation that Locke struck at systems of Divinity, the latter is entirely in accord. 4

While Paul's inspired epistles of controversy are logical treatises, addressed to churches of Rome, Galatia, Ephesus and Colosse, Edwards's hasty pamphlets, written to the reading public of his day, answer contemporaneous writers such as Clarke, Whiston, Whitby, 5 and Fogg. Paul is positive and to the point.

1. Edwards, A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles, p. 36. See also S.P. of Cambridge, Account of the New Sect of Latitude Men, p. 12, who calls men like Edwards who would add to the Thirty-Nine Articles, "Longitude Men". In such a multiplicity of beliefs S.P. sees danger of the Church becoming "a society of shepherds, without any sheep".
2. Edwards, A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles, p. 37.
5. See Edwards, The Arminian Doctrines Condemned, p. 2, for our unchanging author's derision: "This slippery and variable Dr. Whitby is carried about with every wind that blows..... His church at Salisbury has been famous for its lofty spire; now more for this weathercock."
Edwards becomes defensive; and brevity is not his soul of wit. Paul has a clear Christology, Edwards a cumbrous theology. Paul knows whom he has believed. Edwards, a preacher of Protestant orthodoxy,\(^1\) emphasizes not whom but what he believes necessary to maintain his Calvinistic system. Paul's Christ has met and mastered him on the Damascus road. Edwards's Trinity is a doctrine received by reading Paul, Augustine,\(^2\) Calvin, and others of the Geneva highway of thought. Paul's dogmatics are based upon his oft-told conversion and mystical experiences of Christ. But one looks in vain through thousands of pages for any reference to John Edwards's version of "I knew a man in Christ".\(^3\) With Paul, whom he tries to follow,\(^4\) or Calvin himself, we have Christian encounter plus thought. In Edwards, the echoes of the apostle's authentic voice die away to leave us with a sadness, that one so learned was not more wise; one so enthusiastic not more effective. His repetitious criticisms seem more calculated to discredit than to disprove; to warn of danger, rather

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1. See Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, p. 5, for "theological controversy may lead to one-sided system".
2. With Copinger, *A Treatise on Predestination*, p. 4, we endorse the writer who said: "Unus Augustinus prae mille Patribus, et unus Paulus prae mille Augustinus."
4. See Edwards, *The Preacher*, Part II, p. iii, "Father Paul who obliged all mankind, was defamed by the churchmen, most of all."
5. See Edwards, *The Socinian Creed*, Preface, where he includes Enthusiasts among the enemies of orthodoxy, and considers his own zeal to be merely the use of "downright language".
than win over by superior teaching.

Across the span of half a century of published "animadversions and vindications" one feels, however, the ebb and flow of constructive tides of Edwards's thought. Sometimes he sounds broad-minded. In the preface to his strongest work, he insists: "Everywhere my design is to reconcile the quarrelling people of the world." But conciliators usually incur the hatred of both parties. He makes singular a plural quotation from the Greek: "He that steps in to part disagreeing men meets with blows on both sides." In comparison with the heat of his father's Treatise Against Toleration, John Edwards is considerate of those with whom he differs. He loathes harshness which is not consistent with the meekness of a Christian. But he feels it his duty to defend the "orthodox" faith, even if it lacks vitality; and see to it that the cause does not die. He

1. See Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 1, where he considers himself "inspired".
2. Edwards, A Complete History of Religion, Vol. II, p. 754, says: "I declare I am not dogmatical in what I have said. ....There are several things highly probable of which we have no absolute certainty."
4. Plural in the original of Thucydides, "οἷς ἡ μείωσις ἀνφορέως κτίστηται.
5. Thomas Edwards refers to this lengthy "Scriptural attack" on religious liberty as "the casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan".
believes himself forced by heresy to engage in protective controversy. Yet he prefers the practical part of our religion to the disputes about it, because he realizes

...... the politic gentleman at Rome, and the other at Versailles, will be the only gainers by our intestine quarrels and divisions. 2

Edwards had published five expository discourses, and might have continued writing free from debate had he not taken strong exception to the theme of Locke's *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, in 1695. 3 But that called forth his latent powers, and his sixth volume on *Some Thoughts Concerning the Causes of Atheism* began to glow with accusations of Socinianism in Locke's book. From then on, a bent to controversy, which might have been inherited from his fighting father, was stirred up in his blood stream. 4 Whether he was writing *A Complete History of Religion*, the philosophical *A Free Discourse Concerning Truth and*

3. See Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning the Causes of Atheism*. Also, p. iii in the anonymous *The Exceptions of Mr. Edwards*, in which the author explains that the publishing of Locke's book "just when he was in hot pursuit of the causes of atheism" was responsible for Edwards's first attack upon Locke's ideas.
4. See Carus, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, p. 643, for "Let a man once engage in controversy, and it is surprising how the love of it will grow upon him".
Error, or even a text on The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, he made references to the Socinian, Arian, Arminian, and other "departures" from his Calvinian creed. He adopted as his motto: "In everything let there be liberty of thinking and speaking." 1

This, however, led him to ask:

"...when principles and truths of the highest nature are struck at by bold assailants, when the main doctrines of religion are...perverted, and when Christianity itself is endangered, shall we sit still and not be concerned?" 2

But he continued to claim freedom from heat. He was refuting, not reproaching his adversaries. He was no enemy to civility. Yet, like Calvin, Edwards "keeps us somewhat at a distance". 3

Moreover, he says that he is persuaded that even religion allows for new discoveries!

"I will not conceal my opinion, that the divines.....of these last two centuries have done more towards the stating.....of the doctrines in Holy Scripture, and towards the methodizing of them and in a rational.....way;

.....these moderns, I say, have done more towards this than all the Fathers.....who lived fourteen hundred years before. .....They did.....laudably for their time, but I never thought that they had the monopoly of truth; yea, I verily believe and can easily prove it (and will afterwards) that they erred in several particulars." 4

Using the story of Joseph's steward who, when searching

for his master's cup, began at the eldest and left off at the youngest, Edwards recognizes as scholarship that which examines ancient and modern authors in a quest for verity. It may be that we shall find truth, as the steward did the cup

......in the custody of the youngest. And when we do, let it not prejudice us that we found it there, but let us esteem it as highly as if it came from the eldest. 1

He believes that the age to come will see the further progress of truth.

However, Anglican Edwards had the Puritan mind. He belonged, as Woodhouse would classify him, to "the Party of the Right", conservative but zealous for reform. We remember:

......the terms in which the Puritan insists that the argument shall be carried on, are real to him, and of first rate historical importance...... Ignore the terms, or misunderstand them, and the Puritan mind has eluded you. The Puritan viewed the world as a two-fold system, a scheme of nature and a scheme of grace. The two are inter-related: because God was the Creator and supreme Ruler of them both, and because they had a common subject matter and a common object, the good. Man, as man, belonged to the natural order; the elect belonged to the order of grace. 2

Edwards argued Calvinism, though not in the pulpit, against Socinianism, the revived Arian heresy under Whiston and

Clarke, the whip-tides of Arminianism which "lead to Popery", and all anti-Trinitarian tendencies. But let us look at his philosophy of debate. His prefaces include such claims as "I have no bias of any sort, nor do I want them". He has read the whole field of theology. He believes he has looked for truth on every side. When he has found it in enemy quarters, he has given it glad reception. He calls himself a rational searcher of truth. He prefers to be quiet with all men. However, Edwards would rather be at peace with his conscience. He becomes a watchdog of Protestant "fundamentals". Calvin and even Zwingli resorted to the death sentence in order to quell heresy. It is no wonder that reforming Edwards uses killing words. For this guardianship of right beliefs he has solicited divine help, consulted the oracles of the Bible, and devoted himself to study and contemplation.

He has, moreover, avoided indulgences which would weaken his mind. He has rejected all dogmas, and pride, which the enjoyment of friends, education, or other personal desires had invited him to embrace. He is determined to bring his

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3. See McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, p. 228, for this picture of Calvin, which also describes Edwards: "Passages of assertive dogmatism and of repulsive vituperation mar his compositions and alienate the sensitive reader."
scholarship and earnest living to the altar of truth and holiness. He knows no reason why truth may not be as sharp as error, and orthodoxy as clear as heresy. In preparation to debate, he has observed everything that had been said concerning any point of religion.  

Throughout his reading he remains an independent thinker. "I confess I have dissented... from most writers." Yet he speaks of his faith in the harmony of true science and scripture. He makes an effort to approve a "latitude" in religious thought. He believes that it is practical atheism which leads to the dogmatical, as bad morals may cause doubts. With ardent spirit he pleads for the certainty of God. Let not the blessing of new knowledge make men forget the Source of God's doings in Nature. Many of his fellow-thinkers, refusing to be dominated by the religious, have felt it was time for science to supplement Christianity. A rational theology has joined natural philosophy, and arouses Edwards to be a defender of orthodoxy.

In spite of the unpopularity of his system, Edwards is hopeful of communicating his thoughts to the world. He prays

4. Ibid., p. 41.
5. See Edwards, Veritas Redux, Preface: Though a great part of our Churchmen be not inclined at present to what I have asserted, yet perhaps they may be of another mind afterwards."
that they will prove of service to truth and piety; truth for
the sake of right thinking, purity of doctrine for strict habits
of life. He strives to call England back to a unity based on
his Biblical belief. Although he is a stout-hearted Protestant,
Edwards has the catholic concept of Church and State.

When unity which is the true sobriety of a nation
is once lost, destruction is the inevitable close of it.

So he crusades to revive the Reformation. He attacks the dis-
loyalties of Papists, Arians, Socinians, Pelagians, Antinomians,
Libertines, and others. To this long list of his opponents
he would expound, like Calvin, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's
Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. All are heretics who are
non- or anti-Trinitarian.

1. Tulloch, Rational Theology, Vol. II, p. 459, reminds such
champions of uniformity that it can only exist "where thought
and science are dead". Unity of religious opinion, he adds,
"is impossible", (p. 460). Here lies the distinction be-
tween religion and mere dogma.

2. Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 228.

3. See Edwards, A Treatise of Repentance, p. 69, for "that
wild conceit of Antinomians". True grace makes a change
of life as well as of the mind and heart. (P. 71.)
Antinomians consider prayer as futile in changing the mind
of God. But Scripture reveals that God is found only by
those who seek. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. II,
p. 135.

4. See Hazard, The European Mind, p. 128. With Bayle and
others making war on all traditional beliefs, men like Bossuet
and Edwards were kept busy pointing out "the sort of people
who were dangerous". Those indifferent to the mysteries of
Christianity were often "lumped together under a single label
and called....libertines". It meant free-thinkers and free-
livers.

He has, indeed, a formidable array of foes, but his arch-enemies, their shock-troops, are the Socinians. In reading Bossuet, his Roman Catholic counterpart, we think of Edwards:

His most violent fulminations were reserved for the Socinians who not only looked on tradition as possessing no authority whatsoever, but ignored certain portions of the Bible itself, so that they might believe just what it suited them to believe...what was generally to be acceptable to reason and nothing else. In this sense he represented himself as a defender. 1

There is a parallelism between Edwards's and Bossuet's "fundamentalism". The above picture is by Richard Simon. 2 Indeed, the similarity is so great that one sees beneath their conflicting traditions the deeper devotion to the Bible itself, the divine origin and "infallibility" of Holy Writ. Edwards and Bossuet might have united against the Socinian sceptics who

....were only too ready to believe anything that tended to diminish the authority, and derogate from the power of the Scriptures. 3

The French author could have been describing Edwards, as well as the venerable Bossuet, calling him

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2. Ibid., p. 203, where Bossuet's attitude toward Simon is similar to that of Edwards towards Locke. It is "no easy task to apply to a profession of faith, to an 'a priori' principle, the sort of historical method of proof which his adversaries demand of him. The Scriptures...must not be treated as if they were mundane compositions."
3. Ibid., p. 197.
the champion of a tradition that was now attacked on every side, as one forsaken, and as it were, left derelict by his time.

But in 1696 it was Edwards who was encountering Locke. He had admired his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. But when the doctor-philosopher turned theologian, *The Reasonableness of Christianity* met with the treatment of books which go beyond the liberality of the day. Evil designs were imputed to it, and it was attacked by Edwards in his *Some Thoughts Concerning Atheism* and especially *Socinianism Unmasked*. Locke had begun *The Reasonableness* with the complaint that he had found little satisfaction in systems of Divinity. So he had devoted himself to reading the Scripture. What, with careful search, he had discovered, he would now deliver. He asked for a fair examination of his thesis that men can become Christians by believing Jesus to be the Messiah.

If thou findest I have mistaken the sense and tenor

2. See McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England*, p. 290, for "Dr. John Edwards of Cambridge, a bitter opponent of Locke, declared...." etc. McLachlan considers Edwards's remark about Locke and the English Socinians somewhat stale, but admits it contained a modicum of truth. Edwards angered Locke by saying he and his friends were "Socinianized".
of the Gospel, I beseech thee, as a true Christian in the spirit of the Gospel (which is Charity) set me right in the doctrine of salvation. 1

Later in his book he admitted that justification was the real subject of his treatise. 2 The fact that his friends were turning to atheism, or a denial of the necessity of salvation at all, remained his motive for suggesting that the doctrine necessary to make a Christian was just that one confession. He assumed Adam's fall, and the need for some way back to God, some simple, logical path; the way men found before Paul's development of theology. Locke believed the Gospels and the Acts taught one main proposition— that Jesus is the Christ. 3

But this reduction of the Articles of the Creed to just one (as the last step before eliminating it altogether) arouses Edwards's ire. Feeling that orthodoxy is threatened, he calls Locke "this upstart Racovian". 4 and "not only a Socinian, but a false-hearted one". 5 He charges him with being a "flourishing scribbler", 6 and with "pious frauds". 7 Taking what Locke has said in his A Vindication as a confession of guilt, he gloats:

2. Ibid., p. 303.
5. Ibid., p. 100.
6. Ibid., p. 41.
7. Ibid., p. 46.
The point is gained, saith he, and I am openly a Socinian. 1 He never uttered truer words in his life. The truth, which unwarily dropped from his pen, confirms what I have laid to his charge. 2

Locke deridingly calls out, "What will become of me that I have not mentioned Satisfaction?" 3 He sounds flippant rather than furious. But "I will tell you, sir," Edwards retorts, "(seeing you would know) what will become of you. You believe Christ's Satisfaction, or you don't." 4 In head-on collision Edwards hurls this challenge into Locke's face:

I defy your impotent raillery, not only against me, but against the whole clergy, high and low, for you look upon them all as mercenary, and that they receive no doctrines but what are in fashion, and are likely to secure preferment. 5

He does not appreciate an attack upon the ministry by the brilliant layman, John Locke, M.D., although he was honoured at home and abroad. 6 In reply to the Doctor, John Edwards, B.D., uses sarcasm, reductio ad absurdum, an appeal to the stars, and accusations of a Socinian intrigue to undermine orthodoxy. 7

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2. Edwards, Socinianism Unmasked, p. 93.
4. Edwards, Socinianism Unmasked, p. 93. See also Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. II, p. 198, for one of many references to "Satisfaction" being consistent with God's free remission of sin.
5. Edwards, A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles, p. 25.
7. See Edwards, Socinianism Unmasked, Introduction.
also debates with logic. For instance, when Locke says, in
defence of his omitting the mention of Christ's "satisfaction",
that there is no such word in the New Testament, Edwards ans-
wers that neither do the words, "Trinity", "sacraments", nor
even "Christianity", appear in the holy pages. "Yet Locke pre-
tends to write of the reasonableness of the Christian religion
as delivered in the Scriptures." ¹ Let this serve as typical.
Edwards proves prophetic, as elsewhere, ² when he insists that
the reducing of beliefs to one article would prepare the way
for the reduction of the Trinity to One Person, and soon Unitar-
rianism would emerge from Socinianism. He predicts, "The unit
will dwindle into a cypher". ³ That is what Unitarian writers
rejoice in claiming to have happened.

Although some of his thought is suspicion, one also
finds discrimination. Thus, he admits that Socinus and his
party want to be considered as believing in the mercy of God.
But he finds that they mean by grace, "natural abilities", and
not the supernatural gift of God. Likewise, they acknowledge
Christ to be God and admit Him to be an expiatory sacrifice. ⁴

¹ Edwards, A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles, p.25.
for this prophetic flash: ".....whether the Muscovite, who
seems to be no longer frozen, but is entering upon action,
is like to have any hand in such revolutions as will end
at last in the alteration of religion in the Northeast."
³ Edwards, Some Thoughts Concerning the Causes of Atheism, p.122.
⁴ Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 325.
But when Edwards studies their meaning of text in context, he knows that they conceive something entirely different from the orthodox.

Convinced that Socinianism is the nurse of profanity, Edwards is seeking to arrest tendencies toward Deism and inevitable atheism. He makes reference to Socinianism in every book he writes. Now in controversy with Locke, he ridicules his effort to reach the common people by his "One Article", and the well-educated by the use of a more comprehensive statement of faith.

And then it is likely he will tell us of two heavens, one very spacious to hold the multitude, the other of a lesser compass to receive the rest. 2

Such, he suggests, are the absurdities which Locke's ideas may produce. Here our veteran debater makes a characteristic rebuttal:

He (Locke) requires me to publish to the world those passages which show contempt of the Epistles. 3 But what need I, good sir, to do this, when you have done it yourself? I appeal to the reader whether your passing by the Epistles and neglecting wholly what the Apostles say in them, be not publishing to the world your contempt of them. 4

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2. Edwards, Socinianism Unmasked, p. 34.
4. Edwards, Socinianism Unmasked, pp. 36-37.
Working up to an emotional climax, with accusations of evasion, insincerity, and a list of quaint words such as "shuffling", Edwards shows how

.....narrow, how erroneous,.....this writer's Christianity is,.....how dangerous and pernicious this sort of doctrine is. Hear, O ye heavens, and give ear, O earth; judge whether this be not the way to introduce darkness and ignorance into Christendom. 1

These extremes of Puritan dogmatism may be partly responsible for driving his age toward unbelief. 2

Edwards thinks that the demons had a higher degree of faith (by which he means more articles of mental assent) than Locke considered necessary to salvation. He puts upon the lips of a rabble of atheists, words thanking John Locke for reducing the creed to confessing Jesus as Messiah. 3 He gives the impression of quoting the philosopher as saying that Edwards and his fellow theologians were ruined for ever. Then, spread over eight pages of his final Socinian polemic, is an implied creed of Socinianism:

I believe concerning the Scripture that there are errors, mistakes, contradictions..... I believe concerning God that He is not a Spirit..... I believe concerning magistrates, that they have no power of life and death.....

I believe as the Church believes, I mean the Church of Rome, for we symbolize with them in several points of doctrine.

How does Edwards's controversy with Locke look to their contemporaries? One of them makes this judgment:

I find that Mr. Edwards, in his Some Thoughts Concerning Atheism was the first that attacked him (Locke) briefly laying open the weakness, folly, and absurdity of but one article of faith, in order to make a man a Christian. He treated Mr. Locke very kindly and civilly, bestowing upon him the epithets of the learned, ingenious, thoughtful.

This admirer of Edwards believes that our Cambridge man won a victory over the Oxford physician-philosopher in showing that his "One Article" was borrowed from Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan; and that Edwards succeeded in proving that there are other essential articles of Christian belief. Then he adds:

I am told that he had the thanks of some of the most eminent men of our Church, for his great pains and faithfulness in asserting and vindicating the most substantial doctrines of our holy religion, when they were struck at so boldly by men of corrupt designs.

He has discussed the debate with several readers, and not one has blamed Dr. Edwards's way of dealing with Locke; except,

2. F.B., A Free but Modest Censure of Late.....Writings, p. 10.
4. F.B., A Free but Modest Censure of Late.....Writings, p. 10.
he significantly adds, three who were supporters of his, or who were troubled with qualms of scepticism. We find no evidence, however, that any were persuaded to change their religious thought.

Another eye-witness of Edwards's Socinian struggle observed that at the start, our Cambridge author dealt with Locke in a respectful manner. But the philosopher, in his two vindications of his new doctrine, treated our theologian with severity. Thus Edwards assumed an air of humour, and chastized his opponent. His attack and counter-attacks were applauded by many learned men, both in England and abroad. However, our author's writings sank into neglect, while The Reasonableness of Christianity continued to be read. Locke's urbanity, ease, and his indefinably flowing, free, limpid style were also in his favour. He set a new standard of simplicity and word choice which made writers like Edwards appear cumbrous.

But what of Locke's fighting spirit? In spite of

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. xii, for his happiness to hear that some people, including sober Dissenters, had been considerably influenced by his writings. But, they appear to have been already fellow-Calvinists.
3. See Hartog, Words in Action, pp. 9 and 68.
his apparently humble preface, Locke wrote *The Reasonableness in criticism of the orthodox theology of his day. Yet he claims to allow the makers of systems the use of whatever definitions they please.

Let them call things by what name they think of it, but I cannot allow to them, or to any man, an authority to make a religion for me.  

These words, of course, could not but arouse a devoted Calvinist like Edwards to read critically what Locke wrote. However, it is in his *A Vindication* that the philosopher enters the lists in earnest. He admits Edwards is no mean adversary, but accuses him of exaggerating whatever displeases him into the mortal sin of atheism. Locke describes the Cambridge theologian as breathing against him a pestilential atmosphere in which distemper is turned into the plague, and slips become crimes. He has misquoted, as well as misunderstood him. Locke complains that whoever does not agree with Edwards cannot escape being called a promoter of atheism. He satirizes our

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2. See Amtravt, *Défense de la Doctrine de Calvin*, for a similar devotion to and defence of Calvinism in France; (1864). The author seeks to prove Calvinism not new, nor against Scripture, nor the holiness of God, nor His mercy, justice, nor sincerity; it is not against the practice of piety, nor does it contradict itself. This reminds us of Edwards's constant crusading.
4. Ibid., p. 1.
Calvinist's suspicions, and his uncharitable criticisms in the cause of God. Such theologians insist on every jot and tittle of their law.¹ To them Locke says:

Convince but men of the mission of Jesus Christ; make them but see the truth, simplicity, and reasonableness of what He Himself taught and required. ²

Edwards's method Locke declares to have been a failure in persuading men. The prevalence of atheism, and the number of Deists show how much the orthodox need to simplify their creeds. He pleads his own sincerity in trying to arrest the decay of piety, and to defend a misunderstood Christianity. Locke accuses Edwards of a belief in his own infallibility. Then, with mounting temper, he writes the preface to A Second Vindication. Edwards has attacked Locke's low Christology and inadequate ideas of the Cross. Now, the erstwhile soft-spoken philosopher calls the preacher's zeal misguided. He does not know his own creed, nor what is necessary to make him a Christian.³ We do not wonder that Edwards replies with his violent, third work, The Socinian Creed. But Locke understands the impossibility for his mind and that of Edwards ever to meet. He admits that

². Ibid., p. 9.
...the Unmasker, in the entrance of his book, sets a great distance between his and my way of thinking. I am not sorry that mine differs so much as it does from his. 1

He says that Edwards could not brook so simple a statement of religion, 2 as his. But such a thin faith, without Christ's "Satisfaction", would never satisfy Edwards, nor any in his evangelical succession.

These pamphlets of the period reflect the low standard which permitted writers to use sharp jabs, 3 as in a boxing match, provided they began and ended the battle of wits with polite compliments, like athletes who start and finish their struggle by shaking hands. Thus, we are told that Dr. Edwards treated Locke sharply and interjected some nipping sarcasms, which were a real service in behalf of the Church.

One referee insists that Edwards used sober reason in all fairness, and that he said nothing which was ungentle-

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1. Locke, A Second Vindication of "The Reasonableness", p. 3.  
2. Ibid., Preface.  
3. See Edwards, A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles, p. 35, for such phrases as "long-winded rambler" and a "rude reviler", (p. 17). There seems to be no end to such epithets during religious debates. See also Harrison, The Beginnings of Arminianism, p. 15, for description of "that passionate and alarming" age in which men were convinced they were wholly right and their opponents entirely wrong. The neutral man was under prompt suspicion.
manly. His arguments were, indeed, hard, sometimes flinty; but at other times they proved worthy of a seventeenth century theologian. We note, for instance, he teaches that Christianity was revealed in the New Testament by degrees—"progressive revelation". The Holy Spirit was sent to disclose the mysteries of religion, after our Lord had lived, died, and ascended. Thus Edwards proves the importance of the Epistles in interpreting the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, which Locke felt were sufficient. This controversy sets a precedent for the effort of some nineteenth century scholars to reduce the authoritative stature of Pauline theology.

The closing pages of Edwards's last attack on Locke read reasonably. He is calm again.

It is irrational to judge of opinions from the personal miscarriages of men. My business is to set before the reader the thoughts, not the lives, of some of their chief writers. If I were able to rake up materials to represent them blameable in point of morals, I should think it an unworthy act; ....for those are weak arguers who make use of such methods. 2

In answer to a criticism of his inferior scholarship, Edwards replies:

I hear there is a reverend and worthy person of

1. F.B., A Free but Modest Censure of Late....Writings, p. 15.
my name in the University of Oxford, who hath undertaken
to give a large account of matters referring to this
subject (Socinianism): but for my own part, I purpose-
ly designed brevity.....because I have other works of
greater importance on my hands. I give practical theo-
logy the precedence. 1

(This Dr. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Principal of Jesus College,
Oxford, not only bore the name of our Cambridge author, but
in his The Doctrine of Original Sin, written in answer to Dr.
Whitby, expresses the same, strong Calvinism.2)

Edwards sounds weary of debate as he announces his
purpose to ignore any replies. He has something other to do
than to take notice of

.....the wagging of every goose-quill, .....every time
a perverse scribbler will be dashing ink against me. 3

But, with a considerable Postscript, in reply to a
Mr. Bold (one of Locke's supporters, who has animadverted on
Edwards's controversy with the author of The Reasonableness),

2. Dr. Jonathan Edwards of Oxford published A Preservative
   Against Socinianism.
3. Edwards, The Socinian Creed, p. 235. See, however, Ed-
   wards, Theologia Reformatia, Vol. II, p. 202, for his dis-
   tinction between "God's enemies and ours," and "those who
   .....oppose religion, and those who have injured us only".
the spokesman for orthodoxy urges Locke to remain, hereafter, in his own fields of economics and politics. Edwards repeats that Locke's talent is not in theology, much less in Christian dogmatics.\(^1\) He cannot conceal his anger at the philosopher for trying to influence

\[\ldots\ldots\text{the men of this too giddy age to truck their old Christianity for a new notion of the pretended reasonableness of that\ldots\ldots\text{which he shapes to himself}.}\quad 2\]

Yet, having formed a dislike of Locke's liberal religious ideas, Edwards attacks him on non-theological grounds. He criticises parts of his *Thoughts Concerning Education*. Calling him a poor dandler of infants,\(^3\) one who not only hates our universities but all women, our author defends the good names of Cambridge and Oxford against Locke's criticisms. Edwards is wedded to the classical curriculum, and cannot tolerate the progressive ideas of the physician and man of finance. He accuses Locke of declaring against systems of Divinity, and of striking at Church doctrines.\(^4\) Confusing Socinianism and Unitarianism,\(^5\) the tendency to atheism with the thing itself, our

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1. Edwards, *A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles*, p. 91. Edwards calls Locke's "One-Article religion a new and maimed Christianity, in opposition to the old catholic one".
author resents Locke's challenge to orthodoxy, and feels obliged to object with all his power.¹ Edwards insists repeatedly that Remonstrantism is only Pelagianism re-vamped.² More significant than the minor controversy with Locke's least important The Reasonableness of Christianity, is the fact that Ogg, who devotes a paragraph to each of Locke's other books, and even discusses John Toland's Christianity Not Mysterious, does not mention the one work to which Edwards takes such serious exception. Yet those are the daring pronouncements on the thought bases which underlie the orthodoxy of Edwards's day.³ Locke, by encouraging Toland and his fellow-Deists, undermines much that The Preacher seeks to rebuild.

Earlier, in an effort to establish himself as an author, Edwards had secured the names of distinguished men for an "imprimatur". Thus, in Volume Two he placed Beaumont, Blithe and Covel. The third volume carried the names of Beaumont, Covel and others. Volume Five bore this recommendation:

October 13, 1694, I judge the reverend author

1. Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, Preface, describes his purpose to defend the orthodox faith of the Church. In this task, like Jerome and Chrysostom, he has the ill-will of a great part of the clergy. But, he consoles himself, "If I pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ."
shall do well to print the following discourse, wherein he hath learnedly demonstrated.

It is signed by John Beaumont, D.D., the King's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.

However, as Edwards attacked Locke, who had returned from Holland with William of Orange, so was Covel taken to task by the philosopher for allowing Edwards to publish his name against him. John Covel, in manuscript letters, replies:

You might be justly offended at me, when you saw my name in the Imprimatur of Mr. Edwards's late book, and I must confess that I am ashamed of it myself. 2

Although Edwards was his friend in the University, he is now very disappointed in him. He assured Locke that if he had anticipated such treatment, he would not have agreed to his name's being so used.

In 1712, after the Socinian interchanges with Locke and his supporters, Edwards makes Whiston his target. He declares that his Arian writings are falsely entitled Primitive Christianity Revived. 3 Whiston, who echoes Dr. Whitby in his


Title page.
low Christology, is promoting the Arian and Socinian schemes. Edwards denounces his work as an insolent attack on the doctrine of the blessed Trinity. The old champion was successful in getting Whiston removed from his Chair of Mathematics in Cambridge. How did he accomplish such a discrediting of some whom he attacked?

When Edwards mentions one error of Whiston, or any heretical writer, he makes a list. He groups together various opinions which do not necessarily appear in the given writer. Strange and unsound thoughts, he warns, are the output of monsters. Then, by association, he makes a listing of wrong notions, not only of Whiston, but of mutually exclusive schools of liberal thought. It is made to appear that all who have disagreed with Edwards belong to one evil family. But he returns most often to the old Arian error, which he believes basic both in Whiston and Clarke; Arianism is his bitter enemy; it strikes at the divinity of our Lord in the heart of the

1. Edwards, Some Brief Observations on Mr. Whiston's..., p. xii.
2. Ibid., p. 1.
3. See Edwards, Brief Animadversions on Dr. Clarke's..., p. 4. He admits a difference between new Arianism and Socinianism, one making the Son of God a creature begotten before the world, but not from eternity; the other making the Son a creature from His incarnation. However, both have the same design to destroy the divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost.
4. Edwards declares that neither Whiston nor Clarke mentions "Satisfaction".
Trinity. Some historians support Edwards's judgment of these unorthodox men.¹

While he recognizes reason and Scripture (now in that order) to be the twin sources for arguments, Edwards employs Biblical criticism to discredit Whiston's authorities as apocryphal. Master of Patristic studies, he seeks by testing the corrupted texts, to undermine their validity. Whiston has used the sandy foundation of forgeries. It is true there were epistles written by Ignatius; but afterwards, several things were inserted into them.² This criticism of Whiston's scholarship is for strengthening a belief in Deity, because false teaching about God leads to atheism. Men of depraved lives doubt all religion because they want none.³

Between controversies with identified writers, Edwards criticizes the anonymous The Whole Duty of Man. This leads him into debate with some who appreciate that devotional book and resent Edwards's doctrinal insistence. Beginning with compliments⁴ on its excellent spirit and style, our heresy-hunter admits that it teaches original sin, but fails to discuss the Trinity, God's providences, rewards and punishments or

¹. See Hore, History of the Church of England, p. 413.
². Edwards, Some Brief Observations on Mr. Whiston's... , p. 13.
³. Edwards, Some Thoughts Concerning the Causes of Atheism, p. 38.
heaven and hell. Edwards complains:

He barely mentions some of these, but he nowhere discourses of them, nor of election to grace and glory, which is so often spoken of in the New Testament. He handles not the doctrines of regeneration, conversion, or effectual calling; of adoption or justification, as if it were not a part of 'the whole duty of man' to know these things, or to believe them. 1

Later Edwards writes The Whole Concern of Man, a long list of things to believe and to practise. Our 'fundamentalist' examines each author by his theological categories, checking how few are more than barely mentioned. No beliefs can be assumed, but must be stated, if the writer is to escape his accusations of serious omissions. He condemns writers who do not summarize their confession of faith, and reiterate their orthodoxy. But, like his finer Puritan ancestors, our author does lead us back to the fountain-head of our Christian faith.2 Nothing could ever shake his conviction that what he believes was the religion of Jesus Himself — forever enshrined in the "infallible" Bible.

Like his Anglican contemporaries, moreover, Edwards warns of Rome's return to power in England. Preaching eloquently before his University in 1709, with evidence of his—

2. Langton, The Fruits of Controversy, p. 239.
torical research, \(^1\) he traces the threat of Popery. Contrast-
ing Protestant Queen Elizabeth, whom he idolizes, \(^2\) with Louis of France and his infamous revoking of the Edict of Nantes, Edwards advises his hearers to love their enemies; but to keep a stiff guard against Rome and France. A spokesman of Protestantism, he denounces the designs of the papal power, and of that neighbouring evil monarch. His Calvinism is the castle of strength in the Union of England and Scotland. Edwards preaches, moreover, that the Roman Church cherishes ignorance as the mother of devotion. \(^3\) Against Popery he could have joined hands with Burnet or those whom he otherwise considers objectionable. But for him, to assail Rome's growing mischief \(^4\) means to attack his weak brethren and label them as authors of a corrupt age, when his beloved Protestantism seems to be droop-
ing, with its last breath. There must be vigorous Protestant preaching. He quotes, by way of authority, not only the New Testament, but the example of his Church Articles, homilies,

1. See Edwards, Great Things Done by God for Our Ancestors, p. 8, where several are said by this historian or that, to have planted Christianity in England. However, ".... there is no ancient authority to confirm this". Again, p. 10, he discriminates among his sources: "But this is at the best but a negative way of arguing, and so of little value".

2. See Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 14, for the reason: "The leaders of the Elizabethan Church were Calvinists, almost to a man." See also Pattison, The Rise and Progress of Religious Life in England, p. 161


liturgy and even the rubrics.

We are admonished to abstain from the least appearances of evil.... I am sure Popery is evil, and therefore, .....we are obliged to abstain from the least appearance of that growing evil. 

He thinks the Church of Rome is that of Anti-Christ. Still, we do not wonder at Edwards's attack on Popery, when we read of some Romanists saluting our Lady as

.....the eternal daughter of the eternal Father, the heart of the Trinity; Glory be to the Virgin, to the Father and to the Son.

Moreover, he approves the advice of Dr. Holland to love God and hate Popery. This hatred, he insists, will keep England secure. Zeal in social reform movements of the day was stimulated among Anglicans, like Edwards, by emphasis on the popular belief that Romanism favoured debauchery, because of the (alleged) ease with which absolution or indulgence could be obtained.

He does recognize that some people brand as "Popery" whatever they do not like in religion. But the altar of

2. See Burnet, History of My Own Time, p. 907, for same thought.
sacrifice, and the Roman priesthood, are certainly evils from which the Reformers broke free. Therefore, he pleads with patriots not to contribute to the return of such a pernicious sect as Rome. Why should those Protestants give their help to the ambitions of a false church? If the Church of Rome were a New Testament Church, the Church of England was wrong to separate itself. That is the specious argument, to label Dissenters as schismatics from the National Church.¹ No, Rome is mystical Babylon. Edwards goes so far as to say that Rome is dead, rather than merely diseased. Dipping into the new science, he describes the apostate Church of Rome as a falling, not a true, star. However, he grants that Roman baptism and ordination are valid, because they depend not upon inward possession, but the external profession of the Christian religion. Though administered by a heretical church, they need not be repeated. Correct ordination, when it cannot be had, is not necessary, any more than right baptism.² Papists as papists cannot be saved, Edwards dogmatizes. Since his fellow-Protestants have granted that salvation can be had through Rome, Popery has gained ground. Anglicans must now do away with such loose doctrine. The time has come to recog-

². Ibid., p. 321.
nize the Dissenters as fellow-Christians, and refuse the Romanists. He quotes Bellermine, and turns his Popish arguments to prove that Rome is not a true church at all.¹ Half of the material of the Remains deals with Popery. The second volume, entitled The Doctrines Controverted between Papists and Protestants, was revised by John Cumming in 1650, and is found in Gibson's Supplement to the Preservative from Popery, Vol. VI. It is an important treatise on the Romish controversy. This edition was published by the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation. Edwards of Cambridge no doubt knew of the "incident", which Ogg records, when James II and Jeffreys insisted upon the admission of Francis, the strong Romanist, as a candidate for the A.A.

