Contents

Acknowledgments ix
Introduction xi
Note on References to the Yale Edition of The Works of Jonathan Edwards xxi
Chronology of Edwards’ Life and Writings xxiii

One
Jonathan Edwards: A Theological Life —Kenneth P. Minkema 1

Two
Edwards’ Intellectual Background —Peter J. Thuesen 16

Three
Being and Consent —Richard R. Niebuhr 34

Four
The Trinity —Amy Plantinga Pauw 44

Five
God’s Relation to the World —Sang Hyun Lee 59

Six
Christology —Robert W. Jenson 72

Seven
The Bible —Robert E. Brown 87

Eight
Religious Affections and the “Sense of the Heart” —John E. Smith 103

Nine
Freedom of the Will —Allen C. Guelzo 115

Ten
Grace and Justification by Faith Alone —Sang Hyun Lee 130

Eleven
Christian Virtue and Common Morality —John E. Smith 147
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>The Church</td>
<td>Douglas A. Sweeney</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>Typology</td>
<td>Janice Knight</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteen</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>John F. Wilson</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>Eschatology</td>
<td>Stephen J. Stein</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixteen</td>
<td>The Sermons: Concept and Execution</td>
<td>Wilson H. Kimnach</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeen</td>
<td>Missions and Native Americans</td>
<td>Gerald R. McDermott</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteen</td>
<td>The Puritans and Edwards</td>
<td>Harry S. Stout</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>Edwards’ Theology after Edwards</td>
<td>Mark Noll</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Works of Jonathan Edwards (Yale Edition)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>List of Contributors</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Index</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New England and the Young Edwards

The world into which Jonathan Edwards was born, on Oct. 5, 1703, was one steeped in theological history and controversy. His family had been part of the Puritan migration from England to escape religious persecution and to establish a “Bible Commonwealth” that would fulfill the promise of the Reformation. The son and grandson of pastors, and related to some of the most influential church leaders of New England—Mathers, Hookers, and Stoddards—Edwards inherited the Calvinist orthodoxy of New England, its grandeur and its tensions. Within this orthodoxy, nation, province, town, church, and individual were joined in a network of interlocking covenants and obligations that bound the fabric of society. Theology served to justify God’s ways to humankind, to prescribe proper channels for human inquiry and redemption, and to define the nature of human interaction. Even more, nature was imbued with religious meaning. Seemingly mundane natural phenomena and human events were seen as “illustrative providences” that contained supernatural messages of reward, punishment, and warning.

Chief among this society for interpreting God’s word and the meaning of events was the clergy, and this was the class into which Edwards was born. Timothy Edwards, Jonathan’s father, had been the pastor of East Windsor for more than sixty years by the time he died, only a couple of months before his only son. Under the direction of his father, mother, and sisters, Jonathan acquired the necessary knowledge for a young gentleman bound for college and the ministry. Reason and learning went hand in hand with the heart and “affections.” He sat under his father’s preaching week after week, witnessing his father’s trials with his congregation as well as his triumphs. The most happy times of all were “awakenings,” times when the Spirit of God moved among the church to convict and convert a number of souls. Also famous for the “stirs” in his church was Edwards’ grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, Massachusetts. During his pastorate, no less than five “harvests” occurred, making Stoddard one of the most respected ministers in New England, and possibly
the most powerful outside of Boston. Timothy was also renowned in Connecticut as a revivalist. It was during one of these “seasons” in his father’s church, when Jonathan was about ten years old, that he built a “prayer booth” in the swamp behind his house. Edwards’ earliest extant letter dates from a few years later; fittingly, the letter is an awakening report, a genre he would make his own.

But theology cannot remain static. Forces from within and outside of New England forced the theology of the founding Puritans to change dramatically. The revocation of the Massachusetts Bay charter at the end of the seventeenth century ended the practice of limiting the franchise and office-holding to full church members, effectively unseating the Puritan theocracy. Such political changes had deep religious implications. For a quarter-century or more, the nature of the New England Way was under stress, because—despite innovations such as revival preaching—fewer and fewer of the descendants of the founders were joining the churches. As a result, the Congregationalists were slowly losing their monopoly on religious and political culture. Measures to ease membership requirements, such as the Half-Way Covenant of 1662, entailed a reexamination not just of ecclesiastical practices but also of how conversion occurred and how the very nature of covenant itself was defined.

The tensions between church and society were played out in Edwards’ closest role models, his father and his grandfather. Although both defended the prerogatives of the ministry, Timothy did so (albeit not without complaining) within the context of the autonomous local congregation, while Stoddard sought a Presbyterian-like hierarchy that could coerce conformity and obedience from above. And while both were famed revivalists, each had different notions of conversion and admission to the church: Timothy put less emphasis on the order and nature of the steps to conversion—the traditional “morphology” that Puritan theologians had outlined—but was strict about admitting people into covenant, requiring a lengthy conversion narrative by applicants and careful scrutiny by minister and congregation. Stoddard, on the other hand, abided strictly by the steps to salvation but slackened the obstacles to membership, even arguing that the Lord’s Supper was a converting ordinance, a means of grace.

The young Edwards himself reflected these tensions and shifts. He tells us in his Personal Narrative that as a boy he questioned the central doctrines of his Calvinist heritage. In particular, he resented the doctrines of God’s sovereignty (that everything was absolutely dependent on divine will for continuance) and God’s eternal decrees (that everything divinely preordained must come to pass). Also, in his diary he noted that the stages of his spiritual life did not match what the “old divines,” including his grandfather, taught. He pledged to solve the discrepancy through
study and self-examination. The task of understanding the human heart—including his own—would take him a lifetime.

Larger shifts in Puritan thought and society, felt so palpably on the personal level by individuals such as Edwards, were related as well to new modes of thought making their way across the Atlantic. In the wake of the divisive and violent reign of the Puritans in England, the cultural and intellectual climate favored tolerance, reason, and latitude. Inexorably, and despite the efforts of the most talented of New Englanders, such as Increase and Cotton Mather, colonial religion and society grudgingly deferred to the dictates of the mother country.

College Years and Early Preaching

Growing diversity of opinion on theological topics—from the nature of God and the Trinity to the terms of salvation to the nature of the church—reflected this new climate and were on the rise as Edwards matriculated at the Wethersfield branch of the fledgling Connecticut Collegiate School in 1716. When the students were able to take up residence in the new Yale College building on the New Haven green three years later, so attuned was Edwards to the potentially corrupt influences of heterodoxy that, upon meeting tutor Samuel Johnson (later an Anglican missionary), he promptly returned to Wethersfield. Only after Johnson was dismissed did Edwards go back to New Haven.

Everything from physics to psychology was undergoing reappraisal too. The discoveries of Locke, Newton, and Berkeley presented a new world and a new order to Edwards’ fertile mind. Here, however, were ideas that could be accommodated to Protestant orthodoxy thought, and Edwards energetically set about doing so. Newton’s universal laws confirmed to Edwards the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator; Locke’s psychology, how God communicated to “perceiving being”; and Berkeley’s philosophy, the immanence of God in all reality.

Edwards finished his undergraduate work in 1720 and then returned for graduate studies. This was an especially fruitful time for him, both intellectually and spiritually. Reading voraciously in the college library, he wrote copiously and innovatively on cosmology, being, natural philosophy, light, optics, atoms, and the nature of the mind. He outlined a treatise on a history of the mental world and compiled a stupendous list of subjects on which to write—from the world as “one vast spheroid” to gravity to comets. He commented on Locke’s theories, selectively adapting his epistemology but questioning him on other issues, such as the nature of identity and of the will. During this period Edwards developed the concept that all reality is an idea in the mind of God, even that “space is
God,” and that spirit, rather than matter, is true substance. This idealism—the notion that God upholds reality from moment to moment—became a signature feature of his thought. Eventually, out of this idealism would arise an aesthetic perception of the “excellency,” or beauty, of God and holy living.

If his idealism was an answer to philosophical currents flowing from Europe, it was also an indication that he was embracing divine sovereignty and Calvinist notions of God and humankind. In the summer of 1721, he experienced what he called, using Lockean terminology, a “new sense” of God’s glory while reading certain passages of Scripture. He thirsted for more. Then, while home during a break from studies, he had what he later described as a pivotal religious experience. After talking with his father about his “discoveries,” Edwards walked abroad in the pasture, and, looking around and at the sky, he perceived the simultaneous, paradoxical “majestic meekness” and “awful sweetness” of God.

This experience at once changed his focus and prepared him for ministry. In the summer of 1722, he went to preach to a small group of English Presbyterians in New York City for a period of about eight months. Here he began his “Miscellanies,” his private notebooks, with meditations on “holiness” that were keenly personal in nature. Indeed, much of his preaching to this intimate band of Christians reflected the personal contours of his budding spirituality, encouraged by the familylike atmosphere that the group provided. It was with sorrow that he had to leave, but other duties called.

East Windsor, New Haven, and Northampton

His New York City sojourn over, Edwards returned to East Windsor in April 1723. After some travel, he settled down to compose his Master’s Quaestio, the final requirement for his graduate degree. Through the summer he worked on it and, at the great day in September, delivered it in New Haven before the assembled college community and colony dignitaries. Here, for the first time in public, he took on the forces of heterodoxy. He defended the proposition that sinners are saved through faith in the sacrifice of Christ alone. This was a standard enough Reformed tenet, but in the context in which it was delivered, Edwards’ words were fraught with meaning.

When Edwards had finished his undergraduate work, he had been chosen to give the valedictory address. In his oration, he had praised in flowery terms the rector Timothy Cutler, the tutors, and the trustees. He, and many in the audience, would come to regret the trust and praise they had lavished on the college’s leader. For at commencement exercises in 1722,
Cutler, the tutors, and several area ministers revealed their conversion to the Church of England. Thus, when Edwards and his fellow graduates mounted the platform a year later, everyone paid close attention to them in order to detect any lingering heterodoxy. Edwards’ defense of justification by faith alone and his criticism of any who would make a “new law” did not disappoint. From this beginning, he faced the challenge presented by new theological opinions coming from abroad and from within New England.

While Jonathan had his eyes on a brave new world, his father was intent on bringing him back home, or as near to it as possible. Timothy had been in contact with the newly formed church at Bolton, Connecticut, not far from East Windsor, to interest them in his promising son. Through 1723, he apparently continued to cultivate the relationship, because by November Jonathan had signed on as pastor. Before going there, however, he had some free time, which he used for writing. Besides beginning a commentary on the Book of Revelation, he revisited earlier notes on insects and wrote them up in October as a letter to Massachusetts judge Paul Dudley, a member of the Royal Society. Timothy Edwards was a friend and correspondent of Dudley, who had communicated some of Timothy’s botanical observations to London for publication in the Society’s famous Transactions. At his father’s urging, Jonathan addressed his “Spider Letter” to Dudley in the hopes that the good judge would deem that worthy of publication as well. He did not. However, Edwards would later on make famous rhetorical use of spiders in his sermons.

Bolton was able to keep Edwards only until the spring of 1724, when Yale again beckoned, this time with an offer to serve as a tutor. As Edwards noted in his “Diary,” this began a spiritual slump, caused by the endless concerns and diversions of his post, that lasted for about three years. But if the life of the spirit did not fare well, the life of the mind thrived. With the college library to rummage and academic classes to teach, Edwards built on his reading and study. Always physically frail, however, he succumbed in late 1725 to exhaustion and spent three months recovering under his mother’s care. As soon as he was able, he was back at his studies, adding to the “Miscellanies” and beginning other notebooks.

