

## THE GOSPEL OF JUSTIFICATION AND EDWARDS'S SOCIAL VISION

Significant moments in Jonathan Edwards's ministry were connected to his exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith. In concluding his studies at Yale College in 1723 in the midst of the contentions surrounding the theological defection of Rector Clap to the Anglicans, Edwards defended his A.M. with a disquisition on justification by grace through faith. As well, the beginnings of the surprising work of God in Northampton in 1734-35 were, in Edwards's estimation, provoked by sermons from Romans 4:5: his own later descriptions in the *Faithful Narrative* of that localised revival give prominence to the doctrine of justification as a causal factor.<sup>1</sup> In Edwards's only publication of sermons during his lifetime, under the title of *Discourse on Various Important Subjects* (1738), the theme of justification, along with adapted sermons on justification from the Northampton revival, forms the *Leitmotif*.<sup>2</sup> An early nineteenth century chronicler comments: 'There was, then, in 1734 at Northampton and generally in New England, a special need of such sermons as Edwards preached; a special fitness in those sermons, to produce the effects which followed them.'<sup>3</sup>

Edwards's own notebooks were also full of references to grace, faith, and justification, and one of the last miscellaneous essays, No. 1354, is devoted to this topic in 1756/57.<sup>4</sup> His "Controversies" Notebook, designed to provide resources for prosecuting his case against Deism, contains a significant collection of essays on

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'A Faithful Narrative', in *The Great Awakening* (WJE 4; ed. C. C. Goen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 148-149. In placing Edwards within the section on Puritan debates on justification, it is remarkable that McGrath attributes the impact of these sermons not to their content, for 'they contained nothing which could be described as radical innovations,' but rather it was 'the earnestness with which they were preached' which led to 'their astonishing and celebrated effects.' Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification* (Cambridge: University Press, 2005), 290.

<sup>2</sup> See Jonathan Edwards, 'Preface to *Discourses on Various Important Subjects*', in *Sermons and Discourses 1734-1738* (WJE 19; ed. M. X. Lesser; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 793-798. This preface, written by Edwards, provides phrases, which I have used in this chapter as apt headings to summarise Edwards's approach to doctrinal and historical concerns.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1976), 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'Miscellany 1354', in *The "Miscellanies" (Entry Nos. 1153-1360)* (WJE 23 ed. D. A. Sweeney; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 506-543.

justification composed in the final phase of his career, from the late 1740s to the late 1750s.<sup>5</sup> It is not that justification was written about or preached by Edwards more frequently than any other theological locus; nevertheless this doctrine remains a theological signpost to the controversies and context of his ministry career in as far as his ruminations emerge at critical junctures.<sup>6</sup>

It is therefore the contention of this essay that Edwards's teaching on justification provides us not only with insights into his theological pedigree and systematic convictions, but also gives us a window into his ministry context and social location. In Puritan New England, espousing certain theological confessions was intricately connected to communal values and norms, and conversely doctrinal aberrations were easily identified with social declension or betrayal. The revivals themselves, which Edwards connects to the preaching of justification, were therefore understood not merely as the awakening of slumbering individuals, but ultimately as the reformation of families and communities, perhaps even of the nation. Indeed, the conceptualities of the covenant undergird much of Edwards's theological project, which form a loyal alliance with the doctrine of justification.

These very themes are drawn together by the Apostle Paul when he asserts that being made competent for a *ministry of justification* is equivalent to being prepared for a *ministry of the new covenant*, a ministry which gives life, drawing from the Spirit, and culminating in glory for 'all of us' (2 Corinthians 3). It is negligent to atomise the impact of Edwards's doctrinal preaching, permitting only doctrinal outcomes. It is conversely fruitful to understand Edwards's soteriological vision issuing in the transformation of the social world. The Gospel which Edwards preached was designed both to revive and to reform.

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<sup>5</sup> Jonathan Edwards, "'Controversies' Notebook: Justification', in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace and Faith* (WJE 21; ed. S. H. Lee; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 328-413.

<sup>6</sup> Justification is a lifelong preoccupation for Edwards because the refutation of Arminianism was a lifelong concern. See Avihu Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History: The Reenchantment of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (Princeton: University Press, 2003), 35.

“A New Way of Acceptance:” *Justification Explained to Christians*

The contours of Edwards’s systematic reflection on justification are formative for his consequent revivalist agenda and social vision. While particular debates concerning justification will be rehearsed elsewhere in this volume, it remains to sketch them here for the sake of the argument which follows. Edwards explains justification by grace through faith within a larger theological context.

It must first be noted that Edwards sets justification within the broader sweep of the life, death and resurrection of Christ, not with reference to the atonement alone. Though Christ offered himself supremely to the will of God on that great day of the Lord, when he submitted to his Father’s particular will to drink the cup of wrath set before him, it is also true to say that the righteous requirements of the law were achieved in each day of Christ’s incarnate life, as he offered faithful obedience to his Father. Christ’s passive righteousness in his death and active righteousness in his life together qualify him as a fitting sacrifice for sins. His Master’s defence based his understanding of imputed righteousness on such Christological commitments:

... there can be no doubt that justification is a certain act of positive favor that not only frees a person from sin but is also understood in fact as the approval of him as righteous through the righteousness of Christ, both active and passive in both obedience and satisfaction.<sup>7</sup>

Edwards later asseverates in a sermon:

There are those that deny that Christ’s active obedience to God’s law is imputed to believers, or that it is any way available to their justification any otherwise than as a necessary qualification in order to render his sacrifice available. But ‘tis very evident that Christ’s active righteousness was necessary in order to our justification as well as his passive {righteousness} ...<sup>8</sup>

Significantly, Edwards creates a turning point in the *History of the Work of Redemption* not out of Christ’s death alone, but out of the whole period of Christ’s incarnate life, from his conception to his ascension, through which he fulfilled all

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<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Edwards, ‘A Sinner is not Justified in the Sight of God except through the Righteousness of Christ Obtained by Faith’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1723-1729* (WJE 14; ed. K. P. Minkema; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 60.