The university authorities were willing to admit Francis, provided he took the oaths, but this he refused to do.... The action of the University....was justified by both law and tradition. These things meant nothing to Jeffreys.... Referring to the sentence passed on the Vice-Chancellor, he (Jeffreys) declared that the others shared his guilt. In future they must show a ready obedience to the royal commands. 'Go your ways and sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto you.' Among those who had to listen in silence to this tirade was Isaac Newton.

However vigorous he may be against Racovia and Rome,

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¹ Edwards, Remains (Vol. III) p. 301.
the underlying thought of all Edwards's writings is the crucial issue: Calvinism versus Arminianism. It is always on his mind, and deeper, in his heart. How can he turn the tide from Arminianism back to Calvinism? By 1706 he believes the former to be the accepted position among the clergy. He is swimming against the popular current.

Why, therefore, should I be singular and different from the rest of my brethren? Yea, why do I attempt a thing so fruitless? There can be no hopes of altering men's minds as to the foresaid doctrines, after they have taken such deep root.

Yet error is error, even if it is supported by the great majority. With tireless repetition, Edwards calls his Church to embrace her first love of Calvin, as in the good days of Elizabeth. This, then, is not just one of his controversies, but his lifelong struggle, to re-establish the supremacy of Calvinistic

1. See McLachlan, Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England, p. 20, for: "The rise of Arminianism with its more liberal theology, in particular its criticism of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, was undoubtedly favourable to the spread of Socinian influences."

2. See Edwards, The Arminian Doctrines Condemned, 247 pages, not included among the nineteen volumes of his "Works", but the essence of his life passion, written in answer to the Rev. Daniel Whitby.


thought. 1

As in several other judgments, McLachlan corroborates this conviction of Edwards:

Arminianism and Socinianism had close affinities, and were born of a similar tendency of mind. The difference between them was more one of emphasis than radical departure, ... The opponents (like Edwards) of one system found themselves at loggerheads with the other, and did not often discriminate between them. 2

And who was the man who most grievously wounded the Church of England, according to Edwards? Certainly not John Locke; not Arminius, nor Socinus, had the greatest guilt. These two were foreigners, and could not hurt her precious body from within. But Archbishop Laud, whom he repeatedly blames for initiating both the theological and moral decline of the once pure Elizabethan Church, is the villain. In his table of contents to Veritas Redux, our "historian" summarizes the "before" and "after" of Laud.

The Calvinian Doctrines defended in Charles the First's Reign by Davenant, Ward, etc. The Court Divines took to the other side by the instigation of Archbishop Laud. When he was removed, the Ancient Doctrines began to be restored. Dr. Wilkins and Dr. Pearson asserted them. Usher a great Defender of them.

1. See Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. xxiii, for Edwards's answer that the Arminian doctrines are held by most preachers because they require no study, no thought, and no humility.

Yes, Laud started the drift toward Arminius,¹ and also in the
direction of Popery. He seduced the Church from the purity
of the Reformation. Between Romanists and Arminians, Edwards
insists, there is a secret affinity. We understand his in-
tense feeling against Laud when we read McLachlan:

William Laud is not usually associated with the
spread of liberal ideas, though his theological predi-
lections for Arminianism are well known. Yet Laud was
nothing if not a rationalist in theology. According
to his expressed views, the ultimate test of belief
was reason. ²

It is no wonder Edwards never tires of seeking to undo the evil
Laud began — the Arminian "corruption" of the National Church.

In the British Museum there is an autographed letter
of Edwards to his printer, John Wyat, written at Cambridge, No-
ember 24, 1702, in which he considers answering a book Mr.
Wyat has called to his attention. We recognize the handwriting,
and the characteristic spirit. The printer has appealed to our
fighter's instinct. Seeing a chance to print another book for
our affluent author, he has recommended his reading of this

an echo of John Edwards's contention: "The Church of Eng-
land divines before that (Laud) were almost universally
Calvinists; but since then, Arminianism has gradually.....
prevailed, till they are become almost universally Arians." See
also Seagrave, An Answer to the Rev. Dr. Trapp's Ser-

Edwards writes that he has read the book (by Light-foot). Some things in it will be quickly grasped by clergymen who are in favour of their Arminian cause. But those who take time to study the book will discover its lack of solidity. He is inclined to answer the critic, if the publisher believes that it is expected. The title of his book would be lengthy:

A Vindication of some passages in the first and second part of The Preacher from the unjust exceptions and cavils of some preachers and writers, Wherein likewise Mr. Hickey's notion of the priesthood and Mr. Bennett's doctrine of Schism are occasionally considered and refuted. 2

John Edwards closes his manuscript letter to printer John with:

These are my first thoughts and reflections, but perhaps I may give you another turn afterwards. I am, sir, your very humble servant, J. Edwards. 3

Personally delivered, the letter bears on its back this note by another hand: "(Received by Thos. Mascall at the Four Swans in Bishop's Gate Street on Friday before noon.)" 4

Did he write the answer to his Arminian critic? Certainly. On the title page of The Preacher, Part III, we iden-

2. Ibid., p. 205.
3. Ibid., p. 205.
4. Ibid., p. 205.
tify the intended subject: "With animadversions....in the late writings of Dr. Hickes, .....Mr. Bennet." He has added the names of others whom he considers Arminian: "Dr. Nichols, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Dodwell." The above described "Vindication" has the name of Mr. Lightfoot and others. The volume was printed by John Wyat, in 1709, and is the most controversial Part of The Preacher. He proves that Arminianism is an innovation, a departure from the original theology of the Church of England. Lightfoot and his friends have deserted the faith of Geneva, the founders and martyrs of the Church which they claim as their mother. When will the prodigals come home?

Another unpublished manuscript of Edwards in the British Museum Library sings the plaintive melody of the prophet: "Turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die?" Edwards sadly sees his dear "mother" misled by

2. See Edwards, The Arminian Doctrines Condemned, p. xv, for his ridicule of Dr. Whitby, who, like himself, was a Calvinist at first; "and afterwards revolted from that opinion. It seems he would rather be an apostate Arminian than a predestinarian." See also Harrison, The Beginnings of Arminianism, p. 403. "It was inevitable that followers of Calvin should see in any challenge to his system the beginning of wholesale scepticism, and the ultimate downfall of the Faith."
3. MS. 5359, "Notes of Dr. Edwards and Others", p. 34, The British Museum Library. These are the observations of a learned divine, Dr. Edwards, in his The Preacher, Part III, p. 140, relating to non-observance of clerical duties.
4. Ezekiel 33: 11.
Arminian ministers who neglect the fundamentals of faith and practice. There are many teachings of the Church which the clergymen forget;

Yea, I can prove that there is a third part of the canon and constitutions of our Church which are observed and practised by very few churchmen; and yet they would be loath to be called schismatics (as they call orthodox Dissenters) for their not observing them. 1

It is a short step from doctrinal to puritanical reform; and soon Edwards is pleading with the clergy to cease frequenting taverns, and to desist from cards, dice and gaming tables.

He is unashamedly severe in reform and debate. But when his verbal boxing matches are over, he has a way of closing his letters in a brotherly tone. The old gentleman is the self-appointed captain of the Calvinian debating team engaged in defeating the Arminians, even though among them may be personal friends. There is a professional heat in his words which has nothing to do with his regard for his "worthy opponents". He distinguishes between the men whom he admires, and their thoughts which he abominates. Thus, just before he signs his otherwise harsh 2 letter to Dr. Fogg, 3 Edwards expresses best wishes for the improvement of his friend's eyesight, the weakness

3. See Edwards, A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lawrence Fogg, D.D.
of which he has actually used for ridicule; and assures him of respect as "Your humble and obedient servant, J. Edwards".

The MS. Add 58, Cambridge University Library, was his last attempt to strengthen within his Church her old Calvinistic point of view. But his spirit and style were self-defeating. As Bickersteth writes in his Christian Student, Edwards tried to check the departure from Reformation principles, but not with an attitude which would commend his sentiments. After years of unsuccessful efforts to stop the growth of Arminianism, the elderly Dr. Edwards began to sound like a bitter man. ¹ Devoted to the Church in ideal and history, he raised again his voice as the fiery leader of His Majesty's loyal opposition. Rather, he had been the "party whip". His one hope now lay in the younger clergy whom he might influence to prepare for a revival of the Geneva road. He commanded them earnestly to the Lord and Calvinism; he exhorted them to preach the decrees of grace, and to practise holy living.

But, as one slowly reads through this repetitious manuscript, one sees how inadequate Edwards’s language is for conveying his intentions to produce spiritual awakening. In

¹. See Edwards, MS. Add 58, Cambridge University Library, p. 137, where Edwards satirizes the ignorance of students: "One of them was asked what was the English of "Anno Domini", but the blockhead was not able to tell, but the stupid creature thought it must be anno, annas, annavi." See also Bradshaw, Collected Papers, p. 76.
contemporaneous authors, with few exceptions, there is either a reaction against, or indifference to, our champion of what Ogg calls:

....the older orthodoxy, which limited complete happiness to the future world, and insisted on right beliefs in this. 1

His attacks have strengthened others in their anti-Calvinian and even anti-Trinitarian sympathies. The year of his death marks the beginning of the Bangorian controversy. We observe that divines on both sides are actuated by a sincere effort to guard, or liberate, Christianity from what they consider deadly errors. But Calvinism, such as Edwards espouses, and the Arminianism of his opponents, we agree with Copinger, fortify each other. 2 What Tulloch says of Cudworth, in relation to Hobbes, we say of Edwards and Locke: that each one is partly the reactionary creation of the other. 3

Be that as it may, in spite of the controversial atmosphere of the period which drew Edwards from theology to trivial polemics, and Locke from philosophy to ludicrous philippics against his Cambridge attacker, progress was being made.

At last men were becoming proficient in.....

the art of living together in society. Of that art John Locke was the greatest exponent. His style, devoid of the subtle charms of Hobbes, as of the irony of Defoe, is so simple and straightforward that his books can be read with understanding and appreciation by any educated person; indeed, it is this clearness that has won for him a place among the philosophers comparable with that of Plato. Abroad Locke's reputation was even greater than at home. 1

Edwards may have helped to hold for the next generation some small bastions of reverence for Scripture, the evangelical and the supernatural elements in the Christian faith, including mystery. However, the real champion of the day was Locke. The philosopher may have been unwise in the way he wrote The Reasonableness of Christianity, or the words with which he answered Edwards in his vindications. But he was eternally right in his other, epoch-making works which Edwards did not criticize; especially in

.. his identification of law with freedom.... To Locke law was the direction of a free and intelligent people towards its proper interests. To many of Locke's contemporaries, man-made laws were often harsh and oppressive. 2

So thought Edwards; and especially, his friends, the Dissenters. But Locke persisted, with lucid simplicity, in associating law with liberty. While we, in the twentieth century, may consider

2. Ibid., p. 547.
trite the thoughts of Edwards and even of Locke, and thus
take them for granted, we conclude with Ogg, that:

This voluntary element, this aversion from
proselytism and propaganda, this spirit of live
and let live, is our most precious heritage from
the seventeenth century. That its exponents still
survive the threats of intolerance and repression
is the distinctive achievement which unites the Eng-
lish speaking world. 1

From this extended treatment of our champion of Cal-
vinian orthodoxy, in the light of the greater Protestant prin-
ciple of freedom in law, let us now turn to a survey of some
of the basic beliefs which Edwards held; and which, in turn,
drove him to fight, preach, counsel and write as he did; be-
cause they were so precious. His spiritual warfare and wit-
ness shared the vicissitudes of the period of controversy
through which he lived, for

.....the seventeenth century indeed presented alternations
of fortune as kaleidoscopic as catastrophic, both to epis-
copacy and presbyterianism, and in Scotland no less than
in England. 2

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2 Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 114.
 CHAPTER IV.

SOME BASIC BELIEFS.

Whatever may be regarded as the three most important beliefs of a writer, Edwards groups his long list of theological categories under: "Passages concerning God, the Scriptures, and Christianity." ¹ His doctrine is largely taken from Calvin, with a few modifications; as when he follows Augustine in considering concupiscence the root-sin, and differs from, or even censures Calvin on minor points. He shows, moreover, some of the influences of the seventeenth century; for instance, controversy and the concerns of reason. He is an admirer and champion of Calvin's system of the "Five Points", rather than a consistent disciple of the Geneva giant of Biblical theology and literary art. Thus he admits:

I do not confine myself to Calvin, and all his particular opinions, though undoubtedly he was a very worthy and excellent man, and of great sense and judgment; but we are not to think that he had a monopoly of truth, or was infallible. It is owned that he had some harsh sentences, and Beza hath some more harsh. And as for Arminius, it is granted, that he was a man of great parts and learning, and therefore.....all his great and rational strokes are on our side..... It is certain that the sentiments of the former (Calvin), are as much preferable to those of the latter (Arminius), as truth to error, and divine revelation to shallow reasoning; of which I hope to convince the reader. ²

¹. Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, p. xxxi. See also his A Further Enquiry into Texts, p. 241, for his description of Christianity as "the sublimest doctrine in the world".

². Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. xx.
One would think from this that Edwards would proceed to quote much from Calvin, and substantiate passages from the *Institutes* by Scripture and the Fathers. Yet with all his loyalty, actual quotations of Calvin are few and far between, with none from the *Commentaries*; while references to Augustine and other patristic writings are numerous. Indeed, Plato, Aristotle and Plutarch far outstrip the great Reformers among those "who have given their suffrage in approbation of the author's opinions and sentiments". 1 The explanation for this is obvious, as Edwards realistically anticipates:

The main thing which will render me obnoxious to the censure of some persons is my espousing the Calvinian doctrines..... For I profess to all the world my firm and steadfast belief of those principles, in opposition to those of the Remonstrants..... I have a long time seen that those Calvinian doctrines are grown out of fashion ..... and therefore I thought it would be of some service to the cause of truth and religion to appear in defence of them. For truly 'tis my persuasion that these articles, and particularly that of Predestination, are the brightest demonstrations of the truth of the divine attributes..... His mercy and His justice. The great St. Augustine..... stated and settled them; and from this scheme the Church of England at the Reformation..... framed her Articles. 2

Edwards believes that one reason "why Calvin's name is so odious" is "because Calvinism, in the extent of it, signifies Presbyterian government (in opposition to Episcopacy)";

thus the doctrines of Calvin are disliked because of his church polity and discipline.¹

We present, then, Edwards's doctrines of God (including his Christology), the Bible (with its interpretation), and his concept of "religion" as one of Predestination and practical Puritanism. For, with the exception of the Church, which we shall later consider, there is far more under these three points than in any other of his innumerable "opinions and sentiments". Possessing a mind more profuse than profound, our author attaches an index of the "principal matters" contained in his *Theologia Reformata* - a listing of over five hundred items of thought - including Christ, the Church, the Trinity, Providence and the Judgment. Strangely enough, he does not mention his elsewhere favourite subjects, the "grand themes" of Predestination and Election. Under "Decrees of God", all he says here is that they are "no impediment to our prayers".²

On the other hand, he does not exclude from treatment such quaint, but never irreligious, themes as these, scattered through his index:

Comets, proved to be presaging..... Dreams, a proof of the immortality of the soul..... Holland, a great instance of providence..... Mixture of good and

² Ibid., Vol. II, Index p. 5.
bad in all churches, ..... Plato's opinion about the eternity of the world.  

Moreover, Edwards goes out of his way to criticize Calvin on small points and to avoid using his name as an authority; but only as the titular "head" of the anti-Arminian party of "orthodoxy" which he serves. For example, one finds this veiled reference to Calvin's Institutes:

If the reader has a mind to consult a modern author on this head, who comes not behind......either in his Latin or in his sense, he may find in the margin a choice passage or two.  

Again, with no naming of the "modern author", he puts into the broad margin of his Theologia Reformata, another Latin quotation from the Institutio. These are among the gems of literary beauty, selected by Edwards, which inspire Wencelius to say:

Calvin n'est pas seulement un grand penseur, mais un grand écrivain. Tous les commentateurs de la littérature française ont été forcés de reconnaître que Calvin est l'un des plus grands parmi les auteurs du seizième siècle..... Le Réformateur, au point de vue littéraire, non seulement est un artiste, mais un créateur.  

(Certainly, Edwards is not a disciple of Calvin's superbly clear style, whether in Latin, French, or even in English translation.)

3. Wencelius, L'Esthétique de Calvin, p. 11.
Rather is he labouring to defend the apparently effortless thinking and writing of the master of Geneva, whom he seldom quotes, but whose Institutes, at least, he claims to have surveyed.

Thus,

we may judge whether Mr. Calvin deserves that sharp censure which many have passed upon him, because he asserted (they say) that Christ despaired. But it is not true; he nowhere saith, that Christ despaired. Yea, if we consult his Institutes, Book 2, Chap. 16, Paragraph the 11th, we shall find that he disclaims that opinion, and with some indignation, flies at those who impute that doctrine to him. 1

A careful reading of this paragraph makes one judge Edwards to be guilty here of over-statement, as he seeks to defend Calvin. However, the Institutes do bear him out in part; thus Calvin answers:

We do not.....insinuate that God was ever hostile to Him or angry with Him (speaking of Jesus's cry of dereliction). How could He be angry with the beloved Son.....or how could He have appeased the Father by His intercession for others, if He were hostile to Himself? .....He behooved, therefore, to conquer the fear which incessantly vexes and agitates the breasts of all mortals; and this He could not do without a contest..... Thus by engaging with the power of the devil, the fear of death, and the pains of hell, he gained the victory, and achieved a triumph. 2

Let that instance serve as typical of the occasional references Edwards makes to Calvin's name, either in loyal defence, or in mild

2. Calvin, Institutes, II, xvi, 11.
criticism. He loves to show his independent spirit in reading Calvin.

But before one can dig out the diamonds of his beliefs concerning "God, the Scriptures, and Christianity," one must look at the "mine" which he long planned to develop. From a printer's page in the back of almost every volume listing "Books published by Dr. John Edwards," and from frequent references to others he was preparing to print, a reader observes that our divine had at least a twenty-year plan of authorship. He early set his heart to bring forth a series of works under what he calls his "great design" to help others to understand the Bible, which is his highest concern, next to the religious practice of it. 2

As early as 1698, in the preface to a collection of nine sermons, he thus confides in us;

"I will be free and open with my reader. I will give him his bill of fare.....to entertain him next with a large discourse concerning the different dispensations of religion..... It is a work that I have been designing for the public for a considerable time; but have not yet had an opportunity to send it abroad, by reason of some other treatises which were called for." 3

These three manuscripts of the history of religion,

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1. To John Edwards the Christian religion is a deposit rather than a quest. Like Calvin, moreover, Edwards considers self-denial a central principle of godly living.
3. Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, Preface.
he lays aside to describe orthodoxy in his *Veritas Redux*, *The Doctrine of Faith and Justification*, and the first drafts of *Theologia Reformata*. In this body of Divinity, Edwards deals with the crowned heads of faith: God, the Bible, and Christianity. As preliminary to his *opus magnum* in theology, he takes time to write on philosophy, *A Free Discourse Concerning Truth and Error*. But Edwards's Divinity is the undertaking to which he has been devoting his best.

I purpose that the several parts... shall contain particular and distinct discourses on all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, on every one of the Ten Commandments, on the several petitions of the Lord's Prayer, and on all the virtues, graces, and offices of Christianity, with all the benefits and privileges of it. I intend a large supplement concerning the "Five Points"... controverted between the Remonstrants and Calvinists: as likewise all those opinions and doctrines which are debated between the Romanists and Reformed Churches. 1

Unlike Calvin, however, Edwards deems it necessary in his century of outmoded scholasticism and growing scepticism, to begin his *Theologia Reformata* with a long treatment of the proofs of "the existence of a God". 2 This Aristotelian logic he had already developed in 1696 when he published *A Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God from the Contemplation of the Visible Structure of the Greater and Lesser World*. But now

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again, he revises and expands his proofs from a less philosophical, and more theological point of view.

His is, indeed, an ambitious programme, and as broad as it is long: but perhaps no more so than a systematic and far-sighted minister might envisage, on settling into what he expects will be a life-time pastorate, with a plan of preaching, both expository and doctrinal sermons, to cover the whole Bible range of evangelical truth. Such an unusual preacher would work, like Edwards, with a view to the publication of the fruits of his study and pulpit. Edwards produces more than a volume a year, and justifies it by his adequate reading and meditation — the richness of his mine.

We begin, then, with our author's thought of God at the centre and pivot of His world. This, as we shall see to be true of his Christology, is swallowed up by an overwhelming absorption with the mystery of the Trinity. When, therefore, Edwards writes of God, he thinks, like Calvin, not so much of the First Person, as of

One God, which refers to the whole Trinity, Who, though there are three Persons, are yet one Godhead. 1

2. See Baillie, God Was in Christ, p. 143, concerning the orthodox who were "more conscious of a deep mystery".
He is, always, an uncompromising Trinitarian; and a knowledge of this transcendent Essence, he stresses, is beyond finite intellect. Indeed, of the divine attributes, Edwards says:

I choose, rather, to divide them thus, (1) into primary or fundamental attributes . . . . the existence of God, His life, His spirituality, His simplicity, His infinity . . . . (2) into those attributes which are secondary . . . . God's knowledge, His power, His holiness, which latter contains in it His mercifulness, His justice, His veracity, or faithfulness. And the height of all those excellencies . . . . are the attributes of immutability, perfection and happiness.

His basic concern is the knowledge of this incomprehensible God. Thus, there emerges at once the problem of written revelation. In an earlier volume, Edwards has given many "scientific" evidences of God's providence. Now he discusses the logical ways of apprehending the nature of Deity.

Fortunately, for the sake of fallen man, who needs to know God, the Almighty One has given us various approaches to His otherwise ineffable and mysterious Being. Calvin here makes much clearer than Edwards that, in spite of the vestiges of the

1. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 437, for "How these three distinct Hypostases are one entire, invisible Essence, is an ineffable and incomprehensible Mystery. . . . . though we can't conceive the manner of this, yet the thing itself is clearly and plainly revealed in Scripture".
3. Ibid., p. 44.
5. See Parker, The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God, pp. 9 and 13 for what is no doubt the source of Edwards's thinking here, also.
imago Dei, natural man cannot find "saving knowledge" of God apart from "revelation". Weak in his emphasis upon the basic necessity of both Revelation and the historical Incarnation, especially in his Theologia Reformata, Edwards does elsewhere say, however:

Faith is an assent founded on the authority of the Revealer.... Our faith is grounded on the testimony and authority of God, Who is infinite in knowledge.....and Who is infinitely holy and faithful. 1

Rather, he tries hard to include the scholastic proofs of Deity, the old paths to knowing Him, and also the Calvinian insistence upon the fact that:

This knowledge must be sought, namely, not in man .....not in the frame of the world.....but in Scripture. 2

Like Calvin, Edwards emphasizes man's prime need to apprehend God, in order to exercise saving faith in Him. But how? First, there is the gift of perception, the enlightenment of the mind to see, through the Holy Spirit. 3 For all truth in general,

2. Calvin, Institutes, on page just before "Book First".
3. See Sykes, The English Religious Tradition, p. 46, for "Perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon of the seventeenth century was the emphasis given to the office and work of the Holy Spirit in making plain the counsels of God." See also, Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, p. 13. And Calvin, Institutio, II, 11, 20, "Nempe ubi aures ad audiendum et mentes ad intelligendum, spiritus mira et singulare virtute format."
and especially for Him who is "the Truth", the Divine Spirit must be the Guide. Here Edwards's Christ enters the picture. None can come to the Father, but by the Son Who is the Light that leads to Him, and reveals to us the glory of God. The Father is merciful through the reconciliation of His Son. A traditional satisfaction theory of the atonement is urged in this connection, as elsewhere. Only as the mind is divinely illuminated can one apprehend these spiritual things.

Secondly, in spite of the "miserable ruin", there is some knowledge of God from within man's soul. The "inner man" is a mirror, as Calvin calls the created world, in which we glimpse God. To see divine footprints we may look inward and upward, into the self, as well as to the stars. But, he warns us of any human pride in this; for "the same omnipotent Being that created thee can destroy thee".

A third way to know God in His creative omniscience is to study this earth which, he believes, stands unmovable to receive the light of the revolving sun by day and the lesser

1. Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, p. 19. See also his A Free Discourse Concerning Truth and Error, p. 481, for "The whole blessed Trinity must be our Guide to divine truth, or else we shall never attain to it".

2. See Calvin, Institutes, Introduction, p. 35, for "This inward knowledge is aided from without, namely by the creatures in which, as in a mirror, the perfections of God may be contemplated".

luminaries by night. The works of creation reveal the Creator. These are Nature's Bible, wherein we clearly read a God.¹ This world, Edwards teaches, was made for man, who though fallen, is the darling and destiny of the universe; while the earth is the centre and stage for God's created realm and revelation. The chief purpose of science, therefore, is to set forth the praise of God and to admire His wisdom in the construction of the cosmos. Rejecting the Copernican theory as inconsistent with the "history" of Moses, Edwards insists that the sun travels from one part of the heavens to the other.² This he maintains from the literacy of the Biblical statement: "the sun stood still".³ Though he grants that in some instances the Scriptures are not true to mundane facts, here, he stoutly affirms, it is evident that at the command of Joshua, the sun really moved backwards.⁴ This action of God the Father, in Nature, contributes to man's knowledge of His faithfulness, power and goodness.

Fourthly, Edwards includes reason as an aid to know Deity. He believes it rational to trust in God, because He is not only able but willing and ready to redeem and relieve His

² Ibid., p. 33.
³ Joshua 10: 15
⁴ Edwards, A Demonstration of the Existence of God, Part I, p.35. See McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 392. "His rejection of Copernican views was an echo of the general voice of the learning of his age."
servants. Revelation, finally, in the Word, teaches that He is full of compassion, as well as all-powerful. True reason which is godly, and especially the authentic written revelation, come from God. He who opposes one to the other makes the divine Being contradict Himself, since God is the Author of both. The eternal Mind is the foundation of truth. His ideas are the source and standard of all knowledge within Himself and His created world.

Thus, by God-given insight, Nature-study, reason and Biblical revelation, man may know of God Who is the universal Cause of all that happens in the world, the bad as well as the good. One misses the mention of Paul's knowledge and intimate fellowship with God Who was "in Christ". Rather, Edwards's concept gives him the conviction that

.....nothing in the whole nature of things in the world can exist without God willing it to be.

1. See Calvin, Corpus Reformatorum, 54: 61, for "Let us not be ashamed to give this honour to His Word.....to behold Him there is face to face".
2. Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, p. 112.
3. See ibid., pp. 51-52, for this view of reason: "When we do anything that is contrary to the laws of righteousness, we affront our rational temper; we contradict our first principle in us which checks sin."
7. Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 21. See also Calvin, Institutes, III, xxii, 11, where "men are reminded that they are not to seek for any cause beyond His will".
As an illustration of his belief that God causes and controls all, Edwards exclaims: "Even the glorious sun travels not beyond his tropics." ¹ This emphasis upon God's sovereign will, rather than mere wisdom, necessitates an explanation of the problem of evil. God's withholding of grace is one cause of sin.² His setting objects before men's eyes, including the possible choice of wrong, is partially responsible for their sinful actions. Likewise, the Lord of justice gives some men up to Satan. Again, God makes one sin to be punishment for another. In this sense, all sin is His judgment. Often Edwards refers to the judicial hand of God. By this way of punishment He delivers us up to errors.³ Here Edwards distinguishes between "the bare act of vice" and the sinfulness of it. God cannot decree or promote sin itself, though He determines man's natural actions.⁴ Of one thing, however, Edwards is sure: God shows His wrath against none but sinners, and for nothing except sin.⁵ With mental dexterity, or a love of paradoxes, Edwards is able to hold two contradictory points of view, and "logically" to reconcile ideas which seem illogical and irreconcilable.

². Ibid., p. 81
⁵. Edwards, Veritae Redux, p. 74.
Moreover, God allows trouble, not merely to punish, but to correct us. He designs afflictions that we may amend our ways. In the midst of the Plague, Edwards appeals to his hearers to let every story of deceased brethren remind them of their mortality and promote a dying to sin. This is an unusual reference, for him, to the redemptive element in judgment. Edwards, generally, so emphasizes the holy justice of God who hates sinning, that hell is more often mentioned than heaven; retribution, than redemption. But in some of his works he pictures an evangelical Father who would have all men to be saved by His grace. There seems to be a progressive softening of the picture of a reprobating God. Rather, "men laugh at Christianity", he explains; and thus ruin and damn themselves: whereas, the apostle Paul has assured us of God's mercy, even in judgment.

Though Edwards reiterated the attributes of God, it is His self-revealing nature which most fascinates him. Deity unveils His limitless knowledge, His infinite comprehension of all things instantly and in a perfect manner. No truth is hid from Him, although profound knowledge is always wrapped in mystery for finite man. Infinitely holy and faithful, rather than

4. See Calvin, Institutes, I, v, 1, for "He hath so manifested Himself".
primarily a God who is Love, Edwards's supreme Being is as infallible as His Scriptures, and there is none else.¹

Repeatedly our author emphasizes the eternal nature of Deity.² It seems to intrigue him as it did Calvin, to contemplate that

......nothing is to come, and nothing is past with Him, but everything is present; and therefore, it is no wonder that they are fixed and determined by Him. ³

This unity of God's knowledge and will strengthen his doctrines of predestination and providence, which have a huge influence on all themes of Divinity.⁴ Indeed, one feels that Edwards, unconsciously led by the Cambridge Platonists, thinks of God more as a logical Principle than as a loving Person. While, like Calvin, he considers God "Father" by creation, providence, and regeneration or adoption, he stresses His less intimate attributes; and virtually claims that these attributes are God. Thus, he insists, and quite rightly, that the wisdom of God is God Himself; His power and goodness are really "God at work". His Essence is one, but His attributes are the ways He has of displaying His nature.

2. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, p. 55, for "Divinity that bears a date is a solecism".
3. Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 21. See also Calvin, Institutes, III, xxi, 5, for "to His knowledge there is no past, or future, but all things are present".
Of these many excellencies, Edwards repeats the importance of God's "simplicity", by which he means that God is one, pure, and unmixed with anything material. Again, under a treatment of His infinity, we read this strangely modern discussion, in reference to space and time:

Infinity runs through all the divine attributes .... He is infinite because He is not circumscribed by any place. He is infinite because He is not limited .... by time. Whence arise these two distinct attributes, God's Ubiquity and Eternity.

He is, moreover, an uncompounded Spirit, with "no figure, no dimensions, and no parts," and therefore invisible. Yet, though His purity can have no fellowship with sin, as light cannot mix with darkness, still, by the victory of Christ's atonement, He elects some to be united with Him and to enjoy His holy fellowship. Warfield, in his "Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God", refers to this under the name of "the Puritan principle".

At the end of his treatment of God's eternity, in his first section on the Apostles' Creed, Edwards makes an application of man's duties to so ineffable and limitless a

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2. Ibid., p. 51.
4. See *Calvin and the Reformation*, p. 141.
Being. First, we are obliged to magnify and adore, with reverent hearts, the excellent mystery of Deity. Second, we should consider our "existence" as mean and lowly. Third, he exhorts us never to complain at His seeming delays, and our disappointments. Fourth, we must trust Him at all times. Lastly, we are bound to stand in awe of Him. Thus we leave Edwards, not so much in conscious fellowship with the Father through Jesus Christ, as in reverent contemplation and worship of the Triune God of a Book. This infinite Being demands holiness of those whom He has elected to everlasting happiness; others will suffer the torments of hell, the place of the damned. God's judgment is proof of His righteous hatred of sin. Always moralist more than theologian, John Edwards concludes his two hundred and eighty pages on the First Article, with these "Puritan" sentiments:

He presides over the world and consults our good, and we are under His guidance and direction, and therefore we are safe. Our business is to do all things faithfully, and to beg His blessing on our endeavours; and then to let Him alone to order the events of things as He thinks most fit. We are to look to our own work and to leave it to His wisdom to govern the world and all

1. See Harrison, The Beginnings of Arminianism, p. 3, for a description of both Calvin and Edwards: "His Deity is the God of the decrees, of the Senate and the Court, rather than the Absolute of the philosopher." Like Calvin, our author begins with His sovereignty and works downwards.
3. Ibid., p. 59.
the concerns of it: and finally, we are to satisfy ourselves, as to this, that innocence and a holy life, will bring a man peace in the end, and it is not long to that end. 1

When Edwards comes to the doctrine of the Second Person, moreover, he is as orthodox as Chalcedon. In one of his sermons on "Chnstianity Mysterious", he declares:

Christ's divinity was no more impaired by being joined to the human nature, than the soul of man is by its union with the body. 2

Again, in his short discussion of Article II.1 of the Apostles' Creed, he explains:

This was absolutely necessary, that Christ's body might be a divine structure in the truest manner, and that by this mysterious and extraordinary operation, God and Man might be joined, the divine and human nature might be hypostatically united. 3

Again, Edwards exhorts the Christian, who shares in divine Redemption:

It becomes not him whose nature is translated to heaven, and hypostatically united to the divinity, to commit any vile and base act. Take heed of defiling that by sin which God hath assumed. 4

2. Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 373.
4. Ibid., p. 354.
Both Edwards in his *Theologia Reformata*, and Calvin in his *Institutes*, give succinct and similar definitions of the mystery of this hypostatical union of the two natures in the Second Person of the Trinity, which is the basis for the above call to pure living. Edwards rejoices:

Though He remained what He ever was, because His Godhead is unchangeable; yet He became what He was not, by investing Himself with humanity. This is the mystery which we Christians believe, the hypostatical or personal union between the Word and the flesh, the Son of God and the Seed of the Woman.

Calvin, more briefly, as usual, teaches Edwards and us:

The Word begotten by the Father before all ages assumed human nature by hypostatic union, — a term used by ancient writers to denote the union which of two natures constitutes one Person.

Edwards now bases his belief in the sinlessness of Jesus on the fact that He was conceived by the Holy Spirit. He regards the way of human propagation as corrupt; thus, he logically asserts:

The conception of the Virgin Mary was above the laws of nature, that what was conceived in that manner might be sanctified and originally pure and free from all defilement, .....true man, .....through a virgin.

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He emphasizes the presence in Jesus Christ of both the divine and the human natures, unconfused and complete. Therefore, in so far as He was always God, He could never cease to possess any of His attributes. In His earthly life He continued immutable, immortal and impassible. This harmonizes with Calvin's statement:

He chose.....to live on earth and to hang on the cross; and yet He never ceased to fill the universe in the same manner as from the beginning. 1

So Edwards insists that Christ was the one truly eternal and supreme God. 2 Also, He was omnipresent, 3 and knew all things.

If one objects that the Son did not know the day and the hour of the last judgment (Mark 13: 22), his answer is: that refers to His human nature, not His divine. To disbelieve His omnipotence in miracles is the damning sin, because the divine power of the Spirit was undeniably exerted in them. 4 If we object that Christ confessed that He could not do any mighty work, 5 Edwards explains that "He could not" is equivalent to "He would not". Remember, Stephen prayed to Christ, "Lord Jesus," as to God Himself. These problems of self-

3. Ibid., p. 301.
4. Ibid., p. 302.
limitation are easily solved, for Edwards, by making distinc-
tion between the divine and the human natures of Christ. 1 He
grants that the Second Person was begotten by God. Therefore,
as Mediator, He was inferior to His Father; but as to His
Divine Essence, He was equal.

Moreover, His divinity gives an infinite efficacy
to His Cross. 2 While Edwards grants that Christ could not
have suffered and died if He had not been man, it is more impor-
tant that He

.....could not have merited and made satisfaction, unless
He had been God. Therefore, He was both. 3

Calvin, on the other hand, emphasizes how the Son of God also
became, in history, the Son of man. 4 But our Cambridge theo-
logian's two-sided conviction inspires his extreme sensitiveness
to attack the Socinian and Roman heresies. Or, as he specifies
in his heading to Article II of the Apostles' Creed, Edwards
censures the Arians and the growing Unitarians. Giving his
treatment of this Article a setting of "the Catholic doctrine of
the sacred Trinity", Edwards logically and Scripturally proves
the deity of both the Son and the Spirit. Indeed, his whole

4. See Calvin, Institutio, II, xii, 2, "Quis hoc poterat nisi
Filius Dei fieret idem filius hominis?"
Christology is surrounded by this belief that "there are in the
Blessed Trinity three real Subsistences united in one undivided
Substance". ¹

Christ, therefore, suffered, was crucified, and was
limited in knowledge, only as man; while His divine Person re-
mained strictly unaffected. It was impossible to think of the
earthly life of Jesus, the Babe of Bethlehem and the Man of Naz-
areth, in its humanity, as being indeed the act of God at all,
"although this was what orthodoxy clearly desired and intended
to affirm". ²

Edwards feels no need to ease the tension between
the two natures in Jesus Christ; nor to consider His Being be-
fore and after His life on earth. Denney thus comments on the
Christology statement in the Westminster Confession, which Ed-
wards echoes, as the kind which


...may once have seemed to help intelligence; .....it
can do no more now than guard against error..... The for-
mula of two natures in one Person does not adequately re-
produce the impression that He makes. ³

Edwards, however, reiterates that the Saviour was the wisdom of
the Godhead; and yet, as Man, He increased in wisdom. ⁴ Since

He was human, He prayed to the Father; but since He was God, He did all things by His own power. Referring, elsewhere, to the Arian idea that the Father must be superior to the Son, Edwards dogmatizes:

Now all this is wrong, ....and till we correct this notion, we shall never have right apprehensions concerning the glorious Trinity.