Then, in August 1726, he was asked to assist his grandfather, the venerable Stoddard, at the prestigious church in Northampton. From here on, milestones came fast. In February he was ordained and in July married Sarah Pierpont of New Haven, whom he had met as a student. Now a pastor, Edwards’ attentions shifted from the meditative and abstract to the practical. He now had to deliver sermons at an increasing rate, including the full round of regular sermons (two each sabbath) as well as...
occasional sermons for sacraments, fast days, and political and military events. Also, his private writings shifted to more pastoral topics, such as faith and signs of godliness. He even started to scrutinize his grandfather’s views on the church, sainthood, conversion, and the sacraments with increasing dissatisfaction, committing these reservations to the “Miscellanies” and to other notes.

While learning the exigencies of the parish round, Edwards also kept his vision on the wider world and the “fashionable schemes of divinity” that were everywhere gaining strength. By 1731, he was ready to enter the larger fray. Invited to preach a lecture in Boston in August of that year, Edwards delivered *God Glorified in the Work of Redemption*, his first published work. Here, in the spirit of his Master’s disquisition, he skewered any positions that sought to establish a different relation between God and humanity beside that outlined in the Bible (as he interpreted it). God was sovereign in his disposal of everything, especially the plan of redemption, which was God’s greatest work, the be-all and end-all of creation itself. Humanity, meanwhile, was absolutely dependent on God for everything, even, as Edwards had privately formulated, for existence from moment to moment. Nothing human beings did could merit favor, much less salvation. Sinners, he could now assert with a certainty based on personal experience, were utterly reliant on the sovereignty and decrees of God. Furthermore, it was to God’s glory that this relationship of sovereignty and dependency, of depravity and redemption, was established.

Pastor of a large, prominent church, and with his theological stance firmly in place, Edwards now looked to take his doctrines and preaching a step further. He sought to emulate his father and grandfather by sparking a revival. It would not take long.

**The Connecticut Valley Revivals, 1734–1735**

In August 1733, Edwards preached a sermon in Northampton that would be published the following year as *A Divine and Supernatural Light*. His second printed writing, *A Divine Light* set forth the scripturality and rationality of God’s indwelling presence in the hearts of believers. This inner light renovated the entire psychic constitution, or “affections,” of the individual. Asserting doctrines like these, Edwards saw a “softening” among his congregation, especially young people, toward the end of 1733.

What seemed to have a special effect on his congregation—at least according to Edwards—was a lecture on justification in which he reached back to his Master’s *Quaestio* to construct a detailed defense and analysis
of the doctrine of *sola gratia*. That Edwards should preach in 1734 on this doctrine was polemical as well as hortatory, for in this year the threat of foreign ideological invasion in the form of Arminianism had, to Edwards’ way of thinking, become a reality right in Hampshire County. William Rand of Sunderland was preaching an Arminian take on works and salvation, and Robert Breck, who also was rumored to be infected by this humanistic theology, was seeking ordination in Springfield. While neither *Justification by Faith Alone* nor the Hampshire Association’s campaign succeeded in thwarting Breck’s ordination, it had the desired emotional effect. By mid-1734, Edwards was overseeing a blossoming revival, the first major one in Northampton since Stoddard’s heyday.

Edwards encapsulated the Connecticut Valley awakenings that were sparked by the justification discourse in *A Faithful Narrative of a Surprising Work of God*, which went through several iterations, each one longer than the previous. This account, which was eventually translated into several languages, became a manual for revivalists in the Anglo-American world and beyond. It also catapulted Edwards into the international limelight as a leading evangelical, as a scientist of revivalism, and as an expert on conversion psychology. Throughout the rest of his career, revivalists seeking to make a name for themselves would emulate Edwards’ *Faithful Narrative*—right down to the title—and he would be consulted on a number of awakening-related issues.

After an all-too-brief period of piety, blissful social accord, and rapturous church singing—even the men sang in three-part harmony—the revivals came to an abrupt halt. First, a man named Thomas Stebbins, who was apparently mentally unstable, tried to slit his throat. Then, in June 1735, Edwards’ uncle Joseph Hawley, in a fit of melancholy over his eternal state, followed Stebbins’ lead but, tragically, was successful in taking his life. Edwards’ emphatic plea for conversion just a few months before in *Pressing into the Kingdom*, “’tis NOW, at this day; NOW is the accepted time, even while it is called today!” had become the devil-inspired parody, “Cut your own throat, now is good opportunity: NOW, NOW!” Edwards is often unjustly portrayed as driving Hawley to suicide. Hawley apparently suffered from chronic depression, and for his part, Edwards was deeply affected by his uncle’s desperate act, so much so that from that time forward he set melancholy aside as a special category in his writings on the conversion process.

Edwards’ response to Hawley’s death, as well as more generally to the “backsliding” of his congregation into their pre-revival viciousness and impiety, prompted him to rethink his approach. Certainly the cooling affections of the hundreds he had let into full membership played a part in this reappraisal too. Added to this was the ridicule Edwards was facing both at home and in neighboring towns. Edwards, quite frankly, came to
realize that his inexperience and his people’s enthusiasm had misled both him and them. *A Faithful Narrative* was still hugely popular, which pleased its author. But it had also become an embarrassment to Edwards, who feared comparison of the real Northampton with the one he had created in the minds of readers. In the months and years following the Connecticut Valley stir, he preached and wrote in a remedial vein, seeking to restore balance to his views on the true marks of conversion, in effect to qualify *A Divine and Supernatural Light* by reinstating other important dimensions of religious experience. In sermons, in notebooks such as the “Miscellaneys” and “Signs of Godliness,” and in memoranda such as “Directions for Judging of Persons’ Experiences,” he moved away from an emphasis on the affections alone and toward an emphasis on perseverance and enduring Christian behavior. Sanctification was now to become as important for Edwards as justification had been earlier.

Through the late 1730s, Edwards alternately browbeat his congregation, comparing their present “dullness” to their engagedness during the awakening, and pursued the doctrine of true Christian practice in some of the most ambitious and extended sermons and discourses of his career. In late 1737 and early 1738, he delivered a nineteen-sermon series on Matthew 25, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. Here he pointed up the similarities and differences between true and false saints, and how many in Northampton were evangelical hypocrites with empty lamps. To demonstrate the content of Christian living here on earth and in its final state in heaven, he spent the rest of 1738 preaching a series on 1 Corinthians in twenty-one installments, later published as *Charity and Its Fruits*. Not content with this, beginning in early 1739 he spent no less than thirty preaching occasions laying out the cosmic narrative of salvation, sermons later collected as *A History of the Work of Redemption*. Here he sketched the histories of heaven, hell, and earth, and God’s unfailing covenantal arrangement with the church through all time, culminating in the establishment of the church’s period of peace during the millennium.

The Great Awakening

One of the central features of *A History of the Work of Redemption* was the argument that human history was propelled by periodic revivals. If Edwards had been handed a hard lesson after the high times of 1734 and 1735, his faith in the necessity and efficacy of revival was not shaken, and he anticipated the day when the next awakening, possibly the prelude to the millennium, would come. He had good reason to believe it was not far off. Already in late 1739 he had heard of the efforts of the English itinerant George Whitefield and of the Wesley brothers and relayed news...
of awakenings abroad. In his sermons and through his correspondence, Edwards sought to rekindle the flames of revival locally and to learn of similar events from across the globe. In early 1740 he preached a lengthy series on Hebrews 12 that extended the millennialistic tone established in the *History of Redemption* discourse by portraying the company of true Christians coming to Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem. Reaching out to the young people, who had spearheaded the Connecticut Valley movement, Edwards exhorted them to live pious lives and to avoid the temptations offered by competing secular sites such as the tavern and nightly “frolics.” Meanwhile, he sent letters to individuals highly placed in the transatlantic evangelical network, through which he collected news and became a regular correspondent with religious leaders in the colonies and in England and Scotland.

Whitefield himself became one of Edwards’ correspondents and acquaintances. When Edwards invited the Grand Itinerant to preach in Northampton on his journey through New England, Whitefield accepted. In October 1740, he preached to packed, weeping auditories who were carried away by his dramatic style. And then he departed, leaving the settled pastor to pick up the pieces. As in the aftermath of the previous awakening, Edwards turned to a parable. This time he picked the parable of the sower in Matthew 13, warning listeners who had been impressed by Whitefield’s eloquence that sudden conversions, like seeds planted on hard or thorny ground, can flourish temporarily but then die quickly. In the sermon *Sinners in Zion*, which picked up on the Hebrews sermon from earlier in the year, Edwards, seeking to direct the secure and the newly awakened, severely excoriated his congregation, declaring, “You are the sinners in Zion!” In another, more famous sermon on sinners, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, Edwards set forth a world in which humankind have nothing to rely on, nothing in their own power to keep them from a dismal fate, but the power of God. To make his point clear, he depicted sinners held over the pit of hell by God much as one would hold a “loathsome” spider.

Clearly, Edwards was trying to channel the energy of the awakening in ways he had not before. He knew he ran the risk of a less intense, less prolonged stir, but the experience of the earlier revival had taught him that it was more important to insure the experiences of the few who were true subjects of the new birth than to multiply communicants inadvisedly. But despite Edwards’ caveats, conversions, “high transports,” and other intense religious experiences continued among the congregation through 1741, and he was encouraged, so much so that his hope for the millennium grew to its greatest height. On fast days in 1741 he called on his congregation to pray for millennial glory and described “seasons of ingathering” as sure signs of its prelude. “Miscellanies” entries from this
period are peppered with chiliastic information and speculations. In *Some Thoughts Concerning the Revivals*, written in 1742, Edwards for the first and only time publicly dared to hope that the millennium would begin in New England. And, through his network of correspondents, he would become involved in the Concert of Prayer, quarterly days of supplication for the ushering in of the “glorious times,” in support of which he would publish his *Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Prayer*.

Still, Edwards was ever on the alert to stand against new forms of religious thought and practice. For all of his idealistic hopes for the “great and general awakening” of the 1740s, he was a cautious observer. When engaging the colonial leadership, he had to be, for the ministry and magistracy had split over whether the revivals were an authentic work of the Spirit, or the product of human imagination, or, worse, a delusion of the Devil. As a politician of revival, if we may call him that, Edwards came out against many of the things to which antirevivalist Old Lights objected, including Separatism, claims to revelation, lay preaching, and female exhorters. We know, too, that he opposed some of Whitefield’s central teachings, such as spiritual “impulses” and assurance of salvation. Furthermore, Edwards’ 1741 Yale commencement lecture, *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God*, delineating true and false signs of grace, was meant to placate the college faculty upset by student separatism and censoriousness. Here, in *Some Thoughts*, and in *Religious Affections*, Edwards was standing in judgment of the conversion phenomena his times had witnessed.

But in these major revival treatises and elsewhere, Edwards’ careful analysis and his moderate position served another end. He was advocating that, ultimately, though intermingled with corruptions, the revivals were the real thing. By providing models of piety, first in the persons of Abigail Hutchinson and Phoebe Bartlett in *Faithful Narrative*, then Sarah Pierpont Edwards in *Some Thoughts*, and then David Brainerd in his *Life*, as well as by scrupulously separating false and true signs of grace, Edwards empowered clergy and laity alike to examine their experiences and to model their behavior accordingly. Significantly, the lesson learned back in 1734–35 had stuck. The twelfth, final, and most developed positive sign of true grace in *Religious Affections* famously states that “Gracious and holy affections have their exercise and fruit in Christian practice.”

Qualifications

Through the 1740s, continuing his campaign against heterodoxy, Edwards worked on a number of fronts toward a defense of Christianity and the Bible against critiques by Deists and others. One of the goals of
the History of the Work of Redemption was to show, through prophecies, the verity of Christian revealed religion. Edwards had been stockpiling observations along these lines in scriptural commentaries, such as his “Notes on Scripture” and “Interleaved Bible,” and in the “Miscellanies,” under rubrics such as “Christian Religion.” But in the 1740s he produced lengthy compositions on the prophetic tradition that demonstrated the necessity of revelation and the accuracy of the Bible. One ambitious project, “The Harmony of the Old and New Testaments,” was to show, through comparison, the similarity of spirit, genius, and teachings between the two revelations. Elsewhere, he took on the messianic prophetic tradition in three massive entries in the “Miscellanies.” Nos. 1067 and 1068 assembled “Prophecies of the Messiah” in the Old Testament and showed their fulfillment in the New, while 1069 dealt with biblical types of the Messiah. In “Traditions of the Heathen,” a series of entries compiled through the decade, Edwards defended Christian faith and doctrines by pointing to similar teachings in ancient pagan writers, evidence he amassed from a number of sources. For Edwards, these similarities argued a common revelation to humankind in the distant past that had become corrupted with “human additions” through time but that had been kept alive in Judaism and restored with the coming of Christ.