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan Edwards, ‘The Threefold Work of the Holy Spirit’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1723-1729* (WJE 14; ed. K. P. Minkema; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 396-397.

righteousness.<sup>9</sup> The comprehensive character of Edwards's formulation of justification is likewise to be seen when he joins together the Christian believer's *freedom from* God's wrath with *reception of* 'divine favor.'<sup>10</sup> Justification speaks both to our enslaved past and our glorious future:

A person is said to be justified when he is approved of God as free from the guilt of sin, and its deserved punishment, and as having that *righteousness belonging to him that entitles to the reward of life* ... Some suppose that nothing more is intended in Scripture by justification than barely the remission of sins ... But that a believer's justification implies not only remission of sins, or acquittance from the wrath due to it, but also an admittance to a title to that glory that is the *reward of righteousness*, is more directly taught in the Scripture ...<sup>11</sup>

There are in these strong statements forward-looking outworkings of our justified status, and the expectation of righteous living now which connects to our future reward (even if concrete social ramifications are here still muted). A positive model of the righteous life is subsumed within his conception of justification.<sup>12</sup> Conrad Cherry summarises Edwards's thought in these ways:

For our purposes what is significant in his [Edwards's] theory of the "at-one-ment" accomplished between God and man is the way in which the notion of imputation of righteousness is developed according to Christ's two major functions in relation to divine justice. Christ by his righteousness both satisfies the punitive demands of the law for sin and positively fulfils the law in order to achieve the atonement. The former he accomplishes through his sufferings, the latter through his perfect obedience unto death.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption* (WJE 9; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 295. Sermons 14-17 in this series form a unit, representing the second and central phase of the work of redemption, which is the ministry of Christ in his humiliation before his exaltation. The common Puritan concern to understand *redemption* in terms of the pastoral application of justification is here revised, for *redemption*, though appropriated by individuals in justification, concerns the larger design of God from the Fall to the Consummation. See W. Reginald Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670-1789* (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), 149-150.

<sup>10</sup> Edwards, 'Sinner is not Justified', WJE 14: 60. See also Stephen R. Holmes, *God of Grace and God of Glory: An Account of the Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 142f.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'Justification by Faith Alone', in *Sermons and Discourses 1734-1738* (WJE 19; ed. M. X. Lesser; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 150, 151. Italics mine.

<sup>12</sup> Logan draws attention to the immorality which was endemic to the frontier and its lawlessness. Such background sharpens comments by Edwards concerning moral transformation and the place of his sermons on justification in the outworking of revival. See Samuel T. Logan, Jr., 'Jonathan Edwards and the 1734-35 Northampton Revival', in *The Practical Calvinist: An Introduction to the Presbyterian and Reformed Heritage, in Honor of Dr D. Clair Davis on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, and to Acknowledge his more than Thirty Years of Teaching at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia* (ed. P. A. Lillback; Fearn: Christian Focus, 2002), 240, 248.

<sup>13</sup> Conrad Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 93.

It is in a more global defence of justification by faith that Edwards makes a clear connection with transformed living. For example, he sees no contrariety between the message of Paul and of James, for we may be justified through a gracious act of God, without our deserving or our contribution, which is not to preclude the active exercise of our faith.<sup>14</sup> Edwards makes the distinction between faith rightly viewed as a *condition* of our justification, even when it will never be the *cause* of our justification. In just the same way, our own obedience, a life of good works for which we were chosen, necessarily accompanies our justification as its condition, without invoking accusations of works-righteousness. Much of the attention of Edwards in his writings on justification is occupied by this very debate generated by Arminianism and resolved through a nuanced appraisal of Enlightenment debates concerning causation.<sup>15</sup> It is in the end our union with Christ, which for Edwards (as for Calvin<sup>16</sup>) generates the proper foundation of both our justification and our sanctification:

God don't give those that believe, an union *with*, or an interest *in* the Savior, in reward for faith, but only because faith is the soul's active uniting with Christ, or is itself the very act of union, on their part ... what is real in the union between Christ and his people, is the foundation of what is legal; that is, it is something really in them, and between them, uniting them, that is the ground of the suitableness of their being accounted as one by the Judge ...<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, with reference to union with Christ and our justified status, Edwards repeatedly appeals to the language of something being *fitting* or *suitable*, taking its rightful place within the divine ordering of the world, which does not necessarily admit of cause and effect, or antecedence and subsequence.<sup>18</sup> Faith fulfils

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<sup>14</sup> Edwards quotes from Rawlin, Turretin, Grotius and Beza to support his case. See Edwards, "Controversies" Notebook: Justification, WJE 21: 343-344.

<sup>15</sup> Sang Hyun Lee, 'Grace and Justification by Faith Alone', in *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (ed. S. H. Lee; Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 145.

<sup>16</sup> Samuel T. Logan, Jr., 'The Doctrine of Justification in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards', *Westminster Theological Journal* 46/1 (1984): 26-52, especially 35.

<sup>17</sup> Edwards, 'Justification by Faith Alone,' WJE 19: 158. Logan expands on this distinction between cause and condition, and places it within a larger historical framework. See Logan, 'The Doctrine of Justification,' , see especially 30-35.

