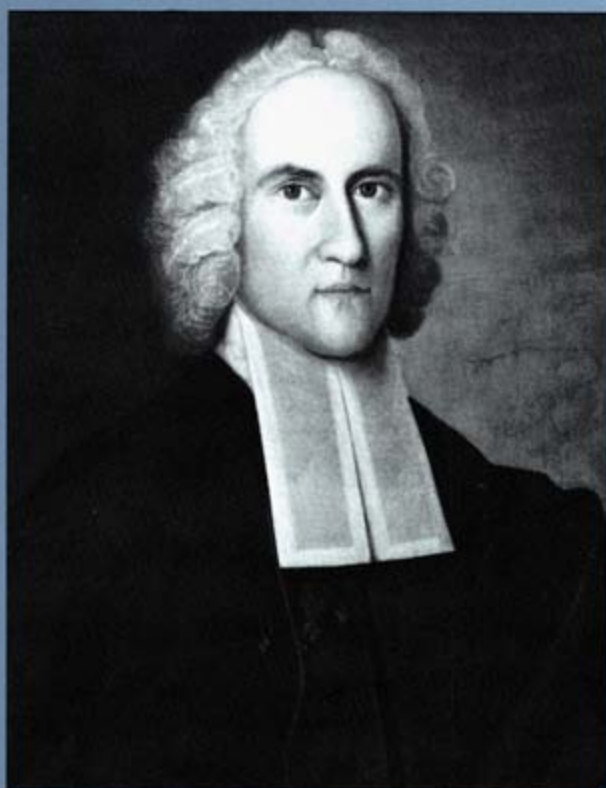


The Works of
Jonathan
Edwards Volume 21



*Writings on the Trinity,
Grace, and Faith*
Edited by Sang Hyun Lee

THE WORKS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS

VOLUME 21

Harry S. Stout, General Editor

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John F. Weir, *Rev. Jonathan Edwards*, n.d., an early twentieth-century conceptualization of Edwards in his study. Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

JONATHAN EDWARDS

Writings on the
Trinity, Grace,
and Faith

EDITED BY
SANG HYUN LEE

KYUNG-CHIK HAN PROFESSOR OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY
PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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NOTE TO THE READER

Preparation of the Text

The text of Jonathan Edwards is reproduced in this Edition as he wrote it in manuscript, or, if he published it himself, as it was printed in the first edition. In order to present this text to modern readers as practically readable, several technical adjustments have been made. Those which can be addressed categorically are as follows:

1. All spelling is regularized and conformed to that of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, a step that does not involve much more than removing the "u" from "colour" or "k" from "publick" since Edwards was a good speller, used relatively modern spelling, and generally avoided "y" contractions. His orthographic contractions and abbreviations, such as ampersands, "call'd," and "thems." are spelled out, though pronounced contractions, such as "han't" and "ben't," are retained.

2. There is no regular punctuation in most of Edwards' manuscripts and where it does exist, as in the earliest sermons, it tends to be highly erratic. Editors take into account Edwards' example in punctuation and related matters, but all punctuation is necessarily that of the editor, including paragraph divisions (especially in some notebooks such as the "Miscellanies") and the emphasizing devices of italics and capitalization. In reference to capitalization, it should be noted that pronouns referring to the deity are lower case except in passages where Edwards confusingly mixes "he's" referring to God and man: here capitalization of pronouns referring to the deity sorts out the references for the reader.

3. Numbered heads designate important structures of argument in Edwards' sermons, notebooks, and treatises. Numbering, including spelled-out numbers, has been regularized and corrected where necessary. Particularly in the manuscript sermon texts, numbering has been clarified by the use of systematic schemes of heads and subheads in accordance with eighteenth-century homiletical form, a practice similar to modern analytical outline form. Thus the series of subordinated head number forms, 1, (1), 1, a, (a), in the textual exegesis, and the series, I, *First*, 1,

(1), 1, a, (a), in Doctrine and Application divisions, make it possible to determine sermon head relationships at a glance.

4. Textual intervention to regularize Edwards' citation of Scripture includes the correction of erroneous citation, the regularizing of citation form (including the standardization of book abbreviations), and the completion of quotations which Edwards' textual markings indicate should be completed (as in preaching).

5. Omissions and lacunae in the manuscript text are filled by insertions in square brackets ([]); repeated phrases sometimes represented by Edwards with a long dash are inserted in curly brackets ({}). In all cases of uncertain readings, annotation gives notice of the problem. Markings in the text designate whole word units even when only a few letters are at issue.

6. Minor slips of the pen or obvious typographical errors are corrected without annotation. Likewise, Edwards' corrections, deletions, and internal shifts of material are observed but not noted unless of substantive interest.

7. Quotations made by the editor from the Bible (KJV) and other secondary sources are printed *verbatim ac literatim*. Edwards' quotations from such sources are often rather free but are not corrected and are not annotated as such unless significant omissions or distortions are involved.

Most of the texts included in this volume are either from single manuscript notebooks ("Faith," "Signs of Godliness"), a series of manuscript notebooks ("Efficacious Grace," Books I–III), an individual manuscript ("On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity"), an early printed edition ("Directions for Judging of Persons' Experiences"), or an early printed edition collated with original fragments and an early copy ("Treatise on Grace"). These are all described in detail in the headnotes.

However, several writings are drawn from larger notebooks, constructed from disparate pieces composed by Edwards over many years, and now in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. "Discourse on the Trinity" and "Christ's Example" were part of an untitled folio-sized volume (now disbound) that also included items published in volume 6 of the Yale Edition, *Scientific and Philosophical Writings*: "Beauty of the World," the "Outline of 'A Rational Account,'" and "Notes on Knowledge and Existence." The remaining unpublished pieces, all of them quite brief, are "Of Free Will," "Rough Notes on the Truth of the Christian Religion," "Notes on Conversion from Various Authors," and "List of Questions for the Young People of Northampton." These were apparently gathered by Edwards himself, though only Jonathan, Jr., in-

scribed the cover with the comment: “This volume contains a number of loose papers on the Trinity, Free Will, Efficacious Grace, etc.”

Three pieces printed here—“Justification,” “Efficacious Grace,” and “The Nature of True Virtue”—are parts of another notebook constructed by Edwards but again only titled by Jonathan, Jr., this time as “Controversy Book C” and “Sundries” on the front cover. This book is a gathering of manuscript notes on many subjects dealing with current theological “controversies” that Edwards apparently felt were related. That he himself put these notes into one volume is indicated by his cross references within the volume itself. The book consists of 120 folio leaves, but Edwards’ numbering does not correspond with the physical page numbers. In several places, he divided the pages up into blocks, numbering each block and counting it as a page. Thus Edwards’ pagination goes to 298. On the inside of the front cover he provided a table of contents, indicating page references to sections on Original Sin, Perseverance, Regeneration, Universal and Particular Redemption, Justification, Saving and Common Grace, Foreknowledge of God, Efficacious Grace, The Nature of True Virtue, Importance of Doctrines and Mysteries, Future Punishment, and Predestination. As with many of Edwards’ manuscript notebooks, this volume has an organic quality. For example, as he ran out of room when writing on a particular topic, he would continue on blank pages elsewhere in the book (sometimes later, sometimes earlier) and use cue marks and cross references to connect the pieces. Also, he made many later additions and emendations, significant instances of which are indicated in the footnotes.

Acknowledgments

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Daniel L. Migliore and George Hunsinger, both my colleagues at Princeton Theological Seminary, read all or a portion of the earlier draft of the “Editor’s Introduction” and provided helpful comments. I have

also benefited from conversations with other colleagues at Princeton, including Robert W. Jenson, Senior Research Scholar for Research at The Center for Theological Inquiry, E. David Willis, Bruce L. McCormack, W. Stacy Johnson, and Stephen D. Crocco.

I would also like to record here my indebtedness to those scholars whose support has sustained me and my studies of Edwards over the years: Richard R. Niebuhr, John E. Smith, Roland Delattre, Thomas A. Schafer, Wilson H. Kimnach, John F. Wilson, Gerald McDermott, Douglas Sweeney, the late Alan Heimert, and the late Wallace E. Anderson. I have received important personal support for my work on Edwards from President Thomas W. Gillespie, Dean James Armstrong, and the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, and from Donald Schweitzer, Wayne Proudfoot, and other friends, as well as from my wife, Inn Sook, my daughter Mi Hyong and my son Cy Suh Hyong.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS volume offers an unprecedented collection of essays and topical notebooks on some of the key Christian doctrines by America's premier theologian, Jonathan Edwards. The writings range over such topics as the triune being of God, grace, justification, and the signs of true holiness—all integral components, it turns out, of a theological vision in which creation, by God's grace, participates in God's own life of self-communication. Though Edwards never produced a systematic theology, these writings help demonstrate the remarkable coherence and creativity of his thinking.

Given the wide range of the pieces in this volume, the introduction, while it seeks to highlight the nature and significance of each document included here, also incorporates other writings on the Trinity, grace, and justification by faith. Edwards' thought is located within the history of Christian doctrine, going back to Augustine and Aquinas, particularly within his Reformed heritage as epitomized in Calvin. What emerges is a picture of Edwards as a theologian mindful of the past yet not afraid to innovate, to come up with daring conceptions of God as essentially dispositional and relational. Fundamental to this picture are three key issues: the inseparable unity of the immanent and economic Trinity, grace as the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit working in the manner of a new disposition, and the ultimate significance of Christian good works in God's own design.

The writings presented here include long-established pieces in the Edwards canon, newly re-edited from the original manuscripts, as well as documents never before published, some of which reveal new aspects of Edwards' thought. Separately, they show Edwards working methodically, sometimes over his entire career, on particular problems, and other times feverishly addressing a single, pressing point of controversy. Together, and in conjunction with other writings, such as Edwards' sermons and entries in the "Miscellanies," these essays and notebooks constitute a compelling, highly original, and still relevant reworking of some of the central issues in Christian theology.

*The Doctrine of the Trinity*THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY AND
JONATHAN EDWARDS' CONTEXT

The Christian doctrine of God as the Trinity was originally formulated by the ancient church fathers as a confessional expression of faith, not as a speculative idea. The church fathers believed that the God they experienced in Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit is the same God as the God they knew as the Creator and the Lord of creation. This belief had to be articulated in a doctrinal formula so to make clear the distinctiveness of the identity of the Christian God in relation to various other conceptions of the deity. They had to find some way to affirm that God was one and three. The God of the biblical witness, in other words, is at once one and also distinctively three: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

The same point can be stated in terms of the distinction between the "economic Trinity" (the differentiated agency of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in God's redemptive activity in his relation to the world) and the "immanent Trinity" (the eternal distinctions of persons within the internal being of God). When Christians speak about God as eternally triune in God's immanent Trinity, they are affirming that God's activities of creating, saving, and sanctifying are not accidental but rather rooted in, and consistent with, the way God is eternally within his own life. So the church doctrine of God as immanently triune emerges out of the experience of God as economically one and three. In this way, when the ancient church fathers originally articulated the doctrine of the Trinity, the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity were inseparably connected. The church fathers' experience of God as economically triune led them to confess God as immanently triune; the confession of God as immanently triune articulated the economic Trinity's eternal grounding.

The official formulation of the trinitarian doctrine began with the ecumenical council at Nicea (325), which affirmed the Athanasian view that Jesus Christ, whom believers experienced as their Savior, was God himself—that is, *homoousios* ("of the same substance") with the Father. The council at Constantinople (381) completed the formulation by asserting that the Holy Spirit as well as the Father and the Son were all of the same substance. God is, in other words, "one in substance, distinguished in three persons" (*mia ousia, tres hypostases*). Both the Greek Eastern and the Latin Western churches embraced these simultaneous affirmations of God's unity and God's threeness. However, in general, the Greek East

stressed the distinctions among the three more than the unity and tended to guard the unity with ideas of the Father as the fountainhead of the Deity and of the mutual indwelling (*perichoresis*) of the three persons. Meanwhile, the Latin West, most prominently exemplified by Augustine, tended to emphasize the divine unity.

With the formulas “of the same substance” and “one in substance, three in persons,” the ancient church fathers were not so much concerned with spelling out the technical meanings of such philosophically loaded terms as “substance” and “persons” as they were with describing the fundamental nature of the God in whom they put their faith. The trinitarian creed functioned as a name that identified the particular God who was incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth. The goal of the two fourth-century ecumenical councils was simply to define the most distinctive characteristic of the God of the church’s faith as contrasted to non-Christian ideas of the deity.

As the church moved on, however, the theological articulation of the doctrine of the immanent Trinity in particular became philosophically more elaborate and abstruse, with the result that the immanent Trinity’s rootedness in the economic Trinity and in the living faith of Christians became largely invisible and ignored. Under the influence especially of Aristotelian conceptions of substance and God, the nature of the Christian God began to be portrayed by most theologians as self-contained, impassable (i.e. unaffected by the changes in history), and remote from what happens in the world. Such philosophizing about the Trinity received its fullest and most elegant expression in the writings of Augustine, Aquinas, and the medieval scholastics in the Western church, and in Gregory of Nyssa and others of the Eastern, with somewhat different emphases between them.

What is striking about Jonathan Edwards’ writings on the Trinity is that there is none of this bifurcation between the doctrine of the Trinity and the Christian life of faith and practice. Everything Edwards wrote about the Trinity expresses the intertwining connectedness of the Trinity and the Christian’s experience of God as the Creator, Savior, and Sanctifier, and thus between the immanent and the economic Trinity. Edwards was well-versed in the Western church’s teachings on the Trinity through the writings of Reformed scholastics such as Francis Turretin and Peter van Maastricht and Puritan writers like William Ames. But Edwards was also acquainted with the Eastern tradition through the writings of the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth and, indirectly, Gregory of Nyssa him-

self.¹ As we shall see, Edwards wished to—and did—stay faithfully within the orthodoxy of the councils of Nicea and Constantinople. But at the same time, remarkably, he closed the gap between trinitarian doctrine and the Christian life, thereby returning to the ancient church father's original desire to see the Trinity as connected with the living Christian faith. The Puritan emphasis on the practice of piety and Edwards' own involvement in the Great Awakening were surely among the important factors behind what has been called Edwards' "practical Trinitarianism."²

What Edwards faced in his day, however, was not only the problematic way the Trinity had been elaborated in Christian theology itself. He also lived in the age of Enlightenment, when a general antagonism against mystery and anything that was not "reasonable" was leading many believing Christians to anti-trinitarianism. In what has come to be known as the Trinitarian Controversy of the 1690s in England, the traditional doctrine of the Trinity became a target for its metaphysical abstruseness. Socinians and Arians respected the biblical authority and the divine status of the Son and the Holy Spirit but relegated them to a lower ontological status than God the Father, thereby making Christ no more than a creature. Even the mild-spirited English divine Samuel Clarke declared that he could find no biblical support for the consubstantiality of the Son and the Spirit with God the Father, and that the trinitarian question was nonessential for Christian faith.³

In New England, the Arminianism of Samuel Clarke had a special appeal for liberals. As Conrad Wright points out, Arminianism and anti-trinitarianism "temperamentally and historically . . . went together."⁴ In downplaying the role of the Holy Spirit and emphasizing the contribution of the human will in conversion, Arminianism was fundamentally anti-trinitarian. New England Arians, most notably Jonathan Mayhew, appealed to the Scripture in their rejection of the Nicene Creed, concluding, "my Bible saith not . . . that there is any other true God, besides [Jesus'] Father and our Father, his God and our God."⁵ Deists were also anti-trinitarian because of their general distaste for "absolute mysteries"

1. For a discussion of the background of JE's doctrine of the Trinity, see Amy Plantinga Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All: Jonathan Edwards and the Trinity," Yale University Ph.D. diss., 1990, pp. 23–75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

3. Cf. Roland N. Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 1–55.

4. Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1966), p. 200.

5. Jonathan Mayhew, *Sermons Upon the Following Subjects* (Boston, 1755), p. 418n.

and for whatever was not harmonious with the “natural religion” of human “reason.”

Many divines in England and New England attempted to defend the orthodoxy against all anti-trinitarian challenges. But, as William S. Babcock points out, the would-be defenders of the tradition and the anti-trinitarians ended up talking past each other, because there was a more fundamental challenge underlying anti-trinitarianism than either realized. The anti-trinitarians were, instead, changing the basic way of talking about the nature of reality itself. Babcock clearly shows, for example, how during the Trinitarian Controversy of the 1690s, the exchanges between the orthodox bishop Edward Stillingfleet and John Locke failed to address Locke's anti-trinitarian doubts.⁶ The bishop of Worcester's arguments were couched in Aristotelian substance language, while Locke, on the basis of his empiricist epistemology, had given up making any sense out of the “real essence” of things and of substance itself—or, as Locke called it, the idea of “a supposed I know not what.”⁷

The nature of learned discourse was clearly shifting in the age of Enlightenment. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the old idea of substance—the technical language of the traditional Trinity doctrine—became problematic because of the Lockean empiricist dictum that one should not talk about what one cannot experience, and also because of the tendency of Newtonian science to see the nature of things as a network of relational laws and active forces rather than a system of individual and self-contained substances and forms. It was clear that if seventeenth- and eighteenth-century divines were to defend orthodoxy meaningfully, they would have to address this shift of language, which was occurring whether anyone wished it or not.

This basic challenge to the old way of thinking about the nature of things did not escape Jonathan Edwards. He attempted to renew the original spirit of the trinitarian doctrine without ignoring the urgent philosophical issues of the Enlightenment. One aspect of Edwards' greatness as a theologian was that he did not merely study or oppose certain philosophical ideas and issues of his day but constructively offered possible solutions to them in philosophical and theological terms. The problem that Locke raised about the idea of substance was a case in point; Edwards attempted to work out an alternative view of reality itself.

6. See William S. Babcock, “A Changing of the Christian God: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century,” *Interpretation* XLV, no. 2 (April 1991), 133–146.

7. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. John W. Yolton (London, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1961), Bk. II, ch. xxiii, no. 8.

Even a cursory reading of Edwards' writings on the Trinity highlights the fact that there is something radically original about his language. Among his paragraphs we find surprising, fascinating statements: "It is [God's] essence to incline to communicate himself"; God's being is "a disposition to communicate"; the Father's being is communicated to, and "repeated" in, the Son and the Holy Spirit as the result of the Father's exercise of his dispositional essence.⁸ Edwards does occasionally use the terms "substance" and "substantial" in his discussion of the nature of God, but the meaning behind them has changed from seventeenth-century usage. As Wallace E. Anderson astutely noted, Edwards' "predecessors thought of substance as the owner of properties; while Edwards thought of substance as the doer of deeds."⁹ For Edwards, the being of God as well as the essential nature of things in general was no longer articulated in terms of self-contained substances but rather in terms of dispositions, activities, and relations. Before we turn to the Trinity, it is necessary to outline Edwards' new way of understanding the nature of reality.

EDWARDS' NEW CONCEPTION OF REALITY

The Aristotelian and scholastic notion of substance referred to the abiding element behind "accidental" or changeable qualities (substratum) as well as to what makes a thing what it is (quiddity). In Edwards' day, the Lockean principle that true knowledge is based only on actual experience combined with the Newtonian vision of reality as essentially relational and dynamic made this notion of unobservable substance no longer tenable. Edwards replaces substance with the idea of "disposition," which he also calls "habit," "propensity," "law," "inclination," "tendency," and "temper."¹

What made this fundamental metaphysical reformulation possible for Edwards was his realist (as opposed to nominalist) conception of habits and dispositions. "In memory, in mental principles, habits, and inclina-

8. See, for example, "Miscellanies," no. 107[b], in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 13, *The "Miscellanies," a-500*, ed. Thomas A. Schafer (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1994), 277-78; and "Discourse on the Trinity," below, p. 114. Following initial citation, all volumes in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* are referred to as *Works* followed by the volume number.

9. "Editor's Introduction," *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 6, *Scientific and Philosophical Writings*, ed. Wallace E. Anderson (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 67.

1. See *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 2, *Religious Affections*, ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1959), 206-07, 282-83; *The Nature of True Virtue*, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 8, *Ethical Writings*, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 539, 623; "The Mind," in *Works*, 6, pp. 384-85. For a further discussion of JE's "dispositional ontology," see Sang Hyun Lee, *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (rev. ed., Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 2000).

tions, there is something really abiding in the mind when there are no acts or exercises of them," he wrote.² A disposition or habit, in other words, has a mode of reality apart from its manifestations in actual events and actions. A disposition or habit, for Edwards, is more than mere custom or the usual way something happens; it is an abiding and ontologically real principle. Dispositions or habits also take on the character of laws for Edwards in that they actively and prescriptively govern the occurrences and characters of events or actions. "All habits," he asserted, are "a law that God has fixed, that such actions upon such occasions should be exerted."³ When there is a habit or disposition, it functions like a prescriptive law that certain events will—not only may—occur whenever certain circumstances prevail. Habits and dispositions, in short, are ontologically real and causally active lawlike powers. Like substances, habits or dispositions function as the abiding element and also the character of an entity. In addition, they are dynamic powers. To define reality as essentially dispositional, then, is to see reality as intrinsically dynamic, tending to actions and events. Redefining Aristotelian metaphysics, Edwards declares in a remarkable sentence in one of his regulatory notebooks, "Subjects to Be Handled in the Treatise on the Mind," that "it is laws that constitute all permanent being in created things, both corporeal and spiritual." An entity is no longer a substance; rather, its being "consists in powers and habits."⁴

Edwards also says that being is proportion or beauty.⁵ This aesthetic category refers to the content or character of dispositions and habits. Disposition and beauty are two ways of looking at the same reality. "Disposition" refers to the dynamic aspect of beauty, while "beauty" refers to the manner or direction of disposition. The nature of things, in other words, is disposed to be actively related in a beautiful way. True beauty is God's beauty. For anything to exist, it must be both disposed to and actually react in a fitting way to the true beauty of God.

One of the most important consequences of such a dispositional reconception of reality is that being is seen as inherently disposed to more activities and relationships. For Edwards, actual actions and relations have a greater degree of being than the dispositions that are disposed to those

2. *Works*, 2, p. 385.

3. "Miscellanies," no. 241, in *Works*, 13, 358.

4. *Works*, 6, 391.

5. "The Mind," in *Works*, 6, 336. For an excellent discussion of the place of beauty in JE's thought, see Roland A. Delattre, *Beauty and Sensibility in the Thought of Jonathan Edwards: An Essay in Aesthetics and Theological Ethics* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1968).

actions and relations. The exercises of dispositions, in other words, will increase being by making it more actual and more real. Being is, therefore, essentially disposed to repetition and an increase of self-realization. This also means that being can be at the same time actual and self-realized, and disposed to further exercises and, thereby, to more being and beauty. This point, as we shall see below, has a crucial implication for Edwards' articulation of the Trinity.

Edwards uses his dispositional reconception of being in his understanding of the nature of the Divine Being. "It is [God's] essence to incline to communicate himself," he writes. This disposition to communicate is what "we must conceive of as being originally in God as a perfection of his nature." Edwards then resolves this communicative disposition into God's "disposition effectually to exert himself."⁶ Stated another way, God's disposition to act as God is the essence of the Divine Being. And to exert God's own dispositional essence is to bring about an "increase" of the actuality of God's own being—that is, to communicate himself. God, who is fully actualized, also continues to be essentially disposed to further exercises and increases of his prior actuality, and to further self-communications.⁷ Since God, for Edwards, is also true beauty and a knowing and loving being, God's being is essentially the sovereign disposition to know and love the true beauty and to continue to know and love it.

We must note here two important implications of this reconception of the Divine Being. If God is essentially a disposition of beauty, God is, by implication, essentially relational. This is so because, in Edwards' view, beauty is a relation of "consent," a relation of proportion and harmony.⁸ Without plurality there cannot be relations. Thus the Divine Being is inherently plural and relational. As we shall see below, Edwards found this idea eminently useful in articulating what the Scriptures and tradition teach about God.

The second implication is that Edwards uses his dispositional conception of God to articulate the reason for God's creation of the world. As we have seen, God can be at once fully actual and continually tending to further actualizations. God is essentially a disposition, and dispositions are not exhausted by their exercises. Dispositions abide, and God is inex-

6. "Miscellanies," no. 1218, in *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards from His Private Notebooks*, ed. Harvey G. Townsend (Eugene, Univ. of Oregon Press, 1955), p. 152; see also *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, "The Miscellanies," 1153–1360, ed. Douglas A. Sweeney (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, forthcoming).

7. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 433.

8. "The Mind," in *Works*, 6, 362; "Miscellanies," no. 117, in *Works*, 13, 248.

haustibly creative through self-communication. In *Concerning the End for Which God Created the World*, Edwards tells us that the same divine disposition that is fully exercised within God's internal actuality was disposed to be exercised also *ad extra* ("outside" of God) in the creation of the world.⁹ The world, therefore, is the never-ceasing process of God's exercise of his dispositional essence in time and space, an everlasting process of God's external self-communication and repetition. Edwards' concept of God as essentially disposition links God's inner-trinitarian with God's triune activity in the world—that is, the immanent and the economic Trinity. The exercise of the same divine dispositional essence constitutes both God's inner life and God's outer self-enlargement. This logic of dispositional ontology, Edwards also found, was useful in his delineation of what the Scripture and Christian life teach about the inseparable connection between God's internal life and God's redemptive activity in the world.