Edwards was able to accomplish all of this writing during a relative lull following the subsidence of the revival. He was even able to begin work on a long-projected study on freedom of the will, aimed against Arminians. But then, starting in late 1748, he and his church were taken up with a prolonged dispute over the qualifications for admission to the church. Even before coming to Northampton, Edwards had been uncomfortable about Stoddard’s views of the church and his procedure for admitting communicants, but for the sake of peace he had kept his qualms to himself. The revivals only heightened his uneasiness about who could get into covenant. After an extensive search of Scripture, he came to the conclusion that requirements had to be stricter.

The noncommittal form developed by Stoddard—and used by Edwards for more than two decades—no longer satisfied Edwards’ conviction that a profession had to be an expression of a sincere belief in the workings of grace and a desire to live a Christian life. His aim was to establish a purer church that was, as much as possible, the domain of real saints and that kept out hypocrites. His early writings, especially his “Miscellanies,” showed a tension between the notions of a “visible” versus an “invisible” church and a concern for how to achieve a proper balance of real saints and a “mixed multitude.” Furthermore, the awakenings had shown him the dangers that fanaticism, censoriousness, schisms, and claims to higher revelations posed to the churches. Ironically, Edwards found that his “new” views on qualifications were most
popular among Separatists and "Strict Congregationalists." This unan-
ticipated sympathy—which Edwards' opponents used to bolster their ac-
cusations of heresy—may help explain why he so consistently criticized
Separatists, antinomians, and other "enthusiasts" in regular sermons, or-
dination sermons, and published treatises. Ironically, Edwards came to be
identified with the very religious extremism that he had opposed since his
college years.

Whatever ecclesiastical questions Edwards was trying to resolve, for
many in his congregation he had gone too far. His views threatened their
status as church members and the baptismal qualifications of their chil-
dren. On top of other differences that had arisen during the 1740s—for
example, over his salary, the necessity of renewing the church covenant,
and the notorious "Bad Book" affair, in which young men ridiculed young
women with knowledge obtained from midwives' manuals—Edwards' e-
ffort to change church admission policies was the last straw. After a bit-
ter and protracted dispute, Edwards was dismissed on June 22, 1750. A
week later he delivered his famous Farewell Sermon that anticipated the
day when he and his former congregation would have to meet before the
judgment seat of God to give account of themselves. However, dismissal
did not spell the end of Edwards' involvement in the debate over church
membership. The controversy would engage him for the next couple of
years, as he answered an extended criticism of his Humble Inquiry with
a polemical riposte, Misrepresentations Corrected, and Truth Vindicated.
But by that time, he was in a very different position.

Stockbridge

The Indian mission at Stockbridge had been founded back in the 1730s.
Northampton leaders, such as Colonel John Stoddard, had been instru-
mental in establishing it, and Edwards too had participated. Edwards
himself had shown keen interest in spreading the gospel to the Indians—
and in "civilizing" them into English allies. His efforts to raise funds for
the mission from his congregants, his nurturing of missionaries-to-be,
such as Elihu Spencer and Gideon Hawley, and, most importantly, his
publication of The Life of David Brainerd, which presented to the world
the selfless model of a missionary martyr, are ample proof. After being
deprived of the Northampton pulpit, Edwards trolled for a new pas-
torate, preaching in small towns in the Berkshires and receiving invita-
tions to take churches in Virginia and even Scotland.

But he had his eye on the Stockbridge post. The first missionary, John
Sargeant, had died in 1749, leaving a congregation of over two hundred
Mahicans and a small group of English settlers (about twelve families).
Through 1749, Edwards wrote to Boston church leaders about the necessity for a successor, in effect setting himself up for consideration once the dismissal that he was almost sure would come had occurred. Through late 1750 and early 1751, Edwards commuted back and forth between Stockbridge and Northampton, preaching to the Indians and English. He was finally installed in the summer of 1751 and set to work.

He had no lack of things to do. Stockbridge was no sylvan retreat where he could finally sit back and compose the theological treatises he had envisioned for years. Although he managed to produce some of the most significant of his works during this period, he did so while dealing with a broad range of complex and divisive issues and individuals. One problem was stopping the English from exploiting the Indians by taking their lands and disenfranchising them in town meetings. Related to this was the challenge of keeping the Indians at the mission in the face of the abuse and neglect they suffered. Another challenge was wresting control of the Indian boys’ and girls’ schools from the hands of his own relatives, who were personally benefiting from the funds meant to support the schools and from labor provided by the students who were supposed to be attending them. Also, disapproving members of the oversight boards tried at every turn to have Edwards removed. And still another concern was the threat of attack by the French and their Indian allies, particularly with the beginning of the Seven Years’ War in 1754. At one point, Edwards’ own house was “forted in” and quartered by militia because of the fear of enemy attacks.

Somehow, Edwards persevered through all of these trials. He obtained sole charge of the mission from its chief benefactor in England. But the cost of his personal victory was great for the mission. By 1754, many of the Indians had left, the schools were almost nonexistent, and Edwards had succeeded in making a great number of enemies.

With all of these distractions and responsibilities, it is all the more remarkable that Edwards was nonetheless able, during a space of about five years, to write some of the most important theological and ethical disquisitions in the history of American thought, not to mention Christian thought as a whole. He had been compiling notes and drafting pieces of Freedom of the Will off and on since the late 1720s, which helped him, when he finally was able to write, produce a draft of it in just three months. By early 1755, he had also written at least one of the two dissertations that form the basis of his ethical thought: The End for Which God Created the World, which he read to his colleagues Samuel Hopkins and Joseph Bellamy, and The Nature of True Virtue. These pieces were composed during a year-long illness including “fits” and “agues” that left Edwards weakened and even thinner than normal. Nonetheless, by early 1757 he had completed yet another treatise, Original Sin, which would
not be published till after he was dead. *Original Sin* had its inception in 1748, when Edwards received John Taylor’s treatise on the subject from his Scottish correspondent John Erskine. Taylor continued to concern Edwards, who in his *Farewell Sermon* warned the people of Northampton not to fall prey to Taylor’s comfortable assertions about human nature. Here, Edwards forged a synthesis of opposing schools of thought on the doctrine of imputation, introducing his views on identity and his idealistic conception of continuous creation to describe the “constitutional” unity of humankind with its progenitor, Adam.

These writings, not to mention the extensive notes made in his private manuscripts, range across the broad spectrum of topics that are described in the essays in this volume. But they do share certain qualities that bear mentioning here. Most of all, they are polemical in nature. Each treatise is aimed at a particular person or persons who represented a certain mode of thought to which Edwards objected. In this sense, they are a culmination of Edwards’ efforts, begun in his *Quaestio* and *God Glorified*, to reverse the changing tide of theology. *Freedom of the Will* was a vestige of his old campaign against the Arminians, begun all those years ago on the New Haven green in 1723. The subsequent productions, however, were aimed at proponents of “humanitarian” philosophies who sought to remove God from the moral and salvific landscape. In this way, the ethical concerns hark back to his earliest writings.

Another thing to note about the Stockbridge treatises is that—for all of their reputation and influence—they were of secondary interest to Edwards, who was pursuing larger projects. Following the death of the Reverend Aaron Burr, president of the College of New Jersey, in September 1757, the college trustees pitched upon Edwards as the successor. The following month, Edwards wrote a letter describing his current and future interests in detail. One of the “great works” he planned to produce was his *Harmony of the Old and New Testaments*, begun a decade before, which would take in the voluminous materials on messianic prophecies and typology. Still another was *A History of the Work of Redemption*. From his college days Edwards had outlined a summa defending the rationality of the main doctrines of Christianity. By the late 1730s, however, the traditional systematic format gave way to an “entire new method”: a narrative that would incorporate cosmology, natural philosophy, doctrine, anthropology, and scriptural exegesis in a grand historical account of heaven, earth, and hell. His lengthy series on Isaiah 51:8, preached in 1739, would form the nucleus, but since then he had scoured his writings, keying pieces for inclusion, adding material in his “Miscellany,” and constructing a series of notebooks devoted to the topic.

It was left to his devotees to publish the History Discourse, for Edwards would never finish it. A council in January 1758 freed him from
his Stockbridge responsibilities, and he accepted the Princeton post. He went on ahead, set up housekeeping, preached in the chapel, and began to meet with students. However, smallpox was in the vicinity. Among the many who had fallen ill was Edwards’ oldest son, Timothy, preparing to matriculate at the college. The trustees recommended that Edwards take an inoculation. Though inoculation was still a controversial—and risky—procedure at the time, Edwards, a man of science at the beginning and the last, set an example by submitting to it. Unfortunately, the serum was corrupted. After a promising initial reaction, Edwards sank into a secondary fever, characterized by severe swelling of the throat. Expressing resignation to the will of God, he died on March 22, 1758.

Edwards had begun his career amidst changing theological currents. He spent his career dealing with those currents, sometimes conforming to them, often drawing from them for his own purposes but also constructing a considerable critique of them. Ultimately, his defense of the Calvinist version of Christianity, featuring innovative and forceful arguments, may have failed. But in mounting his defense, he left behind a legacy that, as the essays in this volume testify, is still felt to this day.

Suggested Further Readings


Index

ability, natural vs. moral, 123
Abraham, 172, 197
accountability, 116, 124, 125
action, 104, 115, 117, 126
Acts, Book of, 263, 265
Adam, 14, 299, 300. See also imputation
Addison, Joseph, 19; Guardian, 25
ad intra/ad extra. See God
aesthetics, 38, 53, 93, 112, 265
affections, 111; emphasis on, 8; and God, 162; gracious, 105; gracious vs. natural, 151; instinctive, 162; and JE's upbringing, 1; kind, 157, 161; and Locke, 109; and love, 104; marks of, 151, 154; between men and women, 161; and morality, 157; and passions, 103, 104; true vs. false, 105; as unity of idea and feeling, 105; and virtue, 162; and will, 104
Alexander, Archibald, 296
Alexanderians, 73, 79, 84n.6
Alsted, Johann Heinrich, Scientiarum Omnium Encyclopaediae, 19
America, 219–20
Ames, William, 243, 259; Medulla Sacrae Theologiae, 19
ancients, 11, 29, 50–51, 212
Anderson, Wallace E., 22, 37
Andover Seminary, 293, 297, 301
angels, 57, 77, 173–74
Anglicanism, 20, 26
Anselm, 74, 76, 106
anthropology, 14, 204
Antichrist, 232, 234–35, 238, 287
antinomians, 12
Antiochens, 73, 79, 84n.6
apocalypse, 217, 218, 229, 230, 234–35, 282. See also eschatology; millennium
apprehension, 110, 112. See also perception
Arianism, 25
Aristotle, 18, 60, 65, 67, 68, 84n.10, 116–17, 131
Arminianism, 11, 14, 285; in “Account Book,” 25; atonement in, 140; context of, 118–19; destruction of, 121;
and Drummer's collection, 20, 21; and fatalism, 126; and freedom of moral agents, 120; and justification, 145; and Lord's Supper, 119; polemic against, 7; and Trinity, 49; and will, 118, 124, 125
Arminius, Jacobus, 117
Arnauld, Antoine, La Logique, ou L'art de penser, 18
Asbury, Francis, 294, 296
astronomy, 19, 96, 191–92, 196. See also science
atheism, 126
atonement: Anselmian understanding of, 74; in Arminianism, 140; in Campbell, 303–4; dual nature of, 137; and the Father, 53; in JE's followers, 293, 300; by Jesus Christ, 55; need for, 140; as overcoming estrangement, 76; and punishment vs. sorrow, 303–4
attractive force, 202, 206
Atwater, Lyman, 296, 299, 300
Augustine, 106; City of God, 117, 221; Confessions, 117
Augustinian tradition, 46, 47, 48, 52
autonomy, 108, 116
backsliding, 7, 279
Bacon, Francis, 118
Bad Book affair, 12, 183–84
Banner of Truth Trust, 305
baptism, 12, 297
Baptists, 294, 295
Barth, Karl, 305
Bartlett, Phoebe, 10
Baxter, Richard, 259
Bayle, Pierre, Historical and Critical Dictionary, 20, 94
beauty, 40; appreciation of, 153; and being, 157; complex, 38; of creation, 190; of elect, 258; of God, 4, 46, 51–53, 57, 61, 69, 70, 93, 105, 201, 259, 293; and good, 77; knowledge of, 112; and love, 155, 157; and morality, 41, 112, 157; of nature, 37; as object, 41; as object of knowledge, 112;
Index