He admits that in human nature paternity indicates superiority, but the principle does not apply in the relationship of God the Father to Christ. We cannot argue from human birth to a divine begetting. To do so would be to confuse uncreated and eternal Being with the created and finite. At this point Edwards becomes more emotional in claiming, for the full deity of our Lord and of the Holy Spirit, the faith of all Christendom through seventeen hundred years, and the belief of martyrs, written in their very blood. He, too, would defend this precious faith from heretics.

Our author turns from answering Dr. Clarke to attacking Mr. Whiston, and stresses the co-eternity of the Son with the Father. "If you question the Divinity of the Son, you may as reasonably question the Divinity of the Father," he declares.

1. Edwards, Brief Animadversions on Dr. Clarke's, p. 17.
2. Ibid., p. 21. See Baillie, God Was in Christ, p. 142.
3. Ibid., p. 40.
4. Edwards, Some Brief Observations on Mr. Whiston's, p. 33.
Since the Unity of God is axiomatic, he affirms that the Father and the Son are one God. Calling Him "the immaculate Lamb of God," Edwards then emphasizes His mission to receive sinners, to pardon their sins, and to grant them eternal life. This fulfilment of the promised Messiah, sent by the Father to "purchase life and happiness for the lost race of Adam," is basic in Christian faith. He is the One Who has taken the office of prophet, priest and king. There is salvation for lost man in the work of Jesus Christ, and only in Him. However, while faith is essential, Edwards cautions us not to exalt faith above our Lord Christ, but in extolling faith to magnify Him the more. We are not justified by faith, considered abstractly, but as directed toward, and placed in, Christ. In God's election, moreover, there was planning for Christ's sufferings. His death, rising again, and ascension — and in fact all He did on earth — were for the saving of His elect. Edwards follows Calvin in judging the Apostles' Creed right in making

...an immediate transition from the birth of Christ to His death and resurrection, in which the sum of perfect salvation consists. Yet there is no exclusion of the rest of the obedience which He performed in His life.

2. Ibid., p. 20.
3. Ibid., p. xiii.
4. Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 73.
This salvation could not have been wrought by any other than Christ Jesus who was God as well as Man. Christ was the Restorer of the devastation which man's evil caused in the Fall. Such typical Christology is based on Edwards's literal belief in the Scriptures. As long as II Cor. 5: 21 remains in the Bible, he declares:

.....we cannot, with any show of reason, deny that Christ's righteousness is accounted by God as the righteousness of believers and holy men. 1

Many other striking claims he makes for Christ, but the following is one of the best statements of what he sees in the Second Person of the Trinity:

In Christ is fulness and all fulness, and that fulness dwelling and perpetually residing in Him, and from the eternal ages it pleased the Father that it should be thus, and it is still pleasing and delightful both to the Father and to the Son, that all this fulness should be exerted, displayed, and dispensed unto the faithful. Christ's merits and all sufficiency are for us. 2

Unlike Calvin, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ was primarily the living Word of God, and the Scriptures His instrument of manifestation, 3 Edwards rather magnifies the written

1. Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. 16. See also Calvin, Institutes, II, x, 20, for "Christ, the Sun of Righteousness".
2. Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, p. 87.
3. See Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament, p. 87.
Word of God, and to that basic belief we now turn. Growing out of the mystery of Christianity, Edwards's traditional concept of the Bible is that of something divine. Indeed, he often calls it "divine records". Among the adjectives which he applies to Scripture, are: literal, historical, infallible,\(^1\) perfect, and powerful. In his second sermon on "Christianity Mysterious", and in answer to Toland's irreverent book, Edwards declares he has studied every Scripture where the word "mystery" is found,\(^2\) and he believes that this element of the mysterious, which the Bible attaches to Christian doctrines, expresses their nature. The truths of Christianity always will retain the essence of mystery. Our Biblicist recalls the practice, which he wishes were still in effect, of old Church Councils, who placed the Bible on a throne.\(^3\) In Calvin, this reverence for Scripture was due to the influence of the Holy Spirit who testifies that it is the Word of God.\(^4\) Divine mysteries, which fill the Bible, for Edwards,

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3. See Edwards, *The Preacher*, Part I, p. xi. Also his MS Add 58, Cambridge University Library, p. 196. See also Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament*, p. 100, for "a place of usurped honour within the Church".

...are not of a size with our undertakings, but far surpass the reach of them, and depend wholly on the will and pleasure of God.  

The authority for this is his literal faith, like that of Calvin; or rather similar to the literalism of Bossuet, who, in his *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, avers that God wrote with His Hand, on true tables, what He gave to Moses. Though there are difficulties, and even some objections, which we cannot solve, yet we are bound to believe the doctrines themselves. Edwards's reverence for Scripture is as patent and profound as Calvin's, who, while less extreme than Edwards in his claims for the Book, had

.....a perfect conviction that God is its Author. Hence the highest proof of Scripture is uniformly taken from the Character of Him Whose Word it is.

2. See Edwards, *The Preacher*, Part II, p. 106, for his belief that "immediate revelations are too high for us; ..... reason is too low and mean. .....wherefore, the only true path we are to go in, and in which we may expect a blessing, is Scripture". This faith is not, however, to be confused with Roman Catholic "implicit faith" in the Church to interpret Scripture.
3. See Calvin, *Institutes*, III, xxi, 4. "The secret things of God are not to be scrutinized, and those which He has revealed are not to be overlooked, lest we may, on the one hand, be chargeable with curiosity, and on the other, with ingratitude."
Of his literal interpretations, which he declares must precede the allegorical, there are many examples. From Moses to the miracles of Jesus, all recorded events are to be believed. Certainly the law-giver's account of the creation is historical. No new notion, in science, must be allowed to pass unrebuked, lest it decrease reverence for the Bible. In a later attack on Mr. Whiston, Edwards concludes that inasmuch as the testimony of human writers is

...so precarious and arbitrary, and can't be relied upon, the safest course is to repair to the Fountain Head to make the Holy Scripture our Judge.

This is "the bottom" on which alone divine matters are to be built. He does not think that a body of philosophy or a system of astronomy is to be composed from the Bible, God's work being designed for a much higher purpose. However, in discussing the sun moving, he argues that in some cases,

Words are not to be taken strictly, but only in a popular way. But it is not so here, for we have matter of fact plainly and directly set down.

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2. Edwards, Some Brief Observations on Mr. Whiston's, p. 59.
3. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 439, for his Calvinian belief that the rock on which Christ would build His Church was "the truth and authority of the Scriptures, the veracity of God, and the certainty of divine revelation".
Like Calvin, he believes the world to be about five thousand years old. Yet he does not think it important in what season of the year God created the earth. Thus one sees, that however trivial or tremendous the theme, there can be no contradiction in the written word of God; so Edwards reiterates. But there may be a two-fold interpretation: its face-value meaning, and the hidden truth. Nevertheless, he cautions, we are not to take the mystical sense of Scripture when a literal one lies before us. This is why he has, at first, published books of enquiry into difficult texts of the New and Old Testaments: to show the obvious and practical meanings of them. Often the Scriptures themselves are plainer than glosses and commentaries upon them. Satirizing the ludicrous way some critics besiege, bombard, and force a text to say what they want it to say, he

1. Edwards, *Sermons on Special Occasions*, p. 43. See also Calvin, *Institutes*, III, xxi, 4, for his belief in just five thousand years since Creation.
2. See Edwards, *Exercitations*, p. 22, where he quaintly says that God made the world "neither in spring, summer, autumn, or winter, but in all four". He concludes it "impossible that one season should be universal". See *ibid.*, p. 25, for 'And so I dismiss these trifles, (though met with in very grave authors) about the precise time of the world's origination'.
will give a fresh, logical interpretation. Thus, in his first two volumes he shows that "He shall be called a Nazarene", (Matt. 2: 23) means that he grew up in Nazareth. "Who are baptized for the dead", (I Cor. 15: 29) means that Christian martyrs convinced pagans to believe and be baptized. "He went and preached to the spirits in prison", (I Peter 3: 19) refers to those in the prison-house of sin whom the risen Lord "evangelized" through His apostles. Paul's advice that men wear their hair short, and women long, is given out of respect for oriental custom. But, the words "His brethren and sisters", (Matt. 13: 55) refer to His first cousins, not His real family.

So strong is Edwards's reverence for the Virgin Mary that he could not grant that she became the actual wife of Joseph, much less that she bore him any children. In this, as in his regard for authority, he is unconsciously influenced by Romanist tradition.

Again, God has purposely left some less important Scriptures "obscure" for five good reasons: to enhance our reverence for God, to increase our humility toward the God of mystery, to challenge our greater industry in the study of His

1. See Edwards, An Enquiry into Some Remarkable Texts, Preface: "I have not set any of the texts upon the rack. I have not put them to the torture to confess what they never intended. I have let them speak frankly.....I have offered the reasons for my assertions: let them show theirs, and then perhaps there will be no disagreement."
Word, to deepen our joy when we discover meaning, and to heighten our resignation when we cannot understand. Thus God's wise majesty and "the authority, style and perfection" of the "holy volume which is the only standard of divine truth" are seen clearly.

Just as Wallace insists that Calvin believed the whole Scripture to be the gift of God, so Edwards leaves no doubt as to the level of authority in the entire Bible. He describes Job 14:5, for instance, as

...the plainest, fullest, and most unanswerable text that can be produced to prove the fixed term of man's life.

Believing and using the Book as a box of proof-texts far beyond the practice of Calvin, and as God's library, he goes so far as to claim that

4. See Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacraments, p. 104.
5. See Calvin, Institutes, I, vii, 1, "Since...the Scriptures are the only records in which God has been pleased to consign His truth...the full authority which they ought to possess with the faithful is not recognized, unless they are believed to have come from heaven as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them."
7. See Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacraments, p. 111.
If one place of Holy Scripture asserts and establishes this doctrine (Predestination), we may thence infer the truth and certainty of it. 1

The writers of the Bible are to him "authentic amanuenses of the Divine Spirit", 2 as Smellie echoes Calvin concerning the apostles: "they were sure and authentic amanuenses of the Holy Spirit." 3 While his first volume is devoted to the New Testament, in all others he upholds with equal conviction "Old Testament or New. This is his

....undeniable logic: God hath said this, therefore it is true. Our faith depends on divine authority. 4

Nor was this virtual Bibliolatry 5 of Edwards, who goes even beyond Calvin's high regard, 6 something he grew into as he became older. In his first published sermon he was saying to his parishioners at Cambridge that the whole Word of God 7

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1. Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 60.
2. See Smellie, The Reformation and Its Literature, p. 161. See also "Scottish Journal of Theology," Vol. II, p. 355, for J.G.Riddell's doubt that the Bible would have produced the Westminster Confession had it not been used as "a source of proof-texts for an already accepted argument".
4. Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, p. 29. See also his Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 439. Compare Calvin, Institutes, IV, viii, 9, for "regarded as the oracles of God".
5. See Edwards, A Demonstration of the Existence of God, p.viii, for "reverence and prize these Writings next to the Blessed Author of them".
6. See Calvin, Corpus Reformatorum 52: 383, for "We owe the Scripture the same reverence which we owe to God".
7. See ibid., 49: 514, his commentary on 1 Cor. 13: 12, "Est enim aperta et nuda Dei revelatio in verbo".
must be used; all the pages of the sacred volume were like the leaves of the tree of life, written for the healing of the nations. Therefore, he urged his hearers:

Take this Book often into thy hand, and carry it along with thee; study and meditate upon it. 1

In the fragment of the manuscript he was penning at nearly four score years of age, he likewise exhorted his readers:

Wherefore, let us repair to the Holy Scripture, where all the particular truths, necessary to our salvation, are expressly set down, or may be rationally inferred thence. 2

A return to God's Word would bring about both right thinking and true morality. 3 Furthermore, there would be harmony, as the various religious parties, so sadly warring among themselves, would be reconciled on the basis of Biblical truth. The Creed, however, was inadequate, because at least the article of Christ's purported descent into hell was not to be accepted, although Calvin taught it. 4 Edwards believed "hell" to be the place of the damned, to which Jesus would never

3. See Edwards, A Discourse Concerning the Books, Vol. I, p. 6, for the power of Scripture-reading to cleanse our hearts and lives.
have gone. There were also "other things" which were necessary to be held which were not in the Creed. These "Five Points" as a system of thought "had a wondrous fascination for the generation which followed" John Calvin, and especially his namesake at Cambridge.

Dealing with the tension between revelation and reason, Edwards admits that in science man may use conjectures, unless experiments can be performed. The former are mere hypotheses; the latter the only solid basis for scientific fact. In moral philosophy, reason and φύσις guide our thoughts; and especially the study of God's Nature and that of man, lead us to right ideas. But in Christian Divinity, the Bible is the only guide, the most dependable rule. And the Word of God is "designed" for conversion. Evangelical preaching of it brings men to repent and believe. Only those who are what Edwards calls "experienced believers" can read the Scriptures and understand them. The marked change which conversion makes is like the difference between studying a foreign map and travelling

1. See Edwards, MS. Add 58, Cambridge University Library, p.196. See also his Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, pp. 396-398, where he insists that, as Paul makes plain in Ephesians 4: 9, there are only three possible places for Christ to be: heaven, earth, or hell. Certainly he did not descend into the awful abode of those in torment.
3. Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, p. xii. See also Calvin, Institutes, III, xxii, 3, for "Scripture is the school of the Holy Spirit".
abroad. At this point, we miss Calvin's strong insistence that

...those who are inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit
acquiesce implicitly in Scripture. 1

The Gospel is an unknown land to the person who has no spiritual
interest, no God-given light of repentance. Only to those who
believe, the Bible lives; and transforms the world about them.
He hopes that some who come upon "these papers" of his, will be
inspired to live intimately with Holy Writ, and to help others
to follow their example. This revival of interest in Bible
reading,

.....would, in a short time, make a great change in the
world, and the Bible would be read in the lives of man-
kind. 2

Thus we see that John Edwards's loyalty to the Book is greater
than his loyalty to the Creed, the Articles, or even the dear
Church in which he learned to love and study them. The Bible
is on the throne of his heart. 3 Only twice does one find him
putting reason before revelation, once in an effort to ingra-
tiate himself when preaching on "What is Truth?" before Charles II.

3. See ibid., Vol. I, p. 32, for his belief that "the very
words and phrases of Scripture were dictated by the Spirit;
the very particular expression and modes of speech".
As he there discusses the importance of reason, he means, however, the reasonableness of God's having given an authentic, written revelation of His will in the Scriptures. God has, according to his Biblical interpretation, granted man the bright, clear light of reason with which to read and appreciate its truths. Then he actually says, "The second standard of truth is the infallible Word of God". Having presented these two criteria of right thinking — reason and revelation — he claims that all controversies would vanish if men would follow them. He classifies the heresies of his day as follows: Enthusiasm and Romanism deny reason; while Pelagians, Socinians, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Libertines, Quakers, Hobbians, and Arians deny Holy Writ. Any difficulties in the Bible are due, not to imperfections in what is written, but in those who read. Therefore, he urges, let all expositions be given for the glory of God, the increase of reverent knowledge, the enlightenment of men's minds in true religion, the edification of the Church, and the welfare of the whole Christian world. 

This sweeping exhortation brings us to the third and final head of his basic beliefs, the distinctive emphasis

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2. Ibid., p. 15.
upon the doctrine of Calvinistic predestination,\(^1\) and its accompanying duties to live the strict life of the old Puritans, whom both Edwards and Whitefield so ardently admired.

In his bibliography for *A Treatise of Predestination*, Copinger lists six works of Edwards: *A Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God*, *Brief Remarks upon Mr. Whiston's New Theory*, *Veritas Redux*, in which he takes issue with Whitby; *The Arminian Doctrines Condemned*, *The Divine Perfection Vindicated*, and the first two volumes of *Theologia Reformata*. His "body of Divinity" follows the pattern of Calvin's *Institutes*, though it more formally discusses the Articles of the Apostles' Creed. Now while these seven volumes are devoted to a treatment of the "Five Points" and related subjects, one can scarcely find any of his works in which predestination is not at least mentioned; and always with reference to the decrees. Indeed, Edwards looks upon this "Calvinism" as the basis of the Christian religion.\(^2\) Calvin emphasizes how greatly an ignorance of this principle detracts from the glory of God and impairs true

\(^1\) See Edwards, *Veritas Redux*, p. 68, for "As certain persons are from eternity chosen out from among others, and foreordained to everlasting glory, so.....likewise, to effectual grace. They are not only decreed to happiness, but to holiness". See also "Scottish Journal of Theology" Vol. II, p. 358, for what might apply to *Veritas Redux*: "One might almost say with Browning, 'Mark the predestinarian' on every page".

humility.\textsuperscript{1} Eternal election or reprobation, Edwards believes, best answers the problem of God's fore-knowing the actions of free agents.\textsuperscript{2} And this is the point at which he begins, like Calvin \textsuperscript{3} and especially Beza, before him, to rest his teaching of predestination upon the attributes of God, His immutability and perfect will. Edwards also realizes the mystery is often resolved into the infinite knowledge of God; but he thinks it more reasonable to speak of the infiniteness of God's righteous will, whereby He predetermines "all things" that ever come to pass.\textsuperscript{4} This decree, he continues, is unavoidable, uncontrolable, and irresistible. Election cannot be mastered by any human effort. To Edwards, man is utterly ship-wrecked,\textsuperscript{5} ruined, and self-destroyed. At this point we need the reminder of Garrigou-Lagrange:

> In the age of anthropocentric humanism which is Pelagianism in action, men forgot that God is the first Mover in the act of love, as He is the first Cause of being. \textsuperscript{6}

One of Edwards's "all things", upon which he dwells, is the
hour of death. He believes it to be fore-ordained for every living soul; and that hour is impossible either to prevent or avoid.\footnote{1} This, to Edwards, as to Calvin, is a sweet and comfortable doctrine.

Unlike Locke's "national" scheme of predestination, and opposed to the Socinian idea of merely "general" election, in which "man needed no inward grace," Edwards's thought of the decrees is individualistic, and concerns every person who has ever lived; or will, in heaven or in hell.\footnote{2}

However, although God has from eternity decreed all things, He uses human means to accomplish them. It is a part of His eternal purpose that we should use those ways which He intended, to work out His will.\footnote{3} Edwards answers Whitby's criticism\footnote{4} that a belief in decrees would make praying absurd. Prayer is the ordinary means for obtaining the blessings of God's will. God's election and our prayers do not interfere with each other. By way of proof,\footnote{5} he quotes,

I will declare the decree..... Ask of Me, and I shall give thee the heathen.\footnote{6}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{1}{Edwards, \textit{Veritas Redux}, p. 13.}
  \item \footnote{2}{Copinger, \textit{A Treatise on Predestination}, pp. 400-401.}
  \item \footnote{3}{Edwards, \textit{Veritas Redux}, p. 37.}
  \item \footnote{4}{See Whitby, \textit{The Five Points}, p. 398.}
  \item \footnote{5}{Edwards, \textit{Theologia Reformata}, Vol. II, pp. 136-137.}
  \item \footnote{6}{David, \textit{Psalm 2}: 7-8}
\end{itemize}
The Scriptures so positively teach it, he is astonished at the perverse rejection of Biblical predestination. ¹ He believes that his Calvinistic theology alone is compatible with the articles of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Therefore, he lays the foundation for his extended treatment of them in Theologia Reformata, by devoting the major part of Veritas Redux to a presentation of the decrees, the liberty of man's will, and perseverance in grace, more in the scholastic tone of the Synod of Dort than in that of the original teaching of Calvin himself. The Arminian scheme of Divinity, as he interprets it, weakens the foundations of the Gospel. He cannot understand how any who have a relation to the Church of England can justify the Remonstrant doctrines. Woodhouse grants that when the Anglican fathers spoke of the Church, for instance, they meant the elect; being influenced by theories of predestination,² such as Edwards vigorously propounds. As J.K.S.Reid points out in his article on "The Office of Christ in Predestination",

In the main, the writers in the Calvinist tradition add little that is new to the doctrine. But they do add what amounts to a series of footnotes. ³

1. Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 16. See also Calvin, Institutes, III, xxi, 3 and 7. Thus, "Scripture clearly proves this".
2. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 54.
Like Calvin, Edwards directs us to God the Creator more than to Christ, the Redeemer; he could hardly outdo his teacher in this question:

Should all the sons of Adam come to dispute and contend with their Creator, because by His eternal providence they were, before their birth, doomed to perpetual destruction?  

Indeed, the more one reads of Calvin, the more Edwards seems to be an echo, especially in his emphasis upon the sovereign will of God prevailing in the lives of men. Thus he unites God's nature and predestination:

His knowing of things differs from ours; for He knows them together, and at once. Nothing is to come and nothing is past with Him, but everything is present, and therefore, it is no wonder that they are fixed and determined by Him..... But if we will speak accurately, we should say that God therefore foresees all things because He wills and determines them..... We may .....rationally resolve it into the infiniteness of God's will whereby He predetermines all things that ever shall come to pass.  

Calvin defines predestination more simply, to mean:

.....the eternal decree of God, by which He determined with Himself whatever He wished to happen with regard to every man. All are not created on equal terms, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation.  

Edwards believes that Arminians have misunderstood his teaching of the eternal decrees. Like most earnest Calvinists of the early eighteenth century, he feels that the foundations of the faith were being shaken by the skilful but false arguments of Arminius; and the minds of the younger ministers were being corrupted. 1 So, in The Preacher, Edwards reviews and moderates his earlier position: God created no man to damn him, but men by their own sins drag themselves down to deserve, and die in, hell. 2 Calvin taught Edwards well:

They do not, however, thereby efface their own guilt, which, engraven on their consciences, is ever and anon presenting itself to their view. 3

Now his Cambridge "representative" in predestination teaches the clergy to make it plain that God's decrees do not force men to sin; but each man acts voluntarily. God has willed that His creatures shall enjoy freedom of choice. As Harrison explains:

The Calvinistic theology was on the defensive in Protestant countries, while Arminians and Latitudinarians and 'reasonable' theologians represented the dominant school of thought. 4

2. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. 10. See also the reference in Die and Be Damned (1758) to the more celebrated and successful, because more positive and reasonable, preaching of Tillotson and South.
4. Harrison, Arminianism, p. 121.
It is no wonder that Edwards feels the need of clearing himself. The sheer force of his two hundred and forty-six pages on "The Eternal Decrees or Predestination" in Veritas Redux, as against only twenty-eight pages on "Man's Free Will", makes it hard for the reader to believe what he says when he preaches before the merry monarch: "Both predestination and free-will are true and consistent."¹ The first seems to overbalance the second; and dominate, if not deny it. But to Edwards,

There are some useful reflections and inferences which may be made from the whole.... First, it is reasonable we should own God's Hand in all the events of the world. We are to make a solemn profession of this truth that God hath from eternity fore-appointed and determined all things with their causes, effects, manner, and circumstances, which have, or shall happen, from the beginning of the world to the end of it.²

Moreover, there seems to be a softening of Edwards's whole emphasis upon judgment in his mellow Theologia Reformata, after the rigidity of his earlier works.³ Yet, even in Veritas Redux, p. 47, for his substituting of "absolute decrees" for predestination.

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¹ See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 23. See also his Veritas Redux, p. 47, for his substituting of "absolute decrees" for predestination.
² Ibid., p. 47.
³ See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. II, p. 491, for "We must not judge so severely concerning those whose violent laying hands on themselves is the immediate effect of a distempered body or a disordered mind. It is most probable that no man shall answer on any miscarriage that is wholly caused by the violence of a disease or the distemper of the brain." See also Calvin, Institutes, III, xxi, 3, for his "such mysteries should be treated with moderation".
Redux, he insists upon a difference in the way God elects to save and to damn:

The decree of damnation is not to be called an absolute or inconditionate decree.... Here we are to renew the distinction....between bare reprobating or not electing, and the decree of condemnation.... So that we have just cause to condemn the doctrine of absolute and inconditionate decrees....namely that God absolutely reprobates men to endless torments without any respect to their miscarriages.... I cannot allow of such irrespective decrees....I have showed that God may, by virtue of His sovereignty, deny saving grace to some.... The milder sort of Predestinarians generally agree in this, as most consonant to the Holy Scripture, and the free and unbiased dictates of reason. 1

At best, however, his concept of election follows the abstract method, 2 that of using Aristotelian logic, to reach his conclusions. One great truth does stand steady in it all: the salvation of individuals is traced to the initiative of God's grace.

Now he takes pains to assuage the charges of harshness by claiming that none who hold the doctrine of predestination believes that God's decrees lay any necessity on man. Making himself a spokesman for the dwindling number of his unpopular but unapologetic school of thought, Edwards insists that all his fellows agree that the actions of vicious men are free.

Not even the worst criminal can blame destiny or the decrees.

Men's damnation is entirely owing to themselves, as their salvation is to God: for no persons are damned but for their own wilful faults, and none are saved but by the grace of God. This is the unanimous assertion of all Calvinists.... And as for the ancient writers and Fathers, though Mr. Reeve represents them all as Arminians, and exploders of predestination; yet I have proved in another place (Veritas Redux) that many of those writers speak favourably on the other side. 1

His correct "side" of seventeenth century Calvinism is at times a rather hard and angular kind of conviction; yet the Institutes teach:

Therefore, if we cannot assign any reason for His bestowing mercy on His people but just that it so pleases Him, neither can we give any reason for His reprobating others but His will. 2

Like Calvin, he uses Pauline proof-texts; and if some readers will not accept Scripture, perhaps they will heed the noble Greeks and Romans who, even by the pale light of nature, understood the necessity of predestination. In Stoicism, especially, Edwards says:

Fate and Freedom were reconciled..... This doctrine of the Stoics.....may teach us to.....reconcile the divine decree with the freedom of man. 3

1. Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, pp. v-vi. See also Calvin, Institutes, III, xxiii, 9, for "the only cause of man's destruction was his degenerating from the purity of his creation.
2. Ibid., III, xxii, 11.
In an effort to be conciliatory, he once introduced a conjecture that "there may be some exceptions" to the rigid plan of election and reprobation. He cited, as an example, Hezekiah, whose life was spared. He sought to explain away the apparent breakdown of his system; that it may have been God's "conditional threatening". Thus the temporal sentence of death was reversed, but the eternal purpose was not altered.

After all, the actual "event of things" is the finest comment on God's decrees. When we see things happen, then we can be sure that they were predestined. We know that God has a plan not only for the elect, but for the worst of men. Thus, the proof of predestination rests squarely on the Scriptures and also on reason, and our experience. Calvin like Augustine, before him, asks:

What stronger reason can be given than when we are ordered to reflect who God is? How could He, who is the Judge of the world, commit any unrighteousness?

But to Edwards, this is not "experience" in the sense of an evangelical response of free-will by which the soul "decides for Christ"; but the obvious conversion and reverent point of view

2. Ibid., p. 33.
3. See Calvin, Institutes, III, xxiii, 5, for "The immensity of divine judgments is known to you by clear experience".
4. Ibid., xxiii, 4.
in those whom God has predestined and therefore called. The decree itself, he admits, is hidden; although it is "fixed and certain"; ("as if everything must be perverse that is hidden from the flesh"). But what we do is open and manifest. It is hard for Edwards to say "God our Father" when discussing Election. Rather his cold words fall like the clang of steel:

The divine Being that hath decreed such events, hath also decreed that they shall not come to pass unless such and such a course be taken, and such means be used.

This is as much as he dares yield from the rock of Geneva. However, a wholesome practicality emerges from his mass of theorizing. It is by our actual living that we may read the book of life. Thus it becomes manifest how, by our cooperative effort, "our eternal election may be made sure". Certainly his concept of predestination puts iron into his blood, and furnishes a transfusion for the "anaemia" of his day.

But his suggestion of the possibility of "exceptions" to the law of election or reprobation to every soul, meets with criticism; and Edwards later explains and retracts it. Whitefield, for instance, in one of his letters to Arminian John

3. Ibid., p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 49.
Wesley, in defence of his "Edwardsian" Calvinism, calls Veritas Redux:

....."unanswerable, except in a certain point, concerning a middle sort between elect and reprobate, which he himself in effect afterwards condemns. 1

To this reaction against his efforts to prove himself independent of any party, Edwards refers in his next work, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification. There he reminds his critics that he has not presented his theory of exceptions as an integral part of his theology, but only as a desire to search further for truth. 2 He repeats the fact, however, that one does meet with such exceptions in Scripture. His limitation concerning the non-election or non-rejection of some few persons does not negate the doctrine he has strongly urged. Thus the Bible teaching of the unpardonable sin does not abrogate the doctrine of the forgiveness of all sins. Besides, he has merely suggested it as a conjecture. 3 At least, he hopes he has demonstrated his willingness to consider all angles, without prejudice, and without fear of displeasing theological friends or enemies. However, he reasserts his unchanging devotion to the essential position of Calvinian predestination, with possible exceptions

1. Whitefield, A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, p. 6
3. Ibid., p. vii.
which merely strengthen the Rule of God. He makes a tacit decrease of emphasis upon reprobation. Yet, a Roman Catholic theologian, reading such a treatment of his subject as Edwards gives it, generalizes and condemns:

Protestantism has given us a conception of predestination that is absolutely irreconcilable with God's universal will to save. 1

But Copinger, on the other hand, considers Edwards an antidote to the predestinarianism of the supra-lapsarians, who far outdo him in their emphasis upon the eternity of hell fires for those who are born to be damned. Rather, we classify Edwards as infra-, or sub-lapsarian. Certainly there is nothing in Edwards quite so severe as the rapier-like logic of Calvin, answering his critics:

God not only foresaw the fall of the first man, and in him the ruin of his posterity; but also at His own pleasure arranged it. 2

Perhaps the meaning of words has changed to sharpen what was

1. Garrigou-Lagrange, Predestination, p. 117. See also Barth, in the Preface to the second volume of his Dogmatics for his regretful departure from Calvin's extreme position. See Calvin, Institutes, III, xxiv, 16, for Calvin's weak exposition of "God will have all men to be saved", and similar texts, emphasizing the redemptive love of the God of John 3: 16.

2. Ibid., III, xxiii, 7.
only intended to be "rightly dividing the Word of truth", but the following sentence is what even Edwards considered too "harsh" for him:

The first man fell because the Lord deemed it meet that he should. 2

Edwards's application of each basic belief, moreover, follows on the heel of its exposition and defence. His later works dwell on right living in Church and community, rather than on correct Calvinistic concepts. We must grant that his doctrines of God, the Scriptures, and "the transcendent excellency of the Christian religion" do motivate Edwards to stress personal holiness and self-denial, as answers to the Antinomianism of Dr. Crisp and others. He also preaches vigorously other duties of practical service. His voice, like moderate Calvinism itself,

.....warns us against giving our hearts to the vain and transitory world; but.....insists no less that we have a very definite vocation to fulfil in the world, for its advantages and betterment. We are here to do our part, actively, aggressively, in transforming our surroundings, for the honour of God and for the good of our neighbours. 4

2. Calvin, Institutes, III, xxiii, 8.
He also emphasizes the importance of family worship. In a sermon on "The Duties of Those that Have the Charge of Families", one reads this social concern in Edwards's religious thought:

If these plain and practical rules be duly observed by you, your families will be turned into churches, your houses into Christian synagogues, and this parish, yea this town, into a Bethel. 1

But his basic beliefs have a wider implication than Cambridge. He is more than a Churchman, in its narrow sense:

The advancing of religion in your families is the best way to amend and reform the whole nation. You that hear me this day are but an inconsiderable handful in respect to the whole nation, nay, in comparison of the town and place you live in. If you and your families should reform your lives, how will the whole Kingdom receive benefit by it? Because a nation is made up of particular persons and families... the most proper way to work an entire reformation in the public, is for every individual person in a family to begin with himself. 2

This leads us to examine Edwards's concept of the Christian Salvation, as it reaches from God to man, and especially what happens on the human side. As one reads the Institutes of Calvin, along with Edwards's Veritas Redux, one

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2. Ibid., p. 273. See also Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 93, for "You are not like to see any general reformation, till you procure family reformation".
agrees, in general, with J.G. Matheson's comment on the former, which fits also the latter:

In his zeal for God's glory, he seems to look down on men from so great a height that he has lost personal interest in them...... It wants the warmth of Christian compassion. 1

Certainly Edwards lacks the pastoral tenderness, patience and humility of Baxter's *The Reformed Pastor;* just as perhaps the Puritan mystic fails adequately to stress the pre-eminence of pulpit preaching. Yet no-one can question the moral earnestness with which Edwards did, on occasion, lay aside his promotion of Calvinism, for the teaching of Christ in evangelism. In fact there seem to be three men in John Edwards: there are the would-be champion in controversy, and the Calvinist in theology; but there is also the evangelist in the Church. To this, most fruitful field, we now turn. As a Whig, moreover, Edwards reaches beyond his National Church, to fellowship with others. In 1709 the Whigs carry the proposal of communion 'in any Protestant church' in Britain. 2 And with this goes a wider evangelism.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN SALVATION.

Fortunately for the significance of Edwards's religious thought, only eight of his forty volumes were distinctly controversial, and four strictly theological; for he was better in the field of practical theology than in either polemics or dogmatics. While just six of his books dealt mainly with the Christian salvation, many others pointed to the Gospel faith more than to the errors of unbelief. The proportion of positive and negative, essentials and heresies, followed that of his much-admired and oft-quoted Thirty-nine Articles. They were his guide, even more than the Westminster Confession, in theological ideas and emphasis. Just as they specifically criticized the Pelagians, "School-authors", Anabaptists, and Church of Rome, so Edwards in his amplification of the "Articles of Religion" of the Church of England 1 opposed a long list of "heretics". But most of his writing, like that of the Thirty-nine Articles, sets forth the general theme of salvation - its necessity, manner, and means - especially its necessity, due to the Fall.

One observes, moreover, that there is a development

in Edwards's thought, from the trivial to the tremendous themes of theology. The titles of his works reveal this wholesome trend of maturity.\(^1\) Beginning, as he did, with some "difficult texts", and the authority and style of Scripture, our author goes through an "adolescent" period of controversy. But, after the turn of the century, he lays aside his absorption with less significant polemics, religious technicalities, and dispensational history, to write on the central message and meaning of Christianity. Indeed, almost all his presentations of Christian redemption come in his later books. Yet he earlier claims that the doctrine of salvation by Christ

\[\ldots\ldots\text{is the great fundamental point of the Christian institution; this is the main truth on which all Christianity is founded.}\] \(^2\)

Though he lapses from time to time, as we have seen, into obscure controversy; nevertheless, the burden of his thoughts, during and after his publication of *The Preacher*, Part I, (1706) becomes redemption through Christ.

But before surveying his shorter writings, we turn, first, to the index of his huge *Theologia Reformata*, and find

\(^1\) See Baxter, *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, p. 107, for a similar: "The elder I grew the smaller stress I laid upon these controversies and curiosities."

under "Saviour and Salvation" the signification of those words as applied to Christ. This is a terse treatment of Luke 2: 11, "A Saviour which is Christ the Lord", at the end of his short presentation of the Article, "And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord". In the course of Edwards's definition of "the triple title", Jesus, Christ, our Lord, one finds his Calvinian setting for salvation:

Salvation supposes and implies a miserable and lost state..... To save is to deliver a person out of distress, to rescue and free him from the misery he lies under. This, then, we are to know and consider, that all the sons of Adam are lost; they are undone of themselves..... Thus by nature, by our natural descent from our first parents, we are children of wrath, and obnoxious to everlasting punishment. But Jesus came to raise us out of the state of sin and death, into which we were plunged, unto the state of grace and life. 1

In order to accomplish this, the Son of God, in a way unique within the Trinity, assumed our human nature, suffered in our stead, and laid down His life for us. He rescued us from the eternal suffering and death which we deserved; then He rose to prove His divine Sonship; 2 Edwards, however, gives less emphasis to the resurrection than Calvin. 3 But there is a strong


3. See Calvin, Institutes, II, xvi, 13, "Quare sic salutis nostrae materiam inter Christi mortem et resurrectionem partimur."
satisfaction theory of the vicarious atonement throughout the
former's Divinity. God is pictured as accepting by His free
will and pleasure, Christ's undertaking in our behalf. That
"He was crucified....is the main point of Christianity". 1
There follows a remarkable description of the Cross.