<sup>18</sup> Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (The Jonathan Edwards Classic Studies Series; Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 73. For Edwards, a sequence is not essentially a cause with a necessary effect.

just such a role as naturally *fitted* to union and justification, without actually *causing* them. There is a larger eschatological purpose of God and settled theological character of God which suggest the appropriate stability of this arrangement:

God will neither look on Christ's merits as ours, nor adjudge his benefits to us, till we be *in* Christ: nor will he look upon us as being *in* him, without an active union of our hearts and souls to him; because he is a wise being, and delights in order, and not in confusion, and that things should be together or asunder according to their nature; and his making such a constitution is a testimony of his love of order ...<sup>19</sup>

While maintaining God's ultimate freedom to give salvation as a gift, Edwards introduces an intellectualist framework for soteriology, in which assumptions concerning the predictable appropriation of salvation are admissible. The individual's salvation is not essentially a disorderly intrusion upon reality, but is rather connected to Edwards's 'overall theological vision' and the (re-)ordering of all reality which is God's ultimate purpose, design, and delight.<sup>20</sup> To be an advocate of justification is therefore to appeal, even if only implicitly, to a larger concern for corporate reality which is bigger than the individual's own redemption. Justification flags not just revival but renovation of the world.<sup>21</sup>

Such a view of justification is therefore consolidated by Edwards when he connects it to *covenant theology*. Perry Miller made popular in the middle of the twentieth century the view that Edwards was *reneging* on the covenant or federal theology of his forebears, to take up the attractive and contemporary philosophy of Newton and Locke. Such a betrayal was evident, according to Miller, in 'the scandal of Edwards' discourses on justification.'<sup>22</sup> More recently, Miller's views have been revised, and greater acknowledgement of Edwards's commitment to the doctrine of the covenant has been expressed. Stout draws our attention, for example, to the

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<sup>19</sup> Edwards, 'Justification by Faith Alone,' WJE 19:161.

<sup>20</sup> Lee, 'Grace and Justification,' 145.

<sup>21</sup> Indeed, justification of an individual proleptically announces the verdict of the Judgement, and thereby foreshadows the resolution of all history (Romans 2:13, 4:25, 5:9), when God will formally pass sentence and redeem creation (Romans 8:21).

<sup>22</sup> Perry Miller, *Jonathan Edwards* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 115.

sermons preached by Edwards on days other than Sunday, for example on the occasion of military victories or national fasting, to highlight *covenant sensibilities*:

Jonathan Edwards is often cited for his rejection of the old covenant theology. But that was in matters of sacraments, not national identity. While rejecting the Half-way Covenant and “mere” external morality as means of grace, Edwards never questioned New England’s corporate identity as a special people bound in an external national covenant ... When facing outward enemies Edwards, like his peers, instinctively fell back on federal promises in their simplest, most elemental form.<sup>23</sup>

In fact, we have to look no further than the very discourses on justification to find Edwards making links between salvation and covenantal life. Bogue avers that Edwards ‘sees the covenant of grace and justification by faith alone as descriptions of the same phenomena.’<sup>24</sup> In describing the significance of justification to Christian theology, Edwards situates justification at the heart of the covenant of grace:

... the great and most distinguishing difference between that covenant [with Adam], and the covenant of grace is, that by the covenant of grace we are not thus justified by our own works, but only by faith in Jesus Christ ... And therefore the Apostle when he in the same epistle to the Galatians, speaks of the doctrine of justification by works as another gospel, he adds “which is not another” (1:6-7). ‘Tis no gospel at all; ‘tis law; ‘tis no covenant of grace, but of works; ‘tis not an evangelical, but a legal doctrine.<sup>25</sup>

Justification is received *through faith* as condition and not cause, so also justification is received *by grace*, as a gift and not of merit. However, while the covenant in which this gift is embedded can be delivered in different forms, Edwards is at pains to make clear that the substance of covenant conditions for justification are equivalent under Old or New dispensations. Both the indicative and imperative of salvation flow out of the consistent covenantal character of God:

They are the same commands delivered in different manner: as the terms of the legal covenant, they were delivered with thunder and lightning; as the terms of the new covenant, ‘tis with the sweet voice of the love of God.

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<sup>23</sup> Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 235, 236. For example, a remarkable sermon preached on a fast day in 1738 upon the waning of the fervour of the revival makes plain Edwards’s ownership of the national covenant. He says ‘We are a covenant people ... we are so in a special manner ... And here God has entered into covenant with us.’ See Jonathan Edwards, ‘Indicting God’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1734-1738* (WJE 19; ed. M. X. Lesser; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 759. According to Noll, Edwards sits loose to the inherited notions of covenant as a totalising narrative, without ever abandoning entirely their more limited usefulness. See Mark A. Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: University Press, 2002), 44-50.

<sup>24</sup> Carl W. Bogue, *Jonathan Edwards and the Covenant of Grace* (Cherry Hill: Mack Publishing Company, 1975), 238.

<sup>25</sup> Edwards, ‘Justification by Faith Alone,’ WJE 19: 239.

That God hath so ordered the covenant of grace that it should agree with a mere covenant of works [in] that respect, that ... justification is always connected with holiness in the person justified ... arises from the holiness of God and from his love to holiness and hatred of sin ... Because God was holy, and delighted in holiness and hated sin, therefore he would appoint no way of justification but such as tended to promote holiness.<sup>26</sup>

The language of covenant serves to create a framework connecting holy demands with justified status, just as it gives objective ballast to the experience of faith and grace: it situates the experience of salvation within a Biblical-historical framework, as well as within the particular narrative of Edwards's nation's life. As we shall see more explicitly in the following section, the doctrine of justification is for Edwards of singular importance not only for individual salvation, but also for the New England project in terms of its theological priority and its social ramifications. While some may presume that it must have been the preaching of hell-fire which instigated the Connecticut River revivals of 1734-1735, there is little doubt in Edwards's mind that it was these sermons on justification, these 'broadsides of pure and uncompromised Reformed doctrine'<sup>27</sup> in the words of Goen, which proved to be the spark which lit the kindling, and the lens through which the revivals more broadly were to be understood.