beauty (cont.)
particular vs. general, 155; primary, 160; primary vs. secondary, 157; as relational, 53; sense of, 107; simple, 38; spiritual, 112; of Trinity, 53, 54; and true virtue, 40, 41, 154, 155; of union with Christ, 139; and virtue, 156; of world, 208n.7
Bedford, Arthur, Scripture Chronology Demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations, 28, 94
Beecher, Lyman, 294, 297
being, 3; and beauty, 157; benevolence as consent to, 156; and consciousness, 35, 36; consent to being by, 36, 150; consent to being in general by, 155; disagreement to, 39; and emanation, 202, 203; excellence of, 34; extension of, 156; as glory, 203; God as prime and original, 44; intelligent, 63; and knowledge, 35, 36; natural phenomena as shadows of, 36; particular and general, 39; and plurality vs. pluralism, 36; proper, real, and substantial, 36; as proportion, 34, 39, 40
being in general: benevolence to, 41, 156; consent to, 41, 155, 159; and heart, 41, 156, 160, 161, 163; love to, 155, 156, 293, 295; propensity to, 41; union with, 159; and virtue, 40–41, 155
believer, 73–76, 140, 201. See also faith
benevolence, 164n.8, 165n.9, 298; to being in general, 41, 156; as consent to being, 156; disinterested, 151; and heart, 159; and kind affections, 161; and love, 41, 151–52; 156; in morality, 154; natural, 150; pure, 156; union with other in, 159; virtuous, 156
Bengel, Johann, 97
Bernard, Richard, The Faithfull Shepherd, 243
Bible, 87–99; in “Account Book,” 24; accuracy of, 11; aesthetic quality of, 93; affective apprehension of, 94; authenticity of, 92, 95, 96; authorship of, 28, 94–95; canonicity of, 95; chronology of, 28; and church, 171, 172, 176–77, 195; and conservatism, 193; critical scholarship on, 27, 28, 92, 94–97, 98; and deism, 91–92; as divine speech, 88, 91–94, 95; as divine speech, 93; and eschatology, 94, 228–31, 238; exegesis of, 14, 96, 97–98, 98; and geography, 28, 96; and God’s indwelling presence, 6; as good, 93; historical context of, 94–97, 98; and history, 28, 92, 96, 213; and human culture, 91; importance of, 24; influence of, 17; as inspired, 91, 95; JE’s engagement with, 16; Jesus Christ in, 72, 81; in Locke, 27; love in, 154; Messianic prophecies in, 28; moral law of, 197; and nature, 194; new apprehension of, 69; perfection in, 200; as polite reading, 27; prefiguration in, 200; propriety of, 47; prophecy in, 95; providence in, 190; and Puritans, 17; and redemption, 213; in “Redemption Discourse,” 212, 213; and Reformation, 91; revelations in, 191; and rhetoric, 90; saints in, 171, 172; and science, 96; as self-authenticating, 91; in sermons, 243, 244, 246–47, 248, 250, 254; as source, 106; spiritual transformation in, 198–99; as sufficient, 91; and theology, 90; and Trinity, 47, 50, 51; truth of, 28; and typology, 97, 190, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 212, 213, 229–31, 232, 233. See also specific books
Blount, Charles, 27
Bonaventura, 106
Braddock, Edward, 286, 287
Bradford, William, 220
Brainerd, David, 10, 258, 261–62, 266, 269–70, 294–95, 301
Breck, Robert, 7, 119
Bridgman, Abigail, 183
Brown, Robert E., 28; Jonathan Edwards and the Bible, 98
Burgersdijck, Franco, 18
Burr, Aaron, Sr., 14
Burr, Esther Edwards, 26
business, 192, 196, 207
Calmet, Augustin, 98
Calvin, John: and Haroutunian, 305; justification in, 140, 141, 142; and missions, 259; nature in, 37; will in, 117
Calvinism, 4, 26; accountability in, 125; in “Account Book,” 24; in Church of England, 20; curriculum of, 19; and fatalism, 126; grace in, 130; and JE, 18;
JE's boyhood questioning of, 2; 
JE's citations of, 29; justice of, 121; 
More's rejection of, 18; particularism of, 222; and Presbyterians, 298; and Scotland, 302; and Wesley, 295; will in, 116, 124
Cambridge Platonists, 23
Campbell, John McLeod, 302, 303–4; The Nature of the Atonement, 303
Canticles (biblical book), 177, 186 n.10, 246
Carey, William, 269–70, 295, 296
Cartesian logic, 18
cause, 22, 23, 59, 116, 118, 123–24, 239
Chalmers, Thomas, 270, 302–3, 304
Chamberlain, Ava, 218
chance, 117, 124
Chaney, Charles, 266
Channing, William Ellery, 150
chaos, 123, 124
charity, 131, 142, 147, 154. See also love
Chauncy, Charles, 105, 113, 118, 234, 282–83, 301
Cherry, Conrad, 127, 135, 275
choice, 104, 121, 123, 124, 294. See also will
Christianity, 14, 51, 190, 218, 221
Christians, true vs. false, 181, 182
christology, 72–84, 97. See also Jesus Christ
2 Chronicles (biblical book), 279–81
Chubb, Thomas, A Collection of Tracts, 28
church: admission to, 2, 11–12; and Bible, 176–77; as bride, 69–70, 170, 171, 175, 178, 180, 186n.12; as children, 171, 173; as city on a hill, 173; dangers to, 11; definitions of, 168–69; and end of world, 237; enemies of, 173–74, 176; and Father, 171; and final judgment, 174–75; foundation of, 175–76; as fullness of Jesus Christ, 178–79; glorification of, 174; and God, 168–69, 173; as God's lovers, 180; and grace, 168, 174; and Great Awakening, 181–83; and history, 171; and Holy Spirit, 169; and Jesus Christ, 69–70, 168–71, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178–80, 183, 184, 185, 240; membership in, 2, 167, 168, 169, 181–85, 187n.22; as militant, 173–74, 176; and missions, 259; as mother of Jesus, 172, 186n.10; and New Testament, 171, 172, 177, 195; present-day, 173; preservation of world by, 173; purity of, 183, 184; and redemption, 171, 217; in Revelation, 228; and revivals, 168; as saints, 168; and society, 1; suffering of, 179; as triumphant, 173–74, 229; true vs. visible, 169; types of, 177–78; unity of, 180; visible vs. invisible, 11, 172
Church of England, 5, 20, 49, 118
Clap, Sarah, 183
Clark, Peter, 182
Clarke, Samuel, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27; Discourse Concerning the Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion, 25; The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, 49
clergy, 1, 17, 239, 286
Coates, Thomas, 140
cogitation, 110
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 107, 297
College of New Jersey, Princeton, 14, 15, 298
Collins, Anthony, 27
Colossians, Epistle to, 178, 181
Common Sense philosophy, 297, 298, 299
communication. See God
communion, 53, 92, 93, 205. See also Lord's Supper; union
compatibilism, 126, 130, 134
complacence, 41, 164n.8, 165n.9
Concert of Prayer, 10
Congregationalism, 2, 12, 17, 297, 299, 300
Connecticut Collegiate School, 3, 17
conscience, 157, 159–60, 162, 163, 165n.17
consciousness, 35, 36, 84n.10, 115, 302
counsel: to being in general, 41, 155, 159; of being to being, 36, 150; and creaturely excellency, 53; and excellency, 52; of God to creation, 54; of Trinity, 56
conversion: caution concerning, 9; and church membership, 182–83; and communion, 2; and Holy Spirit, 239; of Indians, 261, 263; of JE, 118; JE as inspiration in, 294; melancholy in, 7; in missions, 259; nature of, 2; practice as sign of, 69; psychology of, 7; as reconstitution of soul, 93; and revivals, 1; in sermons, 254; and Trinity, 53; true marks of, 8
conviction, 107, 108
Cooke, Parsons, 299
INDEX

1 Corinthians, Epistle to, 8, 112, 178, 184, 211
2 Corinthians, Epistle to, 112, 248

Cosmology, 3, 14, 169. See also universe

Council of Chalcedon, 72–73, 78

Council of Trent, 132

Covenant, 8, 12; admission to, 11; federal, 276, 281, 282, 288; of God with New England, 275, 276, 277–78, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288; of grace, 171, 197, 274, 275; with Israel, 279–81; meaning of, 280; national, 274–75; nature of, 2; and redemption, 55–56, 135, 258

Creation: beauty of, 190; as constituted by laws, 60; continuous action of, 14, 22, 60; as emanation, 204; and eschatology, 69–70; as frame for God’s self-enlargement, 59; and God, 53–54, 59, 60, 67; and God’s communication of self, 203; God’s consent to, 54; God’s end in, 63–65, 67–68, 69, 130, 144, 145, 147, 153, 170, 201–2, 216, 226, 238–39; God’s pleasure in, 66; harmony of, 194; and history, 216; and Jesus Christ, 78; and millennium, 239; in Neoplatonism, 64; and space, 216; and time, 216; and Trinity, 61–62, 69, 203–4. See also creature(s); human being(s); nature; universe creature(s): excellency of, 53; happiness of, 63; natural, 198; relation with God of, 44, 48, 205; spiritual, 198; union with each other, 44. See also creation; human being(s)

cross, work of, 259

Cudworth, Ralph, 19; The True Intellectual System of the Universe, 29

Cutler, Timothy, 4–5, 20, 21

Dana, James, 127

Danks, Samuel, 183

David, 197

Defoe, Daniel, 20; Family-Instructor, 26; Religious Courtship, 26

deism, 44; and Bible, 91–92; and God, 92, 108; JE’s opposition to, 10; JE’s reading of, 27–28; morality in, 92; and nature, 108; and reason, 51, 91; and revelation, 91, 92, 94; and Trinity, 50; universalism of, 221

Delattre, Roland, 38, 128
dependence: of existence on divine perception, 22; on God, 6, 49–50, 54; in redemption, 56

De Prospo, R. C., 208n.7

Descartes, René, 18, 42n.4
desire, 115, 117
determinism, 124, 128, 301. See also necessity

Deuteronomy, Book of, 230
devil, 107, 173–74, 230, 239, 261, 268, 271n.5
disposition: of believer, 201; divine as sovereign and self-sufficient, 63; finite and created, 63; God as, 61–62, 63, 65, 68, 131; grace as new, 131; heart as, 153; of holiness, 137; Holy Spirit as, 130, 131, 132–35, 136, 137, 145; of Indians, 263; and law, 59, 60, 63, 135; reality as network of, 59–60; in sinner, 142; and virtue, 40. See also habit; inclination