This brief discussion of Edwards' new concept of reality is not meant to imply that his doctrine of the Trinity is primarily based on his philosophical presuppositions. Edwards' first and last authority was God's revelation in the Scripture, with Christian experience also acting as an authority and source of theology to the extent that it is consistent with Scripture. In the middle of his discussion of some complex issues in "Discourse on the Trinity" (since 1903 known as "Essay on the Trinity" but here given Edwards' own intended title), Edwards makes the following confession: "I am far from asserting this as any explication of this mystery that unfolds and removes the mysteriousness and incomprehensibleness of it: for I am sensible that however, by what has been said, some difficulties are lessened, others that are new appear; and the number of those things that appear mysterious, wonderful and incomprehensible are increased by it. I offer it only as a further manifestation of what divine truth the Word of God exhibits to the view of our minds concerning this great mystery. I think the Word of God teaches us more things concerning it to be believed by us than have been generally taken [notice of]" (p. 139). Edwards' discussion of the Trinity is, as he describes it, "a further manifestation of what divine truth the Word of God exhibits."

Edwards' extensive attention to biblical passages in all of his writings on the Trinity shows that he was serious about Scripture as the norm and source of theology. But within the parameters of what Scripture teaches, he did not hesitate to engage in philosophical and theological reflection. In an early entry in the "Miscellanies," he boldly declares:

9. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 452.

There has been much cry of late against saying one word, particularly about the Trinity, but what the Scripture has said; judging it impossible but that if we did, we should err in a thing so much above us. But if they call that which necessarily results from the putting [together] of reason and Scripture, though it has not been said in Scripture in express words—I say, if they call this what is not said in Scripture, I am not afraid to say twenty things about the Trinity which the Scripture never said. There may be deductions of reason from what has been said of the most mysterious matters, besides what has been said, and safe and certain deductions too, as well as about the most obvious and easy matters.¹

In order to explicate what the Scripture already teaches, Edwards was not afraid to use even what “naked reason” can discover. “I think that it is within the reach of naked reason,” he proposes, “to perceive certainly that there are three distinct in God, each of which is the same [God].”²

THE REAL DISTINCTIONS WITHIN GOD

Edwards approaches the doctrine of the Trinity not only with the biblical mandate and reasons from Christian experience but also with his relational conception of being as beauty. For Edwards, “God is God, and distinguished from all other beings, and exalted above ’em, chiefly by his divine beauty.”³ The nature of God’s being itself demands an internal relationality and plurality within God. At barely twenty years of age, Edwards wrote in his first entry in “The Mind,” “One alone, without any reference to any more, cannot be excellent; for in such case there can be no manner of relation no way, and therefore, no such thing as consent. Indeed, what we call ‘one’ may be excellent, because of a consent of parts, or some consent of those in that being that are distinguished into a plurality some way or other. But in a being that is absolutely without any plurality there cannot be excellency, for there can be no such thing as consent or agreement.”⁴ And in “Miscellanies,” no. 117, written soon afterwards, he adds: “Therefore, if God be excellent, there must be a plurality in God; otherwise there can be no consent in him.”⁵ It is perhaps no coincidence that Edwards’ first writing on the Trinity, “Miscellanies,” no. 94, from early 1724, was composed only a few months after he reflected on the nature

1. “Miscellanies,” no. 94, *Works*, 13, 256–57.

2. *Ibid.*, 257.

3. *Works*, 2, 298.

4. “The Mind,” in *Works*, 6, 337.

5. “Miscellanies,” no. 117, in *Works*, 13, 284.

of excellency in the first entry in "The Mind."⁶ In his outline of the projected "Rational Account of the Main Doctrines of the Christian Religion Attempted," he listed excellency and the Trinity as topic headings in the same section, thereby showing his intention to treat them together.⁷ The reconception of being as excellency had profound implications for the doctrine of the Trinity in Edwards' mind. Noting the significance of these implications, Wallace E. Anderson has commented that Edwards' "new concept of being, when applied to the divine perfections, stands in sharp contrast to the long tradition of philosophical theology into which he was born. God's goodness is not grounded in the absolute unity and simplicity of his being, but belongs to him only as he constitutes a plurality involving relations."⁸

Now we turn to Edwards' articulation of the plurality within the Divine Being. The plurality or distinctions demanded by the biblical witness, and by Edwards' own conception of being as excellency, is the plurality and the distinctiveness of the three: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Edwards believed that he could demonstrate the three real distinctions through rational reflection. His argument uses both the psychological and the social analogy combined with the logic of his own conception of being as disposition, with its expansive and self-communicative character. The psychological analogy, used by Augustine, Aquinas, and others, especially in the Western tradition, sees an image of the Trinity in the individual human being: the self, understanding, and will. The social analogy, favored more in the East, compares the Trinity to three individual human beings, for example, Mary, Martha, and Peter.⁹ Through Edwards' dispositional articulation of the Trinity, the two analogies merge into one.

Edwards' psychological analogy is based upon Locke's view of the human self as the mind, the mind's reflexive (or introspective) perception of the mind's own internal contents, and the mind's willing. So Edwards' initial formulation of the real distinctions within God is: "God, and the idea of God, and the love of God."¹

However, Edwards was not satisfied simply to illustrate the divine Trin-

6. For the dating of "Miscellanies," see "Editor's Introduction," *Works*, 13, 57, 91 ff. For a discussion of the dating of JE's earliest writings on the Trinity, see also the editor's notes on *The Threefold Work of the Holy Spirit*, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 14, *Sermons and Discourses 1723–1729*, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1997), 371–72.

7. *Works*, 6, 396.

8. "Editor's Introduction," *Works*, 6, 84.

9. For a discussion of JE's use of the social analogy, see Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All," pp. 47–56.

1. "Miscellanies," no. 308, in *Works*, 13, 393.

ity with analogies. He wanted to argue for the truth of God's being one and three. So he sought to show how God's idea of himself and God's love of his own idea were equally as divine as God himself. The first strategy Edwards uses to show the divinity of God's idea and God's love of himself is his assumption that the mind's "absolutely perfect idea of a thing is the very thing" all over again, and that "the perfect act of God must be a substantial act" and, likewise, God himself again.² For Edwards, the term "idea" referred to much more than an intellectual concept; he assumed that "all sorts of ideas of things are but repetitions of those very things again."³ On this basis he concludes that "the Deity [is] truly and properly repeated by God's thus having an idea of himself; and that this idea of God is a substantial idea and has the very essence of God, is truly God, to all intents and purposes" (p. 114). Simply stated, the second person of the Trinity is "begotten" through God's idea of himself.

Edwards' next step is to posit that God has an "infinite delight" in his idea of himself.⁴ In this "infinite delight" of God, "the Deity becomes all act; the divine essence itself flows out and is as it were breathed forth in love and joy" (p. 121). This is so because "the pure and perfect act of God is God."⁵ The result is that "the Godhead therein stands forth in yet another manner of subsistence, and there proceeds the third person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, viz. the Deity in act" (p. 121).

But there are problems with this statement of the real distinctions within God. As compelling as it is, it nonetheless falls short of completion. The argument for the deity of the Father and the argument for the deity of the Son are not synthesized. As Robert W. Jenson has pointed out, the conception of act in regard to the Holy Spirit is also not fully developed.⁶

However, Edwards' argument for the real distinctions within the Trinity takes a more consistent form in his dispositional articulation of the Trinity, an argument that is more important to his theological perspective as a whole. In this more central argument, Edwards does not abandon the psychological analogy. The notion of the self with intellectual and volitional or affectional powers is used to articulate a fundamentally dispositional argument for the real distinctions within God. And, as we shall see, the psychological analogy evolves into a moderate form of the social

2. "Miscellanies," no. 94, in *Works*, 13, 261, 258.

3. "Miscellanies," no. 66, in *Works*, 13, 236.

4. "Miscellanies," no. 94, in *Works*, 13, 261.

5. *Ibid.*, 260.

6. Robert W. Jenson, *America's Theologian: A Recommendation of Jonathan Edwards* (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1988), p. 97.

analogy within the framework of a dispositional conception of the Divine Being.⁷

As we saw earlier, Edwards held that "it is [God's] essence to incline to communicate himself." And this "disposition to communicate himself," he went on to say, is what "we must conceive of as being originally in God as a perfection of his nature."⁸ As we also saw, the exercise of a disposition, for Edwards, is ontologically productive insofar as that to which a disposition is disposed becomes actual (and thus "more real") through the exercise of the disposition in action. The exercise of a disposition brings something from a state of virtual to one of actual reality. The exercise of the divine disposition, then, leads to God's self-repetition or self-communication. Using this logic of dispositional ontology, Edwards articulates the three persons of the same God as the primordial actualization of the Divine Being and the intellectual and affectional repetitions of that primordial actualization. Edwards explains divine self-repetition or self-communication as the result of the abiding nature of God's disposition to further exercises.

So the first person of the Trinity, the Father, is God's first actuality, which is the primordial first exercise of God's dispositional essence. As Edwards put it in "Discourse on the Trinity": "The Father is the Deity subsisting in the prime, unoriginated and most absolute manner, or the Deity in its direct existence" (p. 131). But God's dispositional essence, according to Edwards, is his beautiful or excellent disposition to know and love true beauty. The Father, consequently, must be the Deity's primal act of knowing and loving beauty. Edwards elaborates on this by saying that "that knowledge or understanding in God which we must conceive of as first, is his knowledge of everything possible. That love which must be this knowledge is what we must conceive of as belonging to the essence of the Godhead in its first subsistence" (p. 141). Here Edwards is speaking about the primal being of God, which really is beyond human articulation, and so words stumble. What is there for God to know and love in God's first act of being actual? Edwards' answer: "everything possible." And this knowledge cannot be distinguished from God's primal love. What is clear, however, is that God in his "first subsistence" is the first actuality of that to which the divine dispositional essence is disposed. God the Father is God's "direct existence." It is not that the Father is constituted by or is ar-

7. Throughout her dissertation, Pauw discusses the various ways in which the psychological and social analogies both complement and conflict with each other in JE's writings. Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All."

8. "Miscellanies," no. 107, in *Works*, 13, 277-78; *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 433-34.

rived at as the result of his acts of knowing and loving; rather, the Father *is* the primal knowing and loving, "the Deity in its direct existence." In short, the Father is essentially the actuality of knowing and loving.

But how is the Father as actuality related to the divine disposition which is God's essence? Is the divine disposition in any way prior to its first exertion, namely, the Father as actuality? In "Miscellanies," no. 94, Edwards suggests an answer. Discussing the power of God, he writes that as power "is distinct from those and other things, 'tis only a relation of adequateness and sufficiency of the essence to everything. But if we distinguish it from relation, 'tis nothing else but the essence of God. And if we take it for that which is that by which God exerts himself, 'tis no other than the Father; for the perfect energy of God with respect to himself is the most perfect exertion of God, of which the creation of the world is but a shadow."⁹ Power, for Edwards, is a disposition.¹ So the disposition and energy of God is the Father. What Edwards is saying is that the Father as God in his "direct existence" is identical with God's dispositional essence; God the Father is at once the primordial divine actuality of true beauty and the divine disposition to exert himself. It is not that the Father as the divine actuality has the divine disposition, nor that the Father as a disposition achieves or arrives at actuality. In the Father, the divine actuality is the divine disposition, and the divine disposition the divine actuality. Actuality and disposition coincide. And if this is true for God the Father, it would also be true for God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. I shall refer back to this point when we discuss the second and third persons of the Trinity.

If Edwards is to affirm God's aseity, or self-existence—God's dependence on nothing other than himself for his existence—then demonstrating the coincidence of actuality and disposition in God as the Trinity is crucial. If the divine disposition were in any way prior to God's actuality, God would be dependent upon a principle other than his own actuality for his existence. Thomas Aquinas affirmed God's aseity by maintaining that God's essence is his existence.² In other words, there was never anything, logically or temporally, "before" God's actuality. Edwards also says that God's essence is his existence. But he says more than that: for him, God's *dispositional* essence is existence. Thus, for God, disposition is existence.

Now to conceive of the Father as at once actuality and disposition is to

9. "Miscellanies," no. 94, in *Works*, 13, 262.

1. Ibid., 259; and "Miscellanies," no. 194, in *ibid.*, 335.

2. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1955), Bk. I, ch. 22, pp. 118–120.

assert that the Father is essentially disposed to further exercises and thus to further actualities—that is, to the repetitions or self-communications of the Father's actuality. This repetition of the Father's eternal actuality occurs in two ways: in the Father's reflexively knowing himself and in his reflexively loving what he knows. Hence there is, Edwards writes, "a reflex act of knowledge, his viewing himself and knowing himself, and so knowing his own knowledge: and so the Son is begotten. There is such a thing in God as knowledge of knowledge, an idea of an idea, which can be nothing else than the idea or knowledge repeated" (pp. 141–42). Elsewhere he adds that "in the Son the deity, the whole deity and the glory of the Father, is as it were repeated or duplicated. Everything in the Father is repeated, or expressed again, and that fully."³ Edwards' conception of the "begetting" of the Second Person as the intellectual exercise of the Father's disposition is clear in his statement that "the Father's begetting of the Son is a complete communication of all his happiness, and so an eternal, adequate, and infinite exercise of perfect goodness, that is completely equal to such an inclination in perfection."⁴ The Son is "the divine nature and essence again," "the same God" as the Father (p. 116). Furthermore, just as in the Father, actuality and disposition coincide in the Son: "The Son is the adequate communication of the Father's goodness, is an express and complete image of him. But yet the Son also has an inclination to communicate himself, in an image of his person that may partake of his happiness: and this was the end of the creation, even the communication of the happiness of the Son of God."⁵ Just as with the Father, so the Son is at once fully actual and also disposed to further exercises and thus to further repetition and self-communication of his actuality.

The Father repeats his actuality not only by reflexively knowing himself but also by loving what he knows, and the act of the Father's loving what he knows is a further exercise (this time, affectional) of the Father's dispositional essence. So Edwards writes in the "Miscellanies" that "the Father loveth the Son as a communication of himself, as begotten in pursuance of his eternal inclination to communicate himself."⁶ And he elaborates in "Discourse on the Trinity": "[T]he divine essence itself flows out and is as it were breathed forth in love and joy. So that the Godhead

3. "Miscellanies," no. 1062, first published by Egbert C. Smyth in 1880 with the title "Observations Concerning the Scripture Oeconomy of the Trinity, and Covenant of Redemption," and reprinted in *Treatise on Grace and Other Posthumously Published Writings by Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Paul Helm (Cambridge, James Clark & Co., 1971), p. 77.

4. "Miscellanies," no. 104, in *Works*, 13, 272.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

therein stands forth in yet another manner of subsistence, and there proceeds the third person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, viz. the Deity in act" (p. 121).

As with the Father and the Son, actuality and disposition coincide in the Holy Spirit. "Now the sum of God's temper or disposition is love, for he is infinite love. . . . This is the divine disposition or nature that we are made partakers of (II Pet. 1:4)" (p. 122). Thus, the Holy Spirit is the Deity repeated and self-communicated affectionally, and is at once the actuality of the divine love and the disposition to love. God as the triune being is both fully actual through the actuality of the three persons and continually disposed to repeat that full actuality through further exercises. Stated another way, God's actuality is the Father's eternal and infinitely full actuality, plus its complete repetition in the Son and the Holy Spirit. This simultaneously actual and dispositional being of the Trinity makes it possible to view God as both fully actual and also tending to further increases.⁷

What is the Holy Spirit's relation to the Father and the Son? Edwards at times sees the Holy Spirit as the result of the self-communicating activity of the Father alone. But he also follows Augustine in speaking about the Holy Spirit as the mutual love between the Father and Son. Since Edwards sees both the Father and the Son as divine dispositions as well as actuality, it would be natural to think of both the Father and the Son as capable of acting, that is, capable of loving each other. The Father and the Son's "love and joy is mutual, in mutually loving and delighting in each other" (p. 121). In this respect, the conception that the Holy Spirit is the mutual love between the Father and Son would be more consistent with

7. JE's reconception of the Divine Being as at once fully actual *ad intra* and also essentially disposed to repeat *ad extra* his prior actuality, provides a creative alternative the contemporary discussions of God's being and becoming. While classical theism overemphasized God's immutability and self-sufficiency, thereby making it difficult to explain God's involvement with the world, the process has tended to endanger God's prior actuality and transcendence by seeing God as excessively involved in time and change. JE attempted to see God as at once fully actualized and at the same time essentially disposed to repeat his prior actuality through the creation of the world, and thereby introduced a dynamic element of becoming into God's own life *ad extra* without compromising God's eternal actuality. For recent discussions of being and becoming in God, see, for example, Keith Ward, *Rational Theology and the Creativity of God* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1982); Colin E. Gunton, *Becoming and Being: The Doctrine of God in Charles Hartshorne and Karl Barth* (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1978); Robert C. Neville, *Creativity and God: A Challenge to Process Theology* (New York, Seabury Press, 1980); Royce G. Gruenler, *The Inexhaustible God: Biblical Faith and the Challenge of Process Theism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., Baker Book House, 1983). For a discussion of Karl Barth's use of the idea of God's self-reiteration, an idea similar to JE's concept of God's self-repetition, see Eberhard Jungel, *The Doctrine of the Trinity: God's Being Is in Becoming* (Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 1979).

Edwards' dispositional articulation of the Trinity than his view of the Holy Spirit as simply the Father's delight in the Son.

Related to this issue of the Holy Spirit's relation to the Father and Son is Edwards' adherence to the tradition of the Western church in maintaining that the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father "and the Son (*filioque*).” By including the phrase “and the Son” in its creeds, the Western church wanted to stress that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ as well as the Spirit of the Father. The Eastern church, however, was afraid that the Western church's formulation introduced two sources of divinity into the Trinity and thereby reduced the importance of the Father as the origin of everything. Edwards at times does say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but his affirmation of the *filioque* is more consistent with his overall perspective on the Trinity as three distinct and equal divine persons. Edwards' adherence to the *filioque* also fits with his Augustinian conception of the Holy Spirit as the bond of mutual love between the Father and the Son.

At times Edwards does not appear to be content simply to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son. Again following Augustine, he distinguishes between the Father and the Son as the sources of the Holy Spirit. He explains:

Though all be firstly from the Father, yet all is nextly from the Son. As 'tis a peculiar honor that all should be firstly from the Father, so there is a peculiar honor in that 'tis immediately from the Son.

And even *ad intra*, though the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son, yet he proceeds from the Father mediately by the Son, viz. by the Father's beholding himself in the Son. But he proceeds from the Son immediately by himself by beholding the Father in himself. The beauty and excellency and loveliness of the divine nature, though from the Father first and originally, yet is by the Son and nextly from him. . . .

Though the Spirit, the beauty, the loveliness and joy of the Deity, be from the Father originally and primarily, and from the Son as it were secondarily, yet the Son hath this honor that the Father hath not: that that Spirit is from the Son immediately by himself (p. 143).

These words echo Augustine: “There is good reason why in this Trinity we speak of the Son alone as Word of God, of the Holy Spirit alone as Gift of God, and of God the Father alone as the one of whom the Word is begotten and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds. I add the word ‘principally,’ because we learn that the Holy Spirit proceeds also

from the Son. But this is again something given by the Father to the Son—not that he ever existed without it, for all that the Father gives to his only-begotten Word he gives in the act of begetting him. He is begotten in such a manner that the common gift proceeds from him as well, and the Holy Spirit is Spirit of both.”⁸ It is obvious that both Augustine and Edwards wanted to regard the three persons of the Trinity as equally divine while acknowledging at the same time their distinctiveness. Both the Father and the Son are involved in the proceeding of the Holy Spirit, but in different ways.

For Augustine as for Edwards, the Father and the Son as fully divine persons do something in the immanent Trinity. The Father “begets” the Son, loves the Son, and lets the Holy Spirit “proceed” from them, and the “begotten” Son loves the Father and also participates in letting the Holy Spirit proceed from them. But what does the Holy Spirit do? Edwards’ usual answer is that the Holy Spirit is the act of love itself, whether of the Father toward the Son or between the Father and the Son. This conception of the Third Person as the “bond” of love has been the typical teaching of the Western church and has been criticized as an abstraction and an impersonalization of the Third Person. Edwards, however, did not leave the matter here. Judging by the active role he allocated to the Holy Spirit in the trinitarian economy of salvation (discussed below), one would suspect that Edwards could easily conceive of the Holy Spirit as being an active agent within the Trinity, just as the other two persons are. In “Miscellanies,” no. 370, where Edwards discusses the sun as an analogy of the Trinity, he attributes an active agency to the Holy Spirit. The Father is the “substance of the sun” while the “brightness and glory” of the sun images the Second Person of the Trinity. Edwards then says that “the Holy Ghost is as the heat and wonderful influence which acts upon the sun itself and, being diffusive, enlightens, warms, enlivens and comforts the world.” According to the sun analogy, the Holy Spirit’s active role of enlivening the world corresponds to its active role of having a “wonderful influence,” which acts on God himself.⁹

It is, however, in “On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity,” printed here for the first time, that Edwards makes a clear departure from the Western tradition and sets forth a remarkably original conception of the Holy Spirit within the Trinity. “In one respect,” he writes, “the Father has

8. “De Trinitate,” in *Augustine: Later Works*, trans. by John Burnaby, Library of Christian Classics, vol. VIII (London, SCM Press, 1955), XV, 47, p. 176. Cf. Colin Gunton, “Augustine, the Trinity and the Theological Crisis of the West,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 43 (1992), pp. 33–58.

9. “Miscellanies,” no. 370, in *Works*, 13, 441.

the superiority: he is the fountain of Deity, and he begets the beloved Son. In another respect the Son has the superiority, as he is the great and first object of divine love. The beloved has as it were the superiority over the lover, and reigns over him. In another respect the Holy Ghost, that is, divine love, has the superiority, as that is the principle that as it were reigns over the Godhead and governs his heart, and wholly influences both the Father and the Son in all they do" (p. 147). Here the Holy Spirit is no longer just the bond of love but an active agent. The Holy Spirit "reigns," "governs," and "influences" the other two persons of the Trinity. Edwards did not elaborate on this conception. But what he does say represents a profound advancement over the Western church's typically underdeveloped doctrine of the agency of the Holy Spirit in the intra-trinitarian life of God.

I began this section by mentioning Edwards' initial argument for the real distinctions within God using the psychological analogy. In western theology, reliance on the psychological analogy has led to a tendency to stress the divine unity rather than threeness. With his dispositional argument for the real distinctions, however, Edwards has transformed the psychological analogy into a perspective that clearly emphasizes the threeness of the trinitarian persons. His use of the psychological analogy ends up reinforcing the social analogy, or at least makes the two analogies compatible.¹ The picture of the Trinity as God, God's self-knowledge, and God's love has become, in Edwards' vision, God, God all over again as self-knowledge, and God all over again as self-love. The self's faculties and their functions in the psychological analogy are now the self and its two repetitions or self-communications. There clearly is now a "triplicity" within God.²

Edwards' concept of triplicity explains why he was not hesitant to use the language of the social analogy. He speaks about the Divine Virtue as consisting in "*love to himself*," or in the mutual love and friendship which subsists eternally and necessarily between the several persons in the God-

1. Pauw makes a similar point in regard to the Cappadocian theologians in "The Supreme Harmony of All," p. 57.

2. "Miscellanies," no. 94, in *Works*, 13, 262. In using the term "triplicity" in reference to the threeness of the trinitarian persons, JE departs from Francis Turretin, who wrote: "'Trinity' however is the appropriate word, not 'triplicity,' which implies a multiplication of essence. God, therefore, is said to be triune (*trinus*), not triple because there are three persons, but only one numerical essence." *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, trans. by George M. Giger (3 vols. Phillipsburg, N. J., P & R Pub., 1992), 1, Third Topic, Question XXIII, § ix, 255. JE does not accept the implication of "a multiplication of essence," nor does his main view agree with the numerical oneness of the divinity.

head.”³ Discussing the equality of the three persons of the Trinity, Edwards says that “they are every way equal in the society or family of the three” and that “they are all God; each has his peculiar honor in the society or family” (p. 135). So the Trinity is not to be compared just to the human self, with its internal differentiations, but also to the “society” and “family” of a plurality of beings. We recall that, according to Edwards, “one alone cannot be excellent,” and that “if God is excellent, there must be a plurality in God.”⁴ Given Edwards’ relational concept of being and of God as essentially beautiful or excellent, his use of the social analogy was inevitable.

There is yet another consequence of Edwards’ dispositional articulation of the Trinity. He is no longer working with substance metaphysics, which draws a sharp distinction between the substance or substratum of a thing and its activities and accidental qualities. For Edwards, there is no substance lying behind God’s self-repeating and self-communicating activities.⁵ Direct existence, reflexive knowing, and reflexive loving do not belong to the Divine Being but rather are, and constitute, the Divine Being. The disposition to those activities is the general law that governs their pattern. The divine disposition is an abiding reality apart from its exercises. But within God, the divine disposition and the divine existence and activities all coincide as the one Divine Being. Edwards did not conceive of the divine disposition as being in any way prior to existence and activities. God’s being, therefore, does not have some dimension hidden behind God’s actions and the disposition to those actions. As Stephen H. Daniel has put it, “[T]he three persons are thus not modes of being of a logically prior substance or substratum but are rather (as Barth notes) subsistences or modes of being. . . . God is not a substance underlying the communication; he is *the substance* of communication.”⁶ The result is that the triune God’s creative, revelatory, and redemptive activities are the way God is.

THE UNITY AND THREENESS OF THE TRIUNE GOD

If Edwards’ conception of the trinitarian persons as the repetitions of the Divine Being led him to stress the mutual fellowship among a plural-

3. *Nature of True Virtue*, in *Works*, 8, 557.

4. “Miscellanies,” no. 117, in *Works*, 13, 284.

5. Gunton discusses the problems that arise in Augustine’s doctrine of the Trinity from his use of the concept of “substance” as something which “underlies the threeness of the persons.” “Augustine, the Trinity and the Theological Crisis of the West,” p. 45.