*"That Remarkable Season:" Justification Vindicated towards Opponents*

In 'that remarkable season' of 1734-35, it was the whole town of Northampton that was profoundly impacted by Edwards's preaching concerning justification. According to his later Preface to the *Discourse on Various Important Subjects*, his preaching of justification served to promote both the conversion of individuals *and* the defence of the unique status of the New England project, for justification funded resistance, in differing measures, to the twin threats to the purity of Reformed doctrine and practice in the New World of the eighteenth century, namely Arminianism and Antinomianism. Morimoto is at least right to argue that, for

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<sup>26</sup> Edwards, "Controversies" Notebook: Justification, WJE 21: WJE 21: 365.

<sup>27</sup> Clarence C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 7.



Edwards, justification is being used in these years as an anti-Arminian strategy.<sup>28</sup> However, it would be incorrect to see justification as *merely* a rhetorical device used by Edwards in later *post ipso facto* explanations of his successes, without acknowledgement of the ways in which his precise doctrinal formulation of justification achieved positive pastoral and social outcomes during the Connecticut River revival itself, which this section treats.

In preaching against that collection of beliefs known as ‘Arminianism’ which defined the spirit of the age in the early eighteenth century,<sup>29</sup> Edwards took up intellectual arms against an amorphous group which had highlighted not only the positive role humans can perform in achieving salvation, but also the liberal notion that individuals are the indivisible unit of society.<sup>30</sup> As Robert Jenson asserts, Arminianism was ‘Protestantism without the Reformation,’<sup>31</sup> or the spirit of protest with neither doctrinal anchors nor social moorings. To combat Arminianism was to resist a social trend which would, if left to its own devices, undermine the corporate understanding of reality as received in New England.

Contemporaneously, both Arminians and the Reformed were anxious of the influence of *Antinomianism*, which stressed the possibility of immediate assurance of salvation without reference to the shape of ethical living, or the separation of justification from sanctification. Such Antinomianism was a threat to the received

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<sup>28</sup> A. Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 71-101.

<sup>29</sup> Minkema summarises the Arminian challenge in New England thus: ‘Arminianism was named after the sixteenth-century Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius. Originally, it was narrowly understood as a repudiation of John Calvin’s supralapsarianism, but by the early eighteenth century the term came to encompass a broad spectrum of theologians, including the majority of the Anglican clergy, who emphasized good works over right doctrine and maintained the free will of humankind to accept or reject the grace of God.’ See Kenneth P. Minkema, ‘Preface to the Period’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1723-1729* (Works of Jonathan Edwards 14; ed. K. P. Minkema; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 17. It ought to be added that Roman Catholic encouragement of works-righteousness had been consistently resisted in Puritan preaching before the eighteenth century, which Edwards continued to address.

<sup>30</sup> Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 14.

<sup>31</sup> Robert W. Jenson, *America’s Theologian: A Recommendation of Jonathan Edwards* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 54-55.

order, for in some eyes it was viewed as antithetical to the need for growth in obedience and submission to social norms. It functioned as a visceral reminder of the disorder in the period of early New England settlement of the 1630s when Anne Hutchinson forsook the established authorities of Bible and tradition, and pursued instead immediate spiritual discernment as her governing authority. Order was sacrificed on the altar of enthusiasm, or separatism was espoused in place of covenant and sacraments:

Every pious New Englander cherished the experience of conversion, which certified the indwelling of the Spirit, but most also believed that spiritual immediacy could transform men into pneumatic enthusiasts. They knew also that ecclesiastical continuity required sacramental structures: infant baptism both symbolized and guaranteed the continuity of the Church covenant.<sup>32</sup>

If those dubbed ‘Arminian’ or ‘Latitudinarian’ were prone to collapse the transcendent into the immanent without remainder, and thereby to highlight natural capacity within human subjectivity and to marginalise the ability of divine grace to intrude upon an individual’s life, those known as ‘Antinomian’ were more likely to fall into the opposite error of assuming that spiritual ends could never be achieved through physical or natural means, stressing the arbitrariness of divine initiative and consequent human passivity. Edwards railed against both movements and their theological underpinnings, and through his sermons, discourses and miscellanies, promoted justification by grace, the righteousness of Christ, and the sovereign sanctifying work of the Spirit, which cumulatively allowed no room for either salvation *through* works or salvation *without* works, a summation of the Arminian and Antinomian challenges respectively. Indeed, in the Preface to the first edition of the *Faithful Narrative*, the British editors (Isaac Watts and John Guyse) make clear that ‘such blessed instances of the success of the Gospel’ (as are recounted there) have theological foundations which carefully navigate between such dangers:

But wheresoever God works with power for salvation upon the minds of men, there will be some discoveries of a sense of sin, of the danger of the wrath of God, of the all-sufficiency of his Son Jesus, to relieve us under all our spiritual wants and distresses ... And if our readers had opportunity (as we have

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<sup>32</sup> E. Brooks Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in Old and New England, 1570-1720* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1974), 148.

had) to peruse several of the sermons which were preached during this glorious season, we should find that it is the common plain Protestant doctrine of the Reformation, without stretching towards the Antinomians on the one side, or the Arminians on the other, that the Spirit of God has been pleased to honor with such illustrious success.<sup>33</sup>

The Arminian debate in particular had stalked Edwards for some years when the Valley revival (1734-35) finally came. The Rector of Yale, Timothy Cutler, and the tutors Johnson and Browne, had on October 16, 1722 declared their intention to join the Church of England associated in many minds with incipient Arminianism,<sup>34</sup> for which their employment at Yale was not surprisingly terminated.<sup>35</sup> As well, the Rand and Breck affairs were the focus of much energy and grief in Massachusetts in the early to mid 1730s. William Rand (1700-1779) and Robert Breck (1713-1784) were both Harvard graduates, whose apparently heterodox opinions had won them notoriety in Hampshire County, the former for instigating in Sunderland ‘the great noise which was in this part of the country about Arminianism,’<sup>36</sup> and the latter for the ‘late lamentable Springfield contention.’<sup>37</sup> Breck was to have accepted a ministerial settlement in Springfield, though his Arminian beliefs divided the congregation and caused unrest amongst local clergy before his eventual ordination on January 26, 1736. Though these cases may appear to be minor irritants rather than substantial causes, for Edwards they were quickly connected to the incident in Yale in 1722 when

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<sup>33</sup> Edwards, ‘Faithful Narrative,’ WJE 4: 132.