Dod, Albert, 297

Drummer, Jeremiah, 20–21, 22, 23

Dudley, Paul, 5

Dugard, William, Rhetorices Elementa, 18
duty/obligation, xvi, 92, 139–140, 151, 152, 190, 276, 281, 285, 287

Dwight, Sereno, 87, 88, 227

Dwight, Timothy, 294

Earth. See world

East Windsor Seminary, 293

Edwards, Jonathan (JE): and Boston preaching, 246, 247; and colonial leadership, 10; at Connecticut Collegiate School, 3, 17; conversion of, 118; cultural context of, 1, 2, 3, 226–27; dismissal of, 12, 119, 235, 285; education of, 3–4, 17–19; family environment of, 17; and First Congregational Church of Northampton, 5–8, 9, 10, 11–12, 24, 118, 228, 235, 245, 246, 247, 251, 264, 285; and Hawley, 7; at Indian mission in Stockbridge, 12–13, 119, 120, 235–36, 245, 261–69, 285; intellectual background of, 16–30; and Johnson, 3; later reception of, 292–306; marriage to Sarah Pierpont, 5; ordination of, 5; as pastor at Bolton, 5; physical frailty of, 5; prayer booth of, 2; as preacher, 4, 244, 246–48,
INDEX

249, 250, 256; provincialism of, 24; reputation of, 7, 127–28, 231, 233; sermons of, 5–6; and Stoddard, 5, 6, 11, 17, 181, 228, 235, 251, 253; as supply minister in New York, 228; at Yale College, 5, 17–18, 116; writing style of, 21; at Wethersfield, 18

Jonathan Edwards, works (cont.)
Edwards, Sarah Pierpont, 5, 10, 26
Edwards, Timothy (father), 1, 2, 5, 17–18; All the Living Must Surely Die, 250; sermons of, 244, 250, 253, 276–77
Edwards, Timothy (son), 15
Edwards, Tyrone, 211
elect, 170, 180; beauty of, 258; in Campbell, 303; dearness of, 152; and final judgment, 175; Jesus Christ as head of, 171; as one with God, 67–68; and redemption, 69, 238. See also regenerate person(s); saints
Eliot, John, 267
Elohim, 50
emanation, 54, 55, 56, 82, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 216
emanationism, 64, 65
Emlyn, Thomas, Humble Inquiry into the Scripture-account of Jesus Christ, 50
empiricism, 16, 22, 31n.16. See also science
England, 49, 281, 285
Enlightenment: history in, 222; influence of, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29–30; justice in, 293; legacy of, 297; Miller on, 16; polite learning of, 19–20, 25; reason in, 50; and Scotland, 302; universal history in, 213, 215; and will, 116

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
Foxcroft, Thomas, 120
France, 13, 228, 266, 269, 276, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287
freedom, 11, 115–28, 135, 136, 143, 294, 295
Fuller, Andrew, 295
Galatians, Epistle to, 173
Gale, Theophilus, 29
Galileo Galilei, 118
Gassendi, Pierre, 19
Gay, Peter, *A Loss of Mastery*, 220–21, 222
Genesis, Book of, 28, 178, 230, 264
geometry, 19, 38
Gerstner, John H., 227, 305
Gibbon, Edward, 222
Gillies, John, *Historical Collections*, 29
God: actuality of, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66; ad extra activity of, 56, 63, 64, 68, 169, 170, 202, 203, 204; ad intra activity of, 63, 203, 204; and affections, 162; analogies for, 47; awful sweetness of, 4; beauty of, 4, 46, 51–53, 57, 61, 69, 70, 93, 105, 201, 259, 293; being of, 105; as being of beings, 35; as benevolent, 201; and causation, 22, 23, 59, 60; and church, 168–69, 173; as communicating being, 203; communication from, 191; communication in nature by, 193, 194; communication of purpose of, 190; communication of self, 48, 61, 62, 63, 66, 131, 144, 169, 170, 193, 200, 202, 204; communion with, 92, 93, 205; as community of persons, 47; consent to, 155; consent to creation by, 54; continual maintenance by, 4; continual recreation of world by, 22; control of events by, 116, 117, 125, 232, 293; covenant with New England, 275, 276, 277–78, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288; and creation, 53–54, 59, 60, 63–65, 66, 67, 130; creatures' relation with, 44, 48, 205; decrees of, 2; and deism, 92, 108; delight in, 61; dependence on, 49–50, 54; diffusion of fullness of, 202; as direct existence, 61; as disposition, 61–62, 63, 65, 68, 131; disposition to communicate self, 202; and duality, 44; dynamic conception of, 201, 209n.19; effulgence of, 201, 203, 205, 209n.19; elect as one with, 67–68; and emanation, 54, 55, 56, 82, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 216; end in creation, 63–65, 67–68, 69, 130, 134, 145, 147, 153, 170, 201–2, 216, 226, 238–39; enlargement of, 70; eternity of, 201; and evil, 117, 126; excellency of, 4, 51–53, 93, 105, 140, 201, 238; exhibition of proportionate to believer's disposition, 201; existence dependent on perception of, 22; existence in mind of, 33, 37; as existing through himself, 35; experience of, 93; faithfulness of, 201, 202; Father as first true actuality of, 61–62; fear of, 201; as first and last, 44; flowing forth of, 64; foreknowledge of, 89, 170; fullness of, 68; glory of, 6, 54, 63–64, 70, 107, 144, 145, 169–70, 185, 191, 192, 200, 202, 203, 204–5, 216, 238, 246, 259; and gravity, 202, 206; and Trinity, 53, 238, 258
God: glory: appreciation of, 153; and church, 174; and communication, 204; of God, 6, 54, 63–64, 70, 107, 144, 145, 169–70, 185, 191, 192, 200, 202, 203, 204–5, 216, 238, 246, 246, 259; as gravity, 202, 206; and Trinity, 53, 238, 258
oneness of, 47; as only proper substance, 35; as only substance, 22; as own object, 203; as pattern of all, 44; perception of, 22, 93; perception of self by, 203; perfection of, 44, 59, 62, 65, 201, 202; and pleasure in creation of, 66; pleasure in presence of, 238; power of, 9, 150, 193, 201, 254, 255; preservation of world by, 173; primacy of, 131; as prime and original being, 44; providence of, 54, 92–93, 116, 117, 125, 150, 190, 193, 195, 239; rational reflection about, 92; reality as idea in mind of, 3–4; and reason, 108, 201; reconciliation to, 76; and redemption, 6, 49–50, 92–93, 119, 202, 203, 218, 232, 246; and religious affections, 103; repetition of, 59, 62, 64, 69, 70, 144; resistance to, 76; Richard of St. Victor on, 47; and saints, 69, 176, 238–39; self-contemplation of, 46; self-enjoyment of, 203; self-enlargement of, 59, 65, 67, 68, 69; sense from, 110; in sermons, 244; sinners as reliant on, 6; as society, 45, 47; as sole effective power, 150; as space, 42n.4; as space, 42; as source, 195–96; sovereignty of, 2, 4, 6, 117, 118, 119, 130, 132, 193, 201, 254, 255, 293; and time, 68, 69; transcendence of, 193; and triplicity, 44; and truth, 38; understanding of, 46; union with, 44, 48, 53, 57, 76, 170, 206, 238–39; and unity of discourse, 200, 204; and unity of essence and existence, 35; as Unmoved Mover, 67, 68; upholding of physical laws by, 22; voice of, 93, 191, 205, 207; and war, 281; and will, 116, 117, 118, 119, 124, 150; will of, 46, 201; wisdom of, 296; word of, 46; and world, 59–70, 173; worship of, 169–70. See also Father; Godhead; Holy Spirit; Son; Trinity

Godhead: defined, 185n.6; emanation of divine fullness from, 216; Holy Spirit as fullness of, 179, 187n.16; as society, 203; as society of three persons, 48. See also Trinity

Godwin, William, Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, 295

Goen, C. C., 227, 241n.11

good: act of faith as, 138, 139, 141–42; and beauty, 77; Bible as, 93; duty to do, 151; as entity, 39; for friends and enemies, 151; and God, 52, 54, 63, 124, 246; objective vs. inherent, 246; and others, 148, 149, 151; and spiritual community, 77; and will, 121, 122, 124, 125

Gordon, A. J., 294

grace: in Aquinas, 131–32, 136, 142, 143; in Calvinism, 130; of charity, 131; and church, 168, 174; common, 154; common vs. special, 111; as conforming, 55; covenant of, 171, 197, 204, 274, 275; created, 131, 132, 136; double, 142; as enduring transformation, 131; and faith, 130, 136, 138; as gratuitous, 130, 132; holiness through, 142; and Holy Spirit, 130, 131, 133, 135, 144, 151, 204; as implanted, 136; infusion of, 205; and Jesus Christ, 55; and justification, 144–45, 146n.8; morality of, 154; and nature, 111, 150; as new disposition, 131; and perception, 191, 209n.19; and redemption, 130, 197; and regeneration, 131, 135, 136; and revivals, 154; as sovereign, 130, 132; transformation by, 204; and Trinity, 54; true vs. false signs of, 10; uncreated, 131, 132; and virtue, 132; Western theology of, 131;

gratitude, 149, 158, 159, 162, 163

guirt, 137, 140, 299, 300. See also imputation

habit, 59–60, 135. See also disposition

Half-Way Covenant, 2, 182

Hall, David, 167–68

Hampshire Association, 24, 25

happiness, 63, 148–49, 158, 229, 237, 240. See also pleasure

harmony, 38, 40, 56, 77, 154, 155, 157, 194. See also proportion
Haroutunian, Joseph, 304–5; Piety vs. Moralism, 305
Harvard College, 18, 19, 297
Hawley, Elisha, 184
Hawley, Gideon, 12, 266, 270
Hawley, Joseph, 7
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 255, 257n.17
heart: and being in general, 41, 156, 160, 161, 163; and benevolence, 159; as disposition, 155; extension of, 156; and head, 105, 110; as inclination, 104; and JE’s upbringing, 1; sense of, 93, 103, 105–6, 107–8, 109, 110; and sermons, 244; as spiritual center, 106; and virtue, 40; as will, 155
heart religion, 103, 109, 113, 151
heaven, 57, 70, 228, 229, 237–38, 240
Hebrews, Epistle to, 9
Heerboord, Adrianus, 18
Heimert, Alan, 227
hell, 54, 229, 238, 240, 278
Henry, Matthew, Exposition of the Old and New Testaments, 28
Herbert of Cherbury, 27
heresy, 21
heterodoxy, 4, 5, 10
history: and Bible, 28, 92, 96, 98; and church, 171; colonial, 220; continuance of, 69, 70; divine presence in, 191; and eschatology, 226, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235, 238, 239; God’s control of, 232; God’s voice in, 191; interpretation of, 217–18; as medium for creation, 216; and millennium, 217, 218, 221; Niebur on, 219–20; and ontology, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 204; and prophecy, 217, 218; and providence, 190, 193, 239; and redemption, 198, 204, 210, 211–16, 217, 222, 223, 236, 259, 262; religious expression in, 192; and revelation, 218; and revivals, 8; in sermons, 284; Son in, 55; sources of, 212, 213; as subject, 217; and typology, 97, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 204, 207, 217, 218, 223; as unitary process, 220, 221, 222; universal, 213
Hoadly, Benjamin, 25
Hobbes, Thomas, 92, 118
Hodge, Charles, 296, 299
Holbrook, Clyde, 127
holiness, 4, 53, 124, 137, 140–41, 142, 144, 145, 240
Hollis, Isaac, 263
Holy Spirit: in Aquinas, 135–36; assistance of, 110, 111; and church, 169; and community of spirits, 82; and conversion, 239; as disposition, 130, 131, 132–35, 136, 137, 145; and divine light, 106–7; and emanation/ remanation, 56; and faculties, 108; and faith, 140–41; fruits of, 103, 104, 111, 239; as fullness of Godhead, 179, 187n.16; and general law, 135–36; gifts of, 56; God’s communication by power of, 169; and grace, 130, 131, 133, 135, 144, 151, 204; in history, 213; and holiness, 145; honor of, 48; indwelling of, 55, 69, 130, 133–34, 135, 136, 144; and Jesus Christ, 82; knowledge made possible by, 69; in Lombard, 135; as love, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 62, 82, 203; in Mather, 46; and nature, 134; and natures of Jesus Christ, 79, 80; progress through, 239; reality of, 133, 134; and redemption, 54, 55, 296; and regenerate person, 69, 130, 132, 134, 135, 136; as relation, 82; and religious affections, 112; sealing of, 104; and timelessness, 67; in Trinity, 82, 203; and will, 135. See also Trinity
honor, 47, 48
Hooker, Thomas, 251
Hopkins, Samuel, 13, 22, 29, 87, 127, 215, 227, 296, 300; System of Doctrine, 293
Hosea, Book of, 178
human being(s): in Aquinas, 131; capacity to know God, 46–47; communion with God, 92, 93, 205; conviction of, 108; as dependent on God, 6; disposition of, 201; as dispositions and habits, 60; frailty of, 201; and glory, 204–5; and God, 93; God’s exhibition of self to, 201; God’s glory in, 143; God’s incorporation of, 55; God’s self-enlargement through, 59; image of God in, 238; infinite obligation to God, 139–40; love to, 147; merit of, 6; as natural man, 110, 150, 151, 154; natural vs. moral ability of, 295; as participating in God’s activity, 60; prelapsarian, 205; preservation of, 161; relationship with
God, 6, 44, 73–76, 205; responsibility of, 293; self-identity of, 121; and self-love, 153; self-understanding of, 121; sinful nature of, 299; unity with Adam, 14. See also creation; creature(s)