Deliverance from a literal hell to a blissful heaven
such as Calvin describes, 2 is largely Edwards's concept of sal-
vation, and for it he exhorts his readers to be grateful. Then,
with Calvin, who devotes an entire chapter to them, he proceeds
to

.....three things chiefly to be regarded in Christ.....
His offices of prophet, king, and priest. 3

He likewise follows Calvin in modifying the view of Anselm on
the Passion: Edwards extols his Saviour as the only combined
King, Priest, and Prophet, in God's plan of redemption. David
he distinguishes, was prophet and king; Melchisedek was priest
and king, and Samuel was prophet and priest; but Jesus alone
was all three. 4 Here our author gives his idea of "a complete
Saviour". 5 Without mentioning their names, Edwards grants that
there have been many other so-called "Saviours" among men, who

2. See Calvin, Institutes, III, xxv, 10-11.
3. See ibid., II, xv, Chapter Outline.
5. See John Bunyan, Christ, a Complete Saviour.
have delivered persons and nations from dangers. However, he challenges his readers:

Consult all history, and you will find no complete deliverer. But such was Jesus; He perfected our deliverance; He shields us from miseries of all kinds; He saves both our bodies and souls; He bestows on us temporal blessings; He much more confers upon us those that are spiritual, and to consummate and crown our happiness, He gives us those which are eternal. Thus He is a total Deliverer. 1

The closing paragraph in this treatment of Christian salvation in his Creedal work becomes an exhortation to prize the blessing he has described. The Person of such a complete and divine Saviour should be most dear to us, and worthy of all the reverence we as rational creatures can possibly pay to Him, as God. Here Edwards goes beyond his orthodox reluctance to speak of God as a Person. 2 Rather, this is a call to consecration, hardly a theological statement. Edwards is more Gospel preacher than professor of Divinity. Moreover, he has already devoted an entire volume to his doctrine of justification by faith. We turn, therefore, from this brief statement on salvation, to seek material in his less pretentious books;

2. See Baillie, God Was in Christ, p. 138, for this which applies to Edwards: "Not that orthodox thought did not conceive God as personal. But it spoke of personality in God rather than the personality of God: it conceived of God as consisting of a unity of three personalities, not as one personality."
nor do we look in vain.

Just as one finds, throughout his works, references to his ideological enemies (for he fights as he teaches) so there are expressions of the concept of salvation in his historical, expository, and even polemical writings. However, they are few and far between, during his earlier efforts. He commences his first *An Enquiry* by justifying his oblique approach to the field of religious publications:

> Though the practical part of Christian theology be infinitely more noble....than either the mere speculative or polemical parts of it; though the easiest and plainest matters of our religion be of the greatest importance to us; and consequently though those places of Holy Scripture which are most intelligible and practical, and contain in them the necessary duties relating to faith and manners, be our chiefest concern, yet it is certain that the other parts of the Holy Book, even those which are obscure and controverted, are not unworthy of our thoughts and studies. 1

With this, he plunges into the fringes of Biblical theology, from which he later emerges into matters more relevant to the Christian Salvation.

Thus, for instance, in the first volume of *A Complete History of Religion*, Edwards calls his eleventh chapter

"The Christian or Evangelical Economy". In it, he teaches that the way of salvation is like the life of God: *Vita Dei non fluit, stat.* The covenant of mercy, he believes, was made with Adam; and has been renewed from age to age. "The grace of God in Christ was common to the ancient patriarchs, and Jews, with us." ¹ Thus, from the Fall of man to the end of the world, the plan of salvation has been, and shall be, the same: by Christ and His merits. The efficacy of His death, although it actually took place much later, began with the promise in Eden. Here Edwards combines controversial and evangelical teaching in his book on religious history, by bringing in the ubiquitous Socinians, with footnotes of their authors, Volkel and Crellius. They oppose this, and teach that the pre-Christian godly were not saved by Christ, but by other means. ²

Yet such Socinian doctrine, Edwards retorts, is deservedly rejected by persons of orthodox faith. The correct view is that the same way of salvation has always prevailed; and all who have been redeemed, under Old or New Testament dispensation, ³ have been saved by Christ's death and satisfaction. This statement of justification by faith becomes a spring-board for pages of preaching that those who believe in

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God with their whole hearts, and faithfully serve Him, receive forgiveness and eternal life by that grace. With his bent for the Gospel, our "pre-Evangelical" of 1699 1 is preaching with his pen, as if he were still in his pulpit:

For though the redemption of mankind was not actually wrought by Him till He died on the Cross, yet the virtue and benefit of it were in all ages, as the sun spreads its light, and illuminates our region, before its glorious body appeareth above the horizon. 2

Is Edwards standing on a bridge of religious thought that reaches from the Cambridge Platonists almost to the Cambridge Evangelicals? Certainly, we see an unapologetic and consistent permeation of emphasis upon Christian salvation through the Gospel. In his Veritas Redux, our Calvinist presents briefly, in addition to his lengthy treatise of "God's Eternal Decrees", and "Man's Liberty of Will", the good news of restricted grace, Christ's limited redemption, 3 and perseverance in grace. Discussing conversion, he equates it with "effectual calling". 4

Greater emphasis on salvation occurs throughout The

Doctrine of Faith and Justification, A Treatise of Repentance,

1. See Flynn, The Influence of Puritanism, p. 175, for "The English Evangelicals are in doctrine successors of the Reformation and the early Puritan clergy".
4. See ibid., p. 57.
both Legal and Evangelical. The Preacher, and especially in the third volume of his Theologia Reformata. This last of the more evangelical works he distinguishes from the first two volumes as "Discourses on those Graces and Duties which are purely Evangelical and not contained in the Moral Law". ¹

His two collections of occasional sermons, significantly enough, do not include any evangelistic addresses. ² Rather, his routine messages to his own parish are strongly evangelical. These sermons he has re-worked into discourses on faith and on repentance, or compiled them in his third large collection of practical theology. That which a preacher first chooses to publish, ³ and what his widow gathers together for the printer, should be a fair criterion of his thought. If this be the case with our prolific author, we

1. Edwards, A Treatise of Repentance, p. 4. "Legal terror goes before evangelical grace..... We must be humbled by the law before we be exalted by the Gospel." Conviction, he teaches, must bring true repentance. This Gospel repenting leads to hope, filial fear and love, with hatred of sin. On the other hand, mere legal repentance ends in despair and bondage to fear. (See ibid., p. 55.)

2. See, however, Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 20, for his assurance that our salvation does not depend on a full understanding of Scripture; let not weak Christians worry. See also Edwards, A Treatise of Repentance, p. 285, for "saving knowledge".

judge Edwards's heart to be on salvation, although his head
leads him into controversy and the range of a Divinity curricu-

um for the younger clergy as well as for others with theolo-
gical interests. His earliest published sermon, The Plague of
the Heart, is on salvation from sin; and the six discourses
of his final work are on sanctification, regeneration, good
works, conscience, the life of a Christian, and the imitation
of Christ. These form the wholesome grains of wheat among
the chaff which the winds of time have blown, like dust, from
the reading desk of all but research students. As one reads
these pulpit addresses, last to be published, but preached dur-
ing his early, parish ministries, one is refreshed. Edwards
is still personal and direct:

You of this parish have above a hundred ser-
mons preached to you in a year. And do you not be-
lieve practice should be answerable to this frequency
of hearing? 1

With a love that, later, seems to have cooled, he exhorts:

My brethren, there is a day coming when you
must all give account of your time. 2

He urges them to make leisure to prepare for heaven, and

2. Ibid., p. 260.
concludes that Sunday's message with:

Let every one who hears me this day go home and spend his time better. 1

We catch a glimpse of Edwards, the positive preacher, confessing: 'We have wrangled and disputed, and addicted ourselves to parties', 2 by which he means the Calvinian and Arminian. In the meantime, irreligion has taken possession of the community. While he and his fellow-clergy have been engaged in controversies about relatively unimportant things, the Church has suffered neglect. "For shame," he cries out, "let us leave off our mooting and squabbling. These petty things have taken up too much of our time already." 3 This is evangelical John Edwards, minister of Old Trinity and later, of St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, challenging his people to match the evil times with better temper. He feels the happy opportunity of converting others, and of reforming his profane world 4 by the power of exemplary behaviour. As an avid reader of history

2. Ibid., p. 262. See Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, p. 119, for his "The contentions between.....the Lutherans and the Calvinists have woefully hindered the Kingdom of Christ". Also, ibid., p. 218, "While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and passing to the world that will decide all our controversies".
4. Ibid., p. 263.
and biography, he recognizes the complaint in each generation
that it is the most wicked age ever; but insists that there is
more reason in his day, because godless men practise their wicked-
ness without regret. They go blithely forward in their impiety
as if there were no God, no judgment, and no Hell. Moreover,
he who denies the Homily of Salvation, with its doctrine of jus-
tification by faith alone through the merits of Christ, is not
merely unorthodox, but "is not to be accounted for a Christian
man...but for an adversary to Christ and His Gospel".  

Because the sovereignty of God, the seriousness of
His judgment, and the stern reality of hell as a place of endless
torment, are so important to Edwards, he follows his volume on
faith and justification with another, published two years after
his death, dealing with the grace of repentance. In the pre-
face he teaches the interdependence and interchangeable order
of faith and repentance. Some acts of faith go before those
of true repentance; while other acts of repentance precede deeds

2. See Edwards, A Treatise of Repentance, pp. 59-61, for his
   horror that a mere creature, like man, should dare to op-
   pose his Creator; that "a despicable worm should rise in
   rebellion against the omnipotent One".
3. See Calvin, Institutes, II, xii, 3, for "We are all sub-
   ject to God's displeasure, guilty in His sight, and born
to damnation of hell".
of faith. He has endeavoured to make plain the subject of man's minor part in salvation by this second book which consists of sermons preached during his parish ministry. Thus, he accounts for his emotional tone as due to the seriousness of the subject. He has purposely sought to stir up the affections of his hearers, he says, as well as to inform the judgments of those I spoke to, and now of those I write to; both of which I hope will prove very edifying and beneficial. This is the sincere and earnest prayer of the reader's faithful friend and servant in Jesus Christ, John Edwards.

After his controversy, and his early retirement from the pulpit, has he lost his evangelical note? No, he still has at heart the salvation through Christ, though he presents it in a framework of the severity rather than the goodness of God. There is no question that he believes faith to be greater than love, although he grants that these graces often melt and merge. Edwards goes from the Pauline type to that which is secret. To be converted, however quietly, means to be chosen from all eternity. He is glad his Church observes a Sunday a year in honour of St. Paul's conversion; for it illustrates how deeply the foundation must be laid;

2. See Paul, Romans 11:22.
4. See ibid., p. xi, where he says even "Our conversion is by Almighty grace and by a power supernatural".
almost in hell, that the superstructure may be raised to the greatest height, even to the third heaven, as it was with the Apostle. 1

However, it is not essential, as Baxter testifies, 2 to know the time of one's conversion; not all do. For some, and he implies that he is of their number, the change is undiscernible. Natural philosophy recognizes, he says, that the soul 3 dispenses life through the body when asleep. So the Holy Spirit secretly operates in renewing the spiritual life. The genuineness of conversion is not the manner but the permanence of the change of one's mind and manners. Thus, when Calvinists, in general, speak of irresistible grace, they refer to its permanency. 4

What, then, may bring a person under the conviction of his need of God? Any one of many providences may serve this purpose: a disappointment, a touching story, a sudden memory; even a peal of thunder, a flash of lightning, the tolling of a bell, or the striking of a clock. Such have been the occasions of men's deciding to change their lives. These have been God's tools which work repentance. But whatever the means, it is God only Who can change people's hearts and especially their stubborn

1. Edwards, A Treatise of Repentance, pp. 16-17
3. See ibid., p. 50, for another quaint idea that the reason, will and affections are faculties of the soul which influence one another.
wills. 1 Although repentance is the gift of God, it is often bestowed by strange means of grace. Edwards admits that the theatre itself has produced converts. But, he hastens to add, "This must not encourage you.... to go to play-houses; for they are of themselves unlawful." 2 God's providence moves in infinite variety and over-rules our human weaknesses, but we must struggle to co-operate with the Spirit of God through holiness of living. For sin, like a clever harlot, paints her face; 3 it is violent madness, distracted reason, a plague.

"The theatre is itself.... has produced 'Jonathan.' But I hasten to add, sulphuric acid does not cure. I urge you... to pray; for they are of themselves unlawful."

Only as the converted 4 church-members live above such compromise as theatre-going, drinking and Sabbath-desecration, can those who preach enjoy the confidence of the community. Edwards reminds his members: "The worse the world is, the stricter let your lives be." 5 He tells them not to follow the majority of England, nor even in Cambridge, who sleep through the Sabbath, go riding, eat and drink all day, or in some other unlawful way waste it. 6 The bad example of church-members makes it hard for him to practise what he has taught the younger

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3. Ibid., p. 291.
4. See Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 320, for his strongly Calvinistic predetermination in discriminating between the converted and the unconverted, the true cause of conversion being "the distinguishing grace of God, not the powerful exerting of our wills."
olergy. He has urged them to preach primarily for the salvation of souls. There is ground for fear that the majority of those in church are

.....not yet effectually called; therefore, our sermons should aim at conversion of those hearers that are still in their sins. One of the greatest reasons why there is so little conversion.....is because there is so little preaching of that kind. 1

However, the fault may be in the pew as well as in the pulpit. Another reason for so few being converted is that the life of those who profess Christianity does not coincide with the Gospel of Christ. 2

Prayer, too, is of the utmost importance in salvation. 3 Pastor Edwards teaches that his people must pray for others, first on behalf of their souls, that God may reveal His will, show the riches of His grace to those still strangers to it, grant repentance to the worst of sinners, and thus reclaim notorious offenders against Him. 4 At other times he seems to show a lack of concern for the reaching of those outside the Church; and indeed, to imply a salvation by good works for

3. See ibid., p. 309, for "Prayer (if I may speak with reverence) is the key to open God's heart". See also, Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. 73.
baptized church-members. For instance, when he describes an eternal heaven of happiness and a hell of misery, he exhorts his hearers to so live (no mention of grace) and to so avoid sinful pleasures, (no mention of winning others) as to shun eternal hell, and to gain heaven.\(^1\) But this is the exception rather than the rule. Stressing prayer as the means God uses in effecting His will "to elect some", he counsels variety in saying prayers. As a conforming Churchman, he encourages the use of set forms of prayer, supplemented by one's own words. Being a friend of Dissenters, he approves informal intercession. Sometimes, he confesses, forms seem dull and heavy; then we are to lay them aside. At other times, one's own prayers seem flat; so the intelligent worshipper betakes himself to inspiring prayer-forms. Edwards's Low-church attitude influences him to stress the orthodoxy of *The Articles*,\(^2\) but to make only occasional reference to *The Book of Common Prayer*.

Now prayer, he continues, must include confession which is heartfelt, with an enumeration of our sins.\(^3\)

\(^1\) *Edwards, Theologia Reformata*, Vol. II, p. 103. See also Baxter, *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, p. 108, for his "I am commanded.....to treat them of that which their salvation lieth on.....the question is presently to be determined whether they shall dwell for ever in heaven or in hell".

\(^2\) See Edwards, *Veritas Redux*, p. 318, for this frequent type of outburst: "Let not vain and rash opinion of modern heads be preferred to the plain determination of the Holy Writ, and the uninterrupted acknowledgment of the Catholic Church."

\(^3\) Edwards, *A Treatise of Repentance*, p. 110.
repentance goes into each individual's needs. He suggests some prayers, also, for confession of community evils:

Let rivers of waters run down your eyes because men keep not God's laws. 1

As early as 1665, young Edwards is calling his people to be-moan the widespread decay of practical religion, which ought to be our chief trade, but is at a standstill. 2 Preaching "you" with "saving" energy in his call to repentance, he exhorts his hearers to confess:

It is well that affliction arrested me, else I had gone on still offending God and my neighbours. I see now that I gain by my losses. 3

He reminds them that to commit sins after great mercies is serious. They must prayerfully repent and help their neighbours to prepare to meet God, Who hates evil and has to punish sinners in hell. National as well as personal repentance is the only guarantee of security. "Repent, O England, repent," 4 he keeps on calling.

Again, the right kind of Bible reading prepares

men's hearts for revival. Edwards tells us that Augustine was converted after hearing Ambrose read and preach the Word. With confidence, the evangelical minister of Cambridge challenges those who have heard him to receive salvation, then and there:

It is high time that you now have the experience of it. The Word hath been preached unto you this day. You have one sermon more to answer for. 1

He insists that warm preaching of the Gospel, including hell as well as heaven, is the chief means of saving England. He reminds his younger brethren to let the people know that just as the Gospel brings redemption, so it carries with it damnation. He warns us that there is a literal hell for the wicked. God's evangelical truth implies carrying out His threatenings as well as His gracious promises. Ministers of God's Word, 2 so greatly honoured with divine responsibility, must use the keys of Christ to open the Kingdom to those who believe and obey, but shut it to the unbelieving and disobedient.

The former they do as they proclaim pardon... through Jesus Christ..... and the latter as they denounce the wrath of God and His eternal displeasure to those who remain impenitent. 3

2. See Calvin, Institutes, IV, i, 5, for "He design to con-secrate the mouths and tongues of men to His service, mak-ing His own voice to be heard in them".
Since our sin-hating God has warned men of torture, apart from repentance and faith, preachers are bound to emphasize that doctrine, and to

\[\ldots\text{terrify sinners: they must flash hell-fire in their faces; they must tell them plainly that both here and hereafter they shall suffer for their willful miscarriages.}\]

Just as mildor Baxter, even, urges "some piercing words"\(^2\) in preaching, so Edwards continues to justify such advice by claiming a psychology of positive fear and hope. These principles of action are divinely placed in the heart of man. A good physician uses harsh methods of healing; so the faithful preacher is kind to sinners when cruel to their sins. At times he must be a severe surgeon of souls. He reminds young ministers that the false prophets preached peace, even when their people were at war with heaven. This sounds like Bunyan.

When a man's sins are forgiven, he must pray for other souls. Thus repentance becomes something outward as well as inward, the fruit as well as the root of Christianity.\(^3\) Our own fasting and praying are not ends of religious devotion, but lead us to something higher: the reformation of the lives of others also. Critical of the mere outward observance of Ash

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Wednesday and Lent, John Edwards calls for his people to be "evangelical penitents", by taking time sincerely to examine their hearts and to eliminate their sins.\(^1\) So our minister of the Cambridge church, where Charles Simeon later had so many conversions, re-issues his call to revival. "It is to your interest," \(^2\) he promises his people, "to reform and break off your sins." \(^3\) Therefore, "when like Daniel, thou art shut up, make thy prayers to God." \(^4\) There is no hope in ourselves, nor in any other creature. And with this exhortation he holds before them the joys of heaven for those who have experienced repentance. On another Sabbath, with equally direct thrust, he expresses the hope that some of them will experimentally attest the truth and reality of Christian salvation. To those who have not yet experienced conversion, he says:

\[\text{I beseech you that you would now seriously lay to heart what I have offered you.}\] \(^5\)

He urges that when they go from the church, they retire and consider their condition of heart.

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2. See Allen, *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 309, where he questions such motivation: "salvation was not primarily an ethical process."
4. Ibid., p. 42.
There are, moreover, urgent implications in his Gospel. He reminds his readers of the current national calamities of war, plague, and fire; and insists that they are God's judgments for "the heinous sins of England", the subject of one of his special sermons. He believes greater troubles are coming than all the tempests, hurricanes and portentous comets. He thunders:

These two go together, vice and calamity, a sinful age and a perilous. 1

Turning to history for support of his eloquent and prophetic word, Edwards recalls how the primitive Christians in their evil times practised purity of life. His contemporaries must do likewise. Then, regardless of what may befall the unrepentant sinners of their age, God may be prevailed upon to divert His judgments from the land they love; and, he appeals to their patriotism: "You may derive a blessing on the whole nation." 2 His recurring phrase echoes through The Preacher: "before it is too late." This Puritan concern finds similar expression in Edwards's great contemporary, Baxter, who asks his fellow-ministers:

Will it not awaken us to compassion, to look

2. Ibid., p. 267.
on a languishing man, and to think that within two or three days his soul will be in heaven or in hell. 1

Edwards's concept of salvation permeates his thought. At the end of every treatment of doctrine, whether an article of the Creed, a petition in the Lord's Prayer, one of the Ten Commandments, or his philosophical *A Free Discourse Concerning Truth and Error*, there is an evangelist's exhortation to seek and find salvation. Thus, for instance, in closing his volume on the first ten Articles, Edwards is again preaching repentance and reformation, in order that his reader may receive forgiveness. But the pardon must be taken in time. The preacher tells the touching story of a nobleman who waited until it was too late.

Let us then understand, whilst the day of grace is continued to us, and let us by early repentance and devoting ourselves to the service of God, secure our everlasting happiness. 2

The otherwise severe theologian becomes tender when he invites us to consider the loving invitation of the blessed Jesus, and his assurance that He will in no wise cast off those who come to Him, but join in the heavenly joy when the sinner repents. 3

Again, in the third volume of his *opus magnum*, Edwards emphasized the appeal of urgency in the act of repentance unto salvation for every hearer of the Word. He reminded his people that day, as he preached to them on "Remember now thy Creator",¹ that the hour of worship could be eschatological.

Eternity lies at stake, and on this flitting moment depends your everlasting woe or bliss. It is folly as well as sin to defer your repentance.²

The preacher of salvation warned them to redeem the present and act upon it, because continuing without salvation would harden their hearts. With an earnestness that prepared for later Evangelism, Edwards appealed:

The tide now serves thee. The winds blow favourably for thee. All things make for thy voyage. Oh, do not lie idle and sleep on the hatches, but hoist your sails, and make your port with all speed.³

Perhaps it was a Children's Day address, for after several pages he closed his message on the human side of salvation with this exhortation which sounds almost Arminian:

Set out then betimes in your Christian journey; seek first the Kingdom of Heaven; consecrate the prime

1. *Ecclesiastes* 12: 1
and flower of your years to God; give your bud, your blossom to the Almighty. 1

This was no exceptional passage, but a typical appeal from the last of his posthumously published works. In an earlier discourse on the sixth Beatitude, Edwards had described salvation here as grace, and hereafter as glory. "Only grace and glory differ as an imperfect and perfect state." 2 Later, in a discourse on "Avoid Evil Company", Edwards was appealing to all to escape the broad way which leads to destruction - the fate of the wicked here and in hell.

Therefore, I say unto you, as you love your own souls, as you regard your salvation, and as you value your temporal welfare, embrace the society of those that are good and holy, and forsake all wicked converse. 3

One more sample will suffice, from what he calls,

A Practical Discourse, showing what are the hindrances and impediments of godliness; and what are the effectual helps to promote it.

1. Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. III, p. 294. See also ibid., Vol. II, p. 48, for an unusually exalted doctrine of man for a Calvinist who so emphasized man's fallen state: "Shall we, who have this immortal treasure in our breasts hunt after trifles?.....we find we have something divine in us, approaching to God Himself, yea the very image of Him..... We were made for brave and gallant actions. How then can we live beneath our selves.....that the mind of man, that bright emanation of divinity should depose its rays of majesty.....:


3. Ibid., p. 441
At great length he exhorts his hearer to consider and choose the narrow way of salvation, in which faithfulness is mixed with faith. Here he avoids "a dead orthodoxy in which faith had come to mean no more than the formal recognition of sound doctrine". Like the Puritan of Bedford, John Edwards writes:

There is a City prepared for you..... But there is a Gate to go through first, before you can enter into the City.....and Happiness. Let nothing stop you in your attempts..... You must expect to meet with great difficulties, but encounter them manfully. You must not stand with your arms across..... Persuade not yourselves, that faint wishes will serve your turn..... Desire, long, pant and breathe after Heaven. Wrestle with God by importunate prayer..... vow to live a strict life; let it be your chief care to be of the number of those few that enter in at the strait gate..... No strivings can be too great to attain heaven, and.....we can never escape hell at too dear a rate. 3

That is a characteristic exhortation of Edwards's traditional thought of salvation; though it is not our understanding of the New Testament concept of a present, as well as future, wholesome quality of life. He comes short, here also, of Baxter's triad of "obedience, love and joy in which true religion doth

2. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, pp. 120-121, where he echoes Bunyan that the best preacher "reforms men's manners and effectually shows them how to save their souls". See ibid., p. 122 for further: bold rebuking of vice, warm exhorting men to virtue, and affectionately applying the truth. Bunyan and Edwards are pilgrims.
3. Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. III, p. 536. Also Talon, John Bunyan, p. 171; "the idea of pilgrimage was common".
principally consist". With his sense of salvation's reasonableness, however, we concur, as Edwards observes:

The traveller who is desirous to be in the right way inquires of passengers whom he meets with; he often asks and is very solicitous to know whether he be in the direct road. 2

With the Puritan's tendency to make of religion a hard journey rather than a joy, a burden rather than a blessing, Edwards puts self-denial at the apex of salvation. And first of all, he insists, we must deny reason in favour of faith in Biblical revelation. It is a sin to ask how God works His mysteries. It is saving faith to believe implicitly that He has worked, "as it is written". 3 Our Calvinist affirms:

Self-denial is the ground-work of all religion, and the top-stone, and entire completion of it. 4

Again he goes beyond the emphasis of Geneva, although Wallace insists that "For Calvin the Christian life consists mainly of self-denial". 5 Nevertheless, Edwards makes clear that "The will is not forced, but changed". 6 The following line of

4. Ibid., p. 316. See also The Revived Puritan, p. 289, for a similar statement by Whitefield.
thought is typically Edwardsian:

The will of man in conversion is not destroyed. The consent and choice remain; but by the grace of God there is an alteration in the will; it is renewed and reformed, the former bent and inclination of it are removed; and a new one is put into it, whereby it freely and willingly becomes obedient to the heavenly call..... And besides, we cannot imagine that when God intends and designs the conversion of a sinner, He will suffer Himself to be baffled..... Hence it follows that those who are truly regenerate, and in the state of grace, cannot fall from it: for that almighty and irresistible power whereby they were born again, will preserve and uphold them in that blessed state. 1

Of all his writings on the Christian Salvation, Edwards's clearest thinking is in The Doctrine of Faith and Justification. There he asks:

Is it not reason that lapsed man should have a Mediator between God and him, to reconcile him unto God, and that this Mediator and Redeemer should be One in Whom man may be encouraged to ascend to God, and partake of His favour? Is it not agreeable to reason, that when God and man were at enmity, there should be a reconciling them by that Person Who was both divine and human? 2

He teaches here the necessity of God's being reconciled to man. 3

2. Edwards, The Doctrine of Faith and Justification, p. 54.
3. See Baillie, God Was in Christ, p. 187, for "the New Testament does not speak of God being reconciled to man."
Later, he stresses, like Calvin,\(^1\) the divine initiative in Christ as "God's overture of pardon".\(^2\) That, in turn, is balanced by the fact that Edwards says he himself took Jesus out of free choice. This is his nearest approach to personal witness. Yet, though Christ has satisfied the divine justice for us by His sufferings, in another sense, God is not fully reconciled to us until by faith\(^3\) we lay hold upon the Lord Jesus.\(^4\) Edwards stresses the importance of being able, individually, to say: "All His undertakings were for me and for my eternal benefit." God has honoured faith above all other graces.\(^5\)

So our preacher, warmed by evangelical passion, stresses that it is through Christ's grace alone that we are accepted, forgiven, and redeemed; that we are not to imagine that we can claim divine favour for anything we have either believed or done. Here we feel the danger of an over-emphasis

1. See Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum* 55: 129 for "Nor can anyone find God except him to whom the man Christ becomes the door and the way".


3. See *ibid.*, p. 117, for "faith is that telescope", and p. 124 for "Faith is that firm persuasion wrought in us by the Holy Spirit which produces...a steadfast affiance and trusting in the merits of the Messiah...entire believing, receiving, and resting on Christ as He is offered to us in the Gospel."


upon "imputation" which would crowd out any "impartation" of grace; but Edwards soon reassures us: "We cannot truly trust in Him as Saviour, if we do not take Him as Lord." ¹ Thus there is a precarious balance in Edwards's ideas of salvation, but it is the balance of an alternating current of thought, rather than any synthesis of concept. As with other doctrines, John Edwards believes and states in antithesis contradictory positions ² that are more than paradox. One looks in vain for a unified philosophy of the holy love of God; nor does one find him willing to make love an element in His holiness. What he does is to lay carefully the fire of God's justice and irresistible grace to save the elect. He leaves to a later and a greater evangelist, George Whitefield, the glory of setting the match to it. With him, as Sykes points out, join

.....many of the evangelicals who were caught up by Whitefield's Calvinistic movement.....standing firmly in the Anglican tradition in respect to episcopacy. ³

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2. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 262, for frequent "contradiction with the facility of unawareness".
CHAPTER VI.

COUNSEL TO THE CLERGY.

Judged by his treatment of the Church, Edwards, like most seventeenth century divines, including Pearson, was more concerned about it than any other subject of Divinity, except the doctrine of God. Indeed, his sections on the other Articles of the Creed were small in comparison with the 280 large pages on "I believe in God the Father Almighty", and his 250 pages on "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church". Considering Articles II-VII, which include an outstanding section on the Trinity, as dealing with the doctrine of Christ, we have less than 200 pages altogether. Furthermore, Edwards is very Church-conscious when he observes:

The privileges belonging to the Catholic Church are the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. 2

If we add these discussions to the 250 pages on the Church proper, his whole treatment of the Church in the Apostles' Creed totals some 390 pages, or nearly a hundred pages more

1. See Woolhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, pp. 1 and 14.
3. See McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, pp. 214-217, for the similarity of Edwards's ecclesiology to that of his master, Calvin: "The doctrine of the Church was one to which Calvin gave high importance and which he laboured to clarify".
than his section on the First Person of the Godhead. Edwards reverently regards this longest part of his exposition of the Creed as the field of operation of the Third Person of the Trinity:


Therefore, as a framework for his counsel to the clergy, we sketch his thought of the Church. As Woodhouse comments, many post-1662 writers (like Edwards), reiterate what pre-1603 authors said on this doctrine.2

In characteristic, legal formality,3 he sets forth his purpose to describe its nature, ministry, sacred institutions, and perpetuity. Mixing exhortation with exposition, Edwards declares the Church to be a distinct society, and different from the Commonwealth.4 He dips into Hebrew and Greek texts for the names of the Church in its wider and restricted senses; but he

2. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 186.
3. See Smellie, The Reformation and Its Literature, pp. 148-9 for reference to John Calvin's legal training, which Edwards sought to emulate at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. This discipline made them both prone to build up an elaborate, if not always convincing, system of theology. Like Seneca before them both "Johns" reverted from law to writing, and their Divinity has the legal flavour.
prefers the limited concept - men who not only profess faith in Christ, but truly believe in Him. Holding a position unlike the Puritan-Independent, including Baptist, view of "the gathered Church", or the Church of saints, Anglican Edwards grants that

.....those that are inwardly wicked, yea reprobates, may be members of the Church; sheep and goats may be together, wise and foolish virgins, sincere and hypocrites, weeds and flowers, corn and chaff. 1

There is in Edwards a realistic mixture of, or compromise between, the standpoints of Baxter, 2 who "always considered himself a loyal member of the Church of England", 3 and of Pearson. Thus our author conciliates:

If any man thinks that true holiness be necessarily required in every member of a particular church, he is in a mistake; for it can't be expected that all the members of every congregation should be possessors of real sanctity, and be pure and spotless. 4

The visible and invisible Church, together, make up all the Churches upon earth; the visible including those who make profession, and the invisible being so called because the reality of final election is known to God only. Edwards, like Calvin, 5

2. See Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, p. 95. Also ibid., p. 135, for "the mystical body of Christ".
is far more interested in the visible Church. Woodhouse explains:

The question of visibility and invisibility arose in the Reformation times, partly through... St. Augustin'e writings. Another cause was that men thought it impossible that one State could have two branches of the Church. 1

Edwards next lists five 2 aspects: the Church universal and orthodox, either visible or invisible; the Church national, as of England, Scotland, or Denmark; the church congregational, as of Jerusalem or Cambridge; the church representative, made up of pastor and select laymen; and the church domestic, which Paul called "the church in thy house". 3 In dealing with authority and discipline within the congregation, Edwards parts company with Baxter and his non-conformists. In spite of his admiration for them, he presents this alternative philosophy of the place of the clergy and the laity:

The Church comprehends all, lay and clergy; yet for debating about, or decision of controversies ecclesiastical, the clergy are the proper members of the Church. They being set apart and ordained to holy things, and Christ's presence and Spirit being particularly promised to them.....these are the fittest to determine concerning ecclesiastical government and discipline, and the like; they have a special commission for this. 4

1. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 52.
2. See ibid., p. 181, for "The word 'Church' can be used in four senses".
Countering the Independents' stand against clerical authority, he debates:

But it will be objected that the spiritual man judgeth all things....and such is every Christian; therefore every Christian is a competent judge of these matters. I answer, he judges only to himself, for his own direction and salvation, but not to govern others, he being a private person, and without authority. 1

The burden of Edwards's thought, however, is definition; here he appears more theologian than Churchman. Who, for instance, could better comment on the folly of controversy than Edwards?

Most of our disputes are about the acceptance of words; for these are differently taken in the Bible, and thence arise our controversies. Wherefore, if we can rightly distinguish between words, we solve the difficulty. Thus it is in the present case concerning the Church..... 2

He then proceeds, like Baxter, to identify the holy catholic Church with the mystical body of Christ, the elect, the Kingdom of God, and Christ's Spouse". 3 Influenced by Augustine, 4 he emphasizes that this invisible Church is the predestined number

2. Ibid., p. 516. See also Edwards, Veritas Redux, p. 56. Also Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 136, for "Christ's Spouse".
3. See Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 4.
who are called out, separated from the world, distinct from
nominal Christians, and sure of being eternally saved. In
this sense, the Catholic Church is one the world over, and free
from heretical assemblies; there can be no salvation outside
of her. With characteristic Whig point of view, Edwards joins
with Locke, 1 to insist that no particular church has a monopoly
of redemption, not even his own Church with all her apostolic
succession. Although rites are different, yet the faith is
the same, in the various churches of the land; and their holi-
ness is genuine.

As Trevelyan generalizes:

Puritan and Rationalist were drawn together into
common opposition to the dominant High Churchmen. ..... 
 Politically the Low Churchmen like Stillingfleet, Tillot-
son, and Burnet were the advocates of toleration, and the
friends of the Protestant Dissenters. 2

Here, too, we could add their Calvinist critic, John Edwards,
who discriminately adheres to the Articles of the Church of
England, joins with her worship, embraces her communion; but
only acquiesces in her government. He can never prevail upon
himself to condemn those who separated from her; not from her

1. See Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism, p. 544, for
importance of his "anonymous letter", Epistola de Tole-
rantia, in checking Anglican exclusiveness.
doctrines, but from her errors. Too many call themselves sons of the Church, but do not speak the language of their mother; they take her name, but not her Calvinian principles.

On the other hand, Edwards pays tribute to orthodox Dissenters:

Whatever their mistakes otherwise, I behold very laudable things in some of them. Their converse savours of a sense of religion and goodness; their pastors pray with fervency, and preach with affection and to edification; and they live answerably. And I verily believe that they (as well as our own pious Churchmen) are a blessing to this nation. I can't possibly give myself any other turn of thoughts.

So evident, moreover, is his sympathy with the Kirk, rather than the Episcopal clergy, in Scotland, we feel that had he moved north of the Border, he would have conformed whole-heartedly with the Scottish Presbyterians.

Indeed, Edwards declares there is salvation in the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Calvinian churches. He probably means by these: the Churches of England, Scotland, Sweden (for instance) and the Reformed Churches of France and Switzerland. But those who are saved, he continues, are of the Catholic Church, acknowledging "one Lord, one Spirit, and

Whilst we assent and defend the dignity and eminency of the Catholic Church, we do at the same time.... vindicate the particular churches of Christ. And no man can believe the one....unless he believes the others..... We cannot prove ourselves to be true members of the Catholic Church, if we refuse to maintain communion with the servants of God in particular assemblies.