<sup>34</sup> Anglicanism was particularly obnoxious to New England Puritans: ‘In ecclesiology the Puritans argued that congregational government was more biblical and less prone to corruption than prelacy. They also accused the Latitudinarian movement in Anglicanism of feeding the increased authority given to reason at Harvard. In Puritan vocabulary, Arminianism, Latitudinarianism, and Prelacy were synonymous with heresy, and Anglicanism possessed all three.’ See George G. Levesque, ‘Quaestio: Peccator non Iustificatur Coram Deo Nisi per Iustitiam Christi Fide Apprehensam’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1723-1729* (WJE 14; ed. K. P. Minkema; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 50 note 5.

<sup>35</sup> Wilson H. Kimnach, ‘Preface to the New York Period’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1720-1723* (Works of Jonathan Edwards 10; ed. W. H. Kimnach; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 287.

<sup>36</sup> Edwards, ‘Faithful Narrative,’ WJE 14: 148. Goen points out (Goen, ‘Editor’s Introduction,’ WJE 4:9) the false conclusion of Goodwin that the ‘great noise’ referred to the Breck affair; in Goen’s estimation the Breck affair post-dated the writing of the *Faithful Narrative*. See Clarence C. Goen, ‘Editor’s Introduction’, in *The Great Awakening* (WJE 4; ed. C. C. Goen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), Gerald J. Goodwin, ‘The Myth of “Arminian-Calvinism” in Eighteenth-Century New England’, *New England Quarterly* 41/2 (1968): 213-237, especially page 221.

<sup>37</sup> Edwards, ‘Faithful Narrative,’ WJE 4:145.

leading Congregationalists defected to Anglicanism, and reflected a broader change of mood, in which

for at least half a century the whole basis of church life in New England had been shifting imperceptibly to human effort and moral striving, so that quite unawares many orthodox ministers were encouraging a subtle form of salvation by works. Indeed, this is what "Arminianism" meant in mid-eighteenth-century New England: it had less to do with Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), the Dutch theologian from whom it took its name, than with a mood of rising confidence in man's ability to gain some purchase of the divine favor by human endeavor.<sup>38</sup>

Breck's ordination, upheld on appeal to the Massachusetts General Assembly, not only represented local threats to the traditional *theological* order, it also flagged for Edwards and those of his ministerial association the growing influence of the congregation, which had nominated and defended him, at the expense of the learned opinion of the clergy, who were resisting his appointment. The label 'Arminian' implied a threat to the *ecclesiastical* order as well as to theological norms.<sup>39</sup>

These incidents are eloquent witness to the infiltration of Enlightenment ideas into New England, which had begun to cause deep anxiety: the possibility of Puritan life remaining hermetically sealed from the outside world appeared less and less tenable. The revocation by James II in 1684 of the Massachusetts Bay Charter, which had guaranteed Puritan social order, had shocked leading New England Puritans. The appointment of Joseph Dudley as acting Governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, and then Sir Edmund Andros as governor of the newly formed Dominion of New England in 1686, eliminated altogether the popular basis for government in the colonies, previously so highly prized. These developments were no doubt also partly a reaction to the anarchy of the English Civil Wars (1642-1651), of the Puritan Commonwealth (1649-1653), and of the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell (1653-1659), all of which encouraged many Christians to long for a less chaotic and more settled Christian polity. This was finally achieved in the Restoration of the Stuart King Charles II in 1660. Indeed, in 1707 the very structure of English

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<sup>38</sup> Goen, 'Editor's Introduction,' WJE 4: 10.

<sup>39</sup> William J. Scheick, 'Family, Conversion, and the Self in Jonathan Edwards' *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*', *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 18/- (1973): 79-89.

life itself changed with the birth of the unified Kingdom of Great Britain in the merging of the parliaments of Scotland and England.

These developments found their philosophical support in the rationalising and ordering which the Newtonian system applied to both science and sociology. Though not driven to armed interventions in the New World, the Congregationalists somehow sensed the labile nature of their ecclesiological model, which was expressed in the desire by some for Presbyterian polity, and the increasing attraction of English mores and episcopal structure. Together, there grew a greater tolerance of Anglican (and perhaps Arminian) conceptions of church and nation. These increasing attempts at imperial integration, even ecclesiastical Anglicisation, of the colonies, and a kind of political centralisation anathema to the Puritan cause, along with cautions concerning the New England Way, prepared the way for the Arminian challenge.