Hume, David, 26, 161
Hutcheson, Francis, 150, 161, 222
Hutchinson, Abigail, 10
hypocrisy, 8, 11, 180, 183, 278–79
idealism, 4, 36–37; Emersonian, 194; and God's communications in nature, 194; and More, 42n.4; Neoplatonic, 200, 201; objective, 35; phenomenalistic, 37; and Trinity, 46
idea(s): agreement among perceptual, 38–39; defined, 105; and experience, 109; human vs. divine, 109; in Locke, 109; and reality, 77; of self, 61; Son as, 50; and words, 109. See also imagination
identity, 14, 52, 93, 121
illumination, 91
imagination, 40, 107, 159. See also idea(s)
immaterialism, 22, 193, 208n.7
imputation, 14, 74–75, 143, 144, 299, 300
inanimate things, 157
Incarnation, 172, 191, 259
inclination, 104, 121, 262, 263. See also disposition
Indians, 12–13, 119, 120, 235, 258, 260, 261–69, 279, 286, 295
intellect, 117, 121, 122
Isaiah, Book of, 2, 14, 28, 176, 181, 211
Israel, 218, 276, 279–81, 283, 287
James, William, 41, 107, 110
Jehovah, 50
Jenson, Robert W., 227
Jeremiah, Book of, 178, 283
Jesus Christ: atonement by, 55, 137, 140; beauty of God as manifest in, 70; beauty of union with, 139; and believer, 73–76; blood of, 173; as bridegroom, 69–70, 170, 171, 175, 178, 180, 186n.12; in Campbell, 303; and church, 69–70, 168–71, 172, 173, 178–80, 240; church as body of, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174, 177, 178, 179–80, 183, 184, 185; church as fullness of, 178–79; church as ingrafted into, 169; church as mother of, 172, 186n.10; church as risen with, 171; as church's head, 171; closing with, 73–76; communication in union with, 171; consciousness of, 80, 81; and creation, 78; death on cross, 78, 79, 303; and eschatology, 78; and faith, 138; and Father, 80; and final judgment, 237, 240; glory of, 197; God's communication through, 170; and grace, 55; and Holy Spirit, 82; and Indians, 261; indwelling of, 55; JE's focus on, 47; justification in, 170; knowledge of, 81; as knowledge of God, 54–55; life in, 171; and light, 197; and Logos, 79–82, 83; and love, 152–53; as mediator, 54, 70, 170; as moral actor, 125; natures of, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78–82, 84n.6; and necessity, 89, 123; in New Testament, 72, 81; as one hypostasis, 72–73; oneness of, 73; passion of, 184; and Princeton Seminary, 302; and redemption, 4, 54–55, 73–76, 78, 97, 213, 303; in “Redemption Discourse,” 212; redemption offered by, 138; and regenerate person, 150; righteousness of, 74, 75, 143, 144, 170; sacrifice of, 4, 153; and saints, 168, 178, 200; and secular world, 169; self-creation of, 78; and sin, 74; in Smith, 302; and Son, 80; sorrow of, 304; soul's marriage to, 74; subordinationist views of, 50; suffering of, 137, 179, 303; sun as type of, 199; and typology, 97, 190, 191, 196–97, 199–200, 212–13; union through, 170; union with, 138–39, 145, 152, 170–71, 183, 184, 240, 258; as virtuous, 89; will of, 124–25. See also Logos; Son; Word
Jews, 172, 230
1 John, Epistle of, 230, 249
John, Gospel of, 178, 245
Johnson, Edward, 220
Johnson, Samuel, 3, 20, 21; Dictionary, 192
Johnson, Thomas, 23, 24
Jones, Jeremiah, New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, 28
judgment: and fast sermons, 277, 278, 279; final, 174–75, 237, 240, 277; by Jesus Christ, 237, 240; in sermons to Indians, 268; and will, 104
Judson, Adoniram, 294
justice, 141, 157, 159, 160, 163, 295
justification, 8; in Aquinas, 142–43; in Arminianism, 142; as change, 143; and faith, 5, 74–75, 136–45; forensic conception of, 139–45; and grace, 144–45; imputation in court of heaven, 74; in JE’s followers, 300; in Jesus Christ, 170; Rand on, 119; and revivals, 119; sola gratia, 6–7; and Trinity, 53; as unmerited, 142

Kames, Henry Home, Lord, 295–96; Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, 296
Kellogg, Martin, 266
Kierkegaard, Søren, 110
Kimnach, Wilson, 17, 21
1 Kings, Book of, 177, 230, 281
Kingsley, Bathsheba, 183
Kirkland, Samuel, 264
Kneeland, Samuel, 120
knowledge: agreement in, 38; of beauty, 112; and God, 45, 46–47, 54–55, 61, 67, 68, 89, 112, 150, 201; and Holy Spirit, 69; and interpretation of Bible, 96; and Jesus Christ, 54–55, 81; and logic, 18; mind’s appetite for, 36–37; self, 121
language, 109, 163, 207
Lardner, Nathaniel, Credibility of the Gospel History, 94
last judgment. See judgment
latitudinarianism, 19, 20, 21, 25–26
law, 22, 59, 60, 63, 135–36
learning, polite, 19–20, 25, 26, 27
Lee, Sang Hyun, 48, 185n.6, 201, 209n.19, 227
Leland, John, View of the Principal Deistical Writers, 28
Lesser, M. X., 274
Leviticus, Book of, 281
liberalism, 20, 83, 202
libertarianism, 121
light, 3, 6, 106–7, 108
Lightfoot, John, 97
Lloyd-Jones, Martyn, 305
Locke, John, 4, 16, 17; and Bible, 27, 98; in Drummer’s collection, 20; epistemology of, 200, 205; Essay Concerning Human Understanding, 22, 38, 105, 108–9; forma ab extra in, 205; influence of, 22–23, 31n.16; on knowledge from perception, 38; language of, 202; Miller on, 192, 193, 220; Norris on, 23; and polite learning, 19; on psychology, 61, 192; reality in, The Reasonableness of Christianity, 27; recent discoveries of, 3; as source, 106
Logan, Samuel T., Jr., 146n.8
Logos, 50, 54, 79–82, 83. See also Jesus Christ; Word
London Magazine, 25
Lord’s Supper, 2, 11, 17, 119, 167, 168, 182, 184, 185, 235, 285
Louisbourg, fortress at, 281–83
love: and affections, 104, 104; in Aquinas, 132; and beauty, 155, 157; to being in general, 155, 156, 293, 295; and benevolence, 41, 151–52, 156; in Bible, 154; Christian, 111, 154; of complacence, 41; divine, 147, 148; and eschatology, 153; as excellence, 40; and Father, 52; fullness of, 153; and God, 44, 45–46, 52, 54, 55, 69, 79, 103, 104, 147, 148, 149, 150, 156, 169–70, 201, 205; and happiness, 148–49, 158; and holiness, 53; and Holy Spirit, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 62, 82, 104, 203; to human beings, 147; and imputation, 143; inordinate, 148, 153; and Jesus Christ, 152–53; JE’s works on, 147; and morality, 158–59; and neighbor, 63, 148, 149, 152, 156; object of, 41; for others, 152; parent-child, 161, 162; partaking of divine, 150; as passion, 85n.28; as perfection of person, 47; reciprocal, 52; of self, 147–49, 153, 157, 158, 159; and selfishness, 152, 153; and Son, 52; and Trinity, 48, 52, 80; and true religion, 104; virtuous, 41; and will, 117, 132. See also charity
Lovelace, Richard, Dynamics of Spiritual Life, 305
Lowance, Mason, 208 nn. 9, 17, 234–35
Lowman, Moses, Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation, 232
Lucretius, 117
Luke, Gospel of, 179, 230, 238
INDEX

Luther, Martin, 26, 74, 84n.10, 132; Christian Liberty, 74
Lyon, Mary, 294

machine/mechanism, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128
Malebranche, Nicolas, 193; Recherche de la Vérité, 23
marriage, 74, 170
mass, 202, 206
Massachusetts Bay charter, 2
Mastricht, Peter van, Theoretico-Practica Theologia, 19, 24–25
material body, 35–36
material universe, 60, 61, 63, 77, 118, 193, 238. See also creation
Mather, Cotton, 3, 17, 20, 46, 220, 259; Manuductio ad Ministerium, 24–25
Mather, Increase, 3, 17, 21
Matthew, Gospel of, 8, 9, 112, 133, 175, 176, 178, 181, 230, 248, 259
Mayhew, Jonathan, 50
McClymond, Michael, 51; Encounters with God, 222
McCulloch, William, 295
McDermott, Gerald, 27, 28, 222; Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods, 221; One Holy and Happy Society, 221
Medeán paradox, 117
Melachthon, Philip, 74, 75, 76
merit, 141, 142, 143
Messiah, 11, 28, 198, 199. See also Jesus Christ
metaphysics, 22, 35, 44, 45, 76–77
midwife, manual for, 12, 183–84
millennium, 231; approach of, 8, 191, 192, 193, 196; arrival of, 260–61; description of, 229, 236–37; emanation/remanation at, 206; and end of creation, 239; and history, 217, 218, 221; hope for, 9, 10; JE’s writings on, 241n.11; Miller on, 220; and redemption, 239; and revivals, 8, 9, 232, 233–34, 239; and saints, 56–57, 237; and Trinity, 56–57. See also eschatology
Miller, Perry, 16, 17, 23, 29, 88, 222, 274, 305–6; on epistemology, 108–9; and eschatology, 227; and federal theology, 275; on free will, 127; on history, 220; Jonathan Edwards, 220, 304; on Locke, 22; The New England Mind, 304; on typology, 192–93, 194, 207n.4, 208n.7
Miller, Samuel, 297
Mills, Samuel J., 294
mind: and appetite for knowledge, 36–37; and dissent to being, 36; enlargement of, 159; enlightenment of, 112; existence in God’s, 37; of God, 3–4, 35, 37, 77; heart as inclination expressed in, 104; in Locke, 109; nature of, 3; operations of, 36; as plural, 36; and proportion, 38; and truth, 38
missions, 258–70, 294–95. See also evangelical movement; Stockbridge, Indian mission at
Mix, Elisha, 19
modernism, 202
modernity, 82–84
morality, 25; and beauty, 41, 112, 157; benevolence in, 154; Christian, 154; common, 111, 154, 157–62, 163; and conscience, 157; corporate, 275, 277, 278; in deism, 92; and determinism, 301; Enlightenment attitudes toward, 20; and excellency, 138; and God, 14, 201; and goodness, 162; of grace, 154; of Indians, 268–69; in JE’s followers, 293; and love, 158–59; and nature, 154, 159; and necessity, 126, 296, 298; in Old Testament, 197; progression of, 153; reform in, 288; and religion, 163–64; and self-love, 158, 159; and virtue, 40, 163–64; writings on, 13. See also sin; vice; virtue
moral sense, 158, 159, 165n.14
More, Henry, 19, 20, 35, 42n.4; Enchiridion Ethicum, 18; Enchiridion Metaphysicu, 18
Morgan, Edmund S., 20, 274
Morgan, Thomas, 27
Morimoto, Anri, 135
Morris, William Sparkes, The Young Jonathan Edwards, 23
Morse, Jedidiah, 293
Moses, 191, 197
motion, 23
motive, 121–22, 128n.6
Murphy, Arthur E., 128
Murray, Iain, 16, 227, 305
natural law, 161
natural man, 110, 150, 151, 154. See also human being(s)
natural philosophy, 3, 14, 18
natural principles, 107, 110, 111, 162–63
natural religion, 91–92