This is the position of most of the archbishops of the century preceding Edwards. Norman Sykes quotes Bramhall, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and even Thorndike, the stoutest champion of Episcopacy among seventeenth century divines, as respecting the Reformed Churches abroad. However, none of them are as "liberal" as our Cambridge author toward non-Episcopal churches in England itself. With strong Gospel emphasis, moreover, Edwards considers that the Church Universal and specific churches have the same design of God: the promotion of salvation among men.

Ready to bring forth a longer definition, he first approves one which Thorndike gives in his Epilogue:

The Church is a society or body founded by God, to have communion in the service of God, for the attaining of everlasting life.

Inevitably there emerges the author's wordy attempt. The Church is:

1. See Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church, p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 516.
A society of men, joined together in a profession of the same Christian faith and truth, and in communion with God and one another in the use of such ordinances and institutions as God hath appointed, as praying, hearing the Word, receiving the sacraments, and in all other things conducing to the worship of God and leading their lives in some measure according to the rules of the Gospel; and this under the conduct and discipline of lawful pastors and governours; or, in cases of necessity, such as be reputed and taken to be so. 1

This is an amplification of Article XIX in which, as Sykes reminds us, no mention is made of its polity and ministry; but the article defines the invisible Church as

.....a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things which are of necessity requisite to the same.

With an evangelical concern, Edwards follows his redundant description by a statement of ultimate purpose:

This short but comprehensive account of a Christian Church presents us with the true nature of it, and we see all the ingredients of it tend to make men happy, and to advance and effect their salvation. 2

From this philosophy of the Church's mission among men, he draws his Low Churchmanship, and warns against the Romanist dangers of approaching to "High Church, that upon the Seven

2. Ibid., p. 516.
Hills'. He reminds us that it was when Charles I and Laud tried to set the Church too high that it fell too low.

In the above delineation, Edwards omits to name the sacraments, but in a later résumé of the meaning of belief in the holy, Catholic Church, he includes them.

There is here upon earth a company...of persons professing the Christian faith, baptized, hearing God's word, receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, joining in prayers and all holy ordinances. These are Christ's Church. 2

Our author emphasizes the gifts of knowledge and spiritual preaching, because the miraculous gifts have ceased in Christ's Body. 3

Having set forth the nature of the Church, Edwards magnified the offices of presbyter and deacon. Sykes informs us that Cartwright advocated Presbyterianism itself from the Lady Margaret chair of Divinity at Cambridge. 4 Both Churchmen, however, minimized the fact that, according to some, there is a third office in the Church; namely, that of lay elders. Edwards was conciliatory, in an effort to conform beyond his

4. See Sykes, The Church of England, p. 8. Also Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 46, for this which might be called 'the Cambridge movement'.
convictions. Reluctantly, also, he granted a fourth office in the Church, that of a "presiding" bishop; although he elsewhere laboured the fact that ἐπίσκοπος means simply a presbyter whom his fellows have chosen to be over them for harmonious efficiency. He quoted an ancient: "Let him who is to preside over all be chosen of all". This conviction may have been strengthened by the influence of Baxter.

But Edwards compromises his personal beliefs, for the sake of regularity, by admitting:

Our own Church, to which certainly we ought to give the greatest deference, asserts that from the Apostles' time, there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: bishops, priests, and deacons. He seems to feel the suspicion of the bishops over his "lame" presentation of Episcopacy for which he has little heart. Edwards is certainly among those of whom Baxter says,

They are all agreed that the English diocesan frame of government, and so the popish prelacy, is unlawful, and of dangerous tendency in the churches.

2. Ibid., p. 178.
4. Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, p. 529. See also Sykes, The Church of England, p. 6, for "the traditional orders of bishop, priest, and deacon".
Sykes quotes from Gunning's chaplain a defence of the bishop's so-called "comprehensive" policy against the criticism of Baxter.\(^1\) However, in the light of other statements, one is not altogether convinced of the objective accuracy of the chaplain's claim. It is one thing to allow Dissenters to Anglican communion, but quite another to reciprocate fully. Edwards, like Usher\(^2\) himself, stands as a "moderate" in his liberal attitude toward "sober Dissenters", or the non-episcopal ministries.

Assuming Sykes to be correct in his well-documented essay, The Church of England and Non-Episcopal Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, one believes Edwards to be, as he claimed, within the main Anglican tradition. Even before Archbishop Sancroft, in 1688, urged his clergy to show "a tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant dissenters", our Cambridge author was appealing for considerateness toward, and even co-operation with these allies against Rome and Arminianism. Although Edwards may have been more interested in doctrinal purity than in ecclesiastical reunion, still he was an outspoken champion of the rights and excellencies of Presbyterianists, Independents and Calvinistic Baptists. While Baxter\(^3\)

\(^1\) See Sykes, The Church of England, p. 28.
\(^2\) See Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, p. 62, for "Archbishop Usher there took the rightest course".
\(^3\) See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 37, for Richard Baxter's theocratic conception of the State.
in a more constructive manner, sought a middle way, accepted "primitive" episcopacy, and could not be happy with the 'high' view of the English Episcopate, Edwards deserves praise for his generous attitude as an Anglican. Like Howell Harris, the Welsh Reformer, who with Whitefield, was "a faithful member of the Church of England", our Cambridge divine reveals "the pronounced catholicity of his spirit and practice in reference to Dissenters".

A loyal Churchman, Edwards expresses thanks that his Church is blessed with learned and pious leaders who obey the authority of "the godly prince". Diplomatically, he asks:

Who is there, therefore, that pays not a profound reverence......to these admirable prelates, both because of their lordships' personal qualities and endowments, and because of their high station and dignity in the Church, to which our princes have been pleased to advance them. 2

This is a far cry from his attack upon diocesan Episcopacy in his manuscript fragment. There he takes notice of how his Church has deviated from the primitive practice of the people choosing their ministers. Confidently, he asserts:

Nothing is plainer in ecclesiastical history than

1. Hughes, Life of Howell Harris, p. 262.
2. Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, p. 529. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, Chapter I, for the Elizabethan rationale of "the godly prince and the godly bishop".
that the election of bishops and priests was by the
suffrage of all the people over whom they were to be
bishops and pastors. . . . This is the true and sin-
cere account of the ancient practice of the Christian
Churches; namely, that the clergy propounded. . . . a
person to be a bishop, or a pastor upon vacancy, and
the people chose him. . . . and then he was ordained. 1

On this conviction Edwards followed Mr. Mede,2 who
was a fine scholar, and Usher,3 rather than Laud. The latter
believed that bishops were distinct, not only in greater juris-
diction, but also because they possessed powers of excommu-
cication. This was not a distinction of degree, but of order.
Baxter, on the other hand, thought a moderate Episcopacy to be
"Presbytery".4 With this Edwards would heartily agree.

In the unfinished manuscript, however, Edwards in-
sists that a pastor and a bishop are the same office, as is
maintained by all the Reformed Churches abroad. With ecumeni-
cal instinct, he hopes for eventual unity among the churches
through a return to the New Testament.

It will be an easy matter to find out the true

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3. See Usher, Reduction of Episcopacy unto . . . Synodical
   Government.
   Also ibid., p. 182, for Dr. Hammond "hath manifested there
   being then no presbyters distinct from bishops, as he
   saith on Acts XI. And that there was none such of a long
time after is abundantly proved in my treatise of Episco-
pacy".
way, for we are not to ask whether this or that doctrine be held by a Church of England man, or by an assertor of Presbyterian polity; or by one of the Congregational way.... But the only question is whether our Saviour and His inspired Apostles, who were long before those persons from whose names are derived these various sects, delivered such a doctrine.

In a final appeal for the revival of his own Church, Edwards challenges her to be true to her claim to Apostolical purity:

It hath been always said by our Churchmen that it is the peculiar glory of the Church of England that it is conformable to the primitive and Apostolical model of Christianity. Let this now be seen in the matter before us.....and let us inform our people from the New Testament..... Certainly it is left to confine ourselves to what is expressly prescribed to us by our blessed Lord and His Apostles, and not to introduce into the Church any usage of our own. 2

Yet he elsewhere grants that the administration which was given to the Apostles is handed down by Christ to their successors; and will continue till the end of time. 3 Thus he supports Church power over men, not as citizens, but as Christians. This authority comes from Christ Himself, 4 not from the State.

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2. Ibid., p. 199. See also Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p.49.
4. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 100, "The edifying....of the Church....principally belongs to Jesus Christ Himself..... The Foundation and Chief Corner-stone in the Building are the Chief Architect also..... Yet this work in some measure belongs to all holy.....Christians..... But more especially the guides and rulers of the Church, the ministers of the Gospel, the dispensers of God's Holy Word".
Although the National Church maintains officers, laws, and even penalties; its means and ends must be spiritual. He allows for exceptional cases of stubborn souls, when severity has to be used by magistrates. But the Commonwealth is not in the Church; rather the Church is in the Commonwealth. The King is Defender of the Faith. The Anglican Church should no longer punish Dissenters, while letting profane men spread immoralities.

Having treated the "true notion and nature of it", and the "peculiar officers and ministers of the Church", Edwards devotes the large heart, if not the body, of his elaboration of the Ninth Article (almost four-fifths of the entire section on the Church in Theologia Reformata) to:

...the third general head; namely, of the sacraments

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part III, p. xi, "Though I prefer our Church....of England, to all other Churches, upon several accounts, yet I never thought I was obliged to damn all other Churches, and to believe that all that differ from us, as to external rites and ceremonies, are schismatics. This is as unreasonable as 'tis uncharitable and I'm sure 'tis unscriptural". See also Taylor, Works Vol. V, p. 121, "Shall we condemn those few of the reformed churches whose ordinances always have been without bishops? No indeed, that must not be". Also Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, III, i, 14, and 11, I, where he reckoned ceremonies "and matters of government in the number of things accessory, not things necessary.

of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and all the other sacred institutions and appointments appertaining to the worship of God, or the discipline of the Christian Church. 1

To Edwards, as to Calvin, 2 the Church is the sphere of God's Fatherhood, and the way into it is the way into the family of faith, baptism being the sign of adoption. Indeed, we agree,

For one without faith, it is difficult to understand seventeenth century England, for faith was part of the air men of that day breathed. 3

These "evangelical ordinances" which Edwards believes the New Testament teaches are:

.....the meeting together in public baptism, the celebrating of the Lord's Supper, prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, catechising, preaching, singing of Psalms, taking care of the poor, fasting, thanksgiving, and festivals, ecclesiastical censures. 4

The mere listing of these ministries identifies Edwards as a Low Churchman, Puritan at heart, and yet, unlike Baxter, conforming to the framework of the Establishment. In most sections he goes into the Old and New Testament practice, and lectures, as an old clergyman, on the duty involved, and also answers objections. Defending the Protestant position of two

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2. See Calvin, Institutes, IV, xv, 14.
sacraments, Edwards affirms that:

They were both represented by the water and the blood that flowed out of the wounded side of our Lord when He hung on the Cross. And these two evangelical sacraments, which Christ Himself hath instituted, are not to cease until the Gospel itself ceases; for they are adapted to the wants and necessities of Christians to the end of the world. 1

Edwards traces the origin of both sacraments among the Jews, and quotes as authoritative Article XXV of the Church which, he says, declares that

.....the sacraments are witnesses and they are signs; and they are both these ways effectual and operative. First they are sure and certain witnesses; they are outward and visible testimonies of God's grace. 2

Similarly to Augustine, Calvin himself defines a sacrament as:

.....an external sign, by which the Lord seals on our consciences His promises of good will towards us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith, and we in our turn testify our piety toward Him, both before Himself and before angels, as well as men. 3

Edwards grants, moreover, that an inward grace accompa-panies the making of the visible sign. But unless faith is

2. Ibid., p. 559.
3. Calvin, Institutes, IV, xiv, 1, "Externum symbolum quo benevolentiae erga nos suae promissiones conscientiis nostris Dominus obsignat....."
effective in heart and life, the sacrament is mockery. Wallace specifies this practical implication of baptism in the mind of Calvin, who saw it as

....a sign of the forgiveness of sins, mortification, renewal.....entrance into the Church, and separation from the world. 2

Again, Edwards incorporates the covenant concept, as he sails a difficult course between the Scylla of Quakerism and the Charybdis of the Papists.

I have endeavoured to steer my course in the right channel, and to avoid both the extremes. I have given unto the sacraments the things which are the sacraments', and no more. 4

Using the term "ordinances", like Baxter, more than "sacraments", Edwards leans rather to the symbolical point of view; but adds to his primary emphasis of Calvin's outward sign, token and seal which are "represented", the concept that inward and spiritual graces are also "conferred". The Reformer of Geneva who was a stronger Sacramentarian than Edwards, always

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, p. 14, for his strong evangelical safe-guarding of conversion-grace: 'It is not mere baptism that makes men Christians; it is not the title that doth it, whilst they live worse than any Jews or Gentiles.'
2. Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament, p.175. See also Calvin, Institutes, IV, xv, 6.
coupled the sign and the gift of Christ granted with the sign of Baptism, the reality joined with the token. Edwards concludes his general description thus:

An evangelical sacrament is pregnant with mystery and holiness. It is a divine secret, an Arcanum of the Christian religion, and will at last lead us to that holy of holies in the New Jerusalem above. ³

However, he comes short of Calvin's full doctrine of the mystery of sacramental union; Edwards is one more step removed from both the truths and the errors that are Rome.

Labouring the fact that Baptism is a divine ordinance, he feels called upon, like Calvin, to answer various objections, and to defend infant baptism⁴ as a Scriptural practice. Rejecting both the Lutheran and Papist points of view, he commands Calvin's theory of imputative faith as superior. Perhaps the most succinct statement on baptism in his verbose combination of argument and analysis is his assurance that

2. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. III, pp. 269-270, where, in challenging parents to be "a pattern" to their children and servants in all things religious and virtuous, Edwards defends the Anabaptists, as "not grievous heretics, as they are generally thought to be; for they do the very same that many of the primitive Christians did....delay the Sacrament till of sufficient age to understand what they do. They do not deny....only defer it." He commends all "ancient Christians" as true to the New Testament.
.....this outward washing with water was intended by Christ not only to signify, but in a sacramental way to confer the inward washing and purifying of the soul from the filth of sin upon all those for whom it was designed. 1

But, lest he may have gone too far, even though he has implied Election, he couples baptism and preaching of the Gospel as the means of grace.

It is not a ceremonial and outward purgation, but an inward and spiritual one that is able to make a change in the minds and faculties of men. And this is the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which cannot but prove effectual, as proceeding from Him Who is the Author of all grace and holiness. 2

Edwards never claims as much for Baptism as Calvin, who affirms:

Christ by Baptism has made us partakers of His death, ingrafting us into it. 3

Before plunging into a discussion of the Lord's Supper, Edwards quotes various authorities, including Calvin and "one of our own dissenting brethren, Mr. Baxter", in support of confirmation, the episcopal blessing of children after baptism,

2. Ibid., pp. 576-577.
3. Calvin, Institutes, IV, xv, 5. See also Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, pp. 569-571 for such echoes of Calvin as: "Covenant holiness which is transmitted to them by their parents", and that the faith of parents is integrated to be the faith of the infants who are properly baptized.
by the laying on of hands. While warning against the per-
verting of it into a sacrament, as in the Church of Rome, our
Anglican preacher sees value in this act by which

.....the baptized explicitly declare their voluntary
consent to what was promised by their sureties. They
now publicly own and ratify the covenant.....made in
baptism.  1

At great length, our author discusses the minutiae of
the second sacrament, to protect and promote the Calvinian posi-
tion, rather than that of Luther or Rome.

The body of Christ is said to be in the Eucha-
rist, because Christ is received by faith there.....
It is mystically and spiritually present in all those
places at one time; and that.....is a true and real
presence.  Thence the renowned Calvin hath these
words in his Institutio.....  Thus Beza interpreted
his Master Calvin, and asserted only a spiritual pre-
sence, that is, by faith.  Our Church follows Calvin. 2

Edwards admits that some Anglican divines such as Laud, And-
rews, and even Dr. Ken, who was the same age as our author, have
held to the idea of the real and substantial presence of our
Saviour's body.

2. Ibid., p. 590. See also Calvin, Institutes, IV, xvii, 12,
for his "altogether unlawful.....to imagine it (the body
of Christ) everywhere present".
But when we come to examine the real sense of our Church about this matter, we find that we are not to interpret her words in that manner which some have done; yea, we find that she utterly rejects the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. 1

He stresses the crucial difference between the outward sign and the inward significance of these precious things. With more emotional preaching than logical exposition, Edwards asserts that

Christ's body is not only mystically and spiritually present in this Sacrament, but is present and eaten in a figurative way. 2

Minimizing the importance of the mere gesture of kneeling at the sacrament, Pastor Edwards exhorts his people to make ready in mind and heart by prayer and holy resolves. He urges them to come prepared or not at all; and concludes:

Wherefore, by faith and true repentance, fit yourselves for this holy feast, and be sure to excite your appetites, and come to it with hungering and thirsting souls. And this is certain, the man that is truly hungry will not be nice, but take his food in any convenient posture, sitting, standing, or kneeling. 3

In occasional reference to Holy Communion elsewhere, Edwards is consistent with the position and way of arguing of

2. Ibid., p. 592.
3. Ibid., p. 613.
his opus magnum, thus:

We are told that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a memorial of Christ's body and blood. Which is clear proof that Christ's body is not present there, but is absent; for those things which are absent...are said to be remembered. 1

He agrees with Sancroft, Dr. Simon Patrick, and others who

.....took in hand the consideration of a new scheme of comprehension. 2

This included some corrections, additions, and the elimination of some ceremonies which, as Edwards said, were "indifferent". Proudly he rejoices that the superstitions of the Roman mass are not in the public prayers and liturgy of the Church of England. Men will find no prayers for the dead, no blessing of the priest's garments, no forms which make use of salt, flowers, candles and torches at the altar, as if it were a heathen temple.

Here are no such foolish ceremonies as the priest's spitting in his left hand, and touching the ears and nose of the infant at baptism. Here is no praying to angels.....nor to the Virgin Mary, nor to patriarchs and prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, monks.....no form of prayer

2. Sykes, The Church of England, p. 35. See also Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 139, for the "healing custom" of occasional communion welcomed by "whig prelates such as Archbishop Tenison and bishops Patrick and Burnet".
for such to go on pilgrimage....no supreme unction. 1

However, in the last volume of *Theologia Reformata*, Edwards leaves us in no doubt as to his belief in the sacrament of Christian baptism by which, or in connection with which, the child is born again into God's family. Therefore, in appealing to householders responsible for the children with whom God has blessed them, and servants whose souls have been entrusted to their keeping, the old minister exhorts:

Take care that your children be admitted into the Church of England by Christian Baptism. This is the door they must enter in it, or else there will be no admission into the House of God here, or into the Kingdom of Heaven hereafter. 2

He does not mean that all unbaptized children are damned; still, he urges parents to dedicate their children by celebrating this evangelical ordinance and by presenting themselves at the Lord's Table.

The conditions of salvation, however, are faith,

1. Edwards, *Theologia Reformata*, Vol. I, p. 619. See also his *Sermons on Special Occasions*, p. 125, for simple, sincere worship: "Let religion outwardly appear comely....as the rules of Christian edification will allow....but she will soon vanish when she grows pompous, and runs into external show and pageantry". See also Talon, *John Bunyan*, p. 266, for the Bedford Puritan's "cult of the greatest simplicity". There were few sacraments and rites in the Church, to him and Edwards.

repentance, and obedience. Therefore, Edwards devotes equal stress to the faithful observance of public prayer, the use of the liturgy, Bible-reading, catechizing, preaching, proper hearing, and the singing of the Psalms. This full ministry absorbs his thought as he inserts a passage from a sermon he delivered at Cambridge, between the sections on catechising and preaching. In it he appeals to his fellows to take soul-responsibility for domesticos of the University until a chaplain has been appointed to minister to them.

There was, indeed, a ring of sincerity in his preaching on the Church and its ministry. Thus his own four brief parish ministries were given up, not because he preferred to write, but because his ill-health had disqualified him from holding a charge any longer. His pulpit was his joy and throne. Unable to continue, Edwards gave himself to encouraging the other clergy. "I will still preach by being helpful to others to discharge that office aright." With a desire to counsel them, especially Divinity students, Edwards penned all his works, whether controversial, evangelical, expository, or "Exercitations, critical, philosophical, historical, and theological". Rather than lecture in his University, he set

himself to furnish his readers with a library of Divinity which would be true to the Reformers, especially Calvin, and the old Church of England. Unlike the Countess of Huntingdon, who later, "was driven to secede from the Establishment in 1761", Edwards, like Whitefield, remained within the Anglican Communion.

The preface to his third volume closes with this avowal of purpose:

That which I now offer to the world is more especially designed for the use of younger students in sacred learning, such as are beginners and candidates in theology; though I am well satisfied that these critical researches will not be useless to those of a higher character.

Edwards need not apologize, because he has demonstrated a grasp of the original texts, in a linguistic study of the Greek preposition, both classical and ΚΟΥΝη. When he begins to write his sixteenth volume, he puts on the title page: "A Catalogue of some authors who may be beneficial to young preachers and students in Divinity."

His Theologia Reformata, moreover,

1. See Allen, The Continuity of Christian Thought, pp. 286-99 for a description of Calvin's stand for order, discipline, the church of the elect, and the Bible as the foundations of his system. These were the very things Edwards advised the clergy to maintain and Divinity students to perpetuate.


carries this claim:

"All endeavoured to be so framed as to be use-

ful not only to professed students in Divinity, but

...lovers of divine knowledge. 1

These are a collection of counsels for the clergy.
But he recommends all his publications as "beneficial" in vari-
ous fields of their study. This catalogue of Divinity books
shows his school of thought, the sources for his ideas, and an
estimate of his writings for fellow-clergy and future minis-
ters. Among books on preaching, Edwards includes those of
Melancthon and Erasmus, Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care, Baxter's
Gildas Salvianus (The Reformed Pastor) and his own The Preacher.
Under "Preparatory Writers", he recommends A Free Discourse
Concerning Truth and Error, and his two volumes of A Complete
History of Religion.

In "The Doctrinal Part", Edwards lists first "The
Writings of the Ancient Fathers, the Thirty-nine Articles of
the Church of England, and Calvin's Institutes". Then he adds

1. Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, Title-page. See also
his more positive advice to young preachers: "I advise
...such as tendeth to the magnifying of grace, and a
sweeter taste of the love of God and to the firmer reso-

lution against sin."
Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, and Tuckney's *Theological Prelections*. These are his beloved teachers. For "The Practical Part", he begins with the Greek and Latin moralists and the homilies of the Fathers. He includes his own discourses, along with those of Stillington, Master Tuckney again, Dr. Owen, and the eloquent Dr. South. Under "Mixed Writers", he names: Erasmus, *Theological Works*, and Usher, *Body of Divinity*. Dr. Hammond, *Practical Catechism*, and Edwards, *Concio ad Clerum*, *Some Thoughts Concerning Atheism*, and *A Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God*. He recommends books about heretics, and some on Jewish learning. For commentaries we find: Beza, *Annotations*, Dr. Lightfoot, *Harmony*; then Edwards's three volumes on *A Discourse Concerning the Books*, his *An Enquiry into Remarkable Texts*, and *Exercitations*. The latter are all written by the same hand, he modestly adds. He has not yet finished a major work against Papists, but he recommends


2. See Edwards, *The Preacher*, Part II, p. 152, for his superlative word that there is nothing like Usher's work in Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Antoninus or Seneca; "no, nor from Confucius".
his three against the Socinians, along with those of Grotius, Stillingfleet, Owen and Bull. Finally, this "short catalogue" of more than a hundred authors,¹ may, he says, be considered defective. Edwards adds The Preacher² to works which treat of the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England. Had it been published, he would have recommended, no doubt, his complete body of Divinity, which, with The Arminian Doctrines Condemned was in his prolific brain.

By his advice to read these books (although he claims that a few books are preferable to many), we understand his emphasis upon the need for comprehensive knowledge in one who is to become both a proclaimer and defender of the faith.³

What reaction does this catalogue provoke? His answer to the prompt criticism appears in the preface to the second part of The Preacher. On the title page he prints in bolder type: CONTINUED ADVICE TO STUDENTS IN DIVINITY AND TO

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1. Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, p. 85, for his counsel to the clergy to "Dwell at home, converse with their own hearts....and there in one page, read more than in a hundred authors". See also Stewart, Pascal's Pensées, p. 58, for similarity.

2. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, pp. 92-132, for a sermon on 1 Corinthians 14: 12, which was the seed-bed from which he later sowed the wide fields of these three volumes. The original theme was "How the Ministers of the Gospel are to Excel".

3. See ibid., p. 118, "Like those builders at the Restoration of the Jews, with a trowel in one hand and a sword in the other, we must be in a defensive and offensive posture at once".

YOUNG PREACHERS. He pictures "silly objectors" coming up to him and charging him with "the unpardonable fault" of recommending to students Calvin's Institutes, and the writings of Master Tuckney, Puritan Owen, and other Westminster divines. They accuse Edwards of a plot to raise up a generation of Calvinists, and to promote Dissenter meetings, rather than the Church. They are angered at his mention of the Catechism made by the Assembly; for

....that meeting of divines at Westminster is every whit as detestable to them as the High Court of Justice that sat sometime there. 2

But he is not upset by their negative reaction; rather, the works he has listed are recommended by their disapproval. Bishop Wilkins, in his longer list, had included these and many more, all of which favour Geneva. What logic do they have in objecting to Calvin? Had he commended to his Divinity students Episcopius, Limborch the Remonstrant, or Swift's The Tale of a Tub (which Edwards believes to be a satire on Calvin and Predestination), then he would have pleased these Arminian critics. He moves from the defensive to make sweeping claim that the founders of the Church of England, the Reformers and martyrs, the early archbishops and bishops

2. Ibid., p. xv.
the Divinity professors, and all the preachers were doctrinal Calvinists; as he will demonstrate. ¹ Thus, his objectors (like the successors of many great men, including Epicurus,² Luther, Arminius, and Calvin) have departed from the teachings of the founders. They have deserted the Church.

They call themselves her sons, but do not speak the language of their mother. ³

He exhorts them, by history and Scripture, to return to the doctrines of the Elizabethan Church. However, in another catalogue at the end of the second volume of Theologia Reformata, Edwards lists many writers whom he disapproves and censures. This indicates either an impartial reading, or a heresy hunt for unorthodox statements of those outside his school of thought. Of his books, he says:

I have set down some of my own, for I composed them on purpose to be serviceable to beginners in sacred studies and to prepare divines for their work. I shall heartily thank God if any of my brethren of our Church, or those that differ from us, find them useful. ⁴

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² See Edwards, A Farther Enquiry into Texts, p. 232, for "Epicurus himself might be a man of sobriety, yet..... his followers..... did roundly maintain that sensual and bodily pleasure was the only good".
⁴ Ibid., Part I, p. xxix.
From the three volumes of *The Preacher*, which he addresses to his "reverend brethren of the clergy", we select that which he most emphasizes; for Edwards covers a wide field of homiletical advice.¹ True, preaching is vilified by the Socinians, the Arians, and by Hobbes himself. This, however, emphasizes its centrality. Edwards does not disparage the praying ministry. But, in loyalty to Apostolic tradition, and to improve his own preaching, he will encourage his fellows in their pulpit work. Sermons, after all, are the ordinary means of converting sinners, and therefore, of saving them.² Edwards devotes the first three hundred pages of *The Preacher* to six parts of the minister's task, and seven rules on how to preach. With occasional revisions of the Five Calvinian Points on the one hand, and those arrayed against him (Remonstrants, Sceptics, Enthusiasts, Atheists, and Papists) on the other, Edwards "lectures" through these sections, as if his readers might not see any of his other works. He includes many digressions of thought, which he elsewhere develops, even bringing them in by the way. Thus, he traverses his whole range of convictions, opinions,

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1. See Edwards, *Veritas Redux*, p. 11, where he addresses "all lovers of truth, peace, and godliness of the Church of England, and all others of what denomination soever". Compare Talon, *John Bunyan*, p. 198 for the less generous attitude of other prosperous Anglicans toward the impious Dissenters.

and evangelical faith. He recommends that others join him in preaching the unpopular but orthodox system of Calvin. But in the pulpit on Sundays there are to be no controversies discussed, and no debates.¹

The clergy's task is to correct theological ideas,² instruct men in moral duties, comfort them, mix judgment with mercy,³ apply the message,⁴ and above all, to make continual use of the Bible. He advises Scripture students to study with the help of Usher's Catechism.⁵ Lest he may have failed to emphasize some points, he gives a résumé of the first half of his introductory course of lectures. Then, before going on to the "how" of homiletics, he insists that preachers must

....endeavour in the course of their ministry to preach all the truths of the Gospel, and to conceal nothing that will be serviceable to the informing of men's minds and amending their lives. ⁶

¹ Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, p. 36. "There must be no noise of these axes and hammers in the temple". See also Talon, John Bunyan, p. 59, for a similar "adolescent" period of controversy, which gave way to more mature writings.
² See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 117, "The leading requisite, as I conceive it, in a preacher is orthodoxy".
³ See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 111, for the inspired Tinker's corresponding use of "fear, then love" in preaching.
⁴ See Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 130, for what Edwards lacks of personal application: "Go first to a poor man's cottage and teach him and his family the way to heaven".
⁶ Ibid., p. 157.
The purpose of mounting the pulpit, as Baxter believes, is the saving of souls. In order to add them to the body of Christ and strengthen them as members, every sermon should emphasize some great doctrine.

Edwards's seven rules on the manner of preaching are preceded by a reminder that success is entirely due to divine blessing. His Calvinistic conviction demands fresh expression, and he recalls to his fellows the service of ordination in which they were exhorted by the bishop to discharge their duty. Edwards speaks directly to his colleagues; reminding them, like Calvin, of their fallen condition:

You cannot have a mind and will of yourselves; for that will and ability are given of God alone: therefore you ought.....to pray earnestly. 1

The minister's life of prayer 2 is daily and primarily maintained for the Holy Spirit. Only thus will preaching from the Bible, which is the "pastor's magazine and storehouse" 3 give hearers

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1. Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, p. 162. See also Calvin, Institutes, III, ii, 10, "So much vanity has the human mind, so filled with divers refuges of lies, with such hypocrisy is it enveloped, that it frequently deceives itself".
2. See Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, p. 107 for his reference to the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments as "plentiful matter for all my meditations. They are to me as daily bread". See also ibid., p. 32, "Be much in secret prayer and meditation".
the saving knowledge of God and His Son.

The following are his seven rules on how to preach, with typical statements under each:

(1) Preach with tenderness. "There was no iron in any of the utensils of the sanctuary." ¹

(2) Preach with earnestness. "Scarce one is left that dares stir in a pulpit, that dares preach with any warmth. But they study to be cold and frozen." ²

(3) Preach with gravity. "Our serious preacher..... never affects to be theatrical." ³

(4) Preach with human learning. "First, there is required in a preacher solid reason and arguing." ⁴

(5) Preach frequently. "Our main work is to be the people's remembrancers, to be constant monitors ⁵ to them of their duty, to bring the contents of it up close to their minds, and to fasten them upon them." ⁶

4. Ibid., p. 211.
5. See Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 137, "I know myself unworthy to be your monitor, but a monitor you must have".
(6) Preach with discretion. "Then a sermon will be right manna; it will taste as every one would have it: it will please every palate. There is a great art and mystery of preaching."

(7) The preacher must purify his motivation and manner of life. Striking at those who are mercenary, Edwards cries out:

These Judases betray religion for money, and damn their souls to keep their bodies. They prefer pieces of silver to Christ Himself. They neglect feeding their flock, and so betray the souls of others as well as their own.

This reminds us of Baxter's "Take heed....lest you unsay with your lives what you say with your tongues". There is no substitute in homiletics for holy living. As one reads Ryle's characterization of Whitefield's preaching, one is struck with the similarity of his list to that of Edwards, who insists that the faults men may forgive in others are unpardonable in clergymen. Ministers, moreover, should excel all other Christians. Drawing examples from the finest Pagan moralists, the

2. Ibid., p. 311.
5. See Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 51, for "Ye cannot miscarry but the world will ring of it".
6. Ibid., p. 53, "Besides all your common engagements as Christians, you have many more as ministers".
Scriptures, and the Fathers, as well as from Church leaders whom he greatly admires for their Calvinistic preaching, John Edwards constantly seeks to revive the pulpit, and thus the life of the laity. His passion to win the younger preachers to the evangelical spirit and doctrine equals his zeal for converting sinners, and he expresses more sense of mission to the clergy than to the people. He attacks nepotism, simony, pluralities of benefices, and non-residence. He identifies himself with "sober Dissenters" in doctrine, rather than with the "high flown" Arminian prelates. These bishops' avarice in dealing with their parish priests arouses his ire, and he cries for the primitive order of the ministry. He speaks, Bradshaw says, with "more bluntness than courtesy".

Thus he brings this first part of The Preacher to a climax, with a fraternal exhortation; let us summarize it:

My brethren, you have a great task to perform. You are to teach the truth, confute error, correct the evil manners of men, comfort the disconsolate. You are to terrify stubborn sinners. All of these things require care, skill, and hard labour, like that of ploughing and harvesting.

1. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 141, for one of many profuse Patristic citations and references: "Luther and Calvin are great names....but yet they ought....to veil to those greater and earlier lights of the Church: Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus".

2. Bradshaw, Collected Papers, p. 72.
Edwards exclaims with Paul, "Who is sufficient for these things?" 1 But he lacks the humility of Baxter, who often confesses his own shortcomings. 2 Rather, the Cambridge Anglican reiterates that the employment of a preacher ranks as the most honourable of all. Yet, he should speak to himself, as well as to others. 3 With a high sense, akin to Calvin's, 4 of his divine responsibility, he must avoid discouragement. The promises of Scripture are plentiful to devoted pastors, as the Chief Shepherd offers a crown of glory when He appears.

However, although Edwards makes such references to the pastoral function of the ministry, this phase of "catechizing and instructing the flock" is largely left for Richard Baxter to develop in his classic, The Reformed Pastor; while he stresses the pulpit. The two contemporaries supplement each other, and occasionally concur, as in teaching the right attitudes and manner of life for ministers.

2. See Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 140, for "Is it not a pity, then, that our hearts are not as orthodox as our heads?"
3. See ibid., p. 30, "Preach to yourselves the sermons which you study, before you preach them to others".
4. See Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament, pp. 87-88, for Calvin's exalted view of the importance of preaching. He regarded the Word of God as always mighty to effect what God promises or commands; although the Word may be uttered through the frail words of the preacher, it is powerful.
In fact, Edwards devotes just two pages of the first volume of *The Preacher*, to granting that there are other important parts of the pastoral office, besides preaching:

.....the care of souls, to use the public and stated prayers of the Church, to catechize the youth, to administer the sacraments, and to visit the sick.....

there must be likewise the visitation of those that are well.....private conference.....to advise, counsel. Our Blessed Saviour.....made frequent visits..... The Apostles taught the people.....from house to house.....

Our Church approves.....of the ordination of priests

.....Teaching is not confined to the pulpit.....

This being granted.....no employment of the Clergy is of more general use than preaching.....the most eminent part of a clergyman's duty. 1

From that early point, Edwards writes the remaining three hundred and fifty-six pages of the first Part of his three-volume work, which, as we shall see, most inspired Whitefield. Whether or not our Cambridge author felt his was a corrective to the broader emphasis of the "catholic Christian of Kidderminster", he lacks the simplicity, sympathy, charm, and heart-searching quality of Baxter's *Reformed Pastor* which has influenced such giants of the pulpit as Thomas Chalmers and Spurgeon.

In the second part of *The Preacher*, Edwards, stirred by the criticism of his first volume, reverts to a defence of

the main branches of his teaching. The time has come when men will not endure sound doctrine. These "five fundamentals" are eternal election, original sin, the imputation of Christ's righteousness, justification by faith alone, and the necessity of supernatural grace. From this summary of his basic beliefs, his thoughts deteriorate into an exposé of those who belong to the opposition: the 

1. Pelagians, the Roman clergy, the Socinians and Remonstrants. Then, he adds ruefully, some of his own Churchmen follow them astray. He considers the liberal work of Whiston "more pernicious than what Hobbes, Spinoza, or Simon, or Le Clerc have advanced".