Edwards responded to the Arminians not just because their views were a threat to the Protestant priority of divine grace and human inability in salvation, focussed in the doctrine of justification, but also because he saw, quite presciently, that these views together with the social realities which they represented, would undermine the nature of the local congregation and its delicate arrangement of spiritual responsibility between the monarchy of Christ, the aristocracy of the elders, and the democratic contributions of the laity, as was espoused in the Cambridge Platform of 1648.<sup>40</sup> Authority would be dangerously relocated if the Arminian scheme made an appeal to an individual's self-determining will, within the context of the life and structure of the church, which gave no deference to other instituted ranks or received norms. Furthermore, such social autonomy would play into the hands of those economic

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<sup>40</sup> Chapter X in 'The Cambridge Platform', in *Creeks of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present* (ed. J. H. Leith; Louisville: John Knox, 1982), 393. It ought to be remembered as well that the vision of Puritan society saw the governing authority instituted to 'restrain the selfishness of the individual for the sake of the commonwealth,' not to encourage individual expression. See William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago History of American Religion; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 79.

libertines, who resisted any constraint being imposed on their mercantile aspirations on a frontier where the oversight of government was minimal.<sup>41</sup> It is significant that the Williams clan of western Massachusetts, who were later to prove so intransigent towards Edwards's reform of the practice of admission to the Lord's Supper, were ambitious for social aggrandisement and were ominously and tellingly aggrieved by his earlier sermons on justification in 1734-35.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, Edwards demonstrates his antipathy towards the Arminian agenda when he defends not just the *content* of his preaching of justification as a significant factor in the Connecticut River revivals, but appeals as well to the *manner* with which he preached them. Their significance on the frontier in Northampton was doubly efficacious. He suggests that the sermons which appear in *Discourses on Various Important Subjects* had value to his listeners from 'the frame in which they heard them,' and not so much because of 'any real worth in them,'<sup>43</sup> perhaps as a Calvinist feigning modesty while disinclined to draw attention to his own skills and contributions.<sup>44</sup> Edwards is keen to distinguish himself from urban and urbane styles of Arminian preaching, when he describes his account of justification as 'easy and plain.' He reminds his readers that it is not so much aspiration towards *plainness of doctrine* which is noble, as aspiration towards *plainness of speech*. His opponents' defence in their 'new-fashioned divinity' was to promote a 'plain, easy and natural account of things,'<sup>45</sup> which eviscerated the substance of justification. He readily acknowledges that making fine distinctions is at the heart of theological exposition in order to defend 'the old Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone,' though the

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<sup>41</sup> Miller, *Jonathan Edwards*, 325. The nature of the will, later addressed by Edwards in a substantial discourse, was at issue between Arminianism and those defending Reformed principles. See Bogue, *Covenant of Grace*, 231.

<sup>42</sup> Cherry, *Theology*, 203.

<sup>43</sup> Edwards, 'Preface,' WJE 19: 794.

<sup>44</sup> Philip F. Gura, *Jonathan Edwards: America's Evangelical* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2005), 75. Their value to Northampton Christians was evident, for they were prepared to contribute financially towards their publication, even though the costs of the building of the new meeting-house in that year of 1738 were considerable.

<sup>45</sup> Edwards, 'Preface,' WJE 19: 795.

Preface provides a concentration of his arguments concerning the importance of clear homiletical style alongside cogent teaching:

... the practical discourses that follow have but little added to them, and now appear in that very plain and unpolished dress, in which they were first prepared and delivered; which was mostly at a time, when the circumstances of the auditory they were preached to, were enough to make a minister neglect, forget, and despise such ornaments as politeness, and modishness of style and method, when coming as a messenger from God to souls ... However unable I am to preach or write politely, if I would, yet I have this to comfort me under such a defect, that God has showed us he does not need such talents in men to carry on his own work, and that he has been pleased to smile upon and bless a very plain, unfashionable way of preaching.<sup>46</sup>

For Edwards, such a polemical commitment to unadorned use of language, even if it was true in design more than in delivery, was nevertheless a further marker of his position as authentic spokesman of God's Word to the plain people of the frontier, drawing on the traditional Puritan plain style of preaching. It was not just preaching the content of justification which prompted revival – it was the manner of preaching justification which both set him apart from the stylised homiletics of the Arminian metropolis and which was used of God.<sup>47</sup> That 'remarkable season' of 1734-1735 attested both the victory of a theological *doctrine* and the social *dynamic* in which it found its home.

*"This Town has So Much Cause Ever to Remember:" Justification Applied to Society*

Truly, it was the town which benefitted from the preaching of justification expressed in renewed relationships: children, several families, households almost without exception, and 'several Negroes ... appear to have been truly born again in the late remarkable season,'<sup>48</sup> and, notably, antagonisms between minister and people were healed.<sup>49</sup> It is easy to imagine from a theological perspective that a revival comprised the assembling of regenerate individuals with their own distinct testimonies. From a philosophical perspective, in the Age of Enlightenment, it is

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<sup>46</sup> Edwards, 'Preface,' WJE 19: 797.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson H. Kinnach, 'Edwards as Preacher', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (ed. S. J. Stein; Cambridge: University Press, 2007), 114.

<sup>48</sup> Edwards, 'Faithful Narrative,' WJE 4: 158-159.

<sup>49</sup> Stout, *The New England Soul*, 188.

tempting to read back into the individuality of those awakened a new-found autonomy and appreciation of individual experience which reflected a paradigm shift in Western culture. It behoves us well therefore to pause and remind ourselves of the profoundly corporate mindset and social location of Edwards, his auditory, and those whom he opposed. As Ward so succinctly suggests: ‘... the New England parish was more than a device for paying a minister; it was a social ideal.’<sup>50</sup>

Edwards maintained that sponsoring the regeneration of individuals would not necessarily lead to the fissiparous disordering of the community, as some feared, but the moral transformation of the community as it rediscovered its corporate moorings and thereby its social vision.<sup>51</sup> McLoughlin reminds us that ‘[r]evitalization of the individual led to efforts to revitalize society ... Religious revivalism, saving souls, is in this respect a political activity, a way of producing a reborn majority to remodel society according to God’s will and with his help.’<sup>52</sup> In New England, revival was intricately linked to the renewal of the covenant, for the ‘assumption on which the concept of a revival of religion rests is that God deals with entire communities as discrete moral entities.’<sup>53</sup> The social vision implicit in the earliest phases of revival is highlighted by Edwards in the *Faithful Narrative* of 1738:

About this time, began the great noise that was in this part of the country about Arminianism, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion here ... Many who looked on themselves as in a Christless condition, seemed to be awakened by it, with fear that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up to heterodoxy and corrupt principles ... This work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town; so that in the spring and summer following, *anno* 1735, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God: it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy ... Our public assemblies were then beautiful ...<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> W. Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 277.