nature: analogies with spirit, 193; beauty of, 37; and being, 36; and Bible, 194; calamities of, 277–78, 279; capacity of, 151; and deism, 108; and deity, 202; divine presence in, 191; divine uniformity of, 192; exaltation of, 192–93; God’s actions through, 131; God’s communication through, 193, 194; God’s glory in, 145; God’s self-enlargement through, 59; God’s voice in, 191, 203; and grace, 111, 150; and Holy Spirit, 134; and Indians, 268; insufficiency of, 92; JE’s writings on, 5; living things in, 39; morality of, 154; perfection in, 200; and providence, 150; relation in, 39; and religion, 1, 192; in sermons, 264; as shadows of being, 36; as shadows of spiritual things, 37; and typology, 97, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 199–200, 204, 205, 207. See also creation

natures, communication of, 78
necessity, 89, 122–23, 124, 125–27, 296, 298, 301. See also determinism; providence
Nehemiah, Book of, 248
neighbor/others, 63, 148, 149, 151, 152, 156, 159–60
Neo-Platonism, 64, 68–69, 193, 200, 201, 202. See also Plotinus
Netleton, Asahel, 293, 297
New Divinity theologians, 296
New England, 49, 239, 260; God’s covenant with, 275, 276, 277–78, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288; sin of, 276, 277; war in, 281–83, 287
New England Congregationalists, 297
New England theologians, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302
New Haven theologians, 294, 296, 298, 301
New School Presbyterians, 297, 301
New Testament, 95; and church, 171, 172; Jesus Christ in, 72, 81; and Old Testament, 152; revelations in, 191; and

Trinity, 50; and typology, 97, 190, 198. See also Bible; specific books
Newton, Sir Isaac, 18, 77; divine uniformity of nature in, 192; in Drummer’s collection, 20; influence of, 23; language of, 202; Miller on, 192, 193, 220; on optics, 37; and question of will, 118; recent discoveries of, 3; and sermons, 255
Niebuhr, Pierre, La Logique, ou L’art de penser, 18
Niebuhr, H. Richard, 88, 216, 221; The Kingdom of God in America, 219, 305; The Social Sources of Denominationalism, 219
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 16, 216
 nihilism, 83
 nominalism, 59
 non-Christians, 221
 Nonconformists, 25, 26
 Norris, John, An Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World, 23
 Northampton. See First Congregational Church of Northampton
 Numbers, Book of, 177, 247

object: beauty as, 41, 112; of consenting, 36; excellence of divine, 108; God as own, 203; of love, 41; and virtue, 40–41

objectivity, 77

obligation. See duty/obligation

occasionalism, 22, 23, 60

Old Lights, 10
Old Testament: and church, 171, 172, 177, 195; and Gospel, 152; moral law of, 197; in “Redemption Discourse,” 212; revelations in, 191; saints in, 171, 172; spiritual transformation in, 198–99; and Trinity, 50; and typology, 97, 190, 193, 197, 198, 212, 213. See also Bible

Oliver, Andrew, 263
ontological analogy, 199
ontology, 169; excellency in, 38; and history, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 204; and typology, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199

optics, 3, 37

others. See neighbor/others
Owen, John, 24
INDEX 327

pain, 150
Park, Edwards Amasa, 293, 299–300
Parrington, Vernon, 274
Paul, 103, 130, 139, 177
Pauw, Amy Plantinga, 29
Pepperell, William, 282
perception: in Aristotle, 84n.10; and blinding power of sin, 205–6; divine, 22; existence dependent on divine, 22; of glory, 204; and grace, 191, 209n.19; knowledge from, 38; multiples in, 38; and reality, 76–77; renewal of, 93; by saints, 205, 207; and virtue, 154. See also apprehension
perfection, 51, 140, 141, 200, 201
Perkins, William, 243
person, as term, 52–53
1 Peter, Epistle of, 112
2 Peter, Epistle of, 264, 268–69
Peter Lombard, 131, 135
phenomena, 36–37, 38–39. See also creation; nature
philosophy, 16, 21, 92, 96
physics, 3, 18, 22, 38, 96, 118. See also science
Pierpont, Benjamin, 89
pietists, 275
piety, 200
Piper, John, Desiring God, 305
pity, 159, 161, 162, 163
Plato, 116–17
pleasure, 38, 39, 109, 150, 157, 238. See also happiness
Plotinus, 65, 68. See also Neoplatonism
plurality, 34, 36, 40, 41, 52
Poe, Edgar Allan, 255, 257n.17
Pomeroy, Hannah, 183
Poole, Matthew, Synopsis Criticorum, 28
Port-Royal logic, 18
pragmatism, 127
prayer, 234
predestination, 117, 123
preordination, 2
Presbyterians, 2, 296, 297, 298, 299–300, 301
Prideaux, Humphrey, Old and New Testaments Connected in the History of the Jews, 28
Prince, Thomas, Christian History, 119
Princeton Theological Seminary, 296, 298, 300–301
print, culture of, 17, 29
prophecy, 11, 91, 95, 191, 201, 202, 217, 218, 234, 236
proportion, 34, 37–38, 39–40, 45, 194. See also harmony
Protestantism: and Bible, 91; commentarial tradition of, 28; and God’s end in creation, 216, 217; grace in, 132; history in, 222; and JE’s convictions, 23; JE’s debt to, 29; and justification, 130, 136, 139, 144; and missions, 269–70; redemption in, 212, 215; scholasticism of, 21; Trinity in, 47; and typology, 193, 194, 218; and will, 117; at Yale, 19
providence, 54, 92–93, 116, 117, 125, 150, 190, 193, 195, 239. See also necessity
Psalms, Book of, 172, 175, 176, 181, 230, 265, 287
psychology, 3, 7, 16, 22, 61, 99, 192, 253, 255
Puritans/Puritanism, 45; and America, 221; and Bible, 17; changing status of, 2, 3; church in, 169; covenant in, 274–75; English, 222; and exegesis, 211; as frame of reference, 24; and history, 222–23; influence on JE, 16–17, 18; and JE’s exaltation of nature, 192–93; in JE’s library, 26; legacy of, 297; New England, 223; and sermon form, 212, 243, 253; and will, 118
Ramism, 250, 253
Ramsey, Paul, 147, 149, 153, 154, 164n.3, 305; “Heaven Is a Progressive State,” 70
Ramus, Petrus, 18
Rand, William, 7, 119
rationalism, 22, 31n.16, 150, 276, 282, 285, 286
realism, 59, 169
reality, 35, 59–60, 76–77, 82
reason: in Aquinas, 131; assistance to, 107, 111; and Bible, 27; and Christianity, 14, 51; and deism, 51, 91; and emotion, 105; and Enlightenment, 20, 50; and God, 6, 108, 201; importance of, 1; and redemption, 93; sanctified, 107; secularized, 82–83; and Trinity, 50, 51; and will, 117
redemption: acceptance of, 138; assurance of, 10; and Bible, 213; in Campbell, 303; and church, 171, 217; and covenant,
redemption (cont.)
55–56, 135, 258; dependence in, 56; 
dependence on God for, 49–50; and 
elect, 69, 238; and faith, 4; and Father, 
54; as glorification of God, 246; and 
God, 218, 232; and God's communica-
tion of self, 202, 203; and God's sover-
eignty, 119; God's work in, 6; and grace, 
130, 197; and history, 198, 204, 210, 
211–16, 217, 222, 223, 236, 259, 262; 
and Holy Spirit, 54, 55, 296; and Indi-
ans, 258, 262, 269; and Jesus Christ, 4, 
54–55, 73–76, 78, 97, 138, 213, 303; 
and millennium, 239; and New England, 
284; opposition to, 239–40; personal, 
275, 288; personal vs. general, 197–98; 
progress of, 191; and prophecy, 236; 
and reason, 93; revelation concerning, 
92–93; and suffering, 179; sufficiency 
of divine action in, 293; and Trinity, 
48, 53–57; as undeserved, 137; as 
unmerited, 141
regenerate person(s): in Aquinas, 132; 
change in, 130; and grace, 136; and 
Holy Spirit, 130, 132, 134, 135, 136; 
and Indians, 262, 263, 264–65; natural 
powers of, 135; as new creation in 
Christ, 150; perception by, 205; sensibil-
ity of, 192; as spiritual, 133; and typol-
ogy, 196. See also elect; saints
regeneration: and grace, 131, 135; as Holy 
Spirit indwelling, 69; reality of, 137, 
145; and sense, 110
relation, 34, 39, 40, 45, 52, 53
religion, 10, 28–29, 104–5, 163–64, 
230, 265
religious affections, 99, 103–13, 119
remanation, 54, 56, 205, 216
repentence, 280, 286
republic of letters, 19, 21, 25
resistance, 60, 70n.2, 76
revelation, 10, 11, 51, 88, 91–94, 95, 
191, 218
Revelation (biblical book), 168, 178, 228, 
230, 231, 232, 234, 236–37, 238, 249
revivals, 1–2, 6, 7, 8–10, 16, 29, 270; and 
Bible, 99; Chauncy on, 105, 113, 234; 
and church, 168, 169; and church 
membership, 181, 182, 183, 184; and 
eschatology, 231–32, 233, 235; expecta-
tion of, 260–61; and grace, 154;
Holy Spirit in, 111; and Indians, 258; 
JE's reputation concerning, 294, 295, 
296, 297, 298; and justification, 119; 
and millennium, 232, 233–34, 239; and 
missions, 259; and redemption history, 
218; and religious affections, 103, 
112; in Scotland, 295; and 
Stoddard, 1–2
rhetoric, 17; and Bible, 90; in sermons, 
243, 244, 245–46, 247, 249–51, 
253–55, 264–65, 275–81; of Stoddard, 
251–53
Richard of St. Victor, 47
Richardson, Samuel: Clarissa, 26; 
Pamela, 26
righteousness, 74, 75, 137, 170, 171, 237
Robe, James, 295
Rohault, Jacques, 18
Roman Catholic Church, 23, 26, 28, 142, 
143, 194, 228, 230–31, 281
Romans, Epistle to, 248
saints: in Aquinas, 131; bodily perfection 
of, 229; church as, 168; and church 
membership, 183; communion of, 168; 
and community of believers, 206; elec-
tion of, 170; encouragement for, 228; 
and God, 238–39; God's delight in, 
69; as God's portion, 176; and grace, 136; 
and gracious affections, 154; happiness 
of, 229, 237, 240; in heaven, 228, 229, 
237; holiness of, 140–41, 240; and Holy 
Spirit, 110–11, 130; increase in number 
of, 192, 198, 206; JE's reflections on, 53; 
and Jesus Christ, 168, 178; and Lord's 
Supper, 184; and millennium, 56–57, 
237; and mixed multitude, 11; in new 
heaven and earth, 70; in Old Testament, 
171, 172; perception by, 205, 207; rema-
nation of, 206; righteousness of, 171; as 
select, 180; sense of divine in, 191; spiri-
tual transformation of, 198; as types of 
Jesus Christ, 200; virtue of, 126
Saltonstall, Gurdon, 21
salvation. See redemption
sanctification, 8, 53, 142, 144
Sargeant, John, 12
Satan, 239. See also devil
Schafer, Thomas, 22, 167, 169
Scharlemann, Robert P., 132, 143
scholasticism, 21, 29, 132