Among the causes of apostasy are: Satan, pride, the worldly interest of the clergy, the wrong kind of theological education, the neglect of study and prayerful meditation, and the general corruption of clerical life. He warns against ministers turning into moral philosophers instead of evangelical preachers. Among these deplorable influences which lead to the over-valuing of reason and the depreciating of Scripture, Edwards introduces several "apostrophes" to university students. The rise of Popery has come from an undervaluing of the Apostolic

1. See Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism, p. 321, for the fact that this was a "term of abuse for.....those who were not thorough-going Calvinists in respect to ......total depravity."

epistles. Countering, too, Locke's exclusive use of the Gospels, he believes that Paul is the best commentator on Christ. Edwards pleads for a recognition that the Bible is its own interpreter. Here he approaches the simpler position of Baxter:

It is the Bible that we must show them, rather than any confessions of churches, or writings of men.

Since their generation will not admit this, corruptions and divisions in religion gain ground.

Thus we see at this day men of arts and wit, who have wonderfully improved their intellectua1s (sic) by reading....and are of great sagacity and reach, and are skilled in all business; yet show themselves dull and blockish in matters of religion.

But his Veritas Redux will soon appear as the first volume of a body of Divinity which is in process of publication; so he carries on with hope that a better day will dawn. He knows there are recurring revolutions in religion as in other matters. There will be a season when the old Anglican thought will return. Until then, in his preaching and in the sermons of

1. See Leroy, An Introduction to Reformed Dogmatics, p. 58, for "Locke himself is no more than a semi-empiricist..... He is fundamentally a nominalist".
5. See Powick, A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, p. 271, for Baxter's similar list of "Old and New Episcopal Divines".
others, let grace and knowledge meet, Jerusalem and Athens. 1

Already he has warned the clergy that if they do not preach Pauline doctrines, some may find it necessary to repair to other assemblies, where they will hear of justification by faith. He is trying to help his fellow-ministers to prevent occasional separation. He wants them to keep their flocks. The only way to protect their sheep from going to greener pastures is to recall the ancient doctrines, 2 and to tell the people from their pulpits the primitive Gospel of Christ and His Apostles.

He despairs of the older clergy and appeals to those of the gown. He exhorts them to begin aright, that their foundations may be well laid. It is foolish to think that a title will make a man a good minister of Jesus Christ. Referring to Laud with contempt, Edwards scorns the University of Oxford for calling him "his holiness and most holy father". 3

In sympathy with the Scottish Presbyterians, he declares that the liturgy which Laud sent to Scotland "smelt of the Roman

2. See Jenkins, The Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles, Vol. III, p. 272, for a description of the Welsh preacher of Bala, which fits Edwards: "Brought up with a bias in favour of the Church of England.....loved the ministers who preach the Gospel within its pale; but that inasmuch as the generality of its ministers deny the doctrine to which they have once pledged themselves, pious people have been obliged to leave it,,,,, the children of God cannot live on chaff".
service". It is detestable that the Arminian clergy with their evil influence on some younger men, are turning their backs on the "Five Points" of Calvin, and moving stealthily closer to Rome. He cries out in impatience: "Talk no more of union in the Church, till you unite in doctrines." How different is this from Baxter's

All ministers must associate and hold communion and correspondence, and constant meetings to these ends. Edwards grants that all Arminians are not Papists, but the Remonstrant movement, waxing worse, is the back-door to Popery. His Church could be a true church without Episcopacy, but not without her old doctrine; by which he means the eternal decrees and God's sovereign grace. Papists are steadfast in their errors, but Anglicans are unstable in the truth. He challenges young ministers to hold fast to the orthodox Divinity. Let the age have its new philosophy, theories and discoveries, in anatomy, geography and even music. But Edwards keeps harping:

Let us have no new Gospel, no new faith, no innovations in the fixed notion of Christian theology.

2. Ibid., p. 179.
4. Both Jonathan Warne and George Whitefield later echo this idea.
This appeal he addresses to all clergy, whether fathers or brethren. Earlier he has urged the rulers of his Church to preach, perpetuate, and promote purity of doctrine.

Now the theme recurs of admiration and gratitude for the sober Dissenters. Indeed, Edwards has appealed for cooperation with them. Severity has failed; nor is it the Christian way. It will be good for all to co-exist in friendliness. Neither his Churchmen nor the Dissenters, by themselves, are safe from Rome; each needs the other. The new laws allow separation, and the Queen supports toleration. Let the clergy appreciate their good fortune to live in a free age, and preach cooperation under a prince and such prelates as Archbishop Sancroft who permit others the same freedom as they enjoy. Heterodoxy and Popery are the common foes of Anglican and non-conformist. His closing counsel to fellow-ministers reveals his own heart:

Let us be persuaded that we may, both of us, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, meet together in Heaven, and therefore let us agree upon earth; I mean as to the necessary doctrines of the

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part III, p. xi. "To call Dissenters 'Schismatics' is unreasonable, uncharitable, and unscriptural." See also ibid., Part II, p. xiv, that those who prescribed severe corporal punishment for Dissenters no longer speak or write such foolish advice.

2. See Overton, The Church in England, Vol. II, p. 210, for "the days of 'good Queen Anne' were palmy days for that National Church which she loved".
holy religion, as to practical godliness, and as to brotherly affection. 1

Unlike Arminians, who depend on reason rather than revelation, those who dissent from his Church 2 generally profess the Calvinian doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles. 3 Identifying himself with the Establishment, rather than non-conformists, he appeals to his fellow-divines:

We blame them for departing from our communion, and making gashes and schisms in the body of Christ; but we are injurious to it ourselves, and we wound it with our own hands. 4

The Dissenters out-do the Churchmen in purity of doctrine. Indeed, without their help in maintaining the Reformation theology, the High Churchmen

...would have brought in Popery before this time, by a

2. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. I, pp. ix-x, where Edwards declares: "I do not reckon our Dissenters in the number of Schismatics; for the rulers and governours of our Church, as well as the State, have by a deliberate and solemn act, given their leave to use their liberty..... This agrees with what I have been told that Dr. Gouge, Dr. Bates, and Mr. Baxter were often admitted to the Sacrament .....by some of the most eminent divines.....in their parish churches in London." See also, Calamy, A Historical Account of My Own Life, Vol. I, p. 473, where, speaking of occasional communion, he writes: "We reminded him, that Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates had done it all along."
3. See Kuyper, Calvinian, p. 11, "In her XXXIX Articles the Church of England is strictly Calvinistic".
side-wind of Arminianism, and by their over-valuing of ceremony and pomp in divine worship. 1

But these moderate Dissenters have also fought for the Lord's Day observance, and have stimulated the Churchmen to preach more often. In Cambridge itself, he is glad to see that the bishops do not disdain to imitate the non-conformists in their good points. How he wishes all would preach the primitive doctrines! Instead, many follow the "mushroom Divinity of Arminianism". Before turning to write The Hearer 2 (which was translated by Howel Powel, a Baptist, into Welsh, and prepared for Whitefield and his Calvinian Methodists), Edwards concludes The Preacher: Part II,

I beseech you, brethren....for Christ's sake, lay (these things) to heart, and show your sense of religion, and your affectionate concern and zeal for it by owning these doctrines which are almost lost and sunk in this age. 3

All the founders, documents, and martyrs of the Church of England have confessed the sense of Calvin, rather than that of Arminius. 4

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2. In reading at the Cardiff Library several books on the Welsh Revival, we found the word "Hearers" was conspicuous.
4. Ibid., p. 189. See also ibid., pp. xiii-xiv, for the fact that those who were once strong for passive obedience and non-resistance before the Revolution, and punishment for Dissenters, have changed their false tunes. "May we not then entertain some hopes that the Arminian Divinity may in time be rejected by these persons?"
While he does not specify Calvinism, Norman Sykes, like John Edwards, reminds us:

The Anglican representatives at Dort all signed the doctrinal decrees, their names appearing first.... By assenting to the doctrinal decrees and dissenting from the attempt to include questions of church order, they continued the Elizabethan tradition of affirming their unity with the continental reformed churches. 1

Edwards, whose Calvinistic thought is that of Dort, believes that only by a revival of fundamentals can their Church become the bulwark of the Protestant cause. The basis for peace and progress within the State is a return to God's glory in Geneva. 2 John Edwards is conscious of, and not too proud an Anglican to admit the facts upon which Ogg recently stated his historical judgment:

The Puritans, more especially the Independents, having staged a great revolution.... not only made England respected, even feared, abroad, but also inaugurated at home schemes of social, educational and legal reform such as were not heard of again, until the nineteenth century. 3

Such a claim substantiates what Kuyper maintained at the turn of this century, as Edwards at the turn of his, has been true of Calvinism:

To praise God in the Church and serve Him in the world became the inspiring impulse and strength to resist temptation and sin in the world. 1

The third part of The Preacher, is not specifically addressed to the younger clergy, but Edwards shows concern for them by enlarging on those two of the seven rules for the conduct of preachers, which have to do with youthful recreations. 2 This volume bristles with quotations with which Edwards takes issue. Indeed, his animadversion to the popular devotional book The Whole Duty of Man, and answers to a Mr. Bennett, Dr. Hickes, "formidable" Dr. Clarke 3 Dr. Nichols, and Mr. Doddwell, carry our author away from the more positive approach of Part I, or even Part II. Conscious of the criticisms brought by Mr. Lightfoot and others against his earlier work, Edwards is back in the controversial field, vindicating himself and exhorting his fellow-preachers to contend for the old faith. By that he means attacking groups, ideas, and individuals. He is self-conscious about this apparent inconsistency, for he defends himself in the renewed polemical preface:

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1. Kuyper, Calvinism, p. 31.
2. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part III, p. 219. He does not encourage asceticism, but urges ministers to make sure their recreations are innocent, moderate, and useful.
I was very willing to be quiet, and lay aside all controversies. But I may truly apply the Psalmist's words, 'I am for peace, but when I speak, they are for war'. They wilfully misunderstand what I have written, and have set up one to renew the fray, and to charge me with misrepresenting and slandering my brethren. 1

If he happens to offend others, they may blame themselves. The reader should really consider Mr. Lightfoot as responsible for this third part of The Preacher; for Edwards had not intended to take up the subject again but for his critic's groundless objections. He threatens that if driven to it again, 2 he would be obliged to bring out a fourth volume of counsel to the clergy. With that, the venerable Dr. Edwards lays down several more rules. In the resumption of controversy around "the disputatious spirit of Whiston", 3 Edwards feels it necessary to stress the conduct of preachers outside the pulpit, especially in their studies; his concern is not so much how they preach as what they indoctrinate. He wants disciples of his religious thought in the churches of the land. One would think this a fine opportunity to call for Calvin's "Five Points", and add two more of his own; but no, his burden

2. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 153, for his similarity to Bunyan in that he "never forgot old quarrels". Again, ibid., p. 165, "He was always ready for the fray, so as to lay heresy low".
now is the wave of false doctrines which threatens to swamp the ship of Church and State. Preachers ought to suppress all tendency to Popery. Attacking "heretics" and Romish altars in Anglican churches, candles on the communion table, and church-organs, he shows himself to be more Puritan than Episcopalian, and a fighting Puritan at that. Ministers are no mere priests, and the Lord's Supper is not an actual sacrifice. He longs for the days of metrical Psalms and simplicity in worship. Let preachers shun all "ceremonies",¹ that have any leaning whatsoever towards the Roman religion. He does commend Rome, however, for being sound on one fundamental, the Trinity. He calls the Church of the Virgin Mary

She that hath laboured to corrupt most of the grand points.....but in all Councils, Synods.....hath held this uncorrupted. ²

Next, Edwards exhorts the clergy to beware of enthusiastic delusions, and to warn the people against them. Taking note of the corruption of a good word, "enthusiasm", he describes the emotional behaviour and pretence to revelations of "the light within", which characterize such "Enthusiasts" as the Quakers, whom both Baxter and Bunyan ³ also denounce as "impostors".

¹. See Reliquiae Baxterianae, Appendix IV, p. 169, for "It is not Liturgies nor Ceremonies that essentiate the Church of England."
³. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 277.
He considers their sect a medley of Judaic, pagan, and ancient heresies. While he does not make them his chief target, as other Puritan writers did, Edwards denies their strictness as any indication of true holiness. Young ministers must learn to combat these strange people who annul the Sacraments, hold silent meetings, and refuse to take oaths to fight. They are not to be tolerated in England. Through his studied contempt, however, there shines an unconfessed esteem for their sobriety, plain apparel, and other puritanical disciplines; the lack of which, among Anglicans, Edwards decries. Another rule is to beware of heterodoxy. He has culled several pages of isolated statements from his extensive reading. This is John Edwards at his critical worst, scissors in hand, clipping and pasting into his manuscript phrases taken out of context. He gives neither quotations, nor the setting in which these "unorthodox" ideas are claimed to have been expressed. His purpose is to warn his clergy against anything which is of doubtful colour, or which fails to ring true in any pulpit, high or low. He is training critics.

Edwards's hope, throughout his books, is to strengthen

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part I, p. xxxii, for a lame excuse for not giving the names of authors whom he quotes, much less the page references.
in constructive criticisms. fellow-Calvinists in their devotion to Geneva, however small their present minority may be. The majority have always been wrong; they misunderstand Calvin, or they compromise for ecclesiastical preferment. Edwards would reinforce the primacy of principle over practice, theology over duty. Devotion cannot take the place of right doctrine. He urges a heart-searching for any disloyalty to Anglican canons and constitutions, rather than a calling of sober Dissenters "schismatics". It is wise not to accuse as traitors those who for the sake of conscience may have separated themselves in order to preach, better, the pure Gospel of Calvin. Edwards praises those who emphasize the Lord's Day, Christ's satisfaction, and God's judgment of heaven or hell. They should return to the Church after they have helped to restore her to purity. Some who claim to belong should either practise the canons, or, in all honesty, withdraw. This "reform" permeates his rule to preach against the disorders of life in his corrupt generation. Offering endless counsel, old Edwards like a retired champion, cheers on the young bloods with puri-

1. See Edwards, The Preacher, Part II, pp. xviii-xix, "The doctrines of Calvin are mistaken by some who pretend to adhere to him: they fasten that on him which he never said or meant".
2. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 245, for the fact that Conventiclers preached, as a rule, better than the Churchmen.
3. See Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, p. 23, for his similar "licentious days".
tanical preachments.¹ Evil forms of recreation include horse-
racing, reading romances, playing cards, and unseemly jokes.
He allows laughing and pleasant conversation, music outside the
Church, a temperate use of tobacco, and an occasional glass of
wine.² He is not advocating withdrawal from the world's life;
but the making of religion the chief delight. Thus, worldly
entertainment will not be necessary nor attractive. He urges
those who preach, and all who teach youth, to stress the impor-
tance of choosing innocent recreations; and begs them to ex-
hort those whom they influence to be circumspect, that they give
no occasion for others to sin.

In the final volume of Remains, which was not publish-
ed until fifteen years after his death, one finds among some of
his earlier, more spirited sermons, "A Brief Discourse of Refor-
mation". There he claims that there is a direct relationship
between an orthodox pulpit and a religious parish:

   he again urges preachers to be continually reproving sin,
   wherever they find it; to frown people out of their faults,
   threaten them out of evil. With severity, he teaches the
   younger clergy that it is all right to "browbeat all vice
   and immorality". He cautions them to do it all prayer-
   fully. By private, family, and public prayers they will
   accomplish a reformation.

2. Edwards, The Preacher, Part III, p. 216. See also, Talon,
   John Bunyan, p. 39, for the reminder that Cromwell himself
   "drank wine and beer, and called anyone ridiculous who
   wanted to prohibit all drink". See Firth, Oliver Crom-
   well, p. 353.
Let us bring back the old Divinity, or else never expect the old primitive manners. 1

The first Gospel preachers were warm themselves and thus infused heat into their hearers. Modern clergy must show genuine concern in their sermons. The true end of preaching is to call men out of the world into the Church, that they may be saved. But in order to do this, they must set an example 2 in living as well as in speech. They must shun the theatre which leads to laziness, lust, and the tendency to lessen masculine character; plays increase immodesty in the other sex. 3 Mixed dancing is, of course, disallowed. The standard for New Testament preachers is higher than for Old Testament prophets. Holy living makes for mental and physical health. The increase of apoplexy and sluggishness are attributable to puny and superficial sermonizing. It is no wonder, Edwards observes, that hearers come away from such preaching no better, but oftentimes worse. There is a need for lively delivery, with decent motion of voice and hands to awaken the drowsy congregation. 4 Then the people will not only see the light of

3. Ibid., p. 403.
4. Ibid., p. 407. See also his A Brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles, p. 20, for "I look upon languid and timorous asserters of evangelical truths as a sort of betrayers of them. There is as much Judas as Nicodemus in such persons".
the Word, but feel the heat and power of it.

Edwards's dying advice 1 in a manuscript which broke off in the middle of a sentence, was being penned for the clergy. As he was not able to preach, our venerable Dr. Edwards sought to throw the torch of faithful ministry to younger ministers. To give their flock 2 right principles and religious ideas 3 must be their aim, as it had been his. Six enemies must be combatted and defeated by evangelical preaching: atheistical spirits, Sceptics with their impertinent questions, Deists who laughed at all revelation, 4 the forward and false Socinians, and Remonstrants who had brought in the fashionable system of Divinity. Also there were those

.....crazed Enthusiasts, who declaim against all reason and fill our ether with unintelligible jargon and religious banter. 5

1. Compare Jenkins, The Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles, Vol. II, p. 381, for the way Burnet "advised some clergy who were alarmed at the increase of the sectaries 'Out-live, out-pray, and out-preach them'".
2. See Baxter, The Reformed Pastor, for his greater emphasis upon "the flock" and upon the teaching, personal ministry, while Edwards stressed the proclamation.
4. See Williamson, The Glorious Gospel, p. 133 for "the cold creed of Deism which tells us of a God outside the Universe, watching its mechanism".
This probably referred to Quakers, against whom Baxter and Bunyan also "defended the faith". Let the younger clergy strive against the stream, he now cried with weak but determined voice, lest it carry them all into the Tiber. Thus, in his closing reference to Rome, he, like Bunyan, expressed his underlying hatred and fear of popery, and his basic devotion to keeping the Church of England not only apostolic and catholic, but Protestant and Reformed in its dogmatics. How he helped, we shall seek to show in our next chapter on the revival of his emphasis in eighteenth century evangelism. There was no problem then of

.....the exclusive validity of the.....sacraments of episcopal ministries.....and of the gulf dividing.....(Tractarians) from their seventeenth century predecessors. 3

The Anglican Church of Edwards's day was free to follow its via media of moderate imparity in administration, and of Evangelical tone.  

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1. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 264, for "Against the Papists the fight seemed to him legitimate: indeed a wall of prejudice and tragic memories stood between.....Bunyan and the modern Babylon".

2. See Lecerf, An Introduction to Reformed Dogmatics, p.385, for the theology of Edwards and other Calvinists in its desire "to become an act of adoration before the mystery of the divine ways in their unsearchable wisdom".

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARDS AND CALVINISTIC EVANGELICALISM

As one comes to the end of the study of Edwards's thoughts, one asks where their influence may be traced in the period which followed. He expected to see few results in his life-time. Writing, for instance, of the wide-spread Popery of his day, he sighed:

If I can do but little... towards reforming the present age, I may by this attempt do something towards amending the next. 2

He was conscious that Calvinism and the puritanical emphasis within the Church of England was "out of fashion". On the title page of his pamphlet against Dr. Clarke's semi-Socinian Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, Dr. Edwards used the suggestive text: "Will ye also go away?" 3

Indeed our author realizes that he is writing for his own "degenerate age", in a battle which he must help to win, if the fifty year war of Calvinian theology is to achieve victory. He takes encouragement from the fact that

1. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. II, Index, p. 31, for his own reference to "the author's opinions and sentiments", rather than his thoughts or ideas.
Aristotle's books were burnt by order of a Council held at Paris about the beginning of the thirteenth century; whereupon there were none that professed his principles and opinions. But about fifty years later, Thomas Aquinas brought them back and revived them.... So that it seems there are certain times and critical seasons for opinions. 1

With an unaccustomed optimism, he adds:

These theological tenets.... appear with disadvantage at present, but I doubt not they will be received at another time. 2

Supporting Edwards's prophecy of later evangelical awakening, one historian says that the seventeenth century brought a development of Christology; the eighteenth, a corresponding manifestation in revival. 3 So, with a sense of the need of his Church and State, Edwards encouraged himself and exhorted the public to repent and receive his message:

Our sceptical times require some such sort of writings, as I have had occasion to publish, more than any that were before, or perhaps ever will be. 4

Edwards had, to be sure, a faculty of espousing

2. Ibid., p. xxi.
4. Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, Preface.
losing causes. The eclipse of Calvinism was on. His was the last energetic voice raised at the turn of the century in unpopular Calvinian tone. Then, too, he was a Whig; and the majority in Britain were in sympathy with the Tories. The former were dominant in large towns like Cambridge, and stood for religious toleration and the right of the people to control their king. But the cities and country were royalist. In the occasional conformity which was granted to the Dissenters, Edwards had rejoiced. Through it, prominent non-conformists, including Baxter himself, were admitted to Communion by leading London ministers. But this "laxity" of Church discipline, the Tory majority in the Commons of 1702 was determined to abolish. What is said of Burnet 4 was true of Edwards; as both tried to reform their fellow-ministers. Of the bishop we read what might have been written about the author of The Preacher:

1. See Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, Chapter II, Title.
4. See Burnet, A Discourse of the Pastoral Care, p. 178, "Therefore a Priest must not only abstain from gross scandals, but keep...." etc.
His zeal was not appreciated by the clergy. They were mostly Tory and High Church, while he was a Whig. 1

In spite of all the appeals for moderation towards Dissenters, our veteran lived to see the high tide of reaction against non-conformity in 1714. Soon the Schism Bill was passed, and proud Edwards suffered defeat again. As Pattison comments,

The good men of the period appear to have been unable to benefit the cause of Christ, save by way of legacy. 2

The excess of credulity, which was implied in Edwards's emphasis upon mystery, engendered in reactionaries an excess of scepticism. His insistence that the first element in self-denial was the surrender of reason in favour of faith increased their indifference to doctrines. For the time being, the field of religion lay in a different light. And, ironically, that illumination had begun with his pen-enemy, John Locke. Beliefs were studied in a less 'a priori' way. It was an era of thorough, if not scientific, investigation into the history of religious thought. 4

some reaction by his rigidity, Edwards assisted in digging a new channel of ideas within and outside his Church. He indirectly hindered, among the progressives, the cause of orthodoxy. Perhaps, however, this significance of Edwards was like that of which Tulloch writes concerning Whichcote:

There are some kinds of influence which perish in their very fruitfulness, as the seed dies and wastes away at the root of the ripening grain. 1

Whitefield mentions Elisha Coles, with Edwards, as similar thinkers whose ideas mould the evangelist's theology. In the earlier Puritan's treatment of God's electing grace (1673), there is material which Edwards may have absorbed into his doctrine of predestination — "decretum quidem horrible fateor, as Calvin himself called it". 2 Romaine, in a later edition (1776), writes in his preface that opposition to these Calvinistic doctrines will be made

.....as long as there are people in the world who place some confidence in the flesh. Such are pleased with their own work, and fond of taking merit to themselves. 3

Warne quotes William Prynne and Edwards as singing the same tune. Reading the pair of Puritans, we are struck with the similarity. In one work, written just before Edwards was born, Prynne anticipates our author with this description of

.....those heretical and grace-destroying Arminian novelties which have of late invaded, affronted, and almost shouldered out of doors the ancient, established and resolved doctrines of our Church; ..... the exultation and triumph of our Romish adversaries ..... 2

Prynne, whom Edwards echoes in various opinions, names two heretics, "Pelagius with his late-born brat, Arminius". 3

This kind of scolding attempt at reform, copied by Edwards's understudies, Warne and Seagrave, failed to prevent the condition of the Church and society from becoming steadily worse from about 1714. The first fourteen years of the century was a time of activity of the Church Societies and Charity Schools; it also saw the building of St. Paul's Cathedral and other Christopher Wren churches. But with George I, religious

1. See Warne, The Downfall of Arminianism, pp. iii-iv, for "I cannot help thinking with Dr. Edwards and Mr. Prynne". See also Overton, The Church in England, Vol. II, p. 136 for the incident when Gunning (whom Edwards so disapproved) "refused the Elements to Prynne because he would not receive them kneeling". See also Talon, John Bunyan, pp. 50 and 188.


3. Ibid., "Epistle Dedicatorie".
apathy set in. It is no wonder that the old reformer grew pessimistic. He felt more than Calvinism had gone into eclipse. To his orthodox fellowship it was a dark world indeed.\footnote{See Meditations by a Gentleman, Preface, written by a lawyer, Edwards, ".....the greatest part of mankind are almost covered with pagan and superstitious darkness even in England, this land of Gospel revelation.....We are a land of believers, and yet.....a land of infidels". (London, 1702).}

The causes of Church collapse after 1714, the year Whitefield, Romaine and Hervey were born, included the fear of falling back into Romanism or Puritanism. The Tillotsonian type of passionless pulpit lulled men's souls to sleep. And Sir Robert Walpole tried to stop all religious activity. Yet the strength of some Churchmen, inspired by Edwards's religious thought, stood resolutely against the Arians, Socinians, and Deists. Whiston's and Clarke's semi-Arianism became untenable. Men hungered for a re-awakening of the age of conviction. They had dosed into indifference. Even if the promoters of the oncoming revival had not existed, others must have arisen, in response to the growing demand for the kind of preaching Edwards had advocated. The Gospel track was laid across the desert of the early eighteenth century,\footnote{See Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century, p. 2, for "the gradual disillusionment of the eighteenth century.....the conviction of the seventeenth".} and

1. See Meditations by a Gentleman, Preface, written by a lawyer, Edwards, ".....the greatest part of mankind are almost covered with pagan and superstitious darkness even in England, this land of Gospel revelation.....We are a land of believers, and yet.....a land of infidels". (London, 1702).

2. See Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century, p. 2, for "the gradual disillusionment of the eighteenth century.....the conviction of the seventeenth".
it only required a few "locomotives" like the evangelicals born the year Queen Anne died, to pull the train which stood ready to run again. The spark that kindled the fire was the inspired proclamation for which Edwards had appealed.

To be sure, Puritanism by 1715, the year before Edwards's death, had marked the pathway to Victorian morality, which stressed religion in the daily life of the people. This influence was felt when the French Revolution broke loose with all its fanatic irreligion. Burke's declaration that faith was the foundation of the State, and that any attempt to weaken religion was aimed at the nation's destruction, sounded like Edwards. But, in the meantime, the character of morality, like that of authority had changed. No longer did men believe that obedience to spiritual laws would make them good, but straight thinking and following the road of reason.

With a lack of devotion to full religious liberty, on the part of Churchmen like Edwards, it is no wonder that interest in religion, as expressed in such "sterile mysteries, as predestination", had declined toward the vanishing point. Yet, just as in John Bunyan, "his sense of wonder at those mysteries seems to have been always fresh and young." 3

2. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 36.
Again as with Bunyan, it may have been in order to convince himself, that he welcomed controversy, burning to convert others; and while "addressing others he was really talking to himself". Still, the evils of religious debate were apparent. Dogmatism had lost its grip on all but Edwards's successors in thought. God had come to mean to many, One who acted in a reasonable manner; and Christ was the personification of divine common sense. Prudential principles motivated Deity, as they should all good men. Such a "humanistic" philosophy of religion seemed blasphemy to Edwards's small group. They had to fight it, or change themselves. And they would not surrender their conviction that, in deference to fundamental Calvinism,

He is truly a heretic who denies any of these articles: the being of God, the Trinity, the divinity and satisfaction of Christ, His resurrection and ascension, His coming again to judgment, the immortality of human souls, the rewards of heaven, and the torments of hell.

1. Talon, John Bunyan, p. 89.
2. See Langton, The Fruits of Controversy, pp. 251-253, for polemics, with right methods, as a means of preserving truth: thus Jesus and Paul were great controversialists; by fighting they set truth free.
Implied in these, the Incarnation stood, the central mystery of the Christian religion. Although he admitted that some heretics had been men of holiness, yet in Edwards's thinking a religion without mystery was a faith without God. Already his warnings of danger in Locke's "One Article" had proved true. Just as some reacted negatively to his preachments, so others perpetuated or modified his convictions. He had a following which, within forty years, had re-captured the ground which was being lost at the time our Puritan-Anglican was finishing his course. He had "fought a good fight..... kept the faith". Moreover, his concept of the mind, something between Bunyan's "beguiled reason" and John Smith's "to follow reason means to follow God", helped to bridge the gulf for "safe" progress.

Had there been fewer like Edwards to sound a protest, would England, we wonder, have gone along the sceptical way of France? His was one of the strongest calls to evangelicism. And the Revival which followed checked the growth of revolutionary tendency. The movement of conversions for which Edwards prepared, furnished a safety-valve through which many could let off their excess steam. As

2. Paul, II Timothy 4: 7. See also Talon, John Bunyan p. 140, for "a radiant Calvinist faith".
the French stressed the rights of Man, our British preachers emphasized the love of God in saving men. Evangelicals remained loyalist, rather than reactionary. The convictions of *Veritas Redux* and *The Preacher*, more effectually than the Channel, separated England from France. In 1758 Archbishop Secker urged his clergy to vindicate the Trinity, Christ's sacrifice, and sanctification. Dr. Edwards had been dead for forty-two years, since the days of Locke's friend, Tillotson, whose lack of vitality *The Preacher* so deplored. He would have rejoiced to hear an evangelical prelate now confess: "We have dwelt too little on these doctrines".

The contribution of conservatives like Edwards, therefore, must not be overlooked. Allen, for instance, admits that he has devoted his history to names that mark changes in the progress of theology; he has passed over others, however great. While we agree with Burnet that most controversy is too trivial to be creative, we approve Barth's tribute to

1. See Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 551, for "The Channel still separates two radically different ways of thinking".

2. See *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, for two hundred and fifty-four sermons, the very themes of which lack any Gospel "touch".


5. See Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, p. 130 n., referring to Dr. Lloyd, but applicable to Dr. Edwards: "It is to be lamented that one so replete with knowledge should have so much employed himself with polemic controversy ...a species of literature the most ephemeral".
the Greek Fathers, who, like Edwards, "were not afraid to fight" to defend the old.

Gott sei Dank haben die Väter damals in aller Torheit und mit aller ihrer griechischen Gelehrsamkeit sich nicht gescheut zu kämpfen. 1

Edwards and others of Puritanical background had stayed within the Anglican communion in hope that the theological climate would improve. 2 Though his efforts met with small visible result, no Arminian revision was made in his precious Articles, Prayer Book, 3 or liturgy of the Church. Orthodoxy still stood, on official paper. And while his interpretations were then ignored, the streams of conservative belief ran under ground; and later came to the surface in warm springs of evangelism within the Church, and the Whitefield revivals in the fields. Winter was setting in at Cambridge, and in England at large, as he died. But, with all the decadence of Deism, which Edwards abhorred as much as Pascal did, 4 there was the promise of Methodism, and especially,
of the Cambridge Evangelicals. 1

In the meantime, until George Whitefield (1714-1770) became the leader of the Evangelical Party in the National Church, 2 orthodox divines, like Edwards, continued defending the claims of revelation from the attacks of Deism. In spite of the icy deluge of scepticism and satire upon the Church, the Bible, and preaching, these writers 3 kept turning men's minds from scoffing to Biblical seriousness, and to the traditional devotion to the Athanasian and Apostles' Creeds. It is no wonder that the Church, built on so much cold orthodoxy, had sunk into a period of calculating lethargy, the reasoned calm of the eighteenth century. But the healthy stream of life, evidenced by the Seven Bishops, the Socinian struggle, and Queen Anne's Bounty, was still flowing, however slowly, under a thin layer of ice. Now, there was no outward stimulus to keep alive the zeal of the Church. With the

1. See Plummer, The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century, p. 156, for the fact that Puritanism had passed under a cloud, but "we can trace some of its elements in the rising Evangelical school". Emphasis, like that of Edwards, on conversion, grace, the evils of the theatre, dancing, gaming - these features of Puritanism with Calvinistic theology, found fresh expression here.

2. Flynn, The Influence of Puritanism, p. 179. See also Figgis, The Countess of Huntingdon and Her Connection, p. 40; "It is inevitable.....that.....the earlier evangelists who adhered to the.....doctrines of Augustine and of Calvin.....should have a leader.....that its natural leader was George Whitefield."

3. See Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, p. xiii, for a description of these heavy folios with their "withering.....Arianism".
subsiding of controversy, organized religion had fallen asleep. It was a quiet, unspectacular rear-guard action, until "the Deists lost the day". Hobbian attacks on revelation failed, and Christian faith began to flourish again among thinking people. The trumpets of Whitefield and his associates were calling men back from their laxity to concern, and from their partial toleration, to a positive evangelicalism. Ogg points out that, as human progress began to supplant divine Providence,

An alternative had been offered... evangelicalism, which, beginning as a crusade to penalize the vices of the poor, broadened into a movement for human betterment.... These were among the streams contributing to the broadening river of eighteenth century English life.

This flow of new vitality to bless both the individual and society came in the midst of a greater devotion to Reason, as man searched for happiness and assurance of future felicity. For this, Edwards had worked and written. As Talon says, the people

refused to listen to rationalist ministers. The faith, preserved intact, was only awaiting

the eloquence of Whitefield. 1

It took gifted proclaimers, rather than orthodox penmen, to translate the fundamental, yet frozen truths of Biblical doctrine into the patterns of life. Then men's hearts turned from their vices to righteousness. 2

It was far more by the living voice than by the pen that the Evangelical Revival made its influence felt. 3

These English preachers, including Edwards, were spiritual sons of the Reformers, and the early Puritan clergy. 4 What Wallace writes of Calvin was true of the Anglican school of John Edwards 5 who taught

.....that God, besides giving to man an innate knowledge of Himself, also reveals Himself as the Creator in His work of creation and providence.....however we must introduce that "But" which makes him not a natural but a Christian theologian. 6


4. Flynn, The Influence of Puritanism, p. 175. See also Plum, Restoration Puritanism, p. 98.

5. See Figgis, The Countess of Huntingdon and Her Connection, p. 46.

6. Parker, The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God, p. 34.
That "But" was the emphasis upon the fallen nature of man which must be redeemed by the Gospel of Christ, preached and applied, in a personal way. Those who had lost their zeal had lapsed into Socinianism or prelatism. They had forgotten the necessity for a vital balance, for instance, between the "signs" and the spiritual reality of the sacraments, which both Augustine and Calvin had taught:

What God therefore depicts in the sacraments
He actually brings to pass through their agency. 1

Once again, in Calvinistic Evangelicalism, Anglican pilots began to steer a via media between the Papists, who confused the reality and the sign, and the Anabaptists, who separated the signs from the realities. Remembering how Augustine had distinguished the sacrament and its virtus, these evangelical clergy, with a Church loyalty, claimed to be the most consistent representatives of her doctrine. With her "mystery of sacramental union", 2 the Church of England, as they reminded all, was not only apostolical and catholic; but it was, in the words of Edwards, "Reformed and Protestant". 3 Plum describes how the Evangelicals took the torch of liberty

1. Calvin, Institutes, IV, xvii, 3.
2. See Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacraments.
and spirituality from the Puritans, and bore it toward Victorian England.1

Moreover, this Calvinistic revival had a dependence upon the controversies. When minds became quiet, after the winds of theological thought which had threatened their faith, they were prepared to listen to enthusiastic preachers.2 Tired of discussion, people appreciated the dynamic of the new birth. Indifference was swept away by concern for the here and the Hereafter. The pendulum swing which Locke and Toland had started, now reached the point of return. One historian of Cambridge 3 diagnosed the period of reaction which prepared for the awakening. Those who followed Locke further than he meant to lead them had rejected whatever they could not comprehend. Their revolt, after years of what he calls "antinomian faith", had now carried them from one extreme of Predestination to the opposite of bare "humanism". Nearly all mention of faith was avoided, except in terms of belief. But, at last, "that infinitely wise and benignant Being provided a remedy in due season".4

A healthy state of religion, combining faith and practice,

4. Ibid., p. 243.
doctrine and personal example, returned to Britain, with the preaching of Whitefield's associates within the Church, and John Wesley's Methodism beyond. This Revival, however, would have come, even without the rise of Dissenting Methodism. 1

Arminianism, of course, which prospered before Whitefield and now bore "much fruit" under Wesley's genius, was a reaction to dogmatic Calvinism. Its five articles were: conditional election, universal atonement, man's inability to exercise saving faith alone, indispensable but not irresistible grace, and the doubtful perseverance of believers. Whitefield, Toplady, Romaine and Hawker, we find, abhorred Arminianism. Flynn claims that "all the early evangelicals were temperate Calvinists", 2 but some were not so temperate. The moderates preached election, without reprobation. All were evangelistic, and this movement gave birth to foreign missions. While the overseas work of the English Church was feeble, a Calvinistic element sent William Carey to India. Yet, as old Edwards and youthful Toplady reiterated, it was within the Church that the heart of Calvin belonged. Tulloch supports their claim:

Even under the primacy of Whitgift, the Church

1. See Plummer, The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century, p. 153, for further treatment of "the two movements as sisters".
of England was yet so far from finding any cause of quarrel with this doctrine that it embodied it substantially in its Thirty-nine Articles. 1

The Evangelicals, for the most part, called themselves "moderate Calvinists". 2 Since they supported Episcopacy, they were also Augustinians. The majority of them had more balance than Toplady. But, as one scans his works and those of Berridge, Romaine, Hawker, Scott, Venn, Grimshaw, Simeon and Fletcher of Madeley, one finds that only Fletcher, under Wesley's influence, was an Arminian. And he was a broad-minded saint. 3 But William Cowper and John Newton were both Calvinists; the latter was converted from being a slave-dealer into a flaming soul-winner. When the band of Evangelicals were called, by High Churchmen, "enemies of the Church", it meant that they stressed the doctrines of election, perseverance, and justification by faith without works. 4 They magnified the sovereign grace of God, versus human pride and ecclesiasticism.