<sup>51</sup> Michael Crawford, *Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England’s Revival Tradition in its British Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 15, 124, 189.

<sup>52</sup> McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 75.

<sup>53</sup> Crawford, *Seasons of Grace*, 20. Crawford goes on to describe the ways in which New England differed from the Middle Colonies with its assumptions of ‘the outpouring of grace for the transformation of a community.’ Crawford, *Seasons of Grace*, 122-123, 247.

<sup>54</sup> Edwards, ‘Faithful Narrative,’ WJE 4: 148, 151.



Gerald McDermott is of the view that Edwards works to reestablish social cohesion through his ministry, even if his new conception of society is based not on traditional static hierarchy but on a dynamic and relational experiential order.<sup>55</sup> Even if the locus of religious authority was repositioned to occupy the seat of the human heart, it could still be possible to build a social vision around democratic religious expression, rather than clerical control.<sup>56</sup>

This very issue constituted the Arminian threat to New England. On the one hand it was true that Arminianism represented a *liberating conception of human capacity*, (which the preaching of justification sought to stymie). On the other, implicit Arminian appeal to a new conception of order and stability based on education, morality and moderation served to reinforce *a social vision of hierarchy and elitism* more radical than local congregationalism had ever known.<sup>57</sup> The enthusiasm of the revivals reminded many of the causes and consequences of disruptive Puritan polity in seventeenth century Old England, so the reaction of Arminians was to appeal to the rationality and security of a more recent status quo. Charles Chauncy, the leading Boston preacher of his day, was opposed to the revivals for this very reason. His argument was that revivalist preaching appealed to the will rather than to the mind, and in consequence was socially dangerous:

Chauncy represented an extreme aspect of the intellectualist tradition that emphasized the ‘understanding’ and strict clerical control over congregations. Edwards spoke for the voluntarist tradition that emphasized the ‘affections’ and favoured more active lay involvement in church affairs ... As long as the sources of true enthusiasm lay within the grasp of natural man, then the true enthusiast was the person of superior breeding and refined sensibilities. But if the source of true enthusiasm came from without – as Edwards insisted it did – then *anyone* was a potential candidate for remaking, and distinctions of learning or breeding lost their significance ... In a theological sense Edwards had simply reclothed the old Calvinist teachings of sin and grace in a new rhetoric of sentiment. But in a social sense he accomplished far more: he cut a doorway to an assertive lay piety that would open far wider than he ever imagined and that would permanently alter the relations between pastors and congregations in more democratic directions.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Gerald R. McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society: The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 137, 141.

<sup>56</sup> McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 153-154.

<sup>57</sup> McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 71-72.

<sup>58</sup> Stout, *The New England Soul*, 203, 207.

Both Chauncy and Edwards would have cause to speak out as well against Antinomianism due to its potential for destabilisation, though their own preferred social vision was at variance. The renegotiation of ministry structures provoked by the revivals and the growth of itinerancy fell to both sides of the debate:

Both Arminian and Reformed opposers worried that by appearing to divorce the knowledge of a person's conversion from her or his outward behavior, the doctrine of inward assurance undermined Christianity's role in the preservation of that person's place and the place of every other person within the deferential, elite-brokered social order.<sup>59</sup>

While Edwards had a greater capacity to tolerate dynamic social relations than Chauncy, he nevertheless would draw a line against separatism, or the disposition which encouraged 'spiritual individualism.' It was understood that both Arminianism and Antinomianism were essentially 'egocentric' and thereby socially unstable.<sup>60</sup>

Furthermore, for Edwards to preach justification as a strategy to hold together the disruptive initiative of God towards the individual alongside the dynamic yet ultimately orderly intentions of God towards the community, was to redefine the role of the minister in his own social setting. He may act as midwife in the birth of new spiritual life in a local church or town, but it could not be assumed that the resulting spiritual enthusiasm could be constrained through clerical control. The minister's responsibilities were still well defined, even if his authority was mediated through the influence of charismatic gifting rather than office.<sup>61</sup> In Edwards's *Farewell Sermon*, preached at Northampton in June 22, 1750, after the decision was taken to dismiss him from his position there, he effectively locates his own ministry as a continuance of the ministry of the prophets and apostles as divine ambassador to the people. He identified himself with the prophet Jeremiah, who had similarly preached for twenty-three years with little fruit for his labours, and Edwards uses the text of 2 Corinthians

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<sup>59</sup> Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 54.

<sup>60</sup> Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*, 129.

<sup>61</sup> E. Brooks Holifield, *God's Ambassadors: A History of the Christian Clergy in America* (Pulpit & Pew; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 69. Edwards is unusual amongst the revivalists of the middle of the eighteenth century in as far as he preached for revival as a settled pastor and not as an itinerant.

1:14 to demonstrate his authority as a messenger from God, even if the local congregation renounced his ministrations.<sup>62</sup> Preaching justification had been for Edwards a burdensome responsibility with patchy and painful results. Unlike the clerical preparationists, who micromanaged the advance of grace in individuals' lives with paternalistic oversight, Edwards stood apart from the flock, literally in the end, and gave priority to prophetic rather than pastoral concerns as he called the people towards a renewed commitment to the community of grace.<sup>63</sup> Justification came to be associated with a divisive social strategy as much as divine and saving balm.