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
INDEX

science, 3, 18, 19, 22, 38, 96, 98, 116, 118, 191–92, 193, 202, 206, 208n.9, 277. See also empiricism
Scotland, 295, 302–3
self: love of, 147–49, 153, 157, 158, 159; reflexive idea of, 61
self-determination, 116, 125, 126
self-identity, 121
selfishness, 148, 152, 153
self-understanding, 121
sense, 39, 110
senses, five, 105–6
Separatism, 10, 12, 181
Sergeant, John, 265, 266, 267
sermons, 211, 243–56; Bible in, 98; Biblical interpretation in, 88; fast day, 275–81, 284–87; to Indians, 262–63, 264–65, 268; regular, 275; thanksgiving day, 276, 282–83, 287
Seven Years War, 13, 286
Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of, 19, 20, 21, 222
Shepard, Thomas, 23, 24, 26
Sherlock, Thomas, 25
Sibbes, Richard, 23, 193
Simon, Richard, 92
sin: in Aquinas, 143; atonement for, 303, 304; blinding power of, 205–6; and character vs. action, 293; and divine light, 106–7; and fast sermons, 278, 280; forgiveness for, 170; freedom from guilt of, 137; infinite odiousness of, 141; and Jesus Christ, 74; and New England, 276, 277; in New England theologians, 299; original, 89, 285, 300; punishment of, 54; Reformed emphasis on, 47; remission of, 143; weakness from, 286. See also evil; morality
sinner: acceptance of redemption by, 138; holy disposition in, 142; and perfection, 140, 141; reliance on God by, 6; sermons on, 9; in Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God, 255; in Wicked Men’s Slavery to Sin, 245–46
Skelton, Philip, Deism Revealed, 27–28
Smyth, Egbert, 55
Solomon, 197
Son: Clarke on, 49; and community of spirits, 82; defined, 62; as disposition to communicate self, 62; divine nature of, 72; eternal generation of, 62; and Father, 82, 203; Father as one substance with, 49; Father loved by, 62, 76; as Father’s idea, 46, 48, 62; as fullness of Father, 179; glorification of, 56; God’s glorification in, 185; in history, 55; honor of, 48; hypothesis of, 72; as idea, 50; and Jesus Christ, 80; as Logos, 50; and love, 52; in Mather, 46; as repetition of Father, 48, 62; and timelessness, 67; as wisdom, 48, 50. See also Jesus Christ; Logos; Trinity; Word Song of Solomon. See Canticles (biblical book)
soul, 74, 93, 131, 148–49, 198
sower, parable of, 9
space, 42n.4, 63, 68, 69, 97, 131, 144, 216. See also time
speech, divine, 191
Spencer, Elihu, 12
spider, image of, 9, 254
Spinoza, Benedict, 92
spirit, 4, 193
spirits, 77, 82
spiritual impulses, 10
spiritual sense, 93
Sprague, William, 294
Stapfer, Johann Friedrich, Institutiones Theologiae Polemicae, 29
Stearns, Lewis French, 301
Stebbins, Thomas, 7
Steele, Sir Richard, 19, 20; Guardian, 25; Ladies Library, 25, 26
Stein, Stephen, 28, 88, 97, 98, 208n.7
Stewart, Dugald, 295
Stillingsfleet, Edward, 19, 20
Stockbridge, Indian mission at, 12–13, 119, 120, 235–36, 245, 261–69, 285
Stoddard, John, 12, 265
Stoddard, Solomon, 6, 11, 181; and admission to Lord’s Supper, 17, 235, 285; The Benefit of the Gospel to those that are Wounded in Spirit, 251; The Defects of Preachers Reproved, 252; and Indians, 261, 271n.4; JE as assistant to, 5, 228; and revivals, 1–2; sermons of, 244, 250; works of, 17

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
INDEX

Stout, Harry S., 304
Strict Congregationalism, 12
Sweeney, Douglas, 88, 99n.4
symbolism, 191, 193, 200
Synod of Dort, 117
Tappan, Henry Philip, 301
Taylor, Edward, 194
Taylor, John, 14, 21
Taylor, Nathaniel William, 294, 298, 300, 301
teleology, 64, 65
teleoscope, 191–92, 196
theism, 193
theology, 1, 90, 98, 99, 243, 245, 275, 279, 285, 288
Thomas Aquinas, 131–32, 135–36, 142–43
thought, 115, 117. See also idea(s);
imagination
Tillotson, John, 19, 20, 26
time, 59, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 97, 131, 144, 216, 226. See also space
Tindal, Matthew, 27, 28, 51
Toland, John, 27
Tracy, Joseph, 294
Trinity, 44–57, 61–62; and ancient philosophy, 29; in Augustinian tradition, 46;
beauty of, 53, 54; and Bible, 47, 50, 51;
as center of JE's faith, 45; consent of, 56;
and conversion, 53; and creation, 61–62, 69, 203–4; equality of, 47, 48; and eschatology, 56; excellency of, 54; and glory, 53, 238, 258; God as harmony of, 76, 77; and Godhead, 185n.6; as God's disposition to communicate, 62; as God's overflowing wisdom and love, 48; grace in, 54; harmony of, 56; Holy Spirit in, 82; and idealism, 46; interdependence of, 48; and justification, 53; and love, 48, 52, 80; and millennium, 56–57; nature of, 3; perfection of, 51; person in, 52–53, 83–84; plurality in, 52; and reason, 50, 51; and redemption, 48, 53–57; scholarly interest in, 44; as society, 48, 56; source of, 203; union of, 54; and wisdom, 48, 54. See also Father; God; Holy Spirit; Son tritheism, 52
Trumbull, Benjamin, 294; History of Connecticut, 250
Turretin, Francis, Institutio Theologiae Elencticae, 25
Turretin, Jean Alphonse, 97
Tyler, Bennet, 293
typology, 101n.20; adumbration and fulfillment in, 196, 199; and antitype, 193, 197, 229; and Bible, 97, 190, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 212, 213, 229–31, 232, 233; and church, 177–78; conservative, 195, 196, 199; defined, 190; as divine speech, 207; and eschatology, 229–31, 232, 233, 238; evolution in, 198; and exegesis, 97; exemplary, 197; and history, 97, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 204, 207, 217, 218, 223; Israel in, 218; in JE’s contemporaries, 193; and Jesus Christ, 97, 190, 191, 196–97, 199–200, 212–13; liberal, 193, 194, 195, 196; and Messiah, 11; Miller on, 192–93, 194, 207n.4, 208n.7; and nature, 97, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 199–200, 204, 205, 207; and New Testament, 97, 190, 198; and Old Testament, 97, 190, 193, 197, 198, 212, 213; and ontology, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199; progressive perfection in, 198; prophetic, 197; repetition in, 199; and science, 193, 208n.9
understanding: and apprehension, 110; and experience, 105, 106; of head vs. of heart, 110; human vs. divine, 109; and illumination, 106; knowledge of God in, 150; Locke on, 22, 108; notional, 103, 104, 105, 110; and self-knowledge, 121; and sense of heart, 110; and sermons, 244; spiritual, 106, 107, 111; and will, 124
union: with being in general, 159, 161, 163; and benevolence, 159; with God, 44, 48, 53, 57, 76, 170, 206, 238–39; human desire for, 53; with Jesus Christ, 138–39, 145, 152, 170–71, 183, 184, 240, 258; with others, 149; real vs. relative, 170–71; of Trinity, 54; and ultimate reality, 44
Union Theological Seminary, 296, 301
universe, 60, 61, 63, 77, 118, 192, 193, 200, 217, 238. See also cosmology; creation

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.
vice, 162, 286. See also fallen creature; morality; sin; virtue; wicked
Victorines, 47, 52, 106
virtue: of action, 126; and affections, 162; as agreement with truth, 157–58; in Aquinas, 132; and beauty, 40, 41, 154, 155, 156; and being in general, 40–41, 155; and benevolent being, 156; charity as, 147; and common morality, 157, 159, 163; defined, 40–41; end of, 147; and excellence, 154; faith as, 137; God’s infusion of, 142; and grace, 132; and harmony, 154, 155; JE’s works on, 147; and kind affections, 161; and moral beauty, 41; and morality, 40, 163–64; and natural principles, 162–63; and necessity, 126; and plurality, 41; true, 40–41, 111, 151, 154–56, 159, 160, 161, 162–64; and truth, 157; and will, 125, 154. See also morality
Voltaire, 222
war, 279, 281–83, 284–87
Warburton, William, 25
Wayland, Francis, 294
Wells, Edward, *Historical Geography of the Old Testament*, 28
Wesley, Charles, 8
Wesley, John, 8, 270, 295
Wethersfield, Conn., 18
Wheeler, Rachel, 264, 268
Whitefield, George, 8, 9, 10, 26, 119, 232
wicked, the, 237, 238. See also fallen creature; sin
Wigglesworth, Professor, 50
Wilkins, John, *Ecclesiastes*, 243, 250
will: and action, 104, 115, 117; and affections, 104; and apprehension, 110; in Aquinas, 131, 132, 143; and Arminianism, 118, 124; in Augustine, 117; in Calvin, 117; in Calvinism, 124; and causality, 116, 123–24; and choice, 104, 121, 123, 124; and compatibilism, 126, 134; definition of, 121; and desire, 115, 117; dissent of to being, 36; and evil, 125; and experience, 124; freedom of, 11, 115–28, 143; and God, 116, 117, 118, 119, 124, 150; of God, 46, 201; and good, 121, 122, 124, 125; heart as, 155; and Holy Spirit, 135; and inclination, 104, 121; and indifference, 125; and intellect, 121, 122; and judgment, 104; and love, 117, 132, 150; and love of happiness, 148, 149; moral bondage of, 299; nature of, 115; and necessity, 122–23; and New England theologians, 298, 299; and predestination, 117, 123; and reason, 117; and self-knowledge, 121; as self-moving, 132; and sense, 110; as separate faculty, 104, 121, 123; and thought, 115, 117; and understanding, 124; and virtue, 40, 125, 154
Willard, Samuel, 17, 259
Williams, Elisha, 18
Williams, Ephraim, 267, 271n.13
Williams, John, 272n.18
Williams, Roger, 269
Williams, Solomon, 271n.13
Williams, William, 244, 256n.2
Williams family, 266, 268, 271n.13
Wilson, John, 195, 208n.15
Winslow, Ola E., 23, 127
wisdom, 48, 54, 157, 296
Wollaston, William, 157
Wollebius, Johannes, 259; *Compendium Theologiae Christianae*, 19
Woodbridge, Timothy, 267
Woolman, John, 269
Woolston, Thomas, 27
Word, 107, 108, 150. See also Jesus Christ; Logos
works, 137, 143, 144, 303
world, 59–70, 229. See also creation; universe
Wright, Conrad, 49
Yale College, 17–18, 20–21, 22, 23, 294
Yale Theological Seminary, 297, 301
Zakai, Avihu, 222–23; *Jonathan Edwards’s Philosophy of History*, 223
Zechariah, Book of, 234