6. Stephen H. Daniel, “Postmodern Concepts of God and Edwards’s Trinitarian Ontology,” in *Edwards in Our Time: Jonathan Edwards and the Shaping of American Religion*, ed. Sang Hyun Lee and Allen C. Guelzo (Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 1999), p. 55.

ity of persons, and thus to a social analogy of the Trinity, how does he articulate the unity of the Divine Being? In the traditional Western trinitarian formula of "one substance and three persons," the notion of a single underlying substance was used to express the unity of the Trinity. For Edwards, there is no substance in the Divine Being. Discussing the sun as an image of the Trinity, he says that "substance of the sun" represents the Father, but in a parenthesis adds: "[B]y substance I don't mean in a philosophical sense, but the sun as to its internal constitution" (p. 138). Edwards' most frequently used term for the Divine Being is the "essence" of God. And the term divine "essence" (which he uses interchangeably with the terms "deity," God's "being," and God's "nature") refers to all that each of the three persons is. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in everything that each of them is (knowing, loving, and the self-repetitions thereof) and is disposed to, appears to be what Edwards means by the divine essence. In describing the Father as God in his "direct existence," for example, Edwards says that "that knowledge or understanding in God" and "that love which must be this knowledge is what we must conceive of as belonging to the essence of the Godhead in its first subsistence" (p. 141). And by the Father's knowing of himself, "the Godhead is really generated and repeated" and "has the very essence of God" (p. 114).

If this is the case, are there then three divine essences? Paul Helm has queried whether, by conceiving of the second person of the Trinity as God's self-repetition of his essence, "Edwards has proved too much—not the second person of a Trinity of persons but a second *theos*."⁷ Is his view "implicitly tritheistic"? Of course, Edwards himself would vehemently deny such a suggestion. In "Miscellanies," no. 1105, he points out that the affirmation of one Jehovah in Deuteronomy 6:4 was to warn Israel "against imagining . . . that there was a plurality of essences or beings, among whom they were to divide their affections and respect."⁸ Edwards tells us that we should never think of the three divine persons as "three distinct gods, friends to one another."⁹

The traditional Western trinitarian formula was "one substance in three persons" (*una substantia, tres personae*). But since Boethius, the divine person had been defined as "the individual substance of a rational

7. "Introduction," *Treatise on Grace and Other Posthumous Writings*, p. 21.

8. "Miscellanies," no. 1105, in *The Works of President Edwards* (4 vols. New York, 1851), 3, 535 (hereafter referred to as Worcester rev. ed.); see also *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 20, "The Miscellanies," 833–1152, ed. Amy Plantinga Pauw (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2002), 487.

9. "Miscellanies," no. 539, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 18, "The Miscellanies," 501–832, ed. Ava Chamberlain (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2000), 84.

nature" (*naturae rationabilis individua substantia*).¹ So the problem of explaining how one God could be three "persons" was formulated as a question of how in the divine substance there could be three individual substances. Edwards, however, was not working with substance language. For him, the problem was how God's being and its two perfect self-repetitions could be all one God. He insists that in the Son and the Holy Spirit the Father's essence is fully repeated and thus duplicated. What, then, does it mean to affirm that God's being is not three essences or deities but "the same essence" and thus one God?

The first answer we find in Edwards is that God's unity lies in the "simplicity" of God's being. Given Edwards' relational conception of being, his reference to the doctrine of simplicity, although it appears only a few times and always without elaboration, is rather surprising.² What is the "simplicity" doctrine? The main point against Arius in the decision of the ecumenical council at Nicea was the Son's co-divinity (*homoousios*, "of the same substance") with the Father and not specifically their unity. But in the history of the church, the council's decision functioned as a strong emphasis upon the unity as well as the equality of the divine persons. Under the influence of the Greek philosophical conception of perfection, the unity of the Divine Being eventually began to be seen as a divine "simplicity." According to this conception, God's perfection requires that he be without parts of any kind. The theological motivation in asserting the simplicity of God was to protect God's aseity, or self-existence. It was thought that if God had a nature or properties distinct from him, he could be thought of as being dependent upon something other than himself.³

Both the Eastern and Western churches affirmed divine simplicity, but the Western church expressed it in its extreme form. The generic understanding of God's unity—that it consists in the three distinct persons' being three particular instances of the one common, divine nature—was ruled out in the West. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 asserted that "each of the persons is that reality, namely, the divine substance, essence, or nature."⁴ The Son is of the same substance with the Father, in that they are identical with the divine essence. The Reformed scholastics and Pu-

1. Boethius: *The Theological Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester, rev. ed., *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press), p. 85. For a discussion of this point, see Babcock, "A Changing of the Christian God," pp. 141–42.

2. See, for example, "Miscellanies," no. 135, in *Works*, 13, p. 295. For a discussion of this issue, see Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All," pp. 33–36.

3. See Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All," pp. 24–26.

4. *The Church Teachers: Documents of the Church in English Translation*, ed. John F. Clarkson et al (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1955), p. 133. See Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All," pp. 26.

ritan divines continued this simplicity tradition; Wollebius even asserted that there is “nothing in [God], but what is God, what is himselfe.”⁵ Francis Turretin, too, maintained that “the essence of God is perfectly simple and free from all composition.” Turretin went as far as to assert that God is not just “specifically” (that is, generically or sortally) one but “numerically” single.⁶

Edwards’ references to simplicity are few, but they cannot be ignored. In *Freedom of the Will* he mentions, without elaboration, God’s “perfect and absolute simplicity.”⁷ In “Miscellanies,” no. 135, he says that if human faculties were infinitely enlarged, we would have “the same simplicity, immutability, etc.” of the Divine Being.⁸ An even stronger assertion of God’s simplicity appears in Edwards’ unpublished sermon on Hebrews 1:3, from April 1734, where he states that the Father “has no excellency but the Son has the same: not only specifically the same, or the same in kind, but numerically; the same individual glory, so that they have but one glory that is common to both.”⁹

The idea of a numerical identity contains ambiguity. As Christopher Stead has pointed out, simplicity “could mean either ‘excluding all differentiation’ or ‘comprehending all differentiation’ or merely ‘not composite,’ ‘not constructed out of parts.’”¹ A numerical identity of God, in the sense of an absolute absence of differentiation, would of course be totally inconsistent with Edwards’ conception of God as triune and beautiful. Did Edwards then have in mind the second meaning, namely, “comprehending all differentiation”? He does not explicitly say. Amy Plantinga Pauw has observed that Edwards’ references to God’s numerical simplicity are eccentric, not integral to his overall perspective.² What can be safely said is only that, in invoking the language of numerical identity, Edwards shows a strong desire to emphasize the unity of the Divine Being.

The second way in which Edwards deals with the unity-threeness issue is by making a distinction between God’s being as it refers to God’s unity

5. Johannes Wollebius, *Compendium Theologiae Christianae* (Amsterdam, 1703), I. i., quoted in Pauw, “The Supreme Harmony of All,” p. 31.

6. *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 1, Topic Three, Question VII, § i, p. 191; and 1, Topic Three, Question XXV, § i, p. 265.

7. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 1, *Freedom of the Will*, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1957), 376.

8. “Miscellanies,” no. 135, in *Works*, 13, 295.

9. MS sermon on Hebrews 1:3 (April 1743), Edwards Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Unless otherwise noted, all MSS referred to in this volume are in the Beinecke collection.

1. Christopher Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 93–94.

2. Pauw, “The Supreme Harmony of All,” p. 36.

and God's being as it refers to the three persons. Edwards often uses terminology well known in Western theology as well as among the Reformed scholastics: God is one in essence and three in "the manner of subsistence." In describing the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, Edwards points out that "the Godhead therein stands forth in yet another manner of subsistence." He goes on to say, "The Holy Spirit is the Deity subsisting in act" (p. 131). God, in other words, is one in essence and three in the manner in which the same essence subsists. The result appears to be that the term "essence" is to be taken somewhat differently when it is used in reference to the unity of God, on the one hand, and when in reference to each of the three persons, on the other.

Edwards uses this approach sometimes with different terminologies. In "On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity," he maintains that although none of the three persons of the Trinity has "a distinct essence" of its own, each does have "a distinct glory," "a relative glory, or glory of relation." Edwards then describes the relative glories of the three persons: the Father is the origin of the other two persons, the Son is the Father's "object," and the Holy Spirit is "the messenger of the other two persons." In the same manuscript, Edwards also makes a distinction between God's "being," or "the divine essence in itself considered," and God's "relative being" (pp. 147–48). Echoing the simplicity tradition of Western theology, Edwards insists that the divine essence is "undivided and independent" in spite of the equal divinity of the three persons. "'[T]is true the divine essence is undivided and independent . . . with respect to its being, but not with respect to its relative being; or, to speak more plainly, that the divine essence should be, and should be what it is, is not in any respect in any dependence or by derivation. But yet it may be by derivation. That it should be here or there, or that in some instances it should be where it is, or belonging to such persons, this don't in the least detract from the glory of the divine essence in itself considered" (pp. 147–48). Edwards does not elaborate on any of these distinctions, though his discussions indicate that he wanted to think more about them. However, the distinctions between the divine "essence," "being," or "glory . . . in itself considered," on the one hand, and the divine essence "in a manner of subsistence," God's "relative being," or God's "relative glory," on the other, seem to be somewhat at odds with Edwards' usual assertion that each of the three persons of the Trinity is "the same God," "the same divine essence." And in a typically Western theological fashion, Edwards affirms God's unity somewhat at the expense of God's threeness.

The first two approaches Edwards takes in affirming the unity of the Di-

vine Being follow the theological tradition of the Latin West. The next three we shall note, however, are reminiscent of the Greek East. In the first of these Edwards deals with the unity of the Divine Being by seeing God's essence as the universal or common characteristic, of which the three persons are particular instances. Here Edwards' sources are most immediately the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth and, indirectly, Cappadocian fathers like Gregory of Nyssa.³ Cudworth maintained that the "essence or substance of the Godhead, which all the three persons or hypostases agree in, as each of them is God, was not one singular and individual but only one common and universal essence or substance."⁴ Edwards does not announce anywhere that he agrees with Cudworth's generic or sortal use of the term "divine essence." In his sermon on Hebrews 1:3, Edwards is ambivalent. At one point he denies that the Son's essence is the same as the Father's "specifically" (that is, generically) or "in kind" and asserts a numerical identity. But then, in the same sermon, Edwards also states that the persons of the Trinity "partake of the same essence," and that the Father and the Son "have one glory that is common to both."⁵ Edwards seems to be tentative or undecided in his references to the sortal view of divine unity. But in his references to the generic view, though they are few in number, we see the influence of the Eastern tradition on Edwards' trinitarianism.

In the fourth approach Edwards takes to the divine unity, he follows Cudworth and the tendency of the East to see the first person of the Trinity as the unifying principle. In "Miscellanies," no. 143, after stating that the Son and the Holy Spirit both originate from the Father, Edwards writes: "Hence we see how and in what sense the Father is the fountain of the Godhead, and how naturally and properly God the Father is spoken of in Scripture as of the Deity without distinction, as being the only true God."⁶ In "Discourse on the Trinity," Edwards explains that the Father's ontological primacy in the Trinity carries over to the Father's priority in

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–43. There is no evidence that JE read the Cappadocian theologians, but there is a scholarly opinion that he shows "a very real, though mediated dependence," especially on Gregory of Nyssa. JE could have been acquainted with Gregory's thought through the Cambridge Platonists, especially Ralph Cudworth. See Patricia Wilson-Kastner, "God's Infinity and His Relation to Creation," *Foundations* 21 (Oct.-Dec. 1978), 310, 317; and Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All," p. 27. On the question of when in his life JE might have read Cudworth, see Thomas H. Johnson, "Jonathan Edwards' Background of Reading," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 28 (Dec. 1931), 197; *Works*, 6, 329; and Emily S. Watts, "Jonathan Edwards and the Cambridge Platonists," Univ. of Illinois Ph.D. diss., 1963.

4. *The Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678; rep. 1820), III, 144.

5. MS sermon on Hebrews 1:3.

6. "Miscellanies," no. 143, in *Works*, 13, 298–99.

the order of acting. "Here we may see why," observes Edwards, "in the economy of the persons of the Trinity, the Father should sustain the dignity of the Deity . . . and should be God, not only by essence, but as it were by his economical office" (p. 135). As the "fountain of the Godhead," the Father is the ontological ground for both the second and third persons of the Trinity.

The fifth and the last approach we see in Edwards' treatment of divine unity is a much more deliberate perspective, which is more integrated than the others into his overall philosophical and theological framework. I refer to Edwards' conception of God's unity as consisting in the *perichoresis*, or the inter-dwelling, of the three persons of the Trinity. This approach to divine unity emerges in the context of Edwards' discussion of whether all three persons have their own faculties of understanding and will. Augustine had maintained that it was "absurd" to think that the Father is wise through the Son "as though the Father does not understand nor love for himself." Augustine's concern here was to defend the unity of God in the simplicity tradition, according to which if one of the persons depended upon another for wisdom or love, the identity between the divine essence and attributes would be compromised. For this reason, Augustine insisted that wisdom "is so retained in the nature of each one, as that he who has it, is that which he has, as being an unchangeable and simple substance."⁷

Departing from both Augustine and the Western doctrine of divine simplicity, Edwards explains the manner of the three persons' understanding and loving with an entirely different concept of the divine unity. He writes in "Discourse on the Trinity":

In order to clear up this matter, let it be considered, that the whole divine essence is supposed truly and properly to subsist in each of these three—viz. God, and his understanding, and love—and that there is such a wonderful union between them that they are after an ineffable and inconceivable manner one in another; so that one hath another, and they have communion in one another, and are as it were predicable one of another. As Christ said of himself and the Father, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me" [John 10:14], so may it be said concerning all the persons of the Trinity: the Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father; the Holy Ghost is in the Father, and the Father in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Ghost is in the Son, and the Son in the Holy Ghost. (P. 133.)

7. *De Trinitate*, XV, xvi, 28.

The implication of this for the three persons' understanding and loving is clear: "There is understanding and will in the Father, as the Son and the Holy Ghost are in him and proceed from [him]. There is understanding and will in the Son, as he is understanding and as the Holy Ghost is in him and proceeds from him. There is understanding and will in the Holy Ghost, as he is the divine will and as the Son is in him" (p. 134). Some years before Edwards made this observation, he had dealt with the issue of the understanding and love of the three persons in a different way. In "Miscellanies," no. 308, from the spring of 1728 (two years before he wrote the first several pages of "Discourse on the Trinity"), he had stated that "the Father understands, the Son understands, and the Holy Ghost understands, because every one is the same understanding divine essence; and not that each of them have a distinct understanding of their own."⁸ Here Edwards was adopting the Western tradition's typical emphasis on the extreme unity of the divine essence, with the result of downplaying his own strong affirmation of the real distinctions within God. But in the middle of "Discourse on the Trinity," some years after "Miscellanies" no. 308, Edwards shifts to a strong perichoretic formulation of the divine unity and of the relation between the three persons and the divine understanding and loving.

In Edwards' perichoretic approach, we have a vision of God's unity that is profoundly different from the Western church's traditional tendency to see God's unity in the singularity of divine substance. For Edwards, God's unity consists in the "wonderful union" between the persons of the Trinity and "a communion in one another." The concept of God's unity here is one of mutuality, communion, and fellowship rather than a monadic and self-contained individuality. And this perspective is more in line with Edwards' conception of God, according to which there is no underlying substance behind the persons, and also according to which there is a clear emphasis upon the threeness of the Trinity as God and God's two self-repetitions.

THE EQUALITY AND ECONOMY AMONG THE PERSONS OF THE TRINITY

Edwards strongly affirmed the equal divinity of each of the persons of the Trinity, but at the same time he talked about an order of being and of acting among them upon which God's activities are based. This ordering or economy of the trinitarian persons is discussed in "Miscellanies," no.

8. "Miscellanies," no. 308, in *Works*, 13, 392. For the dating of JE's MSS, see "Editor's Introduction," Table 2, in *Works*, 13, 91–109.

1062, which was first published by E. C. Smyth in 1880 with the title "Observations Concerning the Scripture Oeconomy of the Trinity, and Covenant of Redemption." Edwards articulates the equality and ordering of the persons on five interconnected levels. The first and the most basic, as discussed earlier, is the ontological equality of the three persons. In the Son and the Holy Spirit, Edwards wrote, "the whole deity and glory of the Father . . . is repeated, or expressed again, and that fully: so that there is properly no inferiority."⁹ The three persons are the same "in glory and excellency of nature."

The second level is the order of subsisting among the three persons, and is a matter of their origin and relation. The Father is "unbegotten," the Son "begotten" of the Father, and the Holy Spirit has "proceeded" from the Father and the Son. Thus, the unbegotten Father has a kind of "priority of subsistence"—though not ontological "superiority"—over the begotten Son and the Holy Spirit that has proceeded from them. The Son has "a kind of dependence" on the Father and the Holy Spirit, on both the Father and the Son. The Son's being "begotten" and the Holy Spirit's "proceeding" are eternal—that is, there was never a time when they were not begotten and proceeding. Further, the origin of the Son and the Holy Spirit is "no voluntary, but a necessary proceeding; and therefore infers no proper subjection of one to the will of another." The Son and the Holy Spirit, as fully divine, exist "by necessity" without being dependent on the voluntary will of any other being. In short, the priority of the Father over the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the priority of the Son over the Holy Spirit, is the "natural order of the eternal and necessary subsistence of the persons of the Trinity."¹

The third level is an "order of their acting that is agreeable to the order of their subsisting." Edwards explains that "as the Father is first in the order of subsisting, so he should be first in the order of acting," and "as the other two persons are from the Father in their subsistence, and as to their subsistence naturally originated from him and are dependent on him; so . . . in all that they act they should originate from him, act from him and in a dependence on him." This order of acting is not "by necessity" but "by agreement." "[T]he persons of the Trinity all consent to this order . . . as they all naturally delight in what is in itself fit, suitable and beautiful."² This order of acting is suitable because it is based on the prior order of the persons' subsistence.

9. "Observations," in *Treatise on Grace*, ed. Helm, p. 77.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 78, 80.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

The covenant of redemption is based on the first three prior levels of the trinitarian economy. So the fourth level of the trinitarian economy is the agreement that the Father and the Son primarily make in their plans to redeem the fallen creation. And it is in accordance with the three persons' prior order of acting that the manner of the covenant of redemption is established. As the head of the Trinity, the Father "begins that great transaction of the eternal covenant of redemption, is the first mover in it," and "proposes the matter unto [the Son]." And "the Son (though he acts on the proposal of the Father), yet acts as one wholly in his own right, as much as the Father, being not under subjection or prescription in his consenting to what is proposed to him, but acting as of himself." The Father initiates the covenant by determining "to allow a redemption, and for whom it shall be," and by proposing it to the Son.³ But the Son voluntarily agrees with the Father's proposal. The equality of the three persons and the economic ordering are thereby both preserved.

The consequence of the covenant of redemption, which we may see as the fifth level in the trinitarian ordering, is "a new kind of subordination and mutual obligation between two of the persons, arising from this new establishment." The Son takes on a new kind of subjection to the Father, "far below that of his economical station"—namely, the Son's subjection of himself to humiliation and to the role of a servant. At the same time, the Father promises to the Son the office of the "head of authority and rule to the universe, as Lord and judge of all." This new role of the Son "does not belong to him in his economical character." Yet this new role of the Son's subjection and humiliation, resulting from the covenant of redemption, is still "not contrary to their economical order; but in several respects agreeable to it, though it be new in kind." That is, "if either the Father or the Son be brought into the subjection of a servant to the other, it is much more agreeable to the economy of the Trinity, that it should be the latter, who by that economy is already under the Father as his head."⁴

Edwards' treatment of the role of the Holy Spirit on the fourth level of the trinitarian economy is somewhat ambivalent. On the fifth level, which is the consequence of the covenant of redemption, Edwards tells us that the Holy Spirit is subjected to the Son and put at the Son's "disposal." But the establishment of the covenant of redemption itself is thought to be between the Father and the Son. Edwards merely describes the Holy Spirit as the "main thing purchased" through the work of redemption.⁵

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–92.

But Edwards quickly realized that the Holy Spirit's role in the whole affair appears rather diminished. Where is the equality of the trinitarian persons? Edwards asserts toward the end of the "Observations" that "it is true, that the Holy Spirit is infinitely concerned in the affair of our redemption, as well as the Father and the Son," and "that there was a consultation among the three persons about it, . . . and so, that there was a joint agreement of all." Further, "[i]t is not only true, that the Holy Ghost is concerned in the *work of redemption* equally with the other persons; but that he is also concerned in the *covenant of redemption*, as well as they." After all this, Edwards still adds that the Holy Spirit's "concern in the covenant is not that of a party covenanting."⁶ Obviously, Edwards had not yet worked out in his mind the nature of the active role of the third person within the Trinity—something, as we saw earlier, he began formulating in "On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity." In writing the "Observations," Edwards appears to have retained the notion of the Holy Spirit as the "bond between the Father and the Son."

So, on the level of being, the three persons of the Trinity are absolutely equal with one another; no subordination is implied. The order of subsistence among the persons entails a kind of superiority, or rather a priority of the Father over the other two persons, and this ordering inherent on the level of subsistence is the foundation of all of the orderings that exist in God's activities in relation to the world. Edwards is keen to emphasize here that what God does in relation to the world, and how he does it, are not accidental or contingent upon anything extrinsic to God but firmly rooted in God's own eternal being—that is, in God's life as an eternal respect and love among the three equally divine but distinct persons, and in the way they subsist eternally as distinct though equal divine persons.

Besides the ordering in the inner-trinitarian subsistence and God's activities *ad extra*, there is another sort of hierarchy that Edwards discusses in "Miscellanies," no. 1062: the priority of God's disposition to communicate himself through creation over the trinitarian persons' agreement on the covenant of redemption on behalf of the fallen creation. Just as the economical order among the trinitarian persons inherent in God's nature is prior to the covenant of redemption, "we must conceive of God's determination to glorify and communicate himself as prior to the method that his wisdom pitches upon as tending best to effect this." That is, "God's glorifying and communicating himself by the redemption of a certain

6. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

number of fallen inhabitants of this globe of earth, is a thing diverse from God's natural inclination to glorify and communicate himself in general, and superadded to it or subservient to it."⁷ What Edwards is asserting is that God's inherent disposition to communicate himself for the glorification of himself is logically prior to, and independent from, God's activities of redeeming fallen humanity. In other words, God's actions and plans of actions in relation to the world are always grounded in what God already is within God's own internal life, and ultimately in what God is in his own nature.

I shall return to this matter shortly. But the implication of the above discussion for my purpose here is that for Edwards, what God does in relation to the world is fundamentally grounded in and thus inextricably related to what God is within himself. It is the same divine disposition to communicate himself through the intra-trinitarian life that is exercised in the historical activities of the economic Trinity. The immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity are inseparably connected, and the logical and ontological link between them is God's dispositional essence, which is exerted in both.

THE IMMANENT AND THE ECONOMIC TRINITY

The continuity of the immanent and economic Trinity is a hallmark of Edwards' theology.⁸ For Edwards, God's inner life is not a puzzle subject to theologians' speculations but rather a living truth about God that emerges from the believers' heartfelt experiences of God's self-communication of himself in Jesus Christ and in all history and space. What believers have experienced from God's redemptive activities in their own lives is a reflection of the way God himself is in his own life *ad intra*. In this way, Edwards restores the Trinity doctrine's original connection with the lived faith of the Christian community.

We can encapsulate the meaning and implication of Edwards' understanding of the continuity of God's inner life and external activities in the following ways. The first point, briefly alluded to above, is that the inner-outer trinitarian continuity is based on God's inner and outer being and

7. *Ibid.*, p. 79. For later sermons on the economy of the Trinity in the work of redemption, see MS sermons on I Cor. 11:3 (Mar. 1746), Gal. 3:13–14 (Apr. 1746), and I John 4:14 (Apr. 1746, Edwards Collection, Trask Library, Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Mass.).

8. Scholars who have studied JE's thought on the Trinity agree on this point. See Pauw, "The Supreme Harmony of All"; Jenson, *America's Theologian*, pp. 91–98; and Herbert W. Richardson, "The Glory of God in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Study in the Doctrine of the Trinity," Harvard University Ph.D. diss., 1962.

life, and is all the exercise of the same dispositional essence of God. In an entry in the "Miscellanies," Edwards schematized his conception of the inner and outer aspects of God's same activity of self-communication in the following manner:

God is glorified within himself in these two ways.

1. By appearing, or being manifested, to himself in his own perfect idea, or, in his Son, who is the brightness of his glory.

2. By enjoying and delighting in himself, by flowing forth in infinite love and delight toward himself, or, in his Holy Spirit.

So God glorifies himself towards the creatures *also* two ways.

1. By appearing to them, being manifested to their understandings.

2. In communicating himself to their hearts, and in their rejoicing and delighting in, and enjoying the manifestations which he makes of himself.⁹

"The same disposition that inclines [God] to delight in his glory," Edwards writes elsewhere, "causes [God] to delight in the exhibitions, expressions and communication of it."¹ There is no metaphysical gap between God's own internal life and his external self-communication. What believers experience in Jesus Christ is God himself. In Edwards' thought, as in that of the fourth-century Eastern theologians, as Robert W. Jenson has put it, "the roles of Jesus and his Father and their Spirit in our history, and the roles of those three 'persons' in God's own reality, intersect with each other to make but one divine history."²

The second significance of Edwards' close connection of the immanent with the economic Trinity is a corollary of the first point: God's redemptive activity *ad extra* would be trinitarian in nature, just as God's internal life is trinitarian. This means that there is both unity and clear distinction among the three persons of the Trinity in their economic roles. As Edwards explains in "Miscellanies," no. 1062, the Father "determines that a redemption shall be admitted, and for whom." The Son in his mediatorial work undertakes "the great and difficult and self-abasing work of our redemption." The Holy Spirit, or the divine love, is "the main thing that [Christ] purchased" and is to be dispensed by Christ to the elect.³ In "Miscellanies," no. 402, Edwards refers to the Mediator as Jesus Christ, not only as the Son: "The great thing purchased by Jesus Christ for

9. "Miscellanies," no. 448, in *Works*, 13, 495. Ed. italics and spacing.

1. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 452.

2. Jenson, *America's Theologian*, p. 93.

3. "Observations," in *Treatise on Grace*, ed. Helm, pp. 84–85, 89.

us is communion with God, which is only in having the Spirit."⁴ God's economic work is trinitarian, as is God's inner-trinitarian life.

Since Augustine the Western church has tended to stress the unity of the three persons of the Trinity rather than their distinctions. The distinctions among the three persons in their external relations were honored through what is known as the doctrine of appropriations, which stated that particular works were appropriated to particular persons of the Trinity: creation was the work of the Father, redemption the work of the Son, and sanctification the work of the Holy Spirit. This way of thinking, according to Jenson, had the effect of "shielding" God's intra-trinitarian proceedings from what God does in history. For Edwards, what God does in history is not just related appropriately to the intra-trinitarian life of God, but rather "reproduces" it in history.⁵ Edwards is at considerable pains to maintain that the three persons of the Trinity have particular roles to play in redemption and that the ordering of those roles is grounded in, and repeats, the eternal order of subsistence within the Trinity. "It is not meet," explains Edwards, "that the Redeemer should be God the Father; because he, in the divine economy of the persons of the Trinity, was the person that holds the rights of the Godhead, and so was the person offended."⁶ Likewise, "'tis not fit that [the Mediator] should be . . . the Spirit, for . . . in being mediator between the Father and the saints, [the Mediator] is mediator between Father and the Spirit."⁷ Of course, Edwards also affirmed the unity of the three persons in their external activities. But their unity is no longer stated in terms of "indivisibility" but rather as a mutual agreement among the three. "[A]ll the persons of the Trinity do concur in all acts *ad extra*."⁸ Edwards applied his trinitarianism in his conception of God's activities *ad extra* more rigorously than his predecessors in the Western church.

The third and final point we must highlight in regard to Edwards' strong emphasis upon the unity of the immanent and economic Trinity is the way God's inner-trinitarian life and his external activities confirm and also help articulate the truth and meaning of each other for humankind. Edwards frequently describes, and argues for the truth of, the Trinity *ad intra* on the basis of God's trinitarian manner of doing redemptive work in human history. For example: "[I]t appears that the Holy

4. "Miscellanies," no. 402, in *Works*, 13, 466.

5. See Jenson, *America's Theologian*, pp. 94–95.

6. "The Wisdom of God, Displayed in the Way of Salvation," in Worcester rev. ed., 4, 136.

7. "Miscellanies," no. 614, in *Works*, 18, 146.

8. "Miscellanies," no. 958, in *Works*, 20, 234.

Spirit is the pure act of God and energy of the Deity, by his office, which is to actuate and quicken all things, and to beget energy and vivacity in the creature.”⁹ Similarly, the Holy Spirit “quicken and beautifies all things. . . . Now whose office can it be so properly to actuate and enliven all things, as his who is the eternal and essential act and energy of God?” (p. 123). Edwards here characterizes the person of the Holy Spirit on the basis of what the Holy Spirit, according to believers’ historical experience, actually does. In the “Discourse on the Trinity,” Edwards summarizes this point by stating that “what I have here supposed concerning the Trinity is exceeding analogous to the gospel scheme, and agreeable to the tenor of the whole New Testament” (p. 134). Edwards’ doctrine of the Trinity, therefore, is no speculative exercise but emerges out of, and directly speaks to, the “gospel scheme”—that is, the reality and manner of God’s redemptive activities in human history.

THE TRIUNE GOD AND THE WORK OF CREATION AND REDEMPTION

Thus far our discussion has dealt primarily with the triune being of God *ad intra*, or the immanent Trinity and its connection with the economic Trinity. The writings included in this volume, other than “Discourse on the Trinity” and “On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity,” are on the topics of grace, faith, justification by faith, and sanctification. The selections from the “Controversies” notebook also relate to grace, justification, and true virtue. From our discussion of the immanent Trinity, we can see that Edwards’ discussion of grace, justification, and sanctification would be an elaboration of the external and redemptive activities of the Trinity, or the economic Trinity, and the nature of the human participation in those activities.

An important consequence of Edwards’ doctrine of the immanent Trinity for his treatment of God’s redemptive activities is that the latter will be thoroughly trinitarian. Edwards sees God’s activities *ad extra* as the external extensions or repetitions of God’s inner-trinitarian life. Now this, for Edwards, means that the distinctions as well as the unity of the trinitarian persons will be stressed in the history of God’s redemptive activities. God the Father “determines to allow a redemption”; the Son, the Mediator, undertakes “the great and difficult and self-abasing work of our redemption”; and the Holy Spirit is “the main thing that [Christ] purchases,” that is, divine love for fallen humanity, which is the repetition of the mutual love between the Father and the Son within the Trinity. As we shall see below, Edwards aims to assign to the Holy Spirit a role in re-

9. “Miscellanies,” no. 94, *Works*, 13, 261.

demption that is fully equal to the roles played by the other two persons of the Trinity.

In Edwards' view, the trinitarian persons' covenant to redeem fallen humanity is "superadded" and "subservient" to "God's natural inclination to glorify and communicate himself in general." Creation would be logically prior to the redemption of the fallen creation. What Edwards is saying, then, is that both creation and redemption are exercises of God's disposition to communicate himself, and also that redemption serves the end of creation. Edwards makes exactly this point in an important statement at the beginning of *The End for Which God Created the World*: "[I]t may be further observed that the original ultimate end or ends of the creation of the world is *alone* that which induces God to give the occasion for consequential ends by the first creation of the world, and the original disposal of it. And the more original the end is, the more extensive and universal it is. *That which God had primarily in view in creating, and the original ordination of the world, must be constantly kept in view, and have a governing influence in all God's works, or with respect to everything that he does towards his creatures.*"¹ It is axiomatic in Edwards' thought that "all God's works, or with respect to everything that he does towards his creatures," must be understood within the framework of God's end in creating the world.

In creating the world, God's aim can only have been the highest good, because God by nature is disposed to do only what is good and beautiful. But it is God himself who is "infinite and most worthy of regard." As Edwards puts it in his notes on "The Nature of True Virtue" in the "Controversies" notebook, God, "being infinitely the greatest and best of beings, comprehending within himself infinitely the most being and the most virtue, . . . it becomes him, as an infinitely holy God, to make himself his supreme end" (p. 323). Therefore, in creating the world, as in doing all things, God's aim can only be himself. But then a problem arises: since God is already "self-existent from all eternity" and "absolutely perfect in himself, in possession of infinite and independent good," how can God himself be an aim yet to be achieved?² Edwards' answer is that God's end in creation is "himself communicated."³ Through creation, God seeks to be "diffused, overflowing, and as it were enlarged; or in one word, *existing ad extra*." An "increase, repetition, or multiplication" in time and space of God's eternal prior actuality is what God aims at.⁴

1. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 413. Aside from the word "alone" near the beginning of the quote, the italics are the editor's.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 422, 433, 437, 445.

3. "Miscellanies," no 247, in *Works*, 13, 361.

4. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 13, 527, 433.

If God's end in creation is himself repeated *ad extra*, what moves him to seek such a goal? Edwards' answer lies in his conception of God as essentially an eternal disposition to know and love true beauty—or, in other words, the inclination to communicate himself. God, for Edwards, is essentially “a disposition effectually to exert himself, and to exert himself in order to an effect.”⁵ God is also “the infinitely beautiful and most excellent,” and is a knowing and loving being. Thus, God is the eternal disposition to know and love true beauty.

One more element needs to be added to this summary definition. As we saw earlier, when a disposition is exercised through the acts of knowing or loving, there is an ontological increase, a movement from virtuality to actuality or from the real possibility to which a disposition is disposed (say, the real possibility or virtual reality of singing well) to the full actuality of that to which that disposition is disposed—for example, the full actuality of singing in the act of actually singing well. And for Edwards actuality is “bigger” than virtuality or real possibility.⁶ The exercise of the divine disposition, then, would constitute an increase of the divine actuality. Thus God, as the eternal divine disposition, is the disposition to increase his own actuality. Edwards concludes, “[I]t is [God's] essence to incline to communicate himself.”⁷

The first eternal actuality of God is the first and primal exercise of the divine disposition to know and love beauty, which is to say, God the Father. The Father's further exercise of divine disposition through his reflexive knowing constitutes the Son, who is the intellectual repetition or self-communication of the Father. Finally, the Father's and the Son's exercise of divine disposition through the mutual love between them is the affectional self-communication of the Father and the Son, or the Holy Spirit. Hence, God's actuality as the Father and the Father's intellectual and affectional repetitions of his own actuality (the Son and the Holy Spirit) make up the inner-trinitarian actuality and self-communication of God, which is “completely equal” to the eternal divine disposition. God *ad intra*, in other words, is God's primordial actuality *plus* an increase of that actuality. God *ad intra* is actual “to an infinite degree and in the most perfect manner possible.”⁸

If God's actuality is the infinitely perfect exercise of divine disposition, why then was God moved to create the world? God is infinitely actual, but

5. “Miscellanies,” no. 1218, in *Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Townsend, p. 152; see also “Miscellanies,” 1153–1360.

6. “The Mind,” in *Works*, 6, 45.

7. “Miscellanies,” no. 107, in *Works*, 13, 277–78.

8. “Miscellanies,” no. 104, in *Works*, 13, 272.

God's essence remains as a disposition to communicate himself through more knowledge and love of beauty. As Edwards explains, God's infinite exercise of his disposition *ad intra* is indeed perfect and complete, but it is "not the same kind of exercise" as the exercise of God's perfection *ad extra* through creation; and, additionally, "God, who delights in the exercise of his perfection, delights in all kinds of its exercise."⁹ Thus, "*a disposition in God, as an original property of his nature, to an emanation*"—that is, a repetition *ad extra*—"of his own infinite fullness, was what excited him to create the world."¹

God's ultimate aim in creation, then, is God himself communicated and repeated outside of himself. In order to achieve this end, according to Edwards, God created human beings who can repeat God's internal knowledge and love in their own knowing and loving, as well as the physical universe, which, with the help of human perception of it as the image of God's beauty, can shine forth God's glory in its own way. Edwards states, "God has made intelligent creatures capable of being concerned in these effects, as being the willing, active subjects, or means, and so they are capable of actively promoting God's glory."² "In the creature's knowing, esteeming, loving, rejoicing in, and praising God, the glory of God is both exhibited and acknowledged; his fullness is received and returned."³ The intelligent beings' knowing and loving of God cannot "add" anything to God's eternal perfection *ad intra*. But God does become "more" in the special sense that, through the creatures' knowing and loving him, God's internal fullness is repeated *ad extra*, and God's own eternal glory is thereby "enlarged."⁴

For created beings to be able to fulfill their function of repeating God's glory in time and space, God must then communicate his own knowledge and love to them. Thus, God's ultimate end of repeating his fullness *ad extra* includes in it another goal: to communicate himself to the creatures, to seek their good and make them "happy." The good of the creature is also an "ultimate end," an end that is valuable "for its own sake." But for Edwards, one ultimate end can be more valuable than other ultimate ends. So, according to him, God's end of communicating himself *ad extra* is his "chief ultimate end" in creation, while the ultimate end of seek-

9. "Miscellanies," no. 553, in *Works*, 18, 97.

1. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 435.

2. "Miscellanies," no. 1218, in *Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Townsend, p. 152; see also "Miscellanies," 1153–1360.

3. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 531.

4. *Ibid.*, 461, 527; "Miscellanies," no. 662, in *Works*, 18, 200.

ing the good of the creature is “comprehended in” that chief ultimate end. This is why Edwards insists that “that which God had primarily in view in creating . . . must be constantly kept in view, and have a governing influence in all God’s works, or with respect to everything that he does towards his creatures.”⁵ Creation and redemption are to be understood in the light of God’s end of self-communication.

This brief consideration of God’s end in creation brings out at least two principles that are important to Edwards’ thinking. The first is the primacy of God in creation and redemption. God’s act of creation itself, and all that happens in relation to creatures, is fundamentally the exercise of God’s own dispositional essence; the end that governs all that happens is God’s self-communication. The second principle is the importance of history and all dimensions of the created world. They are important events to God himself because it is precisely through earthly repetitions of God’s internal beauty that God’s end in creation is going to be achieved.

Restated in soteriological terms, these two principles mean, first, that the primacy of God will be affirmed in the redemption of fallen creation. The sovereignty of God’s grace in redemption is rooted in the way Edwards conceives of God’s work of creation. The soteriological meaning of the second principle is that, for Edwards, the redemption of fallen humanity is going to involve an actual change in the human being. God’s goal of repeating his internal beauty will really be actualized in and through the redeemed persons’ knowledge and love of God’s beauty and of all things in relation to that beauty. Redemption is going to be God’s work and, at the same time, a work in which the elect really participate. Can redemption be *sola gratia* if there is a real change in the elect? Conversely, if grace is redemptive, how can there not be a real change in the elect? To maintain both is required by Edwards’ view of God’s end in creation, and this is Edwards’ main task, which he fulfills with a remarkable originality in his writings on grace, justification, and sanctification.

The Nature of Grace

In the writings included in this volume, grace is primarily discussed by Edwards in the “Treatise on Grace” and in the three notebooks and the section in the “Controversies” notebook on “Efficacious Grace.” But the topic is also extensively dealt with in *Religious Affections*, “Charity and Its Fruits,” select “Miscellanies” entries, sermons, and other writings. By “grace,” Edwards refers to God’s act of being gracious as well as to the re-

5. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 405–08, 413.

ality of grace dwelling in the regenerate and the many effects of this new reality, often called "blessings." The term "regeneration" usually refers to the basic change that occurs in a human being through the infusion of the Holy Spirit, and the word "conversion" to the actual effect of such a change in the act of faith.⁶

Edwards' treatment of grace is thoroughly trinitarian, and stresses God's sovereign initiative in grace as well as the reality of grace in regenerate human beings. The trinitarian character of grace, for Edwards, means that both the distinctiveness and the unity of the triune persons are important to God's work of redemption. As we saw earlier, the three persons of the Trinity are united in pursuing the divine goal of self-communication *ad extra*, but, as for "the particular manner and means of it," the three persons act according to a "covenant or agreement." According to this agreement, the distinctive roles of the three persons are clearly laid out. "[T]he Father appoints and provides the Redeemer . . . ; the Son is the Redeemer by offering up himself, and is the price; and the Holy Spirit immediately communicates to us the thing purchased by communicating himself, and he is the thing purchased" (p. 136).

In designating the Holy Spirit's role as "the thing purchased," Edwards is criticizing a general tendency in Puritan theology to see the Holy Spirit as the one who "applies" what the Father and the Son have accomplished. Edwards complains, "Merely to apply to us . . . the blessing purchased" is "but a little thing to the purchaser of it by the paying an infinite price by Christ . . . and to God the Father's giving his infinitely dear Son to be a sacrifice for us" (p. 137). Edwards then defends the equal honor and the importance the third person has with the other two persons in the affair of redemption. "To be the love of God to the world," he writes, "is as much as for the Father and the Son to do so much from love to the world; and to be [the] thing purchased was as much as to be the price: the price, and thing bought with that price, are equal. And 'tis as much as to afford the thing purchased: for the glory that belongs to him that affords the thing purchased, arises from the worth of that thing that he affords; and therefore 'tis the same glory, and an equal glory: the glory of the thing itself is its worth, and that is also the glory of him that affords it" (pp. 137–38).

GRACE AS THE HOLY SPIRIT

The equal honor of the Holy Spirit as "the thing purchased" is important for Edwards' scheme of thought, because it is the Holy Spirit who brings a new reality to the sinner and because this new reality has to be a

6. "Miscellanies," nos. 241 and 397, in *Works*, 13, 357–58, 462–63.

spatio-temporal repetition of God's internal fullness. Only the Holy Spirit himself, as the full Deity, together with the Father and the Son, can carry out such a task.

Now the fallenness of creation means that human beings are not able to know and love God's beauty and therefore cannot repeat God's glory in time and space. Fallen humanity must be redeemed in order to know and love God as well as all things in God. In this way, human beings are put back on the track, so to speak, of pursuing the end for which God created the world. Redemption, according to Edwards, involves both the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the sinner and also the justification of the sinner through the act of faith in Christ, who has purchased that redemption. The coming of the Holy Spirit, justification, and the atoning work of Christ are all God's grace in the larger sense of the word "grace," although Edwards usually employs it to refer to the work of the Holy Spirit. In this section I shall first deal with Edwards' doctrine of grace as the redeeming work of the Holy Spirit and then turn to the doctrine of justification.

Grace, for Edwards, is primarily the work of the Holy Spirit. He writes: "All gospel righteousness, virtue and holiness is called grace, not only because 'tis entirely the free gift of God, but because 'tis the Holy Spirit in man. . . . This grace is the Holy Spirit; because it is said, we receive of Christ's fullness, and grace for his grace [John 1:16]." ⁷ The regeneration which gives the sinner a "new principle of action" and in which the sinner receives "Christ's fullness," according to Edwards, consists of the "indwelling" of the Holy Spirit himself in the elect. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit brings about a "new birth" to the fallen human being (p. 187). Just as the biological birth of a person involves "the vivification of the fetus in the womb," the "new birth" of the saint consists in "some actual alteration." ⁸ At this point, Edwards makes a clear departure from his predecessor and grandfather Solomon Stoddard, who saw no need for any alternation in a person's inclination or disposition before the act of faith. The act of accepting Christ, for Stoddard, was the first gracious act of the soul and did not presuppose any infused habit prior to the act. As Thomas A. Schafer has put it, Stoddard exalted "the category of act over that of substance, and personal decision for the gospel over an *ex opere operato* infusion of the Spirit." ⁹ In Edwards' view, however, an act presupposed a

7. "Miscellanies," no. 220, in *ibid.*, 345.

8. "Miscellanies," no. 241, in *ibid.*, 357–58.

9. Thomas A. Schafer, "Solomon Stoddard and the Theology of Revival," in *A Miscellany of American Christianity: Essays in Honor of H. Shelton Smith*, ed. Stuart C. Henry (Durham, N. C., Duke Univ. Press, 1963), p. 353.

prior disposition or habit. For this reason he writes, "[T]he prime alteration that is made in conversion, that which is first and foundation of all, is the alteration of the temper and disposition and spirit of the mind."¹

The all-important point in Edwards' doctrine of grace is that the new disposition in the regenerate is identified as the direct function of the Holy Spirit himself. "[W]hat is done in conversion is nothing but conferring the Spirit of God, which dwells in the soul and becomes there a new principle of life and action."² And the Holy Spirit as a new disposition works within, not against, the natural functions of the human self. This new disposition is not a new faculty but "a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises" of the saints' ordinary faculties.³

The conferring of the Holy Spirit is "immediate," in the sense that it is not limited by any established laws of nature. The conferring of grace is also "instantaneous" and "in a moment," meaning that no human effort could ever produce or bring about grace (p. 161). Following the Reformed theologians Turretin and van Mastricht, Edwards also insists that the infusion of grace is "physical." "Physical infusion" stands in contrast to a change brought about by "moral suasion" (p. 165). Finally, grace is "efficacious" and "irresistible" and "gives both the will and also enables us to put that in execution" (p. 217). The effectiveness of God's act of grace, in other words, is not subject to the acceptance or rejection of human beings.

The immediate context for Edwards' discussion of the "infusion" of grace as "immediate," "instantaneous," "physical," and "efficacious" was the polemic between the Calvinist and Arminian divines on the origin and nature of grace. In the broadest terms, Western theology's discussion of grace pivoted around the issue of how to balance the primacy of God's forgiving action in the redemption of fallen humanity with the active participation of the believer in the new reality of grace. Addressing this fundamental issue, Edwards and other Calvinist theologians of his day reaffirmed the Reformed theological perspective on grace in the face of Arminian emphasis on the role of human responsibility in attaining and responding to God's grace. The creativity of Edwards' own articulation of the doctrine of grace goes far beyond a mere reiteration of the tradition in response to the Arminian challenge. But it is nonetheless true that Edwards spent a considerable amount of energy refuting the tenets of Arminianism promoted by such theologians as Daniel Whitby, George Turnbull, Henry Stebbings, and others.

1. "Miscellanies," no 397, in *Works*, 13, 462.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Works*, 2, 206.

In the "Efficacious Grace" section of the "Controversies" notebook, Edwards gives a summary statement of the issues in contention between himself and other Calvinists, on the one hand, and the Arminians, on the other. He writes, "The questions relating to efficacious grace controverted between us and the Arminians are two: I. Whether the grace of God, in giving us saving virtue, be determining and decisive. II. Whether saving virtue be decisively given by a supernatural and sovereign operation of the Spirit of God, or whether it be only by such divine influence or assistance as is imparted in the course of common providence" (p. 300). The first question has to do with the extent to which God's grace determines the will and deed of the regenerate, and in what sense the "freedom" of the regenerate human self is preserved in the all-determining operation of God's grace. The second question is more about whether human efforts can contribute to the "attainment" of God's grace.

Edwards' primary concern in the "Efficacious Grace" section in the "Controversies" notebook, as well as in the three notebooks called "Efficacious Grace," is to answer the Arminian challenges on those two questions. To affirm the Calvinistic view that grace is "determining and decisive," and not subject to human choice, Edwards first engages in a philosophical critique of the Arminian view of freedom as necessarily involving the will's independent determination of its own choice. He begins with the maxim that all events and actions must have causes. If the will determines itself, Edwards argues, the will's act of determining itself must have as its cause another act of self-determination. And that second act of self-determination also must have as its own cause yet another act of self-determination, and so on. Thus, the chain of actions either leads *in infinitum* or ends up with a first act which is not self-determined. The notion of freedom as the self-determination of the will, Edwards concludes, is logically incoherent.

The Arminian notion of freedom as the will's self-determination required that the will be "indifferent" before its act of choosing. Edwards finds this idea also problematic. He asserts that if virtue "arises from indifference," then before it came from good acts "it was owing to no goodness in them . . . ; for goodness certainly inclines to goodness" (p. 221). To say that the will's indifference is necessary for its freedom, according to Edwards, is to maintain that "a man acts most virtuously when he acts most without motive." For Edwards, such a view is "contrary to all our natural notions of virtue and vice, praise and dispraise" (pp. 205, 206).

Edwards' own view is that, like everything else, a voluntary human action must have a cause. The cause of moral action is the inner disposition

of the moral agent. "The soul," writes Edwards, "in all that is voluntary, ever more follows its prevailing inclination" (p. 203). There is a relationship of "moral necessity" between the inward disposition and the willing and doing. "Moral necessity," Edwards explains, refers to the causal connection between "some previous habitual disposition, or some motive exhibited to the understanding" and "some inclination or volition of the soul, or voluntary action," while "natural necessity" involves nonmoral factors, as when "by a natural necessity men's bodies move downwards, when there is nothing to support them."⁴ In other words, what causes a person's properly voluntary willing and doing is not some nonmoral factor external to the full engagement of the moral powers of the human self.

Edwards insists that the inward disposition's determination of willing and doing is not inconsistent with human freedom or liberty. In fact, for him, the only meaningful sense in which human beings are free does not depend on the will's independent self-determination but rather on the moral agent's ability to do what he or she is internally disposed to do without external interference. Edwards writes, "The mind exercises its liberty in following its prevailing inclination, if we mean anything that has any existence: for the soul, in all that is voluntary, ever more follows its prevailing inclination, is guided by its own choice. Wherein it is not guided by its choice, it don't act of choice and so don't act voluntarily, and so exercises no liberty" (p. 203). So Edwards reaches a compatibilist view of human freedom: for the human self to be determined in its understanding, volition, and action by its own internal disposition is not incompatible with either the voluntary and free character of human action or the self's responsibility for its action. In this way, Edwards seeks to demonstrate that God's determining operation of grace is compatible with the full and free engagement of the human self. Edwards' view of human liberty allows him to affirm the all-determining, or "efficacious," operation of God's grace in the regenerate and at the same time to conceive of the consequent Christian deeds of these regenerate persons as properly their own voluntary actions.

A key ingredient in Edwards' philosophical defense of the Calvinist doctrine of grace against the Arminian challenge was a creative conceptualization of grace as the Holy Spirit's indwelling and acting in the regenerate human self "after the manner of" an internal disposition or principle of action. The Holy Spirit is in the regenerate person as a new inward disposition "acting in union with his natural faculties after the

4. *Works*, 1, 158.

manner of a vital principle" (p. 196). It is the Holy Spirit who acts in the regenerate, "uniting himself to the soul of a creature as a vital principle, dwelling there and exerting himself by the faculties of the soul of man, in his own proper nature" (p. 196). It is also true that the Holy Spirit acts not as a force external to the regenerate self but as "a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul for a new kind of exercises," so that regenerate persons are "properly denominated" from the Holy Spirit, "and are called spiritual."⁵ In short, Christian deeds of regenerate persons are "properly" the acts of the Holy Spirit himself and at the same time "properly" the deeds of the regenerate human beings themselves.