Janice Knight elaborates further on Edwards's self-identification as prophet, which functioned as a foil to both Arminian and Antinomian threats to the New England project, for while Edwards avoids righteousness through works and righteousness through spontaneous spiritual illumination, he nevertheless defends the prospect of a broadly conceived social righteousness as a result of transformed lives. Edwards's belief that local revivals constitute an essential part of the divine purpose to win the world for Christ, ultimately situates his ministry within a regional, or perhaps *international*, movement, and relativises the pastor's responsibility within the *local* church. The revivals are themselves germane to an eschatological vision for the world:

... Edwards watched and worked for the advent of the Kingdom. He believed that increasing the numbers of the faithful was instrumental in bringing forth those glorious days. Exhortations to the saints, unions in prayer, and efforts at international alliances with other churches were some of the ways Edwards labored to knit the churches and bring forth the Kingdom.<sup>64</sup>

Edwards's preaching of justification does not depend on a mechanical sequence of 'steps to the altar,' as present in traditional New England preparationism. Nor does Edwards's understanding of justification merely address the individuated need of

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<sup>62</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'A Farewell Sermon Preached at the First Precinct in Northampton, after the People's Public Rejection of their Minister ... on June 22, 1750', in *Sermons and Discourses 1743-1758* (WJE 25; ed. W. H. Kinnach; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 475, 485.

<sup>63</sup> Hall provides an overview of the themes of pastor and prophet in conceptions of ministry in the New World. See David D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd: A History of New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 49, for an opening definition.

<sup>64</sup> Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 208.

immediate spiritual experience and assurance of sins forgiven, as would befit a defensive and contractual legal exchange without any reference to the community of faith. Rather, Edwards's approach to the doctrine of justification by grace through faith situates it as an outworking of divine initiative and generosity, which cannot be artificially contained within the local setting but spills over to transform the world.<sup>65</sup> Unlike Stoddard who saw no discernible pattern, for Edwards the revivals were harbingers of hope, with not just national but international scope.<sup>66</sup> Edwards did not believe that New England's privileges were inviolable; his prophetic ministry would not allow him merely to affirm New England's 'glorious' past. He was however optimistic, for though the revivals may force acknowledgement of the distinction between the regenerate and the damned in New England churches, such division was not an end in itself, but would provide an impetus to formulate an alternative model of ministry and expectation of blessing for the ends of the earth.<sup>67</sup>

*Conclusion: The Gospel which Edwards preached*

For a conservative thinker within the Reformed tradition, it may seem churlish to ask questions concerning the Gospel which Edwards preached. He was assuredly Christocentric and supernaturalist, and as this chapter has explained, Edwards understood the doctrine of justification as the tipping-point in his revivalist program. He preached other doctrinal loci, but none seemed to encapsulate his theological, philosophical and transformational agenda more effectively. It is often assumed that Edwards's Gospel was highly subjectivist, growing out of his commitment to religious affections, which were the location of true religion,<sup>68</sup> and that to preach the Gospel was merely to preach an individual experience of salvation from sin, or salvation from God's wrath as sin's consequence. William Abraham asserts with reference to

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<sup>65</sup> Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, 1-4.

<sup>66</sup> Crawford, *Seasons of Grace*, 134.

<sup>67</sup> McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society*, 34.

<sup>68</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Religious Affections* (The Works of Jonathan Edwards 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 95.

Edwards that this ‘anthropocentric turn has been the undoing of modern evangelism.’<sup>69</sup>

However, Edwards’s Gospel was not an attenuated theory of atonement, nor could it be summarised as the good news of an experience of rebirth. His Gospel was neither an idea without application, nor an experience without foundation. For Edwards, the assumptions of covenant life in New England, the millennial frame of his ministry, and his prophetic self-understanding position his preaching of justification as more than an appeal to decision, but as shorthand for *forgiveness, favour* and *international fellowship* in the coming Kingdom. He preached for repentance, but this was as much a call to eschatological expectation as it was to spiritual renewal. Here was simply no *revivalist evangelicalism*, but rather Edwards was the fountain-head of a *confessional evangelicalism* with sweeping vision, which nevertheless included as a significant feature passion and preaching and prayer for revivals in every land.

Edwards’s Gospel is necessarily social in its outworkings. The Gospel is power for salvation, but it is a power expressed (in the thought-world of Paul) in the incorporation of both Jew and Gentile into the church of God (Romans 1:16, Ephesians 2:11-18). There was an *imperative* in the Gospel which Edwards preached, calling on his listeners to exercise faith, that the righteousness of God might avail to them (Romans 1:17), but unlike much revivalism after him, he did not sideline the *indicative* of God’s eternal power and divine nature (Romans 1:20), or God’s revelation of righteousness and wrath (Romans 1:17-18), or the role of the law in our condemnation (Romans 3:19).<sup>70</sup> Other revivalists may have minimised the content of the indicative, or left it out altogether, but Edwards is clear that there is

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<sup>69</sup> William Abraham, *The Logic of Evangelism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 58.

<sup>70</sup> With reference to the sermon ‘The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners,’ Logan helpfully draws our attention to the minimal amount of material ‘urging a decision upon his people,’ Logan, ‘The Northampton Revival,’ 252, 258. For the text of the sermon: Jonathan Edwards, ‘The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners’, in *Sermons and Discourses 1734-1738* (WJE 19; ed. M. X. Lesser; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), especially 348f.

neither personal revival, nor indeed social reform, without doctrinal revelation, which itself constitutes the primacy of ecclesial identity.<sup>71</sup> It is not that Edwards only expressed the Gospel in terms of God's righteousness, justice or justification, but that this nevertheless became for him a significant theological instrument in a sociological context which needed drastic restorative attention. His Gospel of justification applied to a panoply of ailments was a powerful antidote, certainly individual yet also confidently social.

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<sup>71</sup> Ian Stackhouse, 'Revivalism, Faddism and the Gospel', in *On Revival: A Critical Examination* (eds. A. Walker and K. Aune; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 244.

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