2. See Moule, Charles Simeon, p. 98.
Moreover, the eleven leading ministers of the eighteenth century revival were Anglican clergymen.¹ We agree with Ryle that it would have been well for the Church if she had reared more sons like Rowlands and Berridge, and fewer like Laud. John Edwards, with his love for Calvin and the Church, had helped to prepare the way for those who shared his devotion. Eight of the eleven were University men: Grimshaw, Berridge,² Venn and, later, Simeon of Cambridge,³ "the Teacher of Vital Christianity".⁴ Their chief tool for revival was not writing, not conducting services; but preaching. They evangelized as if inspired by Edwards's advice in The Preacher, to which Warne, Whitefield, and Fletcher, too, refer with commendation. All of them, except Wesley and Fletcher, delivered the basic doctrines of Calvin and of Edwards. They preached simply, earnestly, and boldly; and lived purely. In these Evangelicals we see an emphasis upon man's corruption, Christ's satisfaction, heart-conversion, and holiness. Surveying their works, one finds many statements which are similar to those of Edwards; but the common sources which they freely quote were: Strype, Beza, Hooker, Bull,

3. See Overton, The Evangelical Revival, p. 82: most of the evangelical clergy were Cambridge men. See also his The Church in England, Vol. II, p. 276, for the centrality of Cambridge in Evangelicalism.
Hooper. Frith the martyr, John Pearson, and other Calvinists, Fathers of the English Church.

Moreover,

The Evangelicals to a man professed that they taught and desired nothing but the plain doctrines of the Church of England. 1

They valued the Articles and Homilies, as model statements of their beliefs. Balleine quotes Grimshaw, for instance, a strong Calvinist like Edwards, as declaring,

I believe the Church of England to be the soundest, purest, and most apostolical church in the world. 2

A member of this group who admired John Edwards, resembled him, and reiterated his thought, is the poetical and polemical Toplady. 3 Among his many references to Edwards's Veritas Redux stands a tribute to

.....the great and famous Dr. John Edwards, who flourished in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, and was both a member of the University of Cambridge, and one of its brightest ornaments. 4

3. See Williams, Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, p. 141, for "Augustus Toplady and John Berridge entered the arena on the Calvinistic side".
Edwards has mentioned a manuscript \(^1\) in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Grateful for this historical source and support, Toplady quotes him in the thesis that the National Church was originally "an avowed, thorough-paced Calvinist". \(^2\)

Among other ideas of Edwards which he echoes is this: that in Elizabeth's time the universities, like the monarch, were defenders of the Geneva faith. \(^3\) Again, even rigid Calvinists can give assent to all the Thirty-nine Articles except the three which relate to the discipline of the Church. \(^4\) Arminianism, Toplady asserts, is a revival of Arianism, which in the times of Athanasius was predominant, but was destroyed by his courageous stand. \(^5\) The Church of England has Calvinism written into her documents, so that

.....all the artifice of man will never be able to fix the banner of Arminius in the citadel. \(^6\)

Another idea of dependent similarity is that many who are Churchmen by conviction are forced to attend the meetings of Dissenters to hear the doctrines of the Church preached. \(^7\)

Like Edwards, he distinguishes between doctrinal and discip-

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linarian Calvinists, and identifies himself with the former. In fact, there is great parallelism between the two champions of "Geneva", not only in their writings, but in the fact that they both "lived among books"; neither went often into society.\(^1\) The biographer's description of Toplady - another strong Anglican - sounds like that of Edwards:

> Living much alone..... and possessing few friends, he was a man little understood by many, who only knew him by his controversial writings, and especially by his unflinching advocacy of Calvinism. \(^2\)

Talon generalizes that Puritan dogmatism wiped out the knowledge of the heart.\(^3\) But our dogmatic hymn writer expressed Biblical truth with solemnity and Gospel warmth. If Toplady had written more poetry and handled fewer controversies, his memory would have greater honour.\(^4\) Edwards also, would be less obscure, if he had written fewer polemics, and preached more sermons like The Plague of the Heart, and the last one in the third volume of his Remains.

A sweeter soul, who apparently came under the in-

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2. Ibid., p. 367.
4. Ryle, The Christian Leaders, p. 383. See also Brown, John Bunyan, p. 422, for the fact that Brown University in the United States conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.A.
fluence of Edwards's orthodox thought was John Berridge. Born the year his predecessor at Cambridge died, he was revered by Whitefield and others, as "an angel of the Church". Yet Berridge's *The Christian World Unmasked* parallels Edwards's harsh *Socinianism Unmasked*. With the same Puritanical bigotry, the revived issue of Calvinism versus Arminianism is set in contrast. Berridge, like Edwards before him, insists that the doctrines of grace are repugnant to the pride of Arminian, or "unregenerate" nature. With Edwards and Whitefield, he declares the failure of *The Whole Duty of Man*; as all morality must fail without irresistible grace. In decrying the wickedness of England, he lists the same sins Edwards has attacked. We might almost be reading *The Preacher*. But, Berridge prays:

I trust God is once more visiting in mercy, our poor, distressed Church. He raised up Mr. Whitefield.....about twenty years ago, who..... preached up the doctrine of the Church. 4

Finally, as Edwards championed the Dissenters of his day, Berridge defends the Methodists against the charge of being

"schismatics". So the pattern continues which identifies Edwards as an influence upon the Evangelical Party within the Church. His religious thought "revives", as he oft prayed, in abler preachers.

A third leader, in whose writings Edwards's ideas were perpetuated, was the scholarly William Romaine, a Calvinist more extreme than either humble Grimshaw,¹ or brotherly Venn; more so, certainly, than Scott, who protested against perversions of Calvinism. Identifying himself with Edwards's school of thought, Romaine asserted:

The corruption of our nature by the Fall, and our own recovery through Jesus Christ are the two leading truths in the Christian salvation. ²

He used quotation marks in writing "A great divine has expressed the same sentiments".³ But one cannot be sure he had Edwards in mind, since he gave no footnotes at all. The following certainly resembled passages in The Preacher:

A man born in England wants conversion as much as one born in Turkey; the same change of heart is necessary for both. Being baptized does not change the heart.⁴

¹. See Newton, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Grimshaw, p. 148, for an incident showing Grimshaw's humility when Whitefield was a guest preacher at Hawarth.
⁴. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 120.
Romaine, like Edwards, was a champion of Calvinism in the Church.

As one proceeds to others of the Evangelical movement who followed in the Geneva train—Toplady, Berridge, and Romaine, one chooses this sample of Hawker's Calvinism. So unpopular in Edwards's day, even in the later revival of it, as Hawker preaches it,

.....the doctrine of Election stands where it hath always stood, from everlasting, in the divine counsel. 1

Scott, too, reminisces on the return of predestination. Within his memory the Gospel-preaching clergy were of negligible influence.

But now it seems they are become so numerous and successful that......there is danger that all the world should go after them, and in this I do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice. 2

In his exclusive study of Scripture, 3 rather than of the Reformers and the Fathers, Scott, like Bunyan, is exempt from Ryle's criticism of Toplady, which might have been applied to Edwards and, likewise, Romaine:

2. Scott, Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism, pp. iii-iv.
3. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 36; for Puritans, every word of the Bible was of equal significance.
I consider that his statements are often extreme, and that he is frequently more systematic and narrow than the Bible. 1

Scott follows the Edwardsian pattern of identifying heterodoxy with Socinianism and orthodoxy with Calvinism. Still, like our Cambridge author, he holds that being called a Calvinist does not obligate him to "embrace all Calvin's sentiments". 2

However much the cultivation of this Puritanism of Grimshaw, Berridge, and Venn, all of Cambridge University, contributed to it, and however much the deeper ploughing and sowing of Edwards prepared for it, Venn reports the harvest in 1777:

It was formerly a custom, in several of the Colleges at Cambridge, to allow an annual feast among the young men, at the time of the conferring of the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and such occasions too often became scenes of intemperance. The general improvement in the moral habits of the University of late years has in a great measure abolished such evils. 3

There has been, moreover, an advance from the narrower days of Edwardsian orthodoxy, when he, like Bunyan, 4 twisted the

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2. Scott, Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism, p. xii.
4. See Talon, John Bunyan, p. 130. See also Thomas Whitefield (1546), A Refutation of the Loose Opinion, p. 11, written against the universality of God's free grace; ".....communiter, but not universiter".
"whosoever" in John 3: 16 to apply only to the Elect.

This broader but basic Calvinistic thought is found in Edwards's famous successor at "Old Trinity", Charles Simeon (1758-1836). The historical significance of Trinity Church in the heart of Cambridge is a matter of keen interest now, because of his long ministry there. But it is

.....only less interesting when we trace it to the seventeenth century.....the period of the great Church Puritans. It was in some sense the religious centre of the town, as Great St. Mary's was, and is, of the University. 1

Among its ministers stood the influential Sibbes, Preston, Goodwin, Whichcote, and our John Edwards. Like these "be-getting Fathers", Simeon had spiritual children who have travelled into all the world. Both Edwards and Simeon drew largely from the writings of Bishop Pearson. He was the author whom Edwards most praised, and whom Simeon considered a giant in theology and logic. The other major loyalties which both incumbents of Holy Trinity had in common, were their "infallible Bible", 2 and the Articles of the Church. These parallel factors, no doubt, combined to make the two pastors eager to counsel the younger clergy, as Simeon

1. Moule, Charles Simeon, p. 31.
exhorted:

Speak the Gospel so as to win souls, with much earnestness. Plead as if your own soul hung on it; plead with them as you would your own children. 1

Just as Edwards regarded his advice to the clergy as a "large" share of his writings, so Simeon judged himself that

A considerable part of my ministerial usefulness has consisted to instruct young ministers. 2

Like Edwards and Burnet before him, he exhorted his fellow-preachers to keep the promises made in their Ordination Service. Echoing an Edwardsian challenge, he insisted:

If there were such exertions made in every parish, we should hear no more complaint about the increase of Dissenters. 3

Simeon, like Edwards and Baxter, reminded believers of "justification by faith alone" that they were expected to be more strict in their daily conduct, than those who denied this. 4

The description of Simeon by one of his biographers as an

...eccentric preacher, an enthusiastic promoter of

strictness in religion, and an active leader of the Evangelical Party.

would apply to his predecessor in the Cambridge pulpit. Simeon, unlike Edwards, claims to have no use for controversy; yet his emphasis upon the mysteries of Election and Predestination is essential Calvinism. Simeon also insists, with Edwards, that any human being, if finally lost, has himself to blame. "All good is of God, and all evil is of men." The corruption of every man's nature, which deserves damnation, is derived from Adam by all his posterity. If men revolt at imputed guilt, let them look at the wonder of imputed righteousness. Such similarity of thought to Edwards and his Puritan predecessors at Trinity Church does not imply plagiarism, as Talon says:

All the Puritans lived in the same milieu, passed through the same psychological experiences and belonged to the same spiritual family.

2. See ibid., p. 280, for Simeon's conciliation: "Arminians and Calvinists are both right in their principles, both wrong in their inferences". See also Carus, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, p. 643: "Let a man engage in controversy and it is surprising how the love of it will grow upon him."
3. See ibid., p. 266, for his "What better (than infidels) are you who deny Divine mysteries because you cannot understand what God hath not revealed."
Both vicars of Holy Trinity identify themselves with the Low Church tradition. They criticize extreme Patristics, and maintain unyielding resistance to "the horrible sins and errors of Popery." ¹ With a steady opposition to Roman tendencies, Simeon couples an equal resistance to the dangers of rationalism. It is God's revelation, not mere reason, that holds the answer to Britain's needs. The Edwardsian epitome of his position is "Be Bible Christians".² Simeon quotes a letter of Berridge, whom he admires, written to Wesley from Everton, November 22, 1750:

I find that they who read many books usually neglect the Bible and the Homilies, and soon become disputants, and in the end turn out Predestinationists. At least this has happened so with me. ³

Yet the Cambridge apostle challenges his reader to say anything more Calvinistic than he has written in his letter.⁴ He makes frequent thrusts at and about the Socinians as arch-enemies, and with sharpness:

I dare to assure the public that Socinianism or even Atheism is not farther from their sentiments. ⁵

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Making some allowance for the illnesses of the earlier minister, which may have intensified his severity, one finds in Carus’s \textit{Memoirs} that Simeon, likewise,

\ldots was much tried, at times, by a certain irritability of temper, which was doubtless not a little aggravated by occasional attacks of gout.  

Still, he does think the great mass of Calvinians, "(though a moderate Calvinist myself)", are wrong in so much controversy.\textsuperscript{2}

However marked the "non-dependent" similarity of the two men, the latter enjoyed a far longer and more popular parish ministry than his Puritan predecessor. Simeon’s name drew most of the keenest men of his day to Cambridge, rather than to Oxford,\textsuperscript{3} where Evangelicalism gained little power in the eighteenth century. In the younger University, down to comparatively modern times, in undergraduate slang, an earnest Christian was called a "Sim".\textsuperscript{4} How Edwards would have rejoiced to see the continuing evangelical emphasis of his old churches in Cambridge, especially Holy Trinity. There to

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1.] Houle, \textit{Charles Simeon}, p. 418.
  \item[3.] See Overton, \textit{The Church in England}, Vol. II, p. 279, for "Oxford was never a stronghold of Evangelicalism".
\end{itemize}
this day, with his name on a plaque as vicar from 1664, "he being dead, yet speaketh". 1

In 1737, just twenty-one years after Edwards's decease, Jonathan Warne writes, like an echo of Edwards, in encouragement of Whitefield, The Church of England Man Turned Dissenter. With pages of quotations from The Preacher, Warne, a Calvinistic Dissenter, carries on a dialogue with a Churchman. In it he first recalls how the clergy of the University of Cambridge selected Dr. Edwards to preach to them at Great St. Mary's. The Anglican is surprised to hear of so recent a champion of Calvin in the Church of England as the scholarly doctor. Were the clergy able to answer his argument? No indeed, replies the admiring Warne; they never gave any answer to that, nor to his three volumes on Homiletics. 2

Warne claims that Edwards preached the old Church doctrine just like Archbishop Usher, and Bishop Beveridge. In the preface to another book extolling Edwards, and using his work to support Whitefield's controversy with the Bishop of London, he explains why he has given whole pages of extracts from The Preacher. First, the three volumes are sold together, and the price is too high for most people. Again, they are

scarcely, and very few are available second-hand, being confined to the studies of learned men. Finally, Arminians, who own them, will not let them see the light, because they reveal their heresy, and expose their follies. So, Warne vindicates the orthodox loyalty of unpopular Edwards as a true Churchman and an evangelist. This influence of The Preacher, and his Veritas Redux, in stimulating evangelism within the Church, as well as outside, finds the most significant exponent in a far greater preacher than Edwards, Beveridge, or any other, except Wesley. The Cambridge Calvinist reaches forward to touch and to teach the preacher of Calvinistic Methodism, George Whitefield, whom we may now consider. Norman Sykes, in his vivid new book, makes a distinction within the Evangelical revival, between "its Arminian-Methodist and Anglican-Calvinist forms", and points out that "John Wesley moved from the traditional high-church standpoint to a belief and practice of presbyterian ordination".

2. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 171.
CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN WARNE AND WHITEFIELD.

Whatever else one may judge to be true about George Whitefield, all must agree with Overton that "his fire, his earnestness, his dramatic action, his noble person, took the world by storm". Even Benjamin Franklin and David Hume gave testimonials to Whitefield's preaching power. It is not surprising, therefore, that he found encouragement from the author of the earnest volumes of The Preacher, in the preface to which Edwards wrote:

I will still preach by being helpful to others to discharge that office a right. I most freely own that I have not come up to the excellency and dignity of my subject, and perhaps no one can. 2

But, like many pupils who surpass, yet praise, their teachers, Whitefield paid tribute to the religious thought of the old divine, especially in The Preacher and Veritas Redux. There still beats his two-fold heart of homiletics and dogmatics.

1. Overton, The Evangelical Revival, p. 31. See also Postscript to the South Carolina Gazette, Number 361, 105e59, British Museum Library, for this American letter of Nov. 1, 1740, describing Whitefield's preaching: "His head, his heart, and his hands seem to be full of the Master's business...... His address, more especially to the passions, is very wonderful, and beyond what I have ever seen...... The zeal of God's house hath eaten him up".

The evangelist first writes of a book 1 (with a title similar to one by an earlier "Jonathan", the famous Dean Swift). 2 It contained extracts from The Preacher by Dr. Edwards of Cambridge, and "strengthened me much". 3 It is one of Jonathan Warne's works, in which he quotes Edwards at great length. God has been pleased through this means to enlighten the revivalist more in "that comfortable doctrine of election". Whitefield's Calvinism is not, as it never is in the purest of souls, a cold system of Divinity. Rather it is a strong conviction 4 that the glory and honour of God in salvation must be upheld. Whitefield has been won to Calvinistic assurance in maturity. Another of the evangelist's testimonies to the influence of John Edwards's work is a shipboard entry 5 which Wale publishes in George Whitefield's Journal.

1. Warne, The Church of England Man Turned Dissenter. See also The Dreadful Degeneracy of the Clergy, and The Downfall of Arminianism.
2. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 231, for "the sentiments of Dean Swift" that "a Church of England man ..... though he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of divine right, he is sure it is ..... fittest of all others for preserving order and purity". This is an excellent statement of the Anglican via media.
4. See Oliphant, Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, p. 107, where Whitefield is quoted as calling Election "a doctrine which I now believe, was taught me of God: therefore, I could not possibly recede from it".
But every statement must be seen in its context. Therefore, let us study his entries on those important days before and after September 29, 1739. We find them also in a rare and complete volume of *The Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal*, and some other separately printed writings, in the New College Library, University of Edinburgh. The section which concerns us is "From His Embarkation to His Arrival at Savannah". A sense of sin weighed Whitefield down, and he grieved in prayer, with vexation of spirit. Returning to America for the first time, he was apparently engaging in some introspection which became almost morbid, as he suffered inexpressible agonies of soul. But let him write for himself, on board the *Elizabeth*, these extracts: ¹

**Saturday, Sept. 6th.** I groan daily to be set at liberty.

Sept 22nd. I could not forgive myself for sinning against so much light and love. I felt something of that which Adam felt when turned out of Paradise...... At length my Lord looked on me and with that look broke my rocky heart, and floods of contrite tears gushed out before my whole family.

Sept. 23rd. A Sense of my sins weighed me down again, and I mourned in my prayers and was vexed.

Roberts, who accompanied him, reports that for days he ate but

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little and went mourning all the day long. Indeed, he wept most bitterly. He felt an anguish, and especially at night the sense of his sins seemed to return, oppressively. ¹

Now on Saturday, September 29th, they have fair winds, and Whitefield has lain upon deck with his companions the greatest part of the week. Then follows the evangelist's significant entry:

.....the Trials of the last week..... Had little time for reading, but this afternoon was exceedingly strengthened by perusing some paragraphs out of a Book called The Preacher, written by Dr. Edwards of Cambridge, and extracted by Mr. Jonathan Warne, in his Book entitled The Church of England Man Turned Dissenter, and Arminianism the Back Door to Popery. ²

Now, apparently, after reading Edwards of Cambridge, Whitefield thinks over the doctrines the old divine stressed, and writes of Cambridge:

There are such noble testimonies given before that University of justification by faith only, the imputed righteousness of Christ, our having no free-will, etc., that they deserve to be written in letters of gold. I see more and more the benefit of leaving written testimonials behind us, concerning these important points. They not only profit the present, but will much edify the future age. Lord open Thou my mouth, that I may henceforth speak more boldly and

explicitly, as I ought to speak. 1

The next day's record is different. He seems to have experienced a release from the oppressive "moods" of the previous weeks. Here are extracts from his Journal: 2

Sunday, Sept. 30th. Expounded with power in the morning to the sailors.....the outward righteousness of Jesus Christ imputed to us, I believe, is the sole Fountain.

Oct. 6th. Contrary winds most part of this week ..... Had great assistance in writing.

Oct. 7th. Every day more and more convinces me that the Lord will fulfil the desire of them that fear Him. He is the Father of mercies. He is the God of consolation. He can create comfort out of nothing.

In spite of the food shortage on board, Whitefield has victory of spirit.

Saturday, Oct. 17th. I could not but have come this voyage for a thousand worlds; it has been sweet and profitable to my soul. The length and continuance of it highly delights me.

Oct. 19th. My being on board is every day more and more comfortable.

Oct. 27th. The Lord has been especially gracious unto me.

This freedom in writing and in preaching appears to be the result of a theological clarification which came to him through Warne and Edwards. Roberts reports that they had more inward consolation than since they had been on board. There is a change from Whitefield's previous inability to forgive himself, and the accompanying periods of debilitating self-abasement, to a robust quality of conviction and proclamation. For this "irresistible grace" Edwards pled in his day of weak Arminianism, prior to Wesley.

But how did Whitefield come to enjoy further, and even to recommend Edwards? It was in the field of controversy, when Whitefield, like Edwards before him, felt called upon to strike out against two of England's favourites, whom they both believed to be false leaders of thought: the anonymous author of The Whole Duty of Man and Dr. John Tillotson, the

2. See MacFarian, The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, p. 34, for the low state of the Churches, "verging towards a kind of Socinianism".
4. See Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, p. 74; the book was written at the height of the reaction against Puritan theology; its author seeks to reduce religion to its prosaic elements.
Latitudinarian.\(^1\) Whitefield had echoed Edwards in saying that the prelate knew no more of true religion than Mohammed. \(^2\)

Elsewhere the evangelist affirmed:

> God knows I have been faithful in bearing testimony against what I think is corrupt in the Church of England. \(^3\)

And he left no doubt that he detested Arminian principles, as defended by John Tillotson, \(^4\) who had disliked the dogmatic zeal of Edwards's school of thought.

A Calvinistic Dissenter, Jonathan Warne, reads the bishop's castigation of the evangelist, and comes to his admiring support:

> I cannot help joining with what my Reverend friend Mr. Whitefield hath said against......The Whole Duty of Man, and the Archbishop's sermons, having read what the learned Dr. Edwards of Cambridge hath wrote (sic)...... \(^5\)

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1. See Talon, John Bunyan, pp. 125 and 161, for the Bedford preacher's similar convictions against the Latitudinarians.
2. See Belden, George Whitefield, the Awakener, p. 100. "A little mental arrogance" he says, is not surprising, for Whitefield was already famous and still but twenty-five.
4. See The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Vol. VI, p. 400, where he insists that conversion is not always effected by irresistible grace. In a long index with headings very different from those of Edwards's Theologia Reformata, Tillotson refers neither to Arminius nor Calvin; but does indicate where he defends Chillingworth, a fellow-liberal, if not an avowed Arminian.
In another letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, Warne expresses his great satisfaction that the evangelist is "preaching up" those doctrines which have been lost or "exploded" by the majority of the Church of England clergy. ¹ Seagrave, too, defending Whitefield from four critical sermons by Dr. Trapp, echoes Edwards:

The divinity of our modern divines is no older than the reign of Charles the First, and was introduced by Archbishop Laud, with great artifice.... This only substantial old Divinity, the clergy have departed from ....and have set up the Arminian scheme. ²

Anyone who reads Edwards and Whitefield on this subject will notice, with Warne, that the former's ideas "exactly correspond with Mr. Whitefield's sentiments". ³ Thus the Dissenter proceeds to set down "the Doctor's own words as they are in the third part of The Preacher." ⁴ Quoting page references, Warne lists the points which Edwards, like Whitefield, says The Whole Duty of Man fails to treat; such as, the Holy Trinity, God's attributes, heaven and hell, election to grace and glory, as well as the more evangelical doctrines of regeneration, conversion, and justification. Warne refers

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¹. See Warne, The Dreadful Degeneracy of the Clergy.
². Seagrave, An Answer to the Rev. Dr. Trapp's Four Sermons Against Mr. Whitefield, pp. 26-27.
to John Edwards in the same way as he does to Whitefield, as "the godly, orthodox divine",¹ who, at the University of Cambridge exposed the prelate's errors. It is no wonder that the Evangelicals, from Edwards to Whitefield, are again and again pointing out the deficiencies of the non-theological book.² Edwards's criticism goes beyond that of its doctrinal inadequacies; it encourages passive obedience, allows worldly amusements, and fails to denounce Popery. Nor does it set forth the duties of ministers and magistrates, which Calvin so stressed.³ His is part of the violent reaction against it, which rises with the Evangelical Movement,⁴ Whitefield echoes the older Puritan's attack; and fires his "resistless artillery.⁵

Warne is full of praise for the zeal of this reformer who, before Whitefield was born, preached the pure doctrines of the established Church, with an ardent desire to see them restored to their former glory. He closes his answer to the bishop with the hope that

2. Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, p. 76.
3. See Calvin, Institutes, IV, xx, 32. See also Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty, p. (61) for "Calvin enjoins Christian obedience and fixes its limits".
Warne quotes from Edwards's sermon, *One Nation and One King*, and all three volumes of *The Preacher*. He says that "our notable divine has proved to a demonstration" that the Arminian ministers have apostasized from the teachings of the Reformation. After reading Edwards, he has carefully inspected the works of Archbishop Usher, and several other Anglican leaders; and all their writings were "founded on Calvinian bottom". Warne urges the reader to buy the expensive books of Edwards, and he will see for himself how the Arminian clergy of 1737 have deceived the people. He then exhorts him to lend the books to his friends and neighbours. "This will be doing the greatest piece of love and kindness." There is a plague upon the Church, and here is the remedy. He realizes all Churchmen would rather listen to what a doctor of their own communion has said, than to a Dissenter. But Edwards is not alone, Warne insists. His doctrine has

4. Ibid., p. vi.
5. Ibid., p. vii.
been preached by several other godly and able men within the first thirty years of the century, including Bishop Beveridge.¹

During this generation, so Warne reminds his vicar-friend in a dialogue, things in the Church have been growing worse, as far as Edwards's doctrines are concerned. Yes, the clergyman knows; but how did Edwards get along with his people, preaching as he did so recently? The dialogue between Warne and the minister continues:

He never stood for their liking or disliking when he had for what he delivered a 'Thus Saith the Lord'; though he found it went down with but a few. ²

The appeal of Warne's writing is not merely to carry on Edwards's reform of the Church, but to seek to secure, like his old hero, a kindly attitude on the part of the Establishment ³ toward his fellow-Dissenters. He is convinced that no orthodox person who reads Edwards will fail to be concerned about disclosures made by so

......learned, and judicious a doctor of Divinity as

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3. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 81, where even Thorndike, a firm defender of episcopacy, nevertheless, "like Taylor, placed charity above rubrics". Also ibid, p. 83, where Sykes says: "Ever since the Reformation, indeed, Anglican divines had been divided in sympathy between the Puritan and Anglo-Catholic traditions".
John Edwards of the University of Cambridge, who lived and died a worthy member of the Church of England. 1

Surely his standing and scholarship will lend weight to his conviction about non-conformists. Is it not a shame to call Presbyterians, Independents, and Particular Baptists, schismatics, fanatics, and even heretics? 2 These three Christian groups should be highly regarded as protectors of the Church of England; so Dr. Edwards clearly set forth. 3 (One finds no specific claim by Edwards for the above-mentioned denominations, but only for Dissenters in general.)

The Anglican in Warne's dialogue admits Edwards to be a valiant champion of the truth. But he has never thought the Church had such a voice or pen in recent years. He is progressively impressed and convinced. He wants to hear more of the various causes Edwards gives for "our going away from our orthodox doctrines". 4 He believes that he and the Doctor are agreed, and he only hopes there are many other clergymen travelling the same road of thought. 5 Thereupon

1. Warne, The Dreadful Degeneracy of the Clergy, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. iii.
3. Ibid., p. iv.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 83, for the fact that, like Edwards, "some individuals had gone to extremes on each side. But the via media had been generally upheld by the majority."
Warne rejoices:

.....for I have so great veneration for him, that
I love to hear his works commended. 1

The minister now shares Warne's estimate of the conviction
of Edwards. Then, with astuteness, the Dissenter puts into
the mouth of the Anglican this confession:

Had it been one of your teachers, we would have
told our people that he was a fanatical preacher, and
then all would have been blown over in a moment. 2

Like Edwards and Whitefield, Warne's clergyman is ready to
coopurate with non-conformists. They have found common
ground at Geneva.

Thus it was that during Whitefield's inner struggle
for peace, and in connection with the Bishop of London's at-
tack on him for his derogatory remark about the Archbishop, 3
the evangelist came to know of Edwards's similar expressions
through the writings of Jonathan Warne. In two of Three

2. Ibid., p. 44.
3. See The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson,
Vol. I, in which he publishes as the first two of his
sermons, in twelve volumes, such non-evangelical themes
as "The Wisdom of Being Religious", and "The Folly of
Scoffing at Religion". This type of smooth but in-
nocuous preaching, Whitefield vehemently disapproved.
Letters to a Friend in London, published by Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, Whitefield writes from Savannah, January 18, 1739:

The Rev. Mr. Edwards of Cambridge, that noble champion of the doctrine of grace, I have been told, has treated the Archbishop with much more severity (than I). He was a man of letters as well as piety. He was a presbyter of the Church of England. I refer you to him. You, my friend, are more noble than to be carried away with a fine style. 2

A second letter from Georgia, dated March 28, 1740, gives further tribute to Edwards:

My Dear Friend,

In my last, if you remember, I referred you to Dr. Edwards, late of Cambridge, in order to strengthen my testimony against the writings of Archbishop Tillotson. About a fortnight ago, being called by Providence to Charleston (South Carolina) a book entitled The Preacher, "showing the offices, duties, and employments of that character in the Church", written by Doctor Edwards, was put into my hands. I here send you some extracts out of them; and then judge you whether the Archbishop knew more of true Christianity than Mahommets (sic). I have carefully examined the places referred to and find the Doctor, in my opinion, has not injured the Archbishop at all. And first hear what he says concerning the opinion of Christianity in general. 3

1. See The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, p. 113, for this letter to Franklin: "I find you grow more and more famous in the learned world. As you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity, I would now humbly recommend......the mystery of the new birth.


3. Ibid., II, pp. 5-6.
Then follow pages 75-78 of *The Preacher*, Part I. Like Warne, Whitefield "extracts" several pages of Edwards, verbatim.

The evangelist asks what the Archbishop's sentiments were concerning the eternity of hell torments, in which, with Edwards, he strongly believes, and upon which he often preaches. With generous quotations of Dr. Edwards's beliefs,¹ in contrast to the broader notions of Tillotson, who could not stomach Calvinism's doctrine of the God of unchanging decrees, Whitefield challenges;

Let his favourers answer Dr. Edwards, and then, perhaps, I may trouble them with some more remarks of my own. ²

It is evident that Whitefield, like Warne, considers Edwards an authority in the field of religious thought and Church conformity. They both believe that his scholarship and spirituality entitle him to write the final word on "true" Christianity and the Establishment. Whitefield concludes the letter to his London friend:

I can only add that I heartily wish the book written by Dr. Edwards was in the hands of all the clergy of the Church of England. 'Tis full of sound reasoning and convincing arguments, and never more necessary to be read than at this time. If

you can get it, be pleased to peruse, and send your sentiments concerning it, Dear Sir, to your sincere friend and servant,

George Whitefield. 1

The evangelist, under the influence of Edwards 2 and other Calvinists, became an ardent predestinationist. Yet, he remained an aggressive soul-winner. Preaching to twenty thousand miners, for instance, he saw hundreds turn to God in penitence that led them into a steadfast faith. Here, indeed was a renewed Puritanism. In fact, he was "the revived Puritan" and Calvinian personified. 3 Whitefield stressed Election and Reprobation more as he read more from Edwards's works themselves. Then he also became attached to Lady Huntingdon's group of clergy, in which only the Calvinists continued.

The other work of Edwards which may have furnished the decisive "strength" in convincing Whitefield of "The Method of Grace", 4 in Calvinism, and which divided him theologically from Wesley, is Veritas Redux. In a letter written

2. Smyth in A Curious Letter from a Gentleman to Mr. Whitefield, p. 8, quotes Locke against Whitefield, and taunts the evangelist: "Who deceived you, Dr. Edwards, or your honoured friend, John Wesley?"
3. See An Expostulatory Letter to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, p. 6. A critic writes: "Many of these obsolete doctrines that you are now reviving.....were.....of Calvin".
4. This was the second sermon Whitefield preached in Scotland.
to him from Boston, September 25, 1740, Whitefield first gives
him the name and author, with this comment, "Well worth reading". 1 Three months later, however, in a letter written from
Bethesda in Georgia, and published in London, there is a for-
amal recommendation of Edwards's theology. The whole text
of Whitefield's decisive epistle is published separately,
with this title-page, as found in the British Museum:

A letter to the Reverend Mr. John Wesley:
in answer to his sermon entitled 'Free Grace', by
George Whitefield, A.B., late of Pembroke College
Oxford. 'But when Peter was come to Antioch, I
withstood him to the face, because he was to be
blamed'. Gal. 2:11.

London: Printed and sold at the Tabernacle, near
Upper-Moor-Fields, MDCCLII.

On page six is found this statement:

'Tis not my design to enter into a long
debate on God's Decrees. I refer you to Dr. Ed-
wards in his Veritas Redux which, I think, is un-
answerable..... 2

Farther on, Whitefield justifies his and Edwards's
position:

1. Gledstone, George Whitefield, p. 161. See also White-
field, Journal, p. 212, for an additional remark: "If
you think so meanly of Bunyan and the Puritan writers,
I do not wonder that you think me wrong". See also his
A Select Collection of Letters of George Whitefield,

This is the established doctrine of Scripture, and acknowledged as such in the 17th Article of the Church of England, as Bishop Burnet himself confesses.  

In the same letter, published in an earlier edition of 1741, one finds the following:

But I referred you, at the beginning of this letter to Dr. Edwards, his Veritas Redux, which I recommended to you in a late letter, with Elisha Cole on God's Sovereignty. Be pleased to read these.... and I doubt not but you will see all your objections answered.... We must humbly adore what we cannot comprehend.  

This Augustinian emphasis upon mystery was fundamental in Edwards's interpretation of Scripture. Finally, Whitefield challenges Wesley:

The text you have misapplied to gloss over this, see explained by....Edwards.

What could be stronger than this endorsement of the earlier "voice crying in the wilderness", by the master of evangelistic oratory with a Geneva accent?

Some have suggested that Whitefield was led into

2. Ibid., p. 34.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
strong Calvinism under the influence of the Scottish brothers, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine. But the fact is that the English revivalist on his first visit to Scotland in September, 1741, at Glasgow, already showed the "stamp" both of Calvin and of Edwards's homiletics. His opening sermon, north of the Tweed, was on "The Duty of a Gospel Minister", an abbreviated echo of The Preacher. These messages reveal a crystallized Calvinistic point of view.