Against Arminians, Edwards has shown how the operation of God's grace is "efficacious." By "efficacious grace," Edwards means that God "gives both the will and the deed, that 'tis God by his operation and efficiency gives both the will and also enables us to put that in execution (p. 217). What God does in regenerate persons, according to Edwards, "is often spoken [of] as thoroughly effectual, and the effect as infallibly consequent" (p. 240). Grace, in other words, is "irresistible" and not subject to human choice, as Arminians maintained. Furthermore, unlike what Arminians thought, God's efficacious grace is not inconsistent with freedom. God's grace operates efficaciously in and through the natural powers of the regenerate human self. In different senses, God and the regenerate human being are both fully active. The oft-quoted passage in which Edwards beautifully summarizes his compatibilist view of grace and human moral agency is found in "Efficacious Grace, Book III": "We are not merely passive in it, nor yet does God do some and we do the rest, but God does all and we do all. God produces all and we act all. For that is what he produces, our own acts. God is the only proper author and fountain; we only are the proper actors. We are in different respects wholly passive and wholly active" (p. 251). In short, the operation of God's grace is "determining and decisive" but does not violate human liberty, as Arminians believed.

Edwards' second controversy with the Arminians on efficacious grace had to do with its origin, or the way it is attained by the regenerate. Edwards and other Calvinists believed that the Arminians had hopelessly compromised God's absolute sovereignty as the source of grace, as well as the utter inability of fallen humanity to do anything to contribute toward attaining grace. Edwards asserts that "a principle of saving virtue is immediately imparted and implanted by that operation [of God] which is

5. *Works*, 2, 201.

sovereign and efficacious in that respect, that its effect is not from any established laws of nature" (p. 301). So here is a second sense in which God's grace, for Edwards, is efficacious: God brings about the effect of grace without depending upon any factors other than his own sovereign will. God alone is the author of grace and of the unfailing execution of its effects.

Arminians assumed that the betterment of human nature required divine assistance, but such an assistance, they insisted, had to come through human choice and endeavors and without violating the integrity of the laws of nature. Edwards begins his critique of this position by reiterating his fundamental conviction that "saving virtue differs from common virtue . . . in nature and kind," not "only in degree and circumstances" (p. 301). Given this presupposition, it follows that such saving virtue could not be acquired "by repeated acts and obtained by human culture and improvements" (p. 301). Edwards asks whether "sincerity of endeavors" can lead to the attainment of saving grace, as Arminians contend. He points out that there must be a first sincere act, and that "this first distinguishing sincerity, that is the spring of the whole affair, must have existence by some means or other: and it must be either from some sincere endeavor of the man's own foregoing, which is a contradiction; or it must be from God, which is the point required; or it must be from chance, which is to be from nothing" (p. 311). Arminian overconfidence in humans' ability to save themselves by sincere efforts, Edwards comments, "tends exceedingly to cherish PRESUMPTION in sinners while in health and vigor, and to their utter DESPAIR in sensible approaches of death by sickness or old age" (p. 300). The discontinuity between grace and the fallen nature, therefore, can be overcome only by God. Grace can be "immediately implanted or infused into the soul" only by God himself and not acquired by humans. And since there is a qualitative difference between having saving grace and the fallen human condition, there is no middle ground between having grace and not having it. Comparing salvation to resurrection, Edwards writes, "Now there is no medium between being dead and alive. He that is dead has no degree of life; he that has the least degree of life in him is alive" (p. 160). Therefore, the infusion of grace is "instantaneous" (p. 161).

Efficacious grace is not only beyond the grasp of human capacity but also above the laws of nature. According to "Miscellanies," no. 1263, because God directly acts to cause events, he usually abides by the previously established laws of nature. But since the thing that efficacious grace makes possible—the sense of God's beauty—is beyond the laws of nature,

the bestowal of such grace requires (as in the cases of God's creation out of nothing and his resurrection of the crucified Jesus) God's "sovereign and arbitrary" operation, which is not in any way dependent upon anything other than his own wisdom and will (p. 302). Grace, for Edwards, is efficacious both in effectually determining the effect and also in being sovereign—not dependent upon any creature—in bestowing it.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AS THE NEW DISPOSITION

Edwards states unambiguously that saving grace "is no other than the Spirit of God itself dwelling and acting in the heart of a saint" (p. 192). And Edwards asserted, as we saw above, that the Holy Spirit's direct presence and operation in the regenerate is not incompatible with the effects of the Holy Spirit being the voluntary acts of the regenerate person. This compatibilist view was premised on Edwards' contention that the Holy Spirit works as a new disposition or principle of action internal, not external, to the regenerate person's own self. Edwards' interest in seeing grace as a personal reality for the regenerate hung on the concept of the Holy Spirit's indwelling and acting in the regenerate as a new disposition.

While rejecting the human capacity to contribute to the attainment of grace, Edwards, like other Calvinists, strongly emphasized the visible and behavioral reality of the effects of grace in regenerate persons. For Edwards, however, the importance of the reality of salvation for the regenerate was accentuated by his own theological framework, in which the redemption of fallen creation was comprehended in the ultimate end of God's self-communication or self-repetition *ad extra* and was the consequence of the exercise of God's own dispositional essence. God's own activities of self-communication are involved in human redemption; and this self-communication has to happen within the fabric of time and space. It was a matter of special importance to Edwards, therefore, to maintain in his doctrine of grace the human reality of regeneration as well as the absolute primacy of God in that regeneration.

Now the key question here is this: What is the exact meaning of Edwards' contention that the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity himself, acts in the regenerate "as" and "after the manner of" a new disposition or principle of action? How do the supernatural and natural meet in the workings of grace? This question has a long and complex history in the development of Christian doctrine, and a brief overview of that history will be useful to our understanding of Edwards' unique perspective.

One of the basic themes in the development of the theology of grace in the West is the distinction between "uncreated grace" (*gratia increata*)—

God's grace as the direct presence or action of the Holy Spirit—and "created grace" (*gratia creata*)—God's grace as the abiding effect of the Holy Spirit which indwells in the saints as a new habit or disposition.⁶ In the twelfth century Peter Lombard identified the grace of charity with the direct presence of the Holy Spirit. Many theologians who followed Lombard, however, believed that grace had to be emphasized as an enduring transformation just as much as absolute sovereignty. The distinction between "uncreated grace" and "created grace" was introduced in the thirteenth century to resolve this issue.

Thomas Aquinas, in particular, was eager to emphasize grace as having a fixed and stable nature because he, following Aristotelian metaphysics, conceived of the supernatural operation of God as working in and through the natural order of things rather than as a violation of them. For Aquinas, human nature had three principles: the being of the soul and the faculties of reason and will. The nature of the human soul is directed to the natural end of the human being and, as a substance, is a completed form (*forma completiva*) that cannot be modified or redirected in any way. Now for Aquinas, without the change or elevation of human nature to a supernatural level, supernatural virtues and actions are not possible. Thus, God gives the saints a supernatural form, or an "entitative habit" (*donum habituale*), on the level of being, so that it can be the "basis" for the supernatural virtues that God would also infuse into the saints' faculties and powers. Referring to the ontological level, where grace has to function first, Aquinas writes, "Grace reduces to the first kind of quality. However it is not simply a virtue; rather it is a kind of habitual state which is presupposed by the infused virtues, as their origin and root."⁷

Aquinas' conception of "created grace," both on the ontological and the operational levels, is undoubtedly intended to articulate the real change that occurs in the actual being and powers of the regenerate person. What became controversial later was that "created grace" for Aquinas appeared to be a kind of semi-independent or intermediary principle that could be separated from "uncreated grace." Grace on the level of being, says Aquinas, is "a kind of habitual state" and the infused virtues "an intermediary" by which grace issues forth in virtuous acts. Such mediating principles between God and the transformed saint's virtuous acts are necessary for Aquinas because, as Robert P. Scharlemann explains, the

6. Cf. E. M. Burke, "Grace," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1967), pp. 658–72.

7. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, trans. Cornelius Ernst (New York, McGraw Hill, 1972), Ia2ae, 110, 4, p. 121.

self-moving nature of the human will would be annulled if the actions of God's grace were direct and extrinsic. "An external movement might conceivably be a movement by the Holy Ghost, but it would not be a movement of love unless it were also an act of the will, that is intrinsic and voluntary."⁸ Thus, for Aquinas, an "intrinsic and voluntary" act of a virtuous nature does not occur without (a) a mediating virtue that facilitates the movement of the will or (b) the "habitual state" of grace in the nature of the person. In this way, Aquinas rejected the Lombardian conception of grace as the direct activity of the Holy Spirit, although for him the presence of "created grace" did not negate the Holy Spirit's continuing activity for the regenerate.⁹

Nevertheless, the prominent role played by "created grace" in the thought of Aquinas and the Scholastics in general was seen by the Reformers as a threat to the absolute sovereignty and gratuitous nature of God's grace. And in reaction to Luther's strong emphasis on grace as God's absolutely gratuitous act of acceptance of the sinner, the Council of Trent emphasized the reality of "created grace" even more by describing it as an "inherent" quality in the regenerate.¹

Edwards does not use the terms "uncreated grace" and "created grace," and it is not clear whether he knew of this distinction. We may still ask, however, whether he had in mind something like "created grace," an intermediary or quality produced by the Holy Spirit. When Edwards says that the Holy Spirit operates in the regenerate "as" and "after the manner of" a disposition or principle of action, is he thinking of "created grace" in the Thomistic sense?

There are times when Edwards gives the impression that his view is similar to that of Aquinas.² In an early miscellany Edwards writes, "But by those expressions concerning a holy life, we can understand nothing else but a disposition that would naturally exert itself in holy [living] upon occasion; so we say of the believing disposition."³ Later, in the "Treatise on Grace," Edwards says that "this saving grace in the soul is not only from the Spirit, but it also partakes of the nature of that Spirit that it is from"

8. Robert P. Scharleman, *Thomas Aquinas and John Gerhard* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1964), p. 131.

9. Cf. C. Moeller and G. Philips, *The Theology of Grace and the Ecumenical Movement* (London, A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1961), pp. 19–21.

1. Cf. Burke, "Grace," p. 668.

2. For the interpretation of JE's idea of infused disposition as "a close correlative" of Thomas' notion of the "intermediary habit," see Anri Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation* (University Park, Pa., Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1995), esp. p. 46.

3. "Miscellanies," no. 27b, in *Works*, 13, 214.

(p. 180). In a 1737 sermon on Matt. 25:1–12, Edwards says that saving grace is “not from nature but is wrought in the heart wholly by the Spirit of that which is supernatural, or above nature.” And in “Charity and Its Fruits,” Edwards goes as far as to say that “this blessing of the saving grace of God is a quality inherent in the nature of him who is the subject of it.”⁴ But such descriptions of grace as these—which appear to describe grace as an intermediary principle or quality in the regenerate person that is produced by and thus distinguishable from the Holy Spirit—are far outnumbered in Edwards’ writings by descriptions that identify saving grace as the Holy Spirit. So, for example, toward the end of “Treatise on Grace,” Edwards more typically states that “there is no other principle of grace in the soul than the very Holy Ghost dwelling in the soul and acting there as a vital principle” (p. 196).

Alternatively, Edwards describes how the Holy Spirit “becomes” a new disposition in the regenerate person. At one point in the “Treatise on Grace,” Edwards writes, “Hence the Spirit of God seems in Scripture to be spoken of as to become a quality of the persons in whom it resided, so that they are called spiritual persons; as when we say ‘a virtuous man,’ we speak of virtue as the quality of the man.” (p. 197). In *Religious Affections*, Edwards says that in the Scriptures the Holy Spirit is represented as being in the regenerate “so united to the faculties of the soul, that he becomes there a principle or spring of new nature and life.”⁵

How are we to interpret Edwards’ intention in using the term “become” to describe the way the Holy Spirit is in the regenerate person? It should be noted, first of all, that Edwards does not use “become” very often, and it is certainly not the most common way he refers to the manner of the Holy Spirit’s indwelling in the regenerate. Second, when Edwards uses the term, he does not appear to mean anything different from his more usual expressions, namely, “as” and “after the manner of.” So only a few sentences after Edwards uses the term “become” in the “Treatise on Grace,” for example, he resorts to his more typical terminology to describe the way the Holy Spirit acts as a new disposition. Third, Edwards’ use of the term is always in the context of emphasizing the reality of the Holy Spirit’s presence and action in the regenerate, which for Edwards is so real that the Holy Spirit’s acts are also the regenerate person’s own voluntary deeds. In one place he states, for example, that the Holy Spirit is said to “become” a quality in regenerate persons “so that *they are called spir-*

4. *Works*, 18, 529, n. 3; *Works*, 8, 157.

5. *Works*, 2, 200.

itual persons" (p. 197). In "Charity and Its Fruits," Edwards also observes, "By his producing this effect the Spirit becomes an indwelling vital principle in the soul, and *the subject becomes a spiritual being*, denominated so from the Spirit of God which dwells in him and of whose nature he is a partaker."⁶ In short, it appears probable that with the word "become" Edwards did not have in mind the notion that the Holy Spirit "turned into" a human disposition or became "incarnate" in the regenerate person. His use of this term reflects his emphasis upon the personal reality of grace for the regenerate person rather than an intentional departure from his usual view that grace is "the very Holy Ghost dwelling in the soul and acting there as a vital principle."

Edwards also speaks of the Holy Spirit as "united" with the regenerate person. "Christ's love, that is, his Spirit, is actually united to the faculties of their souls. So it properly lives, acts and exerts its nature in the exercise of their faculties" (p. 195). As was the case with the term "become," Edwards' use of the term "union" is an expression of his emphasis on the personal reality of the effects of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is so "united" with the powers of the regenerate person that his acts are also properly the regenerate person's own acts. But Edwards is equally emphatic in his contention that the effects of the Holy Spirit are the direct actions of the Holy Spirit himself.

The Holy Spirit, according to Edwards, neither "turns into" a disposition of the regenerate person nor produces an intermediary principle logically distinguishable from the Holy Spirit himself. Thus, the meaning of the term "union" is not entirely clear. We are therefore brought back to the question of how to interpret the meaning of Edwards' typical formulation, that the Holy Spirit operates "as" or "after the manner of" a new disposition in the regenerate. The answer may lie in a most ingenious concept set forth in "Miscellanies," no. 629, where Edwards argues that, in the case of saving grace, the Holy Spirit operates independent of the preestablished laws of nature. "For the actings of the Spirit of God in the heart are more arbitrary and are not tied to such and such means by such laws or rules, as shall particularly and precisely determine in a stated method every particular exercise and the degree of it; but *the Holy Spirit is given and infused into the hearts of men only under this general law, viz. that it shall remain there and put forth acts there after the manner of an abiding, natural, vital principle of action, or a seed remaining in us.*"⁷ In other words, the

6. *Works*, 8, 158; ed. italics.

7. *Works*, 18, 157; ed. italics.

Holy Spirit acts “after the manner of” a principle of action in the regenerate person neither by becoming nor by producing a new principle of action; rather, the Holy Spirit remains and acts directly and immediately as the Holy Spirit, except in accordance with the divinely established general law that the Holy Spirit act “after the manner” of a human principle of action.

Having posited this general law, Edwards can maintain that the Holy Spirit acts directly in the regenerate person and at the same time assert that the Holy Spirit's acts are properly the regenerate persons's own voluntary acts. While Edwards' compatibilist view of human freedom enabled him to maintain that the Holy Spirit's functioning as a new inward disposition is fully consistent with his being the regenerate person's own voluntary actions, Edwards' general law explains how the Holy Spirit is led to operate like a disposition in the regenerate. The Holy Spirit is “united” to the powers of the regenerate by acting in and through, not from outside, the natural powers of the regenerate.

Now general laws, to Edwards' way of thinking, are dispositional principles, like habits, which have an abiding reality apart from their exercise and are in some sense causal powers that govern the character of certain events and actions. If this is the case, then is the general law governing the manner of the Holy Spirit's operations in the regenerate a kind of intermediate principle that mediates or facilitates the operation of the Holy Spirit and the natural powers of the regenerate? Not really. If this general law mediates anything at all, it governs the manner in which the Holy Spirit will act in the human self. It does not mediate the Holy Spirit's *presence* in the regenerate person; rather, the Holy Spirit himself directly dwells or “subsists” in the regenerate person. There is nothing in the regenerate person that is produced by, or is similar to, the Holy Spirit that mediates the Holy Spirit's presence.

Nor does the general law dictate *that the Holy Spirit act at all*. The Holy Spirit acts only because of the covenant of redemption made within the Trinity and in response to the incarnate second person of the Trinity as witnessed to in the Scriptures and encountered by the believing soul. Moreover, the general law does not have anything to do with the fact that when the Holy Spirit acts, he does so in *his own divine nature*. The general law that Edwards speaks about in “Miscellanies,” no. 629, does not have anything to do with the *presence*, the *origination of action*, or the *content* of the Holy Spirit's operation in the regenerate; it only determines that the Holy Spirit should act “after the manner of” a natural principle of action when he does indeed act in the regenerate. Scholars like Conrad Cherry

and Anri Morimoto are therefore correct in pointing out that for Edwards, the Holy Spirit is never “domesticated” or “given over” to human possession.⁸

Thus, Edwards’ general law governing the manner of the Holy Spirit’s operation in no way prescribes saving grace; the Holy Spirit alone is the source of grace and, even more, is that grace itself. Edwards’ doctrine is neither simply that of Lombard nor that of Aquinas but rather a unique synthesis of the two—specifically, of Lombard’s idea of grace as the Holy Spirit himself and of the Thomistic emphasis upon grace as functioning in and through the natural powers of the regenerate. Yet Edwards’ general law governing the Holy Spirit’s operation has to be clearly distinguished from the Thomistic concept of “created grace” as a virtue that is produced by the Holy Spirit and that makes the believer’s own free act of faith possible.

It is in this light that Edwards’ language about the intimate “union” of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate has to be understood. In *Religious Affections*, Edwards writes that “the soul of a saint receives light from the Sun of righteousness, in such a manner, that its nature is changed, and it becomes properly a luminous thing. . . . Grace is compared to a seed implanted, that not only grows there, and is an abiding principle of life and nature there.” Earlier in the same work, he speaks of the Holy Spirit as dwelling in the saints “as his proper lasting abode.”⁹ According to Edwards’ descriptions in these passages, the Holy Spirit’s indwelling in the regenerate person is so intimate that he “grows there,” like a seed, and makes the nature of the regenerate person “properly a luminous thing.” This is not a Thomistic conception of created grace distinguishable from the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit’s immediate and direct actions in and through the regenerate person are so accurately and thoroughly “after the manner of” a human principle of action that he can be said to be “implanted,” to “grow,” and to be within the regenerate person as in a “lasting abode.” And this is so *not* because the Holy Spirit “turns into” or produces an intermediate principle of virtue residing in the soul but rather because the Holy Spirit’s own direct action is strictly in accordance with the general law governing the manner of his action in the regenerate person. Thus Edwards can say toward the end of the “Treatise on Grace” that “if God should take away his Spirit out of the soul, all habits and acts of

8. Conrad Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal* (Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1990), p. 41; Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation*, pp. 44, 46.

9. *Works*, 2, 343, 200.

grace would of themselves cease as immediately as light ceases in a room when a candle is carried out" (p. 196). In this way, Edwards retains saving grace as immediately the Holy Spirit's own direct action as is logically possible, while at the same time asserting that the Holy Spirit acts as a new principle of action of the regenerate person.

THE IMMEDIACY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT'S OPERATION
AND THE LAWS OF NATURE

We have noted Edwards' contention that God acts "immediately" or directly both in the infusion of the Holy Spirit as a new disposition in the regenerate person and in the regenerate person's every virtuous action. For Edwards, not only is saving grace "immediately implanted or infused in the soul," but "all succeeding acts of grace, must be as immediately and to all intents and purposes, as much from the immediate acting of the Spirit of God on the soul as the first" (p. 196). But is there any difference between the immediacy of God's action in the infusion of grace and the immediacy of the Holy Spirit in the consequent exercises of grace? In addition, Edwards asserts in a number of places that God's immediate action is necessary for any and all existences and occurrences in the world. Yet he observes that the Holy Spirit's "gracious operations on the mind" are "most arbitrary and bound to no knowable law."¹ In what sense, then, are God's immediate acts in his saving grace more immediate than his immediate acts in all occurrences?

In order to achieve some clarity on these issues, it is necessary to place them in the context of Edwards' general conception of God's operation and its relation to the established laws of nature. Here we must turn first to his youthful text "Of Atoms" and then to his systematic discussion of God's operations, especially in "Miscellanies," no. 1263. An examination of these documents reveals two ways in which the Holy Spirit operates in the regenerate: first, in the basic or general sense in which all events involve God's immediate activity; and second, the more specific sense in which God's activities in saving grace are "more" immediate.

In "Of Atoms," Edwards establishes that an entity's existence and actions are "what immediately results from the exercise of the divine power in such a particular manner," or "the Deity acting" according to "certain conditions which we call the laws of motion."² The "particular manners" and "certain conditions" are the abiding, habit-like laws according to

1. "Miscellanies," no. 64, in *Works*, 13, 235.

2. "Of Atoms," in *Works*, 6, 215-16.

which God directly causes entities and actions in the world. To put the matter differently, habits are the laws that certain types of existence or actions should occur upon certain kinds of occasions. The main condition necessary for the exertion of all habits, according to Edwards, is God's direct causal action to act in accordance to a certain law. Without God's direct action, laws cannot be moved into exercises. The created world is a network of laws, dispositions, or habits, according to which certain actual entities, events, and actions will occur. Those laws are established by God and, once established, God acts according to them and lets them govern the character of the entities and actions that he directly causes. The world as a network of laws and habits is virtual, tending to certain kinds of actual entities and actions. When God acts to cause entities and actions according to these laws and habits, the world is actual. The world is in a constant movement from virtuality to actuality, and God's direct operations are necessarily involved in all actual occurrences and actions.

In "Miscellanies," no. 1263, Edwards makes a distinction between God's "arbitrary," "natural," and "mixed" operations. God's "arbitrary operations" are "not confined to, limited by, those fixed establishments and laws commonly called the laws of nature"; indeed, God's "natural operations" give "respect to" and are even "limited by" those established laws of nature. There can be "absolutely arbitrary operations" in which God's operations are not limited by any previously established laws whatsoever. At one point Edwards cites God's creation out of nothing as the only case of an absolutely arbitrary operation, though he later adds God's creation of intelligent beings as another example. But there can never be "purely" or absolutely "natural operations" (that is, occurrences in the world that are brought about only by the laws of nature without God's direct operation). Most of God's operations are "mixed," or "partly arbitrary and partly by stated laws."³ Put another way, God's "arbitrary operation" is always and without exception necessary because the existence of entities and the exertion of laws all involve "the Deity acting" or God causing "resistance," as in the case of atoms. So Edwards explains that the "arbitrary operation . . . is the first and supreme, . . . to which the other is wholly subject and also wholly dependent, and without which there could be no divine operation at all, and no effect ever produced, and nothing besides God could ever exist. Arbitrary operation is that to which is owing the existence of the subject of natural operation—the manner, measure, and all the circum-

3. "Miscellanies," no. 1263, in *Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Townsend, pp. 184–93; see also "Miscellanies," 1153–1360.

stances of their existence.”⁴ Edwards’ position here is as far from deism as is logically possible. Every created being and action consists of God’s direct activity. But God’s direct action usually abides by the established laws and habits which make up the structure of the universe. Thus, Edwards is not a pure occasionalist but preserves the relative yet real integrity and permanence of the created order.

There is one additional point in Edwards’ discussion in “Miscellanies,” no. 1263, that we must note here. He sees all entities as belonging to different scales or levels—moving up from material things, to plants and animals, to intelligent beings, to the incarnate Logos itself. The lower an entity is on this ladder of being, the more extensively it is governed by the laws of nature; the higher in the scale, the less. “The lowest rank of material things are almost wholly under the government of the general laws of matter and motion”—“almost wholly,” because even the lowest ranking material things could not exist or move without the direct activity of God. In addition, “the higher we ascend in the scale of created existence and the nearer we come to the Creator, the more and more arbitrary we should find the divine operations in the creature.” Thus, “any divine operation may be said to be more or less arbitrary, or to come nearer to that which is absolutely arbitrary, in the sense I have spoken of it, in opposition to a being limited by that general rule called laws of nature.”⁵ In short, Edwards can speak of different degrees of the divine operation being arbitrary, or not limited by the laws of nature.

The primary point we bring from the above discussion to the issues at hand is Edwards’ view that the immediacy and directness of God’s activity do not diminish because God’s activity abides by the laws he has established. Without God’s direct activity, none of the laws of created beings could exist or be exercised. With this general background, we can now attend to Edwards’ statements about the exact sense in which the workings of the Holy Spirit are both immediate and also “after the manner of” a disposition. Edwards writes in “Miscellanies,” no. 64:

Thus the matter is, as to the Holy Spirit’s gracious operations on the mind. We have shown in philosophy, that all natural operations are done immediately by God, only in harmony and proportion. But there is this difference: these being the highest kind of operations of all, are done in the most general proportion, not tied to any particular proportion, to this or that created being; but the proportion is with the

4. “Miscellanies,” no. 1263, in *Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Townsend, p. 186.

5. *Ibid.*

whole series of acts and designs from eternity to eternity, as miracles are, as the creation of the world, the birth and resurrection of Christ are. These operations are most arbitrary and bound to no knowable law, any more than any actions of the Deity whatever. Not but that there is commonly, in these spiritual operations, a respect to outward means; but they are not at all tied to them.⁶

And again, in "Miscellanies," no. 481:

Common benefits are as much immediately from God as men's highest perfection and happiness; i.e. one is as much by the direct present exercise of the power of God as the other. But there is this difference: common benefits are statedly connected with preceding things in the creature, so that they are in a sense dependent on the creature; but this excellency and blessedness of the soul is connected only with the will of God, and is dependent on nothing else. As to the exercise of power, they are both immediately from God; the exercise of God's power does as immediately reach one effect as the other; but as to pre-requisites, the one is not so immediate as the other.⁷

The sum of what Edwards is saying here is that all existences and actions in the created world are immediately caused by God, except that God causes them in harmony with his preestablished laws. The operation of the Holy Spirit in the saint is "immediate" in this basic sense. In his section on "Efficacious Grace" in the "Controversies" notebook, Edwards further explains this basic sense in which God's action is involved in all occurrences: "For there is an assistance [of God's action] in all such natural actions, because 'tis by a divine influence that the laws of nature are upheld, and a constant concurrence of divine power is necessary in order [to] our living, moving or having a being" (p. 300).

But there is a special meaning of immediacy in the case of the Holy Spirit's operation in the regenerate. When the Holy Spirit acts in the regenerate "after the manner of" a disposition, the Holy Spirit "is bound to no knowable law" except to "the general proportion . . . [of] the whole series of acts and designs from eternity to eternity"—that is, the proportion or beauty of absolutely all things considered as a whole, which is none other than the transcendent beauty of God himself. In other words, when the Holy Spirit acts in the regenerate, he acts "after the manner" of a disposition, but this disposition is the Holy Spirit himself. And the Holy

6. "Miscellanies," no. 64, in *Works*, 13, 235.

7. "Miscellanies," no. 481, in *Works*, 13, 523–24.

Spirit, as the third person of the Trinity, is none other than what Edwards refers to above as “the general proportion . . . [of] the whole series of acts and designs from eternity to eternity,” or the beauty of God himself. When the Holy Spirit operates in the regenerate person as a disposition that results in exercises, he only has to be consistent with himself. Of course, as Edwards said in “Miscellanies,” no. 629, the Holy Spirit abides by the special general law that he should act “after the manner of” a principle of action in the regenerate. But in abiding by this general law, the Holy Spirit abides only by his own nature and is “most arbitrary and bound to no knowable law.” In short, to use the language of “Miscellanies,” no. 1263, the Holy Spirit’s operations in the regenerate are not “mixed” operations (abiding by created general laws of nature) but are “purely” arbitrary or immediate operations—or at least, far more arbitrary or immediate than in the cases of God’s operations in all natural occurrences.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE MEANS OF GRACE

Edwards’ contention that the Holy Spirit’s operation is immediate and also “after the manner of” a disposition leads to another, related issue: the relation between the Holy Spirit’s operation and the “means of grace.” In the Holy Spirit’s operations in the regenerate, according to Edwards, there is “a respect to outward means; but they are not tied at all to them.”⁸ What are the “outward means,” or the “means of grace,” and how are they related to the Holy Spirit’s arbitrary or immediate operation?

Recall the logic of Edwards’ concept of disposition. A disposition is a law that a certain type of action or event should occur upon certain kinds of occasions. The most fundamental occasion necessary for the divine disposition to exercise in the regenerate is, as we saw above, God’s immediate activity of causing acts according to that disposition. In the case of the divine disposition in the regenerate, this precondition is the Holy Spirit’s immediate action of causing an act according to the divine disposition. But according to Edwards’ epistemology and the logic of disposition, appropriate sense data have to be received from outside the mind in order for the internal disposition to be triggered into exercises.⁹ Since the disposition involved is the third person of the Trinity, the appropriate external sense data would come from earthly embodiments of the transcendent beauty of God. These embodiments are the “outward means” or “means of grace,” and they are “the word and ordinances and works of

8. “Miscellanies,” no. 64, in *Works*, 13, 235.

9. “The Mind,” *Works*, 6, 390.

God,” or Scripture, sacraments, and providence.¹ The beauty of God embodied in time and space functions as the occasion that triggers the habit of grace to exert itself into acts of knowing and loving that true beauty. “The matter which the principle of grace acts upon, is those notions or ideas that the mind is furnished with, of the things of religion; or of God, Christ, the future world, the saints, the attributes of God, the works of God, those things that Christ has done and suffered, etc.”² Thus, the proclamation of the gospel through preaching, the sacraments, teaching, and all of God’s works in history and nature are the means of grace that can move the habit of grace into exercise.

So the function of the means of grace is to give the habit of grace an opportunity to exert itself, and Edwards strongly emphasizes the necessity of these means of grace. “If there could be a principle of grace in the heart without these notions or ideas there, yet it could not act, because it could have no matter to act upon.” Edwards goes even further, maintaining that “the more fully we are supplied with these notions, the greater opportunity has grace to act.” The “eloquence, in instructing” the Word of God and Christian doctrine, “frequent and abundant instructions,” “stronger reasons and arguments,” “more lively” ideas of God’s works in nature—all these will give grace “a better opportunity to act.”³ The means of grace, including human efforts involved in them, do matter and are indispensable.

But at the same time, Edwards emphasizes with equally strong words that the means of grace do not and cannot produce grace. Means of grace are made use of, “yet they have no influence to produce grace, either as causes or instruments,” he cautions. The means of grace are needed and useful only if “infused”—if grace is “in the heart.”⁴ In this way, the integrity and the imperative necessity of God’s Word in Christ, and the sovereign operation in grace by the Holy Spirit, are given their due.

Furthermore, the function of the means of grace in giving the Holy Spirit the appropriate “opportunity” for exercise is not by any “natural force” of their own. In *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, Edwards states, “When it is said that this light is given immediately by God, and not obtained by natural means, thereby is intended, that it is given by God without making use of any means that operate by their own power, or a natural force. God makes use of means; but it is not as mediate causes to

1. “Miscellanies,” no. 629, in *Works*, 18, 157.

2. “Miscellanies,” no. 539, in *Works*, 18, 85.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, 86.

produce this effect. . . . The Word of God is no proper cause of this effect: it does not operate by any natural force in it."⁵ The human dimension in the means of grace (say, the words uttered by a preacher) is a real factor in triggering the habit of grace into exercises, but it is not so by the "natural force" of words or "or by their own power" but rather by the Word of God represented in the human element and by the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. On this point, Conrad Cherry aptly writes: "[T]he indispensability of the Word does not mean that the light or the inward operation of the Spirit is *caused* by the Word *as a human vehicle*," or "*as a natural cause*."⁶ This is why many persons who know the content of the Scripture may still not have any sensible idea, or the new sense of the heart, of God's beauty in it, and the truth of it, unless they have the Holy Spirit as a new disposition.

We need to refine Edwards' point a bit further. Granted that the means of grace as a "natural force" cannot bring about the acts of grace: Would not human words in a sermon *as* human words, for example, make a positive contribution to representing the Word of God in human form and thereby to providing the Holy Spirit with appropriate occasions for exercise? Edwards answers in the affirmative. We have to pay particular attention, however, to the way he does so, as in *A Divine and Supernatural Light*:

The Word of God is only made use of to convey to the mind the subject matter of this saving instruction: and this indeed it doth convey to us by natural force or influence. It conveys to our minds these and those doctrines; it is the cause of the notion of them in our heads, but not of the sense of the divine excellency of them in our hearts. Indeed a person . . . can't see the excellency of any doctrine, unless that doctrine be first in the mind; but the seeing the excellency of the doctrine may be immediately from the Spirit of God; though the conveying of the doctrine or proposition itself may be by the Word. . . . As for instance, that notion that there is a Christ, and that Christ is holy and gracious, is conveyed to the mind by the Word of God: but the sense of the excellency of Christ by reason of that holiness and grace, is nevertheless immediately the work of the Holy Spirit.⁷

So the natural dimension of the words in a sermon, as a natural force, does have a positive role in conveying the content of the Word of God to the

5. *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 17, *Sermons and Discourses 1730–1733*, ed. Mark Valeri (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1999), 416.

6. Cherry, *Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, p. 48.

7. *Works*, 17, 416–17.

mind and in giving the Holy Spirit the appropriate "subject matter" to act upon. What the human words in a sermon cannot do merely by natural force, however, is produce in the mind an actual experience of the true sense of the divine excellency "revealed by," and "contained in," the Scripture. For this, the "immediate work" of the Holy Spirit operating as a new principle of action in the human self is required.

It is not that the Holy Spirit brings about new information that was not already in the human words in the Scripture. As Edwards explains in *Religious Affections*: "Spiritually to understand the Scripture, is rightly to understand what *is in* the Scripture, and what *was in* it before it was understood . . . and not the making of a new meaning."⁸ Furthermore, it is not that the Holy Spirit bypasses the natural powers of the human self. In another passage in *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, Edwards states,

'Tis not intended that the natural faculties are not made use of in it. The natural faculties are the subject of this light: and they are the subject in such a manner, that they are not merely passive, but active in it; the acts and exercises of man's understanding are concerned and made use of in it. God in letting this light into the soul, deals with man according to his nature, or as a rational creature; and makes use of his human faculties. But yet this light is not the less immediately from God for that; though the faculties are made use of, 'tis as the subject and not as the cause; and that acting of the faculties in it, is not the cause, but is either implied in the thing itself (in the light that is imparted), or is the consequence of it. As the use that we make of our eyes in beholding various objects, when the sun arises, is not the cause of the light that discovers those objects to us.⁹

In short, human words and natural faculties are all involved, but it is only the Holy Spirit that can enable the human powers to experience the divine excellency contained in the human words.

There is indeed both a discontinuity and a continuity between nature and grace in Edwards' thinking here. As he makes clear in "The Mind," there is no absolute disjunction between the being of God and the finite. God's beauty and natural beauty are both relations of "proportion."¹ It is therefore ontologically possible for human words and finite realities to reflect and "typify" the beauty of God. But there is a discontinuity as

8. *Works*, 2, 280.

9. *Works*, 17, 416.

1. *Works*, 6, 336.

well.² “There is a divine and superlative glory” in “the works of redemption, the ways and works of God revealed in the gospel,” says Edwards. But God’s beauty is also “of a vastly higher kind, and more sublime nature, than in other things; a glory greatly distinguishing them from all that is earthly and temporal.”³ Human language about God, in other words, is not equivocal or discontinuous with God’s beauty. Nor can human language convey God’s beauty by its own natural power. The potential of human language, and of all means of grace, has an actual and positive usefulness only when God reveals himself in human events and words *and* only when the Holy Spirit, working through natural human powers, discovers God in human events and human words.

When a person experiences the sense of God’s transcendent excellency while listening to a sermon, the sermon and the listener are taken up and allowed to participate in something infinitely more profound: the interaction between the incarnate Son of God and the Holy Spirit. The intra-trinitarian love between the three persons, replayed in time and history, is the ultimate ground on which the validity and functioning of the means of grace are ultimately based.

So the triune God himself is the author and cause of everything, but he also lets created beings participate in his own life. What we previously quoted from Edwards in regard to efficacious grace also applies here and is worth repeating: “[W]e are not merely passive, nor yet does God do some and we do the rest, but God does all and we do all. God produces all and we act all. For that is what he produces, our own acts. God is the only proper author and fountain; we only are the proper actors. We are in different respects wholly passive, and wholly active” (p. 251). God is the “author and fountain,” the one who “produces all” and “does all.” Yet by God’s grace, we also “do all” and are “proper actors.” God allows his actions to be also “our own acts.”

Edwards’ important conviction in his conception of grace is this: although regenerate human beings and the outward means of grace are genuinely involved, grace can neither exist nor operate without the immediate and continuous activity of the Holy Spirit. “[I]f God should take away his Spirit out of the soul,” Edwards observes, “all habits and acts of

2. “The Mind,” in *Works*, 6, 336; and *Nature of True Virtue*, in *Works*, 8, 564–68. For a further discussion of the continuity and discontinuity between God’s beauty and other forms of beauty, see Lee, *Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 141–44. Roland Delattre discusses God’s transcendence and immanence in terms of beauty (*Beauty and Sensibility in the Thought of Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 162–65).

3. *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, in *Works*, 17, 413.

grace would of themselves cease as immediately as light in a room when a candle is carried out" (p. 196). Edwards' doctrine of grace belongs firmly to the Reformation. But he was a Reformed theologian who labored with an ecumenical outlook, attempting to maintain in a doctrine of grace both God's absolute primacy and the regenerate person's genuine participation, a concern that goes back to Calvin, Luther, Aquinas, Augustine, and indeed, St. Paul himself.

Justification by Faith Alone

Justification by faith is the hallmark doctrine of the Protestant Reformation. Calvin declared it "the main hinge on which religion turns."⁴ Yet whether this doctrine is also "the main hinge" for Edwards' theology has been questioned. It is clear that Edwards followed the Reformation tradition and considered this doctrine important. His first public theological discourse outside of the pulpit was his Master's *Quaestio* of 1723, entitled "A Sinner Is Not Justified in the Sight of God Except Through the Righteousness of Christ Obtained by Faith." Some of the key ideas and arguments Edwards uses in his later discussions of the subject were already present in this oration. *Justification by Faith Alone*, delivered in 1734 and published in 1738, is his most elaborate and sustained articulation of his position. There are also important discussions of the topic in "Miscellanies" as well as in other writings, such as *Religious Affections*.⁵ Presented in this volume are Edwards' ruminations on the subject in his later years (the late 1740s to the mid-1750s) as recorded in the "Controversies" notebook. In these discussions, Edwards elaborated on and also expanded some of the key arguments presented in *Justification by Faith Alone*.

Edwards clearly wanted to be faithful to the Pauline and Reformation principle that sinners are accepted as righteous by God only through his gratuitous grace in Christ rather than through their own works of merit. But given Edwards' basic theological framework and its internal concerns, his own treatment of the justification doctrine could not be a mere reiteration of that of his Reformed predecessors. Edwards was facing the challenge of how to maintain both that justification is by faith alone and that there is a prior disposition or a principle of holiness of which faith is the first exercise. The divine disposition in the regenerate person, of course, is the Holy Spirit himself, but the Spirit acts in the saint after the

4. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. by John T. McNeill (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1960), III, xi, 1.

5. *Works*, 2, 455–60.

manner of the saint's own principle of action, so that the act of faith is properly the saint's own act. If this is the case, is faith not a virtuous act which should be rewarded?

Just as in the doctrine of grace, Edwards' utmost concern in his treatment of justification is to affirm both the totally undeserved character of human salvation and also the reality of regeneration. He starts both his 1723 *Quaestio* and *Justification by Faith Alone* by explaining that justification means not only being freed from the guilt of sin and its deserved punishment (negative righteousness) but also receiving the gift of righteousness that entitles the regenerate to a new life of holiness and eternal life (positive righteousness).⁶ "We should take the word ['justification'] in such a sense, and understand it as the judges accepting a person as having both a negative, and positive righteousness belonging to him," writes Edwards.⁷ Corresponding to this twofold definition of the justification of the sinner is the dual character of Christ's work of atonement, which makes justification possible. Christ through his suffering "satisfied" the guilt of the sinners and through his "active obedience" earned them a "positive righteousness" and the reward of heaven. Christ's suffering on the cross was itself a propitiation for humanity's sins and "an act of obedience to the Father's commands." Thus, "by the blood of Christ we are not only redeemed from sin, but also redeemed unto God." Edwards concludes: "To be justified is to be approved of God as a proper subject of pardon, and a right to eternal life."⁸

The two main questions regarding justification to which Edwards accords the greatest energy and space are What is the role of faith in justification? and How is the saint's perseverance in faith and Christian good works related to justification by faith alone? I shall focus on these issues and conclude with observations on how the justification doctrine is related to Edwards' larger theological framework.

THE ROLE OF FAITH IN JUSTIFICATION

Before directly discussing the role of faith in justification, we may pause to consider how Edwards defined faith. Included in this volume is Edwards' notebook on "Faith," which represents his lifelong attempt (beginning in 1728) to come up with a satisfactory definition of "the com-

6. *Works*, 14, 55–64.

7. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 19, *Sermons and Discourses, 1734–1738*, ed. M. X. Lesser (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2001), 150–51; "Peccator Non Iustificatur," in *Works*, 14, 60–61.

8. *Works*, 19, 150.

plex act of the mind" called faith (p. 462). We note briefly three points from this notebook. The first is that for Edwards the nature of faith is dispositional and holistic. "Faith arises from a charitable disposition of heart, or from a principle of divine love" (p. 420). Thus, faith is both an act of understanding and an exercise of inclination, with disposition as the unifying and underlying principle of both. Faith is "assenting" as well as "loving." In one of many summary definitions of faith, Edwards writes, "Justifying faith is the soul's sense and conviction of the reality, the excellency and sufficiency of Jesus Christ as a Savior, with the soul's answerable entire inclination, entirely an answerable inclining of the heart towards him, and application of itself to him, entirely inclining and moving the heart to him" (p. 428). Edwards' holistic, dispositional conception of the source of faith naturally led him to emphasize the inseparable connection between faith and practice. He observes that love, which is the exercise of the divine disposition, is "the main thing in saving faith, the life and power of it, by which it produces its great effects" (p. 448). In addition to explaining the practical dimension of faith, Edwards' dispositional and holistic concept of faith brings us back to the question we asked earlier: Is the conception of faith as an exercise of the prior reality of disposition consistent with the doctrine of the justification by faith alone? We shall return to this question shortly.

The second noteworthy matter in Edwards' notebook on "Faith" is his conception of faith as both a "sense" of the excellency of Christ and God in themselves without regard to the good they have done for us and also the reception of Christ as the Savior of us and for us.⁹ In keeping with his conception of the true, heartfelt knowing of anything as a "sensible" knowledge or a "sense of the heart," Edwards speaks of faith also as a "sense." In faith, "There is not only a belief of what the gospel declares . . . but there is also a sense of it. . . . There is a difference between being convinced that it is so, and having a sense that it is so" (p. 435). Further, the "sense of the sufficiency of Christ's mediation depends upon a sense of the gloriousness and excellency of gospel things in general" (p. 429).

But what is the object of this faith as "sense"? On one hand, faith is a sense of the excellency of God and Christ as such without regard to what they have done for us. Edwards writes in the notebook on "Faith" that adhering to God's revelation in Christ and "acquiescing in it with the judg-

9. JE's discussion of "sensible knowledge" appears at many places in his corpus. See, for example, *Religious Affections*, in *Works*, 2, 205–10; "Miscellanies," no. 782, in *Works*, 18, 452–66; and *The Threefold Work of the Holy Ghost*, in *Works*, 14, 408–25. For an analysis of JE's religious epistemology, see Lee, *Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 125–69.

ment is from a sense of the glory of the revealer and the sufficiency and excellency of the performer" (p. 424). Edwards also states that "[f]aith is the soul's embracing and acquiescing in the revelation the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ as our Savior, in a sense and conviction of his goodness and reality *as such*" (p. 434). But at the same time, faith is a response specifically to Christ, who is the Savior of us. Edwards asserts, "[T]he Lord Jesus Christ in the gospel appears principally under the character of a Savior, not so much as of a person absolutely excellent; and therefore the proper act of reception of him consists principally in the exercise of a sense of our need of him . . . ; which can be expressed by no other word but 'faith,' or 'affiance,' or 'confidence,' or 'trust' and others of the same significance, of which $\phi\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, or faith, is much the best" (p. 427). Edwards also states that faith is the exercise of the virtuous disposition, which is appropriate in responding to Christ the Savior. Faith, writes Edwards, is "true virtue in its proper and genuine breathings adapted to the case," the case being "the revelation made, the state we are in, the benefit to be received and the way and means to it, and our relation to these things" (p. 463). But the question arises: What is the relation between faith as a sense of the excellency of Christ as such, and faith as an act of receiving Christ as the Savior who has wrought salvation for us?

The answer to this question comes in *Religious Affections*, where Edwards observes that the love of God for what God does for us is subsumed under—and within—the more fundamental love of God for what he is in himself. Edwards observes that the saints "don't first see that God loves them, and then see that he is lovely; but they first see that God is lovely, and that Christ is excellent and glorious. . . . The saint's affections begin with God; and self-love has a hand in these affections consequentially, and secondarily only." Making the same point more directly in reference to Christ's work as the Savior, Edwards also states that the saints "first have their hearts filled with sweetness, from the view of Christ's excellency, and the excellency of his grace, and the beauty of the way of salvation by him; and then they have a secondary joy, in that so excellent a Savior, and such excellent grace is theirs."¹ Underlying Edwards' point here is his basic theological vision that the end for which God created the world is the enlargement *ad extra* of his own being; the happiness of humanity is an end that is subservient to the former. The act of faith also serves God's own ultimate end and thus is primarily an act of sensing and thereby loving "Christ's excellency of his grace, and the beauty of the way of salvation"

1. *Works*, 2, 246, 250.

as *such* and secondarily an act of sensing or embracing the fact that “such excellent grace is *theirs*.” Edwards’ position on the matter in his notebook on “Faith” reflects his basic theological framework. Faith, as Edwards describes it, is both an act of sensing the excellency of Christ as *such* and the act of embracing Christ as our Savior. Edwards distills into one sentence the two essential elements in the act of faith: “Faith is the soul’s entirely embracing and acquiescing in the revelation the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ as a Savior *for us*, in a sense of his reality and goodness *as such*” (p. 434).

The third and final point to take from Edwards’ notebook on “Faith” is his description of the act of faith as an act of “uniting” with Christ, such that faith constitutes a “union” with the Savior. What does Edwards mean by “union” in this context? Two observations can be made. For one thing, faith, for Edwards, is “an active union” with Christ in the sense that a movement of the heart or an affectional function of the mind is involved. Using such expressions as “closing with,” “heartily joining,” and “consenting” interchangeably with “uniting,” Edwards writes that “[t]he heart must close with the new covenant by dependence upon it, and by love and desire” (p. 423). But to unite and close with Christ in faith is not just to consent to Christ affectionally without any understanding. We learn from *Religious Affections* that by the term “heart” Edwards means the affectional response of the understanding mind. Thus, faith as the heart’s uniting with Christ involves the proper perception and knowledge of Christ. “The heart could not be so united to him as its own Savior. . . . [I]t would not be so united and wedded to the idea of Christ as a Savior . . . if it were not conceived [to be] real” (p. 432). Further, “[t]he idea of a real good or lovely object, that is conceived to be real, possesses the heart after another manner than a very lovely idea that is only imaginary; so that there is need of both a sense of goodness and reality to unite the heart” (p. 433).

By faith as an act of uniting with Christ, Edwards also means a relation of dependence rather than equality. The union between the believer and Christ is “not merely like the various parts of a building that are cemented together and cleave fast together, or as two marbles or precious stones may be joined so as to become one.” Faith, rather, is “such a kind of union as there [is] between a head and living members, between stock and branches . . . that there is an entire, immediate, perpetual dependence for and derivation of nourishment, refreshment, beauty, fruitfulness and all supplies, yea, life and being” (p. 444). It is not “giving anything to God . . . offering a price for the benefit”; it is rather “as it were offering the prayer of a beggar” (p. 369). Faith is an act of receiving.

Having noted some highlights from Edwards' notebook on "Faith," I now return to the primary question at hand: What is the unique role of faith in justification? In *Justification by Faith Alone*, Edwards begins his discussion of the role of faith by acknowledging that "faith itself is a virtue" as an exercise of the new disposition. He goes on to ask how justification by faith alone can be said to be grounded not in human moral qualifications but only in God's grace. This is the point where Edwards brings in the idea of union with Christ. It is not, Edwards writes, "on account of any excellency, or value that there is in faith, that it appears in the sight of God, a meet thing, that he that believes should have this benefit of Christ assigned to him, but *purely from the relation* faith has to the person in whom this benefit is to be had, or as *it unites to that mediator*, in and by whom we are justified."²

What is the significance of this union with Christ? Union or relation with Christ is brought about by Christ's act of offering redemption to the sinner and the sinner's active reception of that redemption. Edwards explains that God "treats men as reasonable creatures, capable of act and choice," and thus "sees it fit, that in order to a union's being established between two intelligent, active beings or persons, so as that they should be looked upon as one, there should be the mutual act of both, that each should receive the other, as actively joining themselves one to another." Christ has already done his part. The sinner now has to do his or hers in this "mutual act" of receiving each other. "Now faith," Edwards declares, "I suppose to be this act." And it is because of this union with Christ through faith that "God looks on it meet that [the believer] should have Christ's merits belonging to him." "God does not give those that believe," Edwards continues, "an union *with*, or an interest *in* the Savior, in reward for faith, but only because faith is the soul's active uniting with Christ, or is itself the very act of union, on their part."³

There is some ambiguity in the way Edwards relates the act of faith, the union with Christ, and the believer's having an "interest" or share in the benefits of Christ. For one thing, he speaks of faith both as what the believer does to bring about union with Christ and also as the union itself. In one place, Edwards states that faith is "the Christian's uniting act, or that which is done *towards this union* or relation" with Christ and also that faith "is itself the very act of union on their part." In another, faith is what on the believer's part "*makes up* this union between him and Christ."⁴ Is

2. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 161.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 156, 158.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 156; ed. italics.

the act of faith itself the union, or does it bring about the union? Furthermore, Edwards says at times that the believer's union with Christ is "the ground of their right to his benefits," while at other times—as when he says that because of faith God does not give the believer "an union *with*, or an interest *in* the Savior"⁵—he appears to identify the union with the believer's "right" or "interest" in Christ's benefits. Perhaps language falters, even for Edwards, when trying to analyze the ultimately mysterious experience of being forgiven and accepted by God through Christ.