Others have thought that the decisive influence upon Whitefield was from Dr. Jonathan Edwards, and other vigorous American Puritans. Thus,

Whitefield had leanings towards Calvinism, and these had been strengthened through his intercourse with Jonathan Edwards, and other New England ministers. During his second visit to America he wrote several letters to Wesley that he shrank from controversy, and yet feared that it could not be avoided. 3

But we have already seen that it was on his way to America that second time in 1739, before he had been to New England, that he was first "strengthened" by reading Edwards and Jonathan Warne. Furthermore, in scanning his Journal, one finds

1. See Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, p. 53. "One day I was exceedingly refreshed in reading Beza's Life of Calvin, wherein were these words: 'Calvin is turned out of Geneva, but a new church arises'."
3. Hughes, Wesley and Whitefield, p. 52.
no comparable reference to Jonathan Edwards. By strange coincidence of name, those to whom Whitefield himself attributes influence are Jonathan Warne and "the other Edwards", our Dr. John Edwards of Cambridge. It is Belden's belief that

The Presbyterian atmosphere (in America) .... affected Whitefield's spiritual outlook and theological thinking very deeply. It is from this time that Calvinism begins to have a special value for him, and doubtless all through the controversy with Wesley .... Whitefield was subtly bound to the Calvinistic position, not only by his conscious conviction, but also by a subconscious realization that without it, his American work would be rendered utterly impossible. At Philadelphia the storm of revival broke once again.

Now, there may have been some confirmation of his religious thought in New England, after 1740. But, after surveying the horizon of Whitefield's struggle for inner certitude and sense of full forgiveness, as revealed in his A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, one feels that the more significant "storms" of influence upon Whitefield were upon his second voyage to Georgia. It was, we believe, during that trying passage, when, water and provision being short, very "deep impressions were made on some that were on board, including Whitefield himself". On that memorable September

1. Belden, George Whitefield, the Awakener, p. 83.
2. The Experiences of George Whitefield, p. 54.
29, 1739, the troubled evangelist, after reading Edwards, as quoted profusely by Jonathan Warne, found greater "strength" in God at Geneva and at Cambridge, as he testified.

Whether or not Whitefield studied others of Edwards's works, the following sermons express convictions which he closely shared with our old champion: "The Heinous Sin of Profane Cursing and Swearing, Britain's Mercies and Britain's Duty, the Eternity of Hell Torments, The Duty of Searching the Scriptures", and "Of Justification". Both his ideas and terminology indicate that they belong to the same school of thought. Thus Whitefield, also, says that serious Dissenters have told him that if the doctrine of the new birth and salvation by faith are preached powerfully in the Church, there will be few Dissenters in England. He admits that he himself was not so clear in this evangelical emphasis before his deeper experience on ship-board, reading Edwards. Thus the author of The Preacher had helped to edify "the prince of preachers of the eighteenth century".

1. George Whitefield's Journal, (ed. by Wale), p. 74. Also Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 108: ".....the maintenance of episcopal continuity was subordinated by the reformers to the achievement of purity of doctrine, and was regarded as itself of secondary importance". In this, both Edwards and Whitefield were nearer to the classical Anglican tradition about episcopacy than some modern Anglo-Catholics.

2. See George Whitefield's Journal, (ed. by Wale), p. 12, for this appreciation by Canon Hay Aitkin.
and encouraged him to remain loyal to "the purest church under heaven". 1 The old "Elijah" of Cambridge had, after the lapse of years dropped his mantle upon the shoulders of a far greater than himself. His University town was listening, at last, to a popular preacher of the old Calvinian themes.

Of course, the critical Bishop of London had asked the evangelist if his writings were not tinctured with enthusiasm. 2 But in Wales, where Edwards's The Hearer, in the heart of his The Preacher, had been translated into Welsh, Mr. Whitefield received a warm welcome. Preaching in English, and then interpreted by Howell Harris, the Oxford evangelist welcomed thousands into the Calvinistic wing of the Methodist movement. In reading Hughes's Life of Howell Harris, one finds not only many references to the English revivalist, 3 but to our Cambridge author, 4 whose writings helped to give Whitefield his releasing assurance and peace of mind to preach a Gospel of eternal security for the elect. Indeed, Harris, the Welsh Reformer, whose fervour Whitefield

3. See Hughes, The Life of Howell Harris, p. 82, for "Mr. Whitefield was enjoying full assurance".
4. See ibid., p. 158, for "Dr. Edwards's pamphlet".
so admired, writes a friend:

I have hereby taken the liberty of sending in love a pamphlet which is mostly abstracted from Dr. Edwards of Cambridge and a sermon of Mr. Whitefield. 1

Thus in Wales, from which the ancestors of John Edwards may have come, as well as those of Whitefield’s mother, who was also an Elizabeth Edwards, the Calvinistic writer of the seventeenth century and the Calvinistic orator of the eighteenth century combine to lay the background for more recent evangelism.

The Calvinistic Methodists became the strongest denomination in Wales, and continued to grow by revivals, always receiving the largest number of additions in united evangelistic meetings. One of the implications, moreover, of true conversion among them was the Puritan change to reverent speech, innocent recreation, and abstention from alcoholic beverages. These were things both Edwards and Whitefield had stressed in their writing and preaching. Most of the men, and all the youths, therefore, who were admitted into these revived churches, voluntarily took the pledge of temperance. 2 That promise included no swearing and no gaming; these, again, were targets at which the alumni of St. John’s College and

Pembroke directed their homiletical ammunition. Of course, such preaching was typical of their school of thought; but one does note a disproportionate emphasis upon the evils of gambling, profanity, and especially "the heinous sin of drunkenness." ¹

Likewise, over in New England, Whitefield, with his background in the Holy Club at Oxford, found "good old Puritans in their seats of learning". ² There he saw the happy union of spiritual education and intelligent evangelism, study and revival. Thereafter, like Edwards, he expressed strong sympathy with the old Puritans, whose memory he learned to love in America. In this he agreed with all the later Evangelicals who were partial to Puritan Divinity: Owen, Howe, Baxter and Flavel. ³

Balleine wisely stresses the importance of the evangelist's long voyages to America which gave him leisure to read the writings of the Puritans, including Edwards: since thus he was led to adopt and maintain the Calvinistic position. This is not to imply that Calvin's emphasis had been foreign to him. Rather, it fitted into his own conversion experience. ⁴ But it is evident from a perusal of

his letters written on shipboard and overseas, that it was a growing conviction, which emerged from his first encounter with Christ in England. In a letter to students under the call to preach at the colleges of Cambridge and New Haven, he expressed the hope that

.....the good old Divinity will now be precious to your souls, and you will think it an honour to tread in the steps of your pious forefathers. 1

He specified many of the same Puritan 2 authors as those Edwards considered standard, including "Bishop Hopkins and Dr. Hammond's sermons". 3 Like Bunyan, Whitefield himself had been "a Sabbath-breaker, a theatre-goer, a card-player, and a romance-reader". 4 But now he enjoyed reading Coles, Bunyan, 5

2. See Barker, The Character of England, p. 71, for "The Puritan spirit is indeed a deep lake, filled by many tributary streams: some are morose and dark, and English religion is, often enough, marked by an ugly narrow-minded-ness neither unknown to, nor peculiar to, Puritanism".
5. See The Works of John Bunyan, Vol. I, in Whitefield's recommendatory preface, pp. 3-4, where he praises the Tinker next to the first Gospel writers. "It was being under the cross that made the Puritans of the last century such burning and shining lights.....who lived and died in communion of the Church of England.....those great luminaries.....Usher, Andrews, Hall......Wilkins, Edwards, who.....all agreed.....in asserting and defending the grand essential truths for which the Puritans.....chiefly suffered and were ejected". This tribute was written just fifty years after John Edwards died.
Goodwin, Henry, Flavel and Halyburton. Like Edwards, Whitefield was especially concerned about the clergy. 1 Thus, in The Revived Puritan, the evangelist called out to "young preachers". The phrase, "as a good old Puritan observes", 2 he used repeatedly. He also admired Cranmer, Latimer, and Hooper. 3 Whitefield shouted:

You who are brought up in an orthodox belief under an orthodox ministry cannot easily make an allowance for the thousands that have nothing ringing in their ears but Arminianism. 4

One almost accuses Whitefield of borrowing ideas without giving credit, when one reads his sermon, "The Great Duty of Family Religion". 5 He follows the points Edwards makes in his "The Duties of Those that Have the Charge of Families". 6 Whitefield does greatly abbreviate the similar

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1. See R.F., Dr. Trapp Tried and Cast, pp. 45-56; a postscript, praising Whitefield, quotes the young evangelist as justly saying that the life of the clergy has been the cause of making so many Dissenters. This echoes Edwards. R.F. had heard some good Churchmen say that before Whitefield....they had not the courage to declare it publicly. Of course, Edwards and Whitefield often had more courage than tact.
3. Ibid., p. 425
4. Ibid., p. 426.
5. Ibid., p. 498. See also Burkitt, The Poor Man's Help whom Warne mentions in The Church of England Man Turned Dissenter, along with Beveridge, and Dr. Edwards, all stressing family religion.
exhortations to family prayers, the catechizing of children and servants, and the emphasizing of the terror as well as the mercy of the Lord. 1 But the parallelism of thought makes us wonder if, having approved Edwards's doctrinal works, he did not "use" his Theologia Reformata, in the third volume of which are several evangelical discourses resembling those which the evangelist so effectively delivered. The "Extent and Reasonableness of Self-Denial", 2 for instance, follows Edwards's treatment in his discourse, "Of Self-Denial", 3 which he divides "as the faculties of the soul are distinguished by understanding, will and affection". 4 Like Edwards, Whitefield makes clear that while we cannot understand Christian mysteries, we must deny our human reason in favour of faith in God's revelation. In 1739, soon after reading Edwards's The Preacher, and especially the unique "The Hearer", the evangelist preached a sermon on "Directions How to Hear Sermons". 5 Both take the same text. Like Edwards, George Whitefield complains that the world swarms with Arians and Socinians. 6 Elsewhere he makes a list of enemies

2. Ibid., p. 287.
of the Gospel: "Deists, Socinians...." 1 Whitefield is always more to the point, and more charitable, as one of his supporters thought; he, also, attacking Arminianism, writes to Wesley:

The dear Mr. Whitefield's letter in answer to your sermon entitled 'Free Grace' was doubtless written in the spirit of Christ. 2

But one realizes that Whitefield has consciously or unconsciously absorbed some of the passion of Edwards, as he echoes:

We cry out against Popery, and that very justly; but we are all Papists. At least I am sure we are all Arminians by nature, and therefore no wonder so many men embrace that scheme. 3

Like Edwards, the greater evangelist reports of his fellow-ministers that they grew more and more shy of him when they knew he was a Calvinist, although the Articles of the Church they professed to serve were Calvinistical. This conviction, so fully developed in Veritas Redux, and quoted by Toplady, 4 may have helped to keep Whitefield within the

4. Toplady, Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism, Vol.II, p. 306. "Dr. Edwards, to whom I am indebted for this quotation adds, that as Bishop Saunderson began with Calvin, so he proceeded to approve of his (Calvin's) sentiments through his whole life". See Veritas Redux, p. 542. Also ibid., p. 309, for "On the testimony of the learned Dr. John Edwards," etc.
Church, when even the Countess of Huntingdon was considering secession. Certainly he firmly believes, with Edwards, that the Church itself was ideally true to Calvin. Treated as coldly as Edwards by the clergy, Whitefield remains to the end of his ministry more a Churchman at heart, than anything else.¹

It was due, therefore, to his labours that the influence of the Evangelical party in the Church grew. Yet he loved to debate as well as to preach,² whether in England, Scotland, or America, among "whosoever denomination" would hear him. Those who loved the Lord Jesus were his brethren. Far more than Edwards, who mainly "exhorted" in his writings, Whitefield, by preaching, stirred Non-Conformity and infused new life into its weakening cause. Neither in the Church nor outside it could his Calvinistic and evangelical work be erased. Let Overton minimize his intellectual stature as simply that of a "guileless, self-denying, but ill-trained and very injudicious enthusiast" ³ with no system and little method compared with Wesley; let him even

². See Belden, George Whitefield, the Awakener, p. 100, for the fact that he could be a very irritating opponent, as could Edwards, retaliating with Scripture texts, and indulging in personal attack with some asperity. We found a number of Whitefield's controversial tracts written to the Bishop of London, Dr. Trapp, and Wesley.
³. Overton, The Evangelical Revival, p. 50.
insist that the term "Methodist" was inaccurately applied to Whitefield. Nevertheless, by his preaching, which seemed as extravagant to the staid and sober divines of his day as Edwards's enthusiastic writings did in Arminian Cambridge half a century earlier, Whitefield brought about the harvest for which Edwards had ploughed the cold ground. It is an historical fact that

A vast number of people hitherto untouched by Christian teaching listened to Whitefield's tremendous eloquence proclaiming a fiery Calvinism. 1

Like Edwards, Whitefield could say that next to Jesus, his King and Country were upon his heart. He felt it his duty not only to warn sinners to turn to the Saviour, but to render his countrymen alert against the dangers of popish tyranny and despotic power. There was in his day, as in Edwards's, a threat of French invasion; and those who were devoted to Church and State had a patriotic as well as an evangelistic note to strike. Whitefield referred to himself as chaplain to a most worthy peeress, 3 and as a presbyter of the

2. See Plummer, The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century, p. 130, for "Whatever might be said of Wesley, Whitefield was far more of a Puritan than a Papist".
3. See The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, for a picture of the spiritual concern and encouragement of this noble friend and sponsor of the evangelicals. Indeed, her home and chapels were centres of revival.
Church of England. This latter phrase is often found in the writings of Edwards, who could approve "sober Presbyterians" because he believed their concept of the clergy with "bishops" only as elders presiding by choice of their fellows.

Thus, in many points which Calvin taught, Whitefield preached, as Edwards wrote, the Puritanical message of a theology which was born in Geneva, but christened in England. And herein lay the difference in judgment, though not in affection, between himself and Wesley. Both aimed at the glory of their common Lord; but as Whitefield confessed, "we hearkened too much to tale-bearers".1 This, of course, Edwards and Locke, "the Socinus of his age",2 had done the century before, though both were Calvinists. Indeed, it always works out that men who have much in common, engage in controversy; and religious debate is most vehement because it is a "family" quarrel, as of brothers representing the two bloodstreams of their common parents. But in the point of evangelism, Whitefield insisted truthfully that he and Wesley were both trying to convert souls to the Mediator.3

3. See Autobiography of George Whitefield, p. 76. See also Ryle, The Christian Leaders, p. 40, for the fact that Whitefield visited Scotland fourteen times, and was nowhere more acceptable than he was in Bible-loving Caledonia.
Some have sighed their regrets that Methodism could not have enjoyed longer the united leadership of Wesley and Whitefield.¹ Others have wished that the Church of England might have held them both, in a single school of thought. But we agree with those who consider it fortunate, for the wider world and the Church universal, that they were not of one opinion: that Edwards did influence Whitefield to become the spear-head of Calvinistic Evangelicalism, and that unlike the Countess of Huntingdon, he remained within the Anglican communion,² refusing to join either her or Wesley in ordaining young ministers.³ Had Wesley and Whitefield been united in either extreme, truth itself would have made less progress:

1. See Barker, The Character of England, p. 72, for this odious comparison: "Since Calvinism was still strong among many Evangelical Churchmen, his (Wesley's) direct influence upon them and upon many in the Free Churches was less than Whitefield's".

2. See Pickering, Letter to Whitefield, p. 5. "You are, in fact, a priest of the Church of England, or by profession and character an Episcopal clergyman". This was an American tribute.

3. See Hill, A Full Answer to the Rev. J. Wesley's Remarks, p. 17, for this refusal to join Wesley in ordaining others, "so that hereby Mr. Whitefield proved himself to be the Churchman, and Mr. Wesley when he thought it might best answer his purpose, the Dissenter". See also Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 238, for "the traditional Anglican doctrine of episcopacy" which Whitefield, like Edwards, held. Though far removed from "the exclusive theory of Tractarian provenance and championship," yet, he would not participate as a "presbyter" in ordination. Whitefield and Edwards felt strongly the place of "the bishop" in Anglican orders.
especially in America, where the Methodist, Presbyterian,\(^1\) and Baptist "descendants" of Wesley and Whitefield have become the major denominations.

As joint Arminians, they would have spread Pelagianism; and as joint Calvinists, they would have been hyper, though not Antinomian". 2

As it was, they modified each other. They were two bright suns, which could not have shared a single meridian, without setting on fire, the whole world of sound theology. 3 Be that as it may, Whitefield co-operated in America with Dr. Jonathan Edwards, and followed the other Edwards in his Veritas Redux, as to Calvinistic theology, and The Preacher as to evangelism. What the Master Himself spoke of Moses, Whitefield might have said of Edwards, "If ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" 4

Moreover, as Orr reminds us, there has been at least a second evangelical awakening in Great Britain. This latest Revival has been seen at the greatest intensity among

1. See Relden, George Whitefield, the Awakener, pp. 115-116, for "Whitefield's preaching, and especially the reading of his printed sermons in Virginia, led to the founding of the Presbyterian Church of that State, where it extended to the South and South-West...... Thus we see how great a debt the American Churches owe to Whitefield".
4. John 5: 47.
the traditionally Calvinistic denominations of Ulster, Scotland, and especially in Wales. There, to some extent, John Edwards through "The Hearer" in Welsh, and to a far greater extent George Whitefield in his preaching, influenced the thinking of many of the emotional people. Indeed, among the Welsh, with their fire and fervour, the Calvinistic Methodist Church, (now the Presbyterian Church of Wales) reaped a rich harvest from the Revival of 1859, and again just after the beginning of the twentieth century. Since then several American evangelists, with a "Whitefieldian" theology, have come to Great Britain to preach.

In the second volume of a work Edwards published in 1699, he made this interesting prophecy:

Christianity may....hoist sail for America; the Gospel may leave us to go to them, and we may be half-pagans before it comes to us again.

It was on his first return from America that Whitefield set the new example of open-air preaching and began to pray

1. See Whitefield Preaching, p. 7. "Wales, Scotland, where he has been called.....a second John Knox; Ireland, rang with the voice of this glorious field-preacher".
2. See Trevelyan, History of England, p. 485. All through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Welsh common folk were gradually moving from an indifferent acquiescence in Anglican religion towards an enthusiastic evangelism of their own, by means of which the national mind and spirit eventually revived".
4. Ibid., p. 92.
extempore.\footnote{1} Certainly, in all history there has never simultaneously appeared so great a pair of Gospel-preachers as Wesley and Whitefield. We close, therefore, this brief study of the latter with a judgment of R.W. Dale, D.D. from The Evangelical Revival, as quoted by Figgis:

Whitefield was a Calvinist. Wesley was an Arminian; but when a man asked "What must I do to be saved?" the answer of both Whitefield and Wesley was: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." And wherever the fires of Evangelism break out afresh......this great truth is again preached with passionate earnestness......as in the days of our forefathers, with wonderful results. \footnote{2}

\footnotetext{1}{See Whitefield Preaching, p. 5. Also The Experiences of George Whitefield, p. 34.}
\footnotetext{2}{Figgis, The Countess of Huntingdon and Her Connection, p. 173.}
CONCLUSION.

We have seen Dr. John Edwards from a different angle in each of the chapters of this thesis. From Chapter One he emerges as "an anchor out of the stern" of the English ship of church and state. He stands as a conservative in an era of change. He is holding to his convictions of Calvinism, come wind come weather. Of course, the champions of the old order are less interesting than the advocates of the new; thus one tends to overlook their importance. Locke's disciples are the lions of society, attracting the attention of students of significant, because clarifying, religious thought. Is it not the irony of history that John Locke, the man whom Hazard selects as the chief product of the Calvinistic theology of freedom and equality, should become the target of Edwards's Socinian and Trinitarian tracts?

1. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 10.
2. See Sykes, The English Religious Tradition, p. 51, for "The wheel had turned full circle".
3. See McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 395, for the opposite standpoint of "a liberalized Calvinism armed with John Locke's doctrine of the use of reason to discern truth".
4. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason, p. 3.
5. See Stephen, English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, p. 34, for Locke as "the intellectual ruler of the century".
7. See Morley, Library of English Literature, p. 340, for the fact that Bishop Stillingfleet "the most energetic controversial writer", attacked Locke's principles because they had encouraged Toland.
Our French historian affirms that Locke was a Calvinist because he supported his arguments with "frequent quotations from the Bible". Yet how different is the traditional way Edwards uses Scripture as proof-texts? The two men are poles apart. In the very book which alarms Edwards, the former makes plain that it is wrong to cull out as best suits one's theological system, here and there a verse, "as if they were all distinct and independent aphorisms". But while Locke answers Edwards with sharpness, historians of progress like Hazard and Ogg, ignore him; to them, he is one of the numerous obscure divines. Cragg, however, does refer to him, and helps us to see that "those who are slow to change preserve values which neither they, nor their more brilliant critics, fully comprehend."  

In Chapter Two, thanks to a pair of editors, Kippis of *Biographia Britannica*, and Urban of *The Gentleman's Magazine,* one sees Edwards's long life as a voluminous writer. With occasional admiration, we survey his work and works. His short parish ministries are interludes between a leisurely preparation at Cambridge and a laborious career of publication. One understands what is meant by "learned Calvinistic divines

in controversy, he is never scurrilous after the Miltonic manner....nor exhibits signs of wounded vanity in the Newtonian fashion. 1

Edwards's critic insists that what our author meant by his fundamental articles is not clear; so clouded are his verbose pamphlets, the reader cannot follow his reasoning. 2 As for Socinianism Unmasked, candid Mr. Bold continues, it is "one of the illest books and worst writ that ever was published". 3 We must agree. On the other hand, he praises Locke's simplification 4 of Christianity as superb. We admire, rather, his spirit of freedom, and his light flowing style.

Chapter Four sought to describe a more than moderate Calvinist thinker, in his basic ideas of God, Christ, the Bible, Predestination, and practical Puritanism. Edwards was, throughout his writings, a stalwart Trinitarian. In the first volume of his Theologia Reformata one finds an interesting statement that the mystery of "the divine Essence....cannot possibly exist alone, but necessarily produces a divine Issue.... Yet It cannot multiply Itself, because It is Infinite". 5

3. Ibid., p. 10.
4. See Harrison, Arminianism, p. 115, for the fact that Arminius, like Locke, was anxious for the Church to reduce the number of doctrines considered necessary for salvation to a minimum.
Edwards defined God's Nature as Three, not by division but by communication. Out of his doctrine of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit looms large as

...an intellectual and spiritual subsistence... properly a Person, and not (as the Socinians hold) the virtue or power of God only. 1

The Father elects, the Spirit sanctifies, and the Son sheds His blood; thus man's salvation is wrought. 2

These Calvinian doctrines of Edwards we treat more fully in later chapters: Man and his salvation 3 in Chapter V; the Church, its Ministry and Sacraments, in Chapter VI. We note, however, that he modifies some, and even denies 4 a few of Calvin's other than Five Points. Without quoting his master of Geneva, our author seeks to bring back into favour the system of thought identified as "Calvinism". He believes it to be the antidote to most of the ills of his day.

3. See Calvin, Institutes, I, ii, 1, for what Edwards echoes throughout his works: "No man will now in the present ruin of the human race perceive God to be either a Father, or the Author of salvation, or propitious in any respect, until Christ interpose to make our peace".
4. See ibid., II, xvi, 11, for Calvin's belief in Christ's descent into hell, an article Edwards disavowed. See also Smellie, The Reformation and its Literature, p. 162, for "Calvinism is sterner than Augustinianism". Edwards often follows the latter.
The heralding of this dogmatic panacea becomes repetitious, but never seems to weary the marathon-writer of Veritas Redux, and Theologia Reformata. Yet the contrast between Edwards's "body of Divinity" and the Institutes is as great as his dogmatic certitude that the only reservoir of orthodoxy in England is the deep blue lake of Geneva. McNeill's description of Calvin is largely true of Edwards:

A reverent awe of God breathes through all his work. God is transcendent and unapproachable in majesty and unsearchable wisdom, but also immanent in human affairs, righteous in all His ways, and merciful to undeserving men. The flame of worship to the eternal God is ever on the altar of His thoughts.

Our fifth chapter presents Edwards as a Puritan preacher of salvation. Like Bunyan, who appears to have influenced him, he is an evangelist of pen and ink, as well as voice and heart. Here he seems at his best — in his element — the pulpit of concern and Κήρυγμα. One wishes he had been able to preach more brief sermons, such as those

1. See Parker, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God*, p. 3. "There is nothing in the Commentaries that does not also come in the Institutes."

2. See Harrison, *Arminianism*, p. 113, for "Calvinism...an inspiration in the 15th century, a tradition in the 17th, and a prejudice in the 16th".

3. McNeill, *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 309, for "In an age of political confusion and low moral ideals, Calvinism asserted the absolute sovereignty of God, however mysterious and incomprehensible might be His will". See also Calvin, *Institutes*, I, xvi, 3, for "nothing happens but according to His counsel".
of his parish ministry. Had he written fewer, and therefore better, volumes of dissertations (and a minimum of harsh polemics), his contribution would have been greater, and the dust covering his works less.

Be that as it may, the chief passion for Christ burns in him as minister to the clergy, as we saw in Chapter Six. There, in the comparative and contrasting light of Baxter's *The Reformed Pastor*, (which Edwards recommends ahead of his own works) we enjoy the complementary exhortations of *The Preacher*. Although these vital volumes on homilastics contain unfortunate digressions, - polemical, moralistic and theological - still, his first seven rules on how to preach, as wheat among the chaff, are worth remembering, in essence:

1. **Preach with tenderness.** There was no iron in the utensils of the sanctuary. **Preach with earnestness.** Scarce one is left that dares to stir in the pulpit. **Preach with gravity.** Our serious preacher never affects to be theatrical. **Preach with learning.** There is required in a preacher solid reason. **Preach frequently.** Our main work is to be the people's remembrancers. **Preach with discretion.** Then a sermon will be right manna. The preacher must purify his motives and manner of life....

The seventh chapter brought us to the revival of Edwards's religious thought in the evangelical awakening of the

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1. *Supra*, pp. 246-247
mid-eighteenth century morning, which followed his midnight appeals. Once again, Anglicans were preaching the "comfortable doctrines" of God's sovereign and irresistible grace, "justification by faith alone", and the heavenly security of the elect. The many non-dependent parallels, and the dependent similarities, of those who followed our pre-evangelical in Cambridge, and in Anglicanism, showed us a fulfilment of his dying hopes. The fruitful ministry of his successor at Holy Trinity Church, Charles Simeon, and the flowery tributes of Jonathan Warne, convinced us that Edwards had not lived in vain. Warne, though he became a Dissenter, hailed "the Preacher" as one of the forerunners of Calvinistic Evangelicalism.

Chapter Eight highlights the introduction by Warne, author of The Church of England Man Turned Dissenter, of his friend George Whitefield to Dr. Edwards. The great evangelist reads and regards the latter as an authentic theologian. We have sought to prove that this other Edwards of Old England, rather than Dr. Jonathan Edwards of New England,

1. See Dowden, Puritan and Anglican, p. 338, for "The mid years, and the second half of the eighteenth century, with its preachings of Whitefield...."
2. See Harrison, Arminianism, p. 123. "Cambridge.....developed a stronger brand of Puritanism".
3. See McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 371, for ".....many evangelicals of Calvinist persuasion became prominent within Anglicanism".
convinces him of Predestination and its corollaries of grace and assurance. Be that as it may, Whitefield becomes a strong Calvinist.1 Apparently, our venerable conservative, a verbose yet "inspired"2 writer, a controversialist with "a fighting faith",3 ardent Calvinist, puritanical preacher, ministerial exhorter, and unpopular evangelist of 1637-1716, has been "fore-ordained" to alter the thinking4 of "the Awakener", as he captivated the heart of Warne. Like Aquila of old, Edwards, read by the Apollos of the eighteenth century,5

1. See Sykes, The English Religious Tradition, p. 68, for "Historically,......the Evangelical Revival within the Church of England was an offshoot from the Calvinistic movement of Whitefield. Indeed, one of the great disappointments of John Wesley's later years was to find himself excluded from the pulpits of the awakened Anglican clergy on the ground of his Arminianism". See also A Letter from the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to Some Church Members (An Extract of Sundry Passages), written from New York, Nov. 1, 1740, "You heard the constant tenor of my preaching in America has been Calvinistical".

2. See Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 655, quoting Tulloch's judgment of More, but applying to Edwards, that he is "himself not merely inspired, but possessed by his favourite ideas".

3. See Alexander, The Shaping Forces of Modern Religious Thought, p. 78, for "Puritanism, like Calvinism itself, was pre-eminently a fighting faith".

4. See Edwards, Sermons on Special Occasions, p. 373, for "The best brains are fittest for religion, and even for the best religion".

5. See Whitefield, The Revived Puritan, p. 683, for a letter from Whitefield to Wesley, in which, "When I remember how Paul reproved Peter for his dissimulation, I fear I have been sinfully silent too long".
teaches him the way of the Lord more perfectly. Indeed, George Whitefield's recommendations of *The Preacher* to the Bishop of London, and of *Veritas Redux* to his Arminian "senior partner", John Wesley, are the best "oil" we have struck in our drilling for significance in the religious thought of this forgotten defender of Protestant orthodoxy. In a letter to a London friend, sent from New Jersey, early in 1740, Whitefield writes of Tillotson,

I believe his Favourers will find it difficult to answer the extract taken out of Dr. Edwards. God knows, in my heart I abhor controversy.....but my Master's glory now calls me to be more explicit. 1

However, there is a ninth phase of our evaluation of one whom extravagant admirers once called "the Paul, the Augustine, the Bradwardine, the Calvin of his age". 2 What of Edwards, the conforming Anglican churchman? Too late, unfortunately, for the body of this thesis, except for the last pages of some chapters and a few footnotes, there has just come from the press Norman Sykes's authoritative *Old Priest and New Presbyter*. His scholarly treatment of "the Anglican attitude to episcopacy, presbyterianism and papacy since the Reformation", throws light upon the essential,

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1. A Letter from the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield to a Friend, pp. 3-6.
2. See supra, p. 74.
though inconsistent, character in which Edwards appears. So discriminating and sound are Sykes's judgments, we have added brief references to his new book to our finished manuscript. With the help of his balance and perspective, we make, finally, this re-statement of Edwards's ideas of episcopacy and presbyterianism. We have already shown his extreme denunciation of papacy. But in the light of "the via media: moderate imparity", and the "Anglican principle", where does Edwards stand?

Though a Whig, he believes in the sixteenth century "rationale" of the godly prince. Repeatedly singing the praises of Protestant rulers prior to Charles I, he indignant-ly affirms that

...it was intolerable that the sovereign power of kings should be exposed to the will of the pope.

Moreover, he pays tribute to godly bishops of the Church, and dedicates his early volumes to several prelates, including two Archbishops. Yet, like Sykes, Edwards would serve as a

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1. See Edwards, Theologia Reformata, Vol. II, Index, where under "Papists" one finds such headings: "pervert and profane the Scriptures", and "notorious for bloodshed".
2. Edwards, The Doctrines Controverted between Papists and Protestants, Introduction, p. 45. See also his A Treatise of Repentance, p. 63. "Then good kings die, they have their subjects all in mourning; our eyes cannot but pay tribute to their royal dust".
reconciler between his Church of England and the Non-Conformists. In his last unpublished manuscript, he challenges:

It hath always been said by our churchmen that it is the peculiar glory of the Church of England that it is conformable to the primitive and apostolical mode of Christianity. Let this now be seen.

With Bishop Hooker, whom he admires, Edwards affirms that

Power flows from the people to the prince. If this be not admitted, I do not believe that it is ultimately possible to argue for our continuity.

Favouring what Sykes calls the American "principle of constitutional episcopacy", rather than "high-flown" prelacy, Edwards suggests that "a clergyman should have no more power and authority than his own proper office gives him, and that is spiritual".

We have already seen that he is a 'liberal' in his attitude toward the non-episcopal ministries. This position puts him in the main Anglican tradition. Though less firm than Burnet and others in regard to the foundations on which episcopacy rests, he deserves praise for his generous spirit to the "sober Dissenters" of his day. Edwards in common with

2. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 249, for quotation from Figgis, "National Churches", in Our Place in Christendom, p. 133.
3. Edwards, MS. Add 58, Cambridge University Library, p. 171
of the seventeenth century," 1 and appreciates the rare nuggets of gold among the tons of ore. As we study the man in his day, like Bultmann in his research into the life of the Master and the Book,

.....we do not stand outside historical sources as neutral observers; we are ourselves moved by them. 2

Through the eyes of John Locke, his pen-enemy, though a fellow-Calvinist, 3 one sees the Edwards of Chapter Three, as a dogmatic controversialist of more heat than light. Samuel Bold, for instance, refers to the controversy between "those two celebrated authors". 4 Locke's books he considers excellent, and hopes for more treatises from his gifted pen. These works, indeed, do become the quarry from which both assailants and defenders of the faith draw their arguments. Bold admires the philosopher's calmness of temper in The Reasonableness. But one wonders if McLachlan had read his two sharp "vindications", before saying of Locke,

1. See John Morley, in Oliver Cromwell, who says that Calvinism exalted its votaries to a pitch of moral energy that has never since been surpassed.
2. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, p. 4.
3. See McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 122, for "Calvin affirms that the evangelical teaching ('our doctrine') cannot be overthrown, since it is that of the Word of God".
Bunyan and

......numbers of Englishmen wanted to "purify" the Established Church, which was Calvinist in its dogma, but almost Catholic in its rites. 1

He dislikes the infiltration of Arminianism and detests Socinianism. Like older divines he is stamped with the Protestant dogmatics of his times. 2 He disapproves the way many of his "brethren and fathers" have deserted the Calvinistic interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. But it never occurs to him to leave the Anglican fold with its bishops; rather, owing to his strong Biblicism, he works to restore her primitive purity of doctrine and the via media of a moderate imparity.

While he was as ready as Bunyan "to fight heresy wherever it raised its head," 3 Edwards could never become a Baptist. Nor, unlike Baxter, would he allow himself to be identified with any but the National (Episcopal) Church. While "the saint of Kidderminster" sought a middle way, and could not be happy with the 'high' view of the episcopate, Edwards went so far as to refer to "Bishops" in his Index of Principal

1. Talon, John Bunyan, p. 3.
2. See Ibid., p. 25.
3. Ibid., p. 5. See also Baxter, Reliquiae Baxteriensiis, III, p. 89, where Baxter warns: "While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and passing to the world that will decide all our controversies".
Matters,¹ as "the highest officers in the Church". He gave "Proofs of it from Scripture and Ecclesiastical History, and the determination of our own Church". His position remained warmly within the traditional regard for "the godly prince and the godly bishop", as Sykes epitomizes the Anglican position.

Born during the period, 1610-1638, when, though it has been "ignored",² there was close relationship and free interchange of English-Scottish ministry, Edwards is no champion of episcopacy as the original or only church polity.

We can show the time when we are sure there was a presbytery, but we can't say there was episcopacy..... even Mr. Dodwell, who was thought by his friends to be as able a defender of episcopal government..... confesses that 'there were no such fixed rulers as bishops in the Church at first.' Dr. Whitby showeth the same. ³

However, he readily grants that "our divines generally hold ..... bishops as distinct from and superior to presbyters".⁴ After five pages emphasizing the importance of elders and deacons, Edwards moderately admits of the episcopal order,

It appears that they had an ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction over presbyters, and consequently they were called bishops. ⁵

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² Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, p. 336.
⁴ Ibid., p. 523.
⁵ Ibid., p. 528.
With some historical sense which gives him balance, he cites the Epistles of Ignatius and the Old Testament "order", with its High Priest as well as ordinary priests and Levites. This confirms the superiority of president-bishops over mere presbyters. 1 Finally, he concludes, in the spirit of Joseph Hall's non-essentiality 2 of the form of outward administration:

Our own church, to which, certainly, we ought to give the greatest deference, asserts that 'from the Apostles' times' there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, priests, and deacons. The known constitution and practice of our Church are a real comment upon this their judgment. And truly we have reason to be thankful to divine Providence that our Church is blessed at this day with such excellent persons of that order, than whom no Church in the world can show brighter examples of learning and piety. Who is there therefore, that pays not a profound reverence and respect to these admirable prelates, both because of their Lordships' personal qualities and endowments, and because of their high station and dignity in the Church, to which our Princes have been pleased to advance them? 3

Edwards here follows a similar "eulogistic vein", to that of Bishop Jewel in his works. 4 Yet, in a later volume 5 he asserts a loyal but limited doctrine of non-resistance. In the event of a "popish prince" returning to

4. See Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, pp. 5-6
5. See Edwards, Remains, p. 488.
the British throne, he advocates a policy of moderation, patience, and only as a last resort, when all other efforts fail, the use of force. Passive obedience is not to be understood without limitation. Following Hooker's "By the goodness of Almighty God and His servant Elizabeth we are," 1 rather than Laud, Edwards would agree with the standard "sentiments of Dean Swift" 2 that episcopacy, whether of divine right or not, is "for preserving order and purity". But our John Edwards would put "purity" far above "order".

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2. Ibid., p. 261.
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