For our purposes here, however, Edwards' point is clear. It is not the goodness of faith but the believer's relation or union with Christ that is the ground of sharing the benefits of Christ, and thereby of justification. But why, then, is the goodness of the act of faith not counted for what it is, and thereby as a contribution toward justification? This question arises regardless of whether we say that faith is identical with the union or that it brings about that union. In other words, faith as a good act either constitutes the union with Christ or helps bring it about. So why is the goodness of faith *as a good act* not considered a contributing factor?

This is the point at which Edwards invokes his distinction between "moral fitness" and "natural fitness." A person has a "moral fitness for a state, when his moral excellency commends him to it" and "a natural fitness for a state when it appears meet and decent that he should be in such a state or circumstances, only from the natural concord or agreeableness there is between such qualifications and such circumstances." Edwards continues, "And 'tis on this latter account only that God looks on it fit by a natural fitness, that he whose heart sincerely unites itself to Christ as his Savior, should be looked upon as united to that Savior, and so having an interest in him." There is a "natural agreement" and "congruity" between the believer's faith and the benefit of the union with Christ and having an interest in his benefits. It is only because of "God's love of order" that God has a regard "to the beauty of that order that there is in uniting those things that have a natural agreement, and congruity, and union of the one with the other."⁶

In his "Controversies" notebook, when writing on justification, Edwards delimits more carefully the function of faith and natural fitness in justification. Neither faith nor the natural fitness itself (and, by implication, union with Christ) earns or deserves justification. Edwards insists

5. Ibid., pp. 156, 158.

6. Ibid., pp. 159–60.

that natural fitness is “not so properly a fitness of the subject to be in Christ as the fitness of God’s act in looking on such an one as being in Christ” (p. 339). But “God insists on a proper capacity to receive, so that there should be a natural agreement between the qualification and capacity of the subject and the benefit that he is to be the subject of” (p. 369). Thus, faith is only “such a state or qualification of the subject that, things being ordered as they are in the redemption of Christ, gives opportunity for the Most High fitly to look on that subject as belonging to Christ, or being in him” (p. 339). In his discussion of the justification doctrine in his “Controversies” notebook, Edwards uses the term “natural suitableness” instead of “natural fitness” in an effort to make his meaning clear. “This is what is meant by the particle *BY* when we read of being justified by faith; i.e. this is the qualification wherein lies the immediate suitableness, according as infinite grace and wisdom has constituted things, of our coming to an union and interest in Christ and *BY* which we have that union and interest” (p. 410). Edwards agrees with “our divines” who hold that “faith don’t justify as a work, or a righteousness.”⁷ The moral qualification of faith has no influence in the affairs of justification.

Edwards’ contention that faith has only a natural fitness for union with Christ and his benefits, however, does not resolve the question of why the goodness of the act of faith does count toward justification. The distinction between moral and natural fitness does not help explain Edwards’ main point that the phrase “justification by faith” does not mean justification by faith as meritorious. Faith, he writes, “arises from love or a holy disposition and relish of heart,” and is a “true virtue” (p. 446). If this is so, why is faith looked upon by God as possessing only natural fitness, not moral fitness, for salvation?

Edwards was aware of the ambiguity, and he directly confronts it by using the forensic paradigm for justification. With this approach, he attempted to affirm as clearly and firmly as possible the Pauline and Reformation doctrine of justification of the ungodly. However, in using forensic or courtroom language for justification, Edwards was not simply borrowing from the tradition. In the series of notes on justification in his “Controversies” notebook, Edwards includes an extensive word study of forensic terms in Scripture, observing that words by which the ancients

7. Ibid., p. 160. Samuel T. Logan, Jr., has argued that for JE faith and evangelical obedience are connected with justification as “non-causal conditions” while justification’s sole “causal condition” is the grace of God. See Logan, “The Doctrine of Justification in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 46 (1984), 26–52.

“expressed moral matters were . . . formed especially for the life of their courts of judicature,” and that the biblical writers naturally “borrowed most of their moral terms from those courts” (p. 351).

In his study of the biblical use of such words as “righteousness” and “judgment,” Edwards goes beyond explicating the judicial origin of their meaning. He also shows that the biblical writers used judicial terms to refer especially to God’s gratuitous acts of grace to those who have no merit of their own. “God’s mercy and kindness towards his people,” Edwards writes, “is abundantly spoken [of] with regard to those exercises of it towards them, viz. his appearing as a righteous judge to plead the cause of his poor afflicted people, to vindicate them, to protect and deliver them. And ’tis with regard to these exercises of God’s mercy towards them that [it] is called his righteousness: not with regard to any proper merit of theirs—far from it—but as it was in God the part of a holy, righteous and good judge thus to vindicate his people from oppressors.” So when the term “righteousness” is “applied to men, or to God’s people themselves, who are the objects of the acts of the judge, it often signifies the effect of these acts of the judge, even their vindication, deliverance, salvation and reward.” Edwards then finds that the words “that signified judging were often used to signify protecting or saving the oppressed.” He concludes his word study by observing “the falseness of the opinion of those that deny the words justification and righteousness to be used as forensic terms by the apostles, but that some real change or inherent qualification was intended by these terms” (pp. 348, 351). Edwards highlights two things: that the Scripture uses forensic language to discuss justification and that it uses forensic language to refer to justification without any merit or “inherent qualification.”

In *Justification by Faith Alone*, Edwards provides a full articulation of the forensic conception of justification. He begins by establishing that the obligation humans have toward God is infinite. “Our obligation to love or honor any being is great in proportion to the greatness or excellency of that being, or his worthiness to be loved and honored.” Since God is “infinitely excellent and lovely, our obligations to love him are therein infinitely great.” “What the evil or iniquity of sin consists in,” he earlier observed, “is the violating of an obligation . . . ; and therefore by how much the greater the obligation is that is violated, by so much the greater is the iniquity of the violation.” It follows, then, that the sinner has an “infinite guilt” because the sinner’s sin is “infinitely heinous.”⁸

8. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 211, 161.

Legally, acquittal for the sinner requires nothing less than an infinitely worthy obedience and righteousness. Arminians asked why the loving God would require of us something that we could not possibly fulfill. Would not God, out of his kindness, justify us, or at least begin to do so on the basis of our sincere obedience? Edwards retorts by asking how Arminians can affirm the need for Christ's atoning work if they want to believe in a lenient God. What law does Christ then satisfy in his infinite sufferings? What law do these "imperfections of our obedience" transgress? God, for Edwards, is a consistent God whose laws do not change. What is required of the sinner, simply yet impossibly, is a "perfect righteousness." "An imperfect righteousness before a judge is no righteousness."⁹

Just as the demand is categorical, so must be the remedy. In commenting on Calvin's view of the matter, Thomas Coates puts it succinctly: "To be regarded, or 'reputed,' as just in the eyes of God, a man must be perfect—not only 99 percent perfect, but 100 percent. Nothing less will do."¹ But fallen sinners cannot attain this perfection on their own. Hence, our need for Christ. As Edwards explains it, "The reason why we needed a person of infinite dignity to obey for us, was because of our infinite comparative meanness . . . : we needed one, the worthiness of whose obedience, might be answerable to the unworthiness of our disobedience."²

Considered apart from Christ, the sinner's act of faith is worth nothing. There is a degree of holiness in the believer, inasmuch as faith is an exercise of the newly infused disposition. But such a holiness can only be finite, imperfect; it cannot make up for the sinner's infinite guilt. Even if God accepted an imperfect holiness in the sinner, there would still remain the sinner's infinite guilt. Edwards writes, "While God beholds the man as separate from Christ, he must behold him as he is in himself; and so his goodness can't be beheld by God, but as taken with his guilt and hatefulness, and as put in the scales with it; and being beheld so, his goodness is nothing; because there is a finite on the balance against an infinite, whose proportion to it is nothing."³

If the act of faith is the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, the infinitely holy third person of the Trinity, would not the believer's act of faith carry an infinite weight? Edwards' answer is that saints possessing the Holy Spirit are given holiness "according to the measure and capacity

9. Ibid., pp. 166, 189.

1. Thomas Coates, "Calvin's Doctrine of Justification," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 34 (1963), p. 325.

2. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 162.

3. Ibid., p. 164.

of a creature"; the regenerate are not "'Godded' with God" or "'Christed' with Christ."⁴ The Holy Spirit operates "after the manner of the principle of action" in the regenerate person, making the regenerate person's act of faith properly the person's own act. So the act of faith, *considered as the regenerate person's act*, falls infinitely short of what is required by God. All the holiness the sinner may have, Edwards claims, cannot compensate for the infinite odiousness of sin; "the person, on the whole, must be looked upon as without any moral value or amiableness, yea, on the contrary, as being infinitely odious" (p. 370).

In his argument for the requirements for justification, and in his description of the justification that is bestowed upon the sinner, Edwards is reminiscent of Calvin. Pointing out the complete perfection required of the sinner by the absolute justice of God, Calvin writes that God's justice "is held of precious little value if it is not recognized as God's justice and so perfect that nothing can be admitted except what is in every part perfect, and nothing can be admitted except what is in every part whole and complete and undefiled by any corruption. Such was never found in man and never will be."⁵ Calvin also observes the inadequacy of the act of faith in meeting such a categorical requirement. "For if faith justified of itself or through some intrinsic power, so to speak, as it is always weak and imperfect, it would effect this only in part: thus the righteousness that conferred a fragment of salvation upon us would be defective."⁶ So, according to Calvin's and Edwards' forensic mathematics, a finite degree of holiness present in the sinner is "nothing" when such holiness is measured in terms of its capacity to meet the categorical requirement of infinite perfection. Justification of the sinner is possible only by the imputation of Christ's infinitely perfect righteousness.

In terms of Edwards' forensic articulation, there is no question that justification is of the ungodly. Justification is the justification of the unjustifiable. There is an internal coherence in Edwards' forensic restatement of the Reformation principle of salvation as unmerited. We are, however, still left with the question we raised earlier: What are we to make of the goodness of the act of faith, which exists in the believer before justification? Edwards clearly states in *Justification by Faith Alone* that "there is indeed something in man that is really and spiritually good, that is prior to justification."⁷ In the "Controversies" notebook, he reaffirms the point by

4. *Works*, 2, 203.

5. *Institutes*, III, xii, 1.

6. *Ibid.*, III, xi, 7.

7. *Works*, 19, 164.

saying that a person is justified “on one act of faith, and so on the first holy act” or “in the very beginnings of the person’s holiness, or as soon as ever his holiness is begun, in the very first point or first step of his holy course” (p. 371). However, such holiness, Edwards insists, does not function as a merit for justification. He maintains that “such a state, does go before justification, yet the acceptance even of faith as any goodness or loveliness of the believer, follows justification: the goodness is on the forementioned account justly looked upon as nothing, until the man is justified.”⁸

Edwards’ position, in a nutshell, is this: there is in a believing sinner a holy disposition and its holy exercises, which are absolutely without merit for justification and so, from God’s point of view, unacceptable as holiness. What we have here in Edwards is a reaffirmation of the Reformation doctrine of the justification of the ungodly, as well as an articulation of the ontological (dispositional) grounding in the sinner for Christian practice, which is considered holiness only after justification through God’s unmerited grace alone. Edwards is in complete agreement with Calvin’s view that justification and sanctification constitute a “double grace” through the union with Christ. Edwards would applaud Calvin’s insistence that “Christ justifies no one who he does not sanctify at the same time.”⁹ But he is adding something to Calvin’s doctrine of “double grace,” namely, an ontological (dispositional) foundation for sanctified life, without making such a foundation or its exercises in any way meritorious for justification. Edwards has, in effect, carefully expanded the Reformed doctrines of regeneration and sanctification.

It has been suggested that Edwards’ view of faith as an exercise of the divinely infused disposition makes his justification doctrine practically Roman Catholic, similar to the teachings of Thomas Aquinas.¹ Such, however, is not the case, for two fundamental reasons. For one thing, the act of faith for Aquinas merits justification, while for Edwards it does not. Faith, according to Edwards, is the “condition” for justification, not by merit but rather by being an act of union with Christ that is naturally (but not morally) fitting for God’s granting of justification. Although faith has a kind of fitness or congruity for justification, it does not earn or merit that justification. Edwards explicitly denies that faith has “a merit of con-

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 164–65.

9. Calvin, *Institutes*, III. xvi, 1.

1. Thomas A. Schafer, “Jonathan Edwards and Justification by Faith,” *Church History* 20 (1950), p. 61; Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation*, p. 46; Gerald R. McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods: Christian Theology, Enlightenment Religion, and Non-Christian Faiths* (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), p. 136.

gruity, or indeed any moral congruity at all" to either union with Christ or his benefits.² Indeed, any holiness in the believer "is looked upon as nothing, until the man is justified."

For Aquinas, in contrast, the act of faith is morally meritorious and in a sense earns, or is rewarded with, justification. Aquinas does not articulate justification in a juridical paradigm but rather in terms of making the sinner actually just and functionally adequate to strive toward a supernatural end. All changes in human beings, according to Aquinas' scheme, are made possible by attaining appropriate "forms"—a "form" being what makes a thing or an act what it is. So the infusion of sanctifying grace as an entitative or ontological habit heals the sinner and also elevates him or her to a new level of being, with a new capacity to strive with free will toward a supernatural end. To enable this striving, God infuses the sinner with the virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Virtues are qualities that function as forms for the new actions of a sanctified person. The virtue of faith, for Aquinas, prepares and enables a person for a free act of faith. There are four things that make up justification: "the infusion of grace, the movement of the free-will towards God by faith, the movement of the free-will towards sin, and the remission of sins."³ In regard to merit, Aquinas states that "our acts are meritorious in so far as they issue from a free will that is moved by God through his grace. . . . Now to believe is an act of mind assenting to the divine truth by virtue of the command of the will as this is moved by God; in this way the act stands under the control of free will and is directed towards God. The act of faith is, therefore, meritorious."⁴ In Aquinas' scheme, the sanctified person is duly prepared for the act of faith. When such a person has faith, he or she by definition merits what faith is aimed at, namely, justification. "This implies," as Robert P. Scharlemann has noted, "that in some sense man earns—merits—eternal life."⁵ Granted that Aquinas and Edwards are working within their own distinctive metaphysical and theological frameworks, it still is true that for Aquinas faith is meritorious, while for Edwards it is not.

The second reason Edwards' justification doctrine must be distinguished from that of the Roman Catholic tradition in general, and that of Aquinas in particular, has to do with the concept of imputation. For Edwards, justification involves the imputation of both the negative and pos-

2. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 159.

3. *Summa Theologica*, Q. 113, Art. 6, p. 1149.

4. *Summa Theologica*, 2a2ae. 2, 9, p.97, Blackfriars Vol. 31, Faith 2a2ae. 1–7.

5. Robert P. Scharlemann, *Thomas Aquinas and John Gerhard* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1964), p. 188.

itive righteousness of Christ. Edwards explains that a person's "sins being removed by Christ's atonement, is not sufficient for his justification; for justifying a man . . . is not merely pronouncing him innocent or without guilt, but standing right, with regard to the rule he is under, and righteous unto life." Imputation is both "negative" and "positive": remission of sins and acceptance as righteous. Positive imputation continues for the regenerate person even after the initial justification. The value of the good works of Christians "is founded in, and derived from Christ's righteousness and worthiness."⁶

For Aquinas, imputation does play a negative role in justification. As he himself puts it, imputation "proceeds from the Divine love, that sin is not imputed to a man by God." But the idea of a positive imputation of Christ's righteousness has no place in Aquinas' doctrine of justification. For Aquinas, justification is defined as an actual change, or what he calls "transmutation," from the state of injustice to justice, and this change naturally proceeds from the infusion of grace.⁷ In this framework there is no need for God to count Christ's perfect righteousness as a sinner's own. A positive imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness is an idea that belongs to the forensic doctrine of justification. Thus, for Edwards, unlike Aquinas, justification involves an imputation of a righteousness, the source of which is "outside us."⁸ Persons are not justified by what is in them but rather by what Christ has earned for them.

Therefore, at the points most crucial for the Reformation doctrine of justification—specifically, justification as unmerited and the positive imputation of Christ's righteousness—Edwards is Protestant and Reformed. There is, for Edwards, a degree of holiness in the believer prior to justification. But such holiness in no way merits justification and can be looked at as holiness by God only by a positive imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness. Thus, Edwards does not blur but rather clearly asserts the distinction between justification and sanctification.

In his justification doctrine, Edwards is clearly an heir of the Reformation. But here we must return to a point we alluded to earlier: while reaffirming the Reformation doctrine of justification, Edwards also saw grace as laying a foundation for Christian practice even before justification. This foundation, which is none other than the indwelling of the Holy Spirit ready to function as a new disposition, in no way enables the be-

6. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 190–91, 215.

7. *Summa Theologica*, Q. 113, Art. 2, pp. 1146, 1145.

8. The expression "outside us" is Martin Luther's. See *Luther's Works*, vol. 26, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis, Concordia Pub. House, 1963), pp. 233–34.

liever to deserve or merit justification. The new disposition, however, lays the ontological and psychological ground for the sanctified life of the justified. How are we to explain this particular emphasis on the reality of the new life of the regenerate? How is this enlarged doctrine of regeneration and the strictly forensic doctrine of justification integrated by Edwards into a coherent perspective?

The answer lies in Edwards' larger theological view that God's end in creating the world is to communicate and repeat in time and space his internal glory, and that the redemption of the elect must be understood as an integral part of God's pursuit of this end. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate, the justification of the ungodly, and the Christian practice of the justified, in other words, have an end beyond the salvation of fallen humanity. Edwards writes, "The Scripture teaches that the way of justification that is appointed in the gospel covenant, is appointed, as it is, for that end, that free grace might be expressed and glorified; Rom. 4:16, 'Therefore it is of faith, that it might be of grace.' The exercising, and magnifying the free grace of God in the gospel contrivance for the justification and salvation of sinners, is evidently the chief design of it; and this freedom and riches of grace of the gospel is everywhere spoken of in Scripture as the chief glory of it." The end of justification is that God's "free grace might be expressed and glorified." And the justification of sinners by faith and not by works—"the gospel contrivance"—is the "design" through which this end is achieved. So any doctrine contrary to the doctrine of justification by faith and not works "diminishes the glory of divine grace (which is the attribute God hath especially set himself to glorify in the works of redemption)."⁹ Here Edwards is arguing for the validity of the doctrine of justification by grace through faith on the basis of God's own end, which such justification is to serve. Edwards' forensic doctrine of justification, therefore, is an integral part of his overall theological framework.

Edwards' emphasis on the ontological reality of the new life of the regenerate is also to be understood as a part of his conception of God's end in creation. God's end in creation is to repeat his internal glory in mundane human life as well as through nature. God fulfills this end not by externally coercing human beings but rather by working in and through the human subject and human actions—that is, by the Holy Spirit's operation as a natural principle of action. The presence of a disposition to ho-

9. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 183, 240.

liness in the believer even before justification thus prepares the justified person to actually live a Christian life. The Holy Spirit as a new disposition enables the believer to have faith in and to unite with Christ, and God justifies the sinner because of the natural fitness of faith and union with Christ. So Edwards can say that "what is real in the union between Christ and his people, is the foundation of what is legal."¹ "What is real" refers to the natural fitness of faith for justification, not some meritorious qualification. Through his conception of faith as having a natural fitness, Edwards was attempting, without making faith a meritorious act, to answer the Arminian charge that forensic justification is nothing more than a legal fiction. His soteriology must certainly be viewed in the context of the polemic against Arminianism. But Edwards' emphasis upon the reality of the new disposition in the believer cannot be understood apart from his overall theological vision that through human beings and their actions God wishes to repeat his own internal glory.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE SAINTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

In his "Controversies" notebook, Edwards devotes an entire section to how the saints under the old testament, or old dispensation, found their justification through faith in Christ.² The old testament saints' experience of justification in Christ of course presupposes God's atoning work in Christ, and Edwards explains the experience of atonement by "the church of Israel" within the framework of the doctrine of the Trinity. His approach here can only be trinitarian because, in his view, God's redemptive activity in the world is the carrying out of the covenant of redemption that had been made by the three persons of the Trinity.

Edwards first establishes that the old testament saints knew that the "Lord on earth," who redeemed them out of their bondage in Egypt and guided them through the wilderness, was "a different person from him in heaven that sustained the dignity and maintained the rights of the Godhead, and acted as first and head and chief in the affairs of God's kingdom" (p. 372). The divine power the Israelites experienced in their history was referred to by various names: "the angel of the Lord," "the presence of the Lord," "the name of the Lord," "the strength of the Lord,"

1. Ibid., p. 158.

2. For an important, related statement, see "Miscellanies," no. 1354, in *The "Miscellanies," nos. 1153–1360*. For a treatment of JE on the Jews' salvation, see Gerald R. McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods: Christian Theology, Enlightenment Religion, and Non-Christian Faiths* (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), ch. 8.

"the glory of the Lord," and "the son of God." For the people of Israel, the one designated by these names was not some less-than-divine power but rather their God and "the object of worship" (p. 376).

Edwards' approach to the doctrine of the Trinity could not be more experiential. His contention is that Israelites' actual experience of the same God as both the deity "in heaven" and also the deity in their historical life led them to "the notion of a distinction of persons in the Godhead." A perception of both distinction and sameness is involved here. The Israelites saw that the God in heaven would somehow have to be distinguished from the God who was with them in the wilderness and "dwelt in the Holy of Holies." God in heaven had to be a "different person" from God in the Holy of Holies. These two persons, however, are the same God. God, explains Edwards, "to prevent the Jews having any notion of two Gods, and to lead 'em to conceive of the infinitely near relation between that person that more immediately dwelt among them and the first person in the Godhead, as being in him and as having one nature and one substance, called him his 'name,' . . . signifying the relation that there is between him and his idea" (p. 378).

The people of Israel, according to Edwards, also knew that the first person of the Trinity sent the second person, who "acted under him as a messenger from him." Further, they believed this second person in their history to be the Mediator between them and God the first person. The church of Israel knew that "the first person in the deity, had committed them to the care and charge of the angel of his presence, that he had set him over them to be in a peculiar manner their protector, guide and Savior, and head of their communication and supplies, and God's people trusted in him as such" (p. 384). Edwards further contends that for the Israelites this Mediator or Savior was the one through whom the atoning of their sinfulness was made possible. It was through this Mediator that "such poor, weak, worthless, sinful, miserable and helpless creatures might have access to God" and that "they were recommended to his acceptance and favor." The atoning work of this Mediator, in other words, included God's "acceptance and favor" (i.e. justification) of sinners (pp. 386–87). And this divine Mediator, the Israelites knew, was the second person of the Trinity, having ontological equality with the first person but with a distinctive role in the affairs of redemption. In this way, Edwards placed the Israelites' experience of atonement and justification within the workings of the economic Trinity, which in turn is rooted in the immanent life of God himself.

In the Israelites' practice of sacrifice, Edwards contends, there was an

experience of the atonement through the Mediator and thereby of an unmerited justification by God. The saints in Israel knew that their sacrifices were accepted by God “not on account of the value of their offerings as in themselves, but through that person called God’s name” who dwelt on the mercy seat in the Holy of Holies “as their Mediator, and through his worthiness,” and that that Mediator “did as it were cover the nakedness and deformity of the people, and recommended them by his excellency and beauty” (p. 389). So, too, the old testament saints “depended on the Angel that dwelt in the Holy of Holies as their Mediator and advocate” and offered their sacrifices “with respect to him and a dependence on him to make them acceptable.” Even more, the saints of Israel were “sensible that on this account the blood of their sacrifices was to be brought into that Holy of Holies and then sprinkled on the seat of this Angel, which God taught ’em to be the propitiatory, to be as it were most eminently the altar of atonement, the grand instrument of propitiation, because their Mediator and divine high priest dwelt there” (p. 405). Edwards writes, “[I]t was for the sake of that angel of God’s presence that loved, pitied and redeemed them out of Egypt, that God forgave the sins of the people” (p. 388). So all the elements of the atonement through the Mediator—“for the sake of the angel of the presence of God,” and “through his worthiness”—and of the justification of the sinner through the Mediator—“God forgave their sins,” and the people were made “acceptable”—were there for the old testament saints to experience.

Although the saints in old testament times experienced atonement and justification through the divine Mediator, they also knew that the “true, complete and final atonement” through the incarnate Son of God’s own suffering was yet to come in the future (p. 398). How, then, could old testament sinners’ justification through the atoning work of the Mediator be a true experience of salvation, if the “true, complete and final atonement” was yet to come? Here Edwards employs his theory of types. As Mason I. Lowance has pointed out, types, for Edwards, were not “mere ‘symbolic reflections’” but true representations that “participated in a scheme of adumbrations and fulfillment.”³ Edwards’ types, like Paul Tillich’s symbols, not only point to something else but also participate in the reality to which they point. So, according to Edwards, when Abraham offered up his son Isaac, he received Christ “in a figure, or *εὐ παραβολῇ*, as it is in the original [Heb. 11:19]; i.e. he received the antitype of Christ

3. “Editor’s Introduction to ‘Types of the Messiah,’” *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 11, *Typological Writings*, ed. Wallace E. Anderson and Mason I. Lowance, Jr., with David Watters (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1993), 166.

slain and risen in that type of his son Isaac." On this basis Edwards contends that "[i]f Abraham by faith received Christ and his sacrifice in that type, 'tis likely that the saints" in old testament times "received him in the type of the legal sacrifices" (p. 406).

The justification of old testament saints was a less complete or less final salvation than what was to come through the incarnate Messiah, but still it was a real and true participation in the complete and final atonement. In this way, Edwards asserts the centrality of the redemptive work of Jesus Christ without minimizing the redemptive work of the second person of the Trinity before the Incarnation. Thus, the old testament saints' experience of justification and atonement presupposed, prefigured, or typified the final atonement through the incarnate Messiah while participating in it. Edwards explains that the old testament saints knew that "their legal sacrifices were only representations of that great future sacrifice; the sufferings of the beasts they offered, and their consumption in the fire, an image of the future sufferings of the Messiah; and that the sacrifices were of value only as they were related to the Messiah's suffering" (p. 405). Edwards went as far as to say that the guilt of the Israelites' sins "remained as yet without a true atonement, though they were as it were left with the angel over the propitiatory"; their sins were "as it were laid upon" the divine Mediator in the old testament days. But the old testament saints knew that the incarnate Messiah would "make an end of sin by offering a sacrifice that should be truly propitiatory, and that this sacrifice was that of his own blood" (pp. 398, 405).

The promise of that future complete atonement and justification, Edwards claims, strengthened the old testament saints' experience of being justified through the atoning work of their Mediator. Their knowledge of the divine Mediator "raised great expectations and desires in God's people," and "their dependence on these promises were the main comfort of the church in all these preceding ages." The coming Messiah would make an end of their guilt "by his own suffering and offering himself as a sacrifice of sin," and henceforth there would "no more be a constant renovation of the remembrance of sin by repeated sacrifices" (p. 400). This promise, Edwards points out, was "'the consolation of Israel'" (p. 401).

Edwards was intent on asserting that the Mediator's work for the ancient Israelites, as a type of Christ Jesus, was "a real atonement and peace with God" (p. 394). Speaking about the types of Christ in the Old Testament as Edwards discusses them in *The History of the Work of Redemption*, John F. Wilson has noted Edwards' conviction that "Christ was actually

present among his people in manifestations to Israel.”⁴ Edwards observes in “Types of the Messiah” that “these shadows of atonement” in the Old Testament “are not merely called by the name of an ‘atonement,’ but they are spoken of from time to time as *being* an atonement, and are said to be appointed that they might be an atonement.”⁵ Thus, Edwards writes, “If any [think] that the revelations of the way of justification in the Old Testament are too obscure to lead the people to seek and depend upon justification in this way, it may be considered that ’tis certain and beyond dispute that there were many things of an evangelical nature that the church of God under the old testament were fully established in the belief of, and express and plain in their profession of, that the Old Testament itself was no more express and full in than in this way of justification.” Edwards concludes, “And thus I suppose the saints under the old testament trusted in Christ and were justified by faith in him” (p. 408).

JUSTIFICATION, PERSEVERANCE, AND EVANGELICAL OBEDIENCE

The issue of Christian practice is of particular importance to Edwards because for him, it is precisely through the actual Christian acts of believers that God’s ultimate end in creation—repeating his glory in time and space—is accomplished. But before we deal with this basic principle, we must first attend to the particular doctrinal issues that Edwards had to wrestle with in stressing the importance of Christian practice.

Edwards’ fundamental concern can be put this way: in emphasizing Christian practice, he did not want to diminish the truth of justification by grace through faith alone. He wanted to see Christian acts as essential in the “affair” of salvation without allowing the least room for works-righteousness. Edwards’ basic premise is “that the acts of a Christian life can’t be concerned in this affair any otherwise than as they imply, and are the expressions of faith, and may be looked upon as so many acts of reception of Christ the Savior.”⁶

In his “Controversies” notebook, Edwards stresses the different yet indispensable place of holiness in two covenants between God and humanity. The first of these is the covenant of works, made between God and Adam before the fall, which stipulated perfect obedience of the law as the condition of God’s blessings. The second is the covenant of grace, re-

4. *The Work of Jonathan Edwards*, 9, *A History of the Work of Redemption*, ed. John F. Wilson (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 130.

5. “Types of Messiah,” in *Works*, 11, 313.

6. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 201.

served by God to the elect, who accept God's grace in Christ as the condition of redemption. Edwards' concern in juxtaposing these two covenants is to point out that God's justification of sinners through their faith in Christ does not nullify the Father's delight in the holiness of his elect. Edwards explains that God has ordered that a holy qualification should be the condition of justification in the way of justification by Christ as well as in the way of justification by mere law. "Because God was holy, and delighted in holiness and hated sin, therefore he would appoint no way of justification but such as tended to promote holiness" (p. 365).

Holiness or obedience is involved and achieved in both covenants, but in different ways. The covenant of works, Edwards observes, entails "an obeying or yielding to the voice of mere authority demanding a due and just offering to be made from us to God," while the covenant of grace involves "obeying the voice of God's grace in making an offer of a great benefit to us, calling and inviting of us to accept of it" (p. 364). Holiness is involved in both cases. "All the difference is, in the one [the saint] complies with holiness in what he gives to God, in the other he complies with holiness in what he receives and accepts from God" (p. 362). Edwards' assumption in all this, of course, is that the act of faith, or accepting God's grace in Christ, is the exercise of divine disposition in the regenerate soul, which is also manifest in holy acts. But the believer is justified by virtue of his or her union with Christ through faith and not because of the holy acts that will inevitably follow justification. Therefore, the expectation that the believer should live a holy life is not "in the least inconsistent with the great doctrine of free justification by faith without works of the law" (p. 365).

Edwards' emphasis on holiness as the inevitable consequence of justification leads him to consider the perseverance of believers as inseparably related to faith. He admits that in the first act of faith, a sinner is "actually and finally justified. . . . But yet the perseverance of faith is not excluded in this affair; it is not only certainly connected with justification, but it is not to be excluded from that on which the justification of a sinner has a dependence, or that by which he is justified." Perseverance, furthermore, "can't be excluded out of this congruity" with "an interest in Christ's righteousness," for "this congruity depends on its being an abiding union."⁷ Perseverance, in other words, is an integral element in the union between the believer and Christ, and the subsequent justification of the sinner.

7. *Ibid.*, 201–02.

God in Christ, Edwards maintains in "Miscellanies," no. 695, has given us "a surety that might stand and persevere, and one that has actually persevered through the greatest imaginable trials." For this reason, "eternal life won't be suspended on our perseverance by our own poor, feeble, broken strength." Under the first covenant of works, Adam was not given the gift of perseverance, according to Edwards. But under the covenant of grace, Christ, the second Adam, "has persevered not only for himself, but for us; and has been sealed to confirmed, persevering and eternal life as our head." Edwards concludes "that the saints shall surely persevere will necessarily follow from that, that they have already performed the obedience which is the righteousness by which they have justification to life, or it is already performed for them and imputed to them: for that supposes that it is the same thing in the sight of God as if they performed it."⁸ So the benefit of Christ that is offered to the sinner includes a persevering redemption.

To Christ's offer the sinner must make a positive response, which has a natural fitness to Christ's offer and union with Christ. Since the union with Christ is an "abiding union," the believer's receptive act of faith must have an abiding character. Edwards' dispositional conception of grace again plays a key role here. "[A] sinner, in his first justification, is forever justified," he writes; "future faith and repentance are beheld in that justification, as virtually contained in that first faith and repentance" in the sense that "the continuance of that habit and principle in the heart, that has such an actual repentance and faith, in its nature and tendency, is now made sure by God's promise."⁹ Habit or disposition, for Edwards, is an abiding principle of action that has a mode of reality apart from its exercises. Just as Christ's redemption is an abiding and persevering one, so is the habit of grace, which is none other than the indwelling Holy Spirit. Habit or disposition is the law that a certain type of act shall be exerted when a certain type of occasion arises. Therefore, that to which a habit or disposition is disposed is a reality in the mode of virtuality.

Edwards uses precisely this logic to point out that future acts of faith, or a saint's perseverance, are contained in the first act of faith. "God, in the act of justification, which is passed on a sinner's first believing, has respect to perseverance, as being virtually contained in that first act of faith," writes Edwards in *Justification by Faith Alone*. Put another way, "a persevering faith" may influence in providing the natural fitness for a union with

8. "Miscellanies," no. 695, in *Works*, 18, 279, 281.

9. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 204.

Christ “before it has actual existence, because it has existence already implicitly and virtually. The first act of faith virtually implies a perseverance in faith.” So God looks upon perseverance “as being as it were a property in that faith that then is” and “as though it already were there.” This is so because the future acts of faith are connected with the first act “by divine constitution”—that is, by the divinely established habit of grace in the believer.¹ Justifying faith, for Edwards, is “persevering faith,” which implies “persevering holiness of life” (p. 360). Persevering faith and holiness are, of course, made possible by the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate and by the abiding benefits of Christ.

Having emphasized the dispositional nature of faith and its implication for the abiding character of Christian practice, Edwards quickly adds that justification still is by the act of faith alone and not by the actual holiness of the regenerate. He asserts that “God justifies the ungodly as he justifies

1. Ibid. The logic of grace as a disposition involved in JE’s discussion of faith and perseverance is also behind JE’s discussion of the fate of those persons who have the new disposition but have not had the occasion to exercise it in faith. In “Miscellanies,” no. 27b, JE discusses such a situation: “Supposing a man [who has the disposition] dies suddenly and not in the actual exercise of faith, ’tis his disposition that saves him” (*Works*, 13, 214.) The same principle applies to an infant who has the new disposition but never gets the occasion to exercise it. Such an infant still can be saved, according to JE, because “the disposition is all that can be said to be absolutely necessary” (ibid., 213).

The underlying logic here, I would submit, is that that to which a disposition is disposed is already a virtual reality apart from its exercises, and that it is now a certain reality that a person with the disposition to love and believe in Christ will certainly love and embrace Christ when the appropriate occasion arises. What functions here is the same logic that is involved in JE’s contention in regard to faith and perseverance: future acts of faith and repentance are virtually contained in that first act of faith and repentance. And this is so because “the continuance of that habit and principle in the heart that has such an actual repentance and faith in its nature and tendency, is now made sure by God’s promise.” So, if an infant with the divine disposition dies without having had an actual act of believing in Christ, it is still a present actuality that the infant shall believe when the appropriate occasion arises in the infant’s future life. This is what God looks at, considers the infant as united with Christ, and thus saved. And JE believed that deceased infants will live on everlastingly and exercise their disposition in actually embracing “the man Christ Jesus” in the new heaven and new earth (“Miscellanies,” no. 182, in *Works*, 13, 328).

In light of JE’s own conceptions of disposition and actuality, Gerald McDermott’s statement that, for Edwards, “faith is subsumed by the category of disposition” may be too strong and probably should be qualified (McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods*, p. 134). To the extent that faith is an exercise of a disposition, disposition has a kind of priority. On the other hand, faith as an actual exercise of a disposition has a greater actuality and reality than the virtual reality of faith to which a disposition is inherently disposed. “Grace,” writes Edwards, “is said to be perfected or finished in holy practice, as therein it is brought to its proper effect” (*Works*, 2, 435). In other words, grace as the act of faith “perfects” grace as a disposition. It should also be remembered that the end for which God created the world, according to JE, is accomplished through the actual acts of repeating God’s glory in time and space, and not just through the disposition to do so. For some with the holy disposition (such as deceased infants), the actual exercises of that disposition may not occur until they are in the new heaven and new earth.

persons without any habitual"—i.e. actually abiding—"holiness," and goes on to say, "Justification is so far from being consequent on habitual holiness and actual perseverance in it now . . . that both *actual* perseverance and habitual holiness are benefits that are the fruits of that act of faith by which persons are first justified" (p. 371). Although justification is inseparably related to perseverance, it is still by faith and not by works.

Now we turn to Edwards' treatment of the relation between a believer's Christian acts and justification by faith alone. Here the question is what value a Christian's good works possess before God. And here again, as was the case with perseverance, Edwards does not wish to compromise the doctrine of justification by faith alone. At the same time, Christian practice is of utmost importance to his way of thinking.

His basic position is clear: Christian good works are acceptable to God only if they are viewed in relation to the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Justification by faith, therefore, is a continuing basis of the Christian's acceptability to God. Edwards writes that "God's respect to our virtue as our amiableness in his sight, and his acceptance of it as rewardable, are entirely built on our interest in Christ already established," and God's acceptance "is not antecedent to justification, but follows it, and is built entirely upon it." So, "if we are beheld as we are in ourselves, or separate from Christ," believers' continuing sinfulness "infinitely outweighs" any amount of goodness in their Christian actions.² God would indeed reward Christian acts of obedience, explains Edwards, but such acts are rewardable "for Christ's sake only, and not for the excellency of their works in themselves considered, or beheld separately from Christ." This is so because "our good deeds and virtuous acts themselves are in a sense corrupt" and are "intermingled" with sin. The excellency of Christian acts are a "secondary and derivative loveliness as it were" because such excellency before God is entirely "founded in, and derived from Christ's righteousness and worthiness."³

Having stressed that the acceptance of good works depends upon Christ, Edwards also points out the genuine and even heightened goodness of those acts as seen in Christ. When Christian acts are viewed as the acts of those in union with Christ, "the guilt of their persons is all done away, and the pollution and hatefulness that attends, and is in, their good works is hid." Christian acts, in this respect, become acceptable to God. But there is something else that happens. "Their relation to Christ adds

2. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 212.

3. *Ibid.*

a positive value and dignity to their good works, in God's sight," writes Edwards. "That little holiness, and those faint and feeble acts of love, and other grace, receive an exceeding value in the sight of God, by virtue of God's beholding them as in Christ." And we can hear Edwards speaking as a pastor-theologian when he says that "God will probably reward the little, weak love, and poor and exceeding imperfect obedience of believers in Christ, with a more glorious reward, than he would have done Adam's perfect obedience." But he goes a step farther. "This preciousness, or high valuableness of believers is a *moral fitness* to a reward, and yet this valuableness is all in the righteousness of Christ, that is the foundation of it."⁴ Edwards sees God as taking real delight in the believer's good works—but only in relation to Christ, never in and of themselves.

The meaning of the believer's good works is taken up again in Edwards' interpretation of Jas. 2:24, "You see that a person is justified by works and not by faith alone." Edwards argues that the word "justify" is used differently here from in Paul. "To be justified is to be approved and accepted: but a man may be said to be approved and accepted in two respects; the one is to be approved really, and the other to be approved and accepted declaratively." Therefore, "justification is two-fold; 'tis either the acceptance and approbation of the judge itself, or the manifestation of that approbation, by a sentence or judgment declared by the judge, either to our own consciences, or to the world." The good works of a Christian are accepted by God in a "declarative" or "manifestative" way. Only in this limited sense can a Christian can be said to be justified by works. It is also in this sense that Christian good works are "necessary" and that "we are accepted on account of obedience as well as faith." But faith still is fundamental. "[T]he necessity of works that [James] speaks of," Edwards comments, "is not as having a parallel concern in our salvation with faith; but he speaks of works only as related to faith, and expressive of it; which after all leaves faith the alone fundamental condition." Works are "the acts or expressions of faith."⁵ Following his Reformed predecessors, Edwards wanted to sharply distinguish justification from sanctification as well as see the two as inseparably related.

THE NATURE AND MEANING OF CHRISTIAN PRACTICE

What, then, is the nature of Christian practice? What are the signs and marks of truly Christian actions? This volume includes four short writings

4. Ibid., pp. 214, 217; ed. italics.

5. Ibid., pp. 233–36.

that speak directly to these questions. The first is the notebook "Signs of Godliness," published here for the first time, which Edwards began a few months before he became the full pastor of Northampton in February 1729. In the first pages of the notebook Edwards makes a distinction between "the mere immanent exercises of the inclination and spirit of the mind" or "the internal breathings of love to God and exercises of faith in Christ," on the one hand, and, on the other, the "properly voluntary actions, that is, those acts, whether internal or external, that are immediately caused by preceding acts of the inclination and will, at whose command it arises," and whereby "some effect" is "produced." The critical difference appears to be that the purely immanent acts do not involve an action of the will. Both the immanent and properly voluntary acts, however, may be "a sure evidence of sincerity" (p. 474).

There are "two sorts of signs of godliness": internal and external. The internal signs are "such as seeing and knowing God and spiritually understanding divine things" and can be "known directly by reflecting upon ourselves and inquiring what we experience within ourselves." The external signs are "bringing forth fruit, doing good works, keeping God's and Christ's commandments universally and perseveringly, . . . being of a Christian temper and behavior towards ourselves and our fellow creatures." These external signs are "signs of these signs of faith and love, etc."—that is, signs of the internal signs. Both the internal and external signs are "expressly given in Scripture as signs by which we are to try our sincerity by, and . . . wherein godliness more radically consists" (pp. 494–95).

Having explained what he means by "good works," Edwards lays down two basic principles that must govern the discernment of true piety. The first is that the religious experience of others cannot be a reliable guide for discerning the true signs. "Scripture," writes Edwards, "is a more sure guide in this matter than experience; . . . many, by making others' experiences their guide in this matter, are misled—others that are not accounted godly are not so." Scripture "is the highest rule: for experience is a subordinate rule that is to be tried by it, and by which we are to judge of it" (p. 505). In the notebook on "Signs of Godliness," Edwards does not elaborate on this principle, nor does he give any illustrations of the experiences that are unreliable as signs of true piety. But his point here is thoroughly discussed later in *Religious Affections*, where he engages in a lengthy survey of the "negative signs" that may or may not be true signs of piety.

The other basic principle Edwards develops in "Signs of Godliness" is that all genuine good works presuppose the underlying new disposition

to do good works. "'Tis true it is the heart that God looks at; godliness lies in the disposition of the heart," Edwards observes, "but godliness consists not in an *heart* to purpose to fulfill God's commandments, but in an *heart* actually to do it" (p. 476). This principle is the direct implication of Edwards' doctrine of grace. Given his concept of disposition as an active tendency and his doctrine of grace as the infusion of a new disposition, his emphasis on the necessity of Christian practice as the consequence of conversion is understandable. In his discussion of the Christian practice as the twelfth and "principal" sign of godliness in *Religious Affections*, Edwards writes, "The tendency of grace in the heart to holy practice, is very direct, and the connection most natural close and necessary."⁶ According to the logic of Edwards' conception of disposition, the holy disposition in the regenerate person cannot but exert itself in holy practices whenever the occasion arises.

Working with these two principles, Edwards fills the pages of "Signs of Godliness" with an extended list of concrete guidelines for Christian practice and the biblical passages from which he draws them. These guidelines, comprehending both internal and external actions, include "keeping Christ's commandments," "universal obedience" (i.e. in all areas of one's life), "persevering through temptations and difficulties," "mortifying our sensual and fleshly lusts," "denying ourselves and selling all for Christ," "bridling and well-using our tongues," "believing the difficult, the spiritual and abasing doctrines of Christianity," "a meek and forgiving spirit and practice," "mercy and liberality to the poor," "being faithful to God in our own sphere, our particular calling, in that which God has assigned as our particular work," and "spiritually seeing and knowing God and Christ and understanding divine things."

The second writing that has to do with Christian practice, also published here for the first time, is Edwards' notebook on "Christ's Example." He began writing this at about the same time he began working on "Signs of Godliness," between August 1728 and February 1729. "Christ's Example" lists the concrete attitudes and actions of Jesus as described in the Gospels. Reading this notebook, one cannot fail to sense the depth of Edwards' love and affection for the figure of Jesus of Nazareth. By turning to Christ as the example of the Christian's sanctified life, Edwards points to him as the Mediator of both justification and sanctification. Further, Christ mediates sanctification not just by giving new commandments but by providing the living, concrete model of sanctified existence. Edwards,

6. *Works*, 2, 398.

like Calvin, here pursues the classic theme of *imitatio Christi*, except that neither Calvin nor Edwards think of the imitation as having a meritorious character, as did some in the medievalist tradition.

Jesus' love for and friendship with others are noticed by Edwards in several ways. The concern that Jesus showed toward others while he was dying on the cross seems almost "strange," and it is a witness to the degree of his friendship with them. Jesus' washing the feet of his disciples would seem "unnatural and indecorous, were there not a peculiar and inimitable love, sweetness and condescension, wonderfully tempered with that superiority and lordship which he maintained over them" (p. 514). Jesus' love and friendship knew no bounds. For instance, he "did not despise the Gentiles, as the rest of the Jews did." He "civilly and kindly treated the Samaritans, contrary to the custom of the Jews, and was so engaged in seeking their spiritual good that he as it were forgot and neglected his food when he was weary and hungry" (p. 519).

Edwards also highlights Jesus' humility and disdain for fame. "Christ would not work miracles for ostentation." After astonishing people with mighty works of healing, Jesus delighted "to withdraw and be alone in the woods and mountains and retired places . . . , with a neglect of the praise and admiration of man" (p. 514). Jesus' befriending of publicans and sinners shows that he "did not make an ostentation of his peculiar holiness nor eminence." In the story of Jesus' visit to the home of Mary and Martha, Edwards again sees his lack of pretension. Instead of emphasizing Jesus' praise of Mary and his disapproval of Martha, Edwards points to Jesus' "disregard of the honor of the world." Others with high position and status "would have expected to be waited upon with a great deal of ceremony," but Jesus "had rather see one sitting at his feet, entertaining his gospel in their heart" (p. 515).

The third writing on Christian practice is a brief piece called "Directions for Judging of Persons' Experiences." This document is a list of what to look for when examining other persons' spiritual experiences. In this list, one can sense the urgency facing a pastor-theologian who, most likely in the midst of fervent revivals, must somehow respond to the inquiries of his parishioners concerning the validity of their conversion.

Edwards did not subscribe to the typical Puritan morphology of conversion, according to which the fixed pattern and stages of the regeneration process were clearly delineated. He does discuss early in the document the nature of the sinner's conviction of sin in a manner somewhat similar to preparationism. But the list of directives as a whole does not adhere to any morphology. What is more noteworthy in this document is

that the main concerns expressed in the directives correspond to the content of the positive signs in Edwards' later, more definitive work on the subject. His directives in this document—that regenerate persons' spiritual experiences must be “solid, substantial, deep inwrought into the frame and temper of their minds”; that the true spiritual experience must include “a sense of that divine, supreme, and spiritual excellency of Christ”; that the converted person's joy of God in Christ arises not from “what God has done for them” but rather “truly and properly joy in God and in Christ”; and so forth—all directly correspond to the essential concerns that found final expression in *Religious Affections*. Furthermore, Christian practice, which Edwards designates the “principal sign” of holiness in *Religious Affections*, receives a special emphasis in the latter part of the list of directives.⁷

The fourth of the writings in this volume that deal directly with Christian practice is the section on “The Nature of True Virtue” from the “Controversies” notebook. Written sometime in late 1753 or early 1754, this collection of entries provided basic material for the dissertation *The Nature of True Virtue*, which Edwards probably finished in late 1756.⁸ A complete analysis of Edwards' view of true virtue cannot be attempted here, but we can note an interpretive problem concerning true virtue and focus on the connection between true virtue and the end for which God created the world.

The interpretive issue has to do with the apparent contradiction between the way Edwards relates the love of benevolence and the love of complacency in the “Treatise on Grace,” on the one hand, and the “Controversies” notebook and *The Nature of True Virtue*, on the other. In his biography of Edwards, A. V. G. Allen observed that in *The Nature of True Virtue* Edwards appears to give priority to benevolence over complacency as the primary ground of virtue, while in the “Treatise on Grace,” which Allen assumed was written later, love of complacency is more primary. Allen accused Edwards of self-contradiction.⁹

7. In *Religious Affections*, JE maintained that regenerate persons can discern their own spiritual condition by examining their hearts as well as their external practice. But they cannot make a similar judgment about others, because “they can neither feel, nor see, in the heart of another.” He did agree that when others exhibit Christian good works, the saints should “receive them cordially into their charity . . . as their brethren in Christ Jesus.” JE insisted, however, that the saints' judgment about the spiritual status of others “is at best uncertain” (*Works*, 2, 181–82).

8. See below, p. 312. For a discussion of the *Two Dissertations*, see *Works*, 8, 5–8.

9. Alexander V. G. Allen, *Jonathan Edwards* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1889), pp. 358–60. For scholarly comment on this issue, see Paul Helm, “Introduction,” *Treatise on Grace and Other Posthumous Writings, Including Observations on the Trinity* (London, James Clark & Co.,

We now know that, contrary to what Allen thought, the "Treatise on Grace" was written sometime between 1739 and 1743, anywhere from a decade to a decade and a half before both the section on "The Nature of True Virtue" in the "Controversies" notebook and *The Nature of True Virtue* itself were composed. Even with a corrected chronology, however, interpreting how benevolence and complacency are related in Edwards' thought remains an exceedingly subtle and complex task. I can only suggest here one possible approach to the question. Edwards' treatment of benevolence and complacency in *The Nature of True Virtue* may not contradict his statement in the "Treatise on Grace" but rather elaborate, supplement, and expand it. Indeed, the love of benevolence and the love of complacency for Edwards were always complementary and coordinate concepts.

We must begin with "Miscellanies," no. 530, one of Edwards' earliest reflections on benevolence and complacency. The basic argument in this entry is that "self-love," or a "man's love of his own happiness or pleasure," is not inconsistent with—and is necessarily involved in—the love of God. Edwards remarks that the love of God includes the love of both benevolence ("an inclination to [another's] good") and complacency ("a disposition to desire or delight in beholding the beauty of another"). And Edwards maintains that "there *necessarily accompanies* a love of benevolence, a love of appetite, or complacency," adding that complacency is "always in proportion to a love of benevolence."¹ Although Edwards did not elaborate in this entry on the intricate relationship between benevolence and complacency in the love of God, it is nevertheless clear that already in the early 1730s he considered both loves interrelated and thus inseparable components of love to God.

Approximately a decade after writing "Miscellanies," no. 530, Edwards discusses again, this time in "Treatise on Grace," love to God and the two loves of benevolence and complacency. In the "Treatise," the emphasis is on the regenerate person's love of God, which involves the "soul's relish of the supreme excellency of the divine nature" that only the indwelling of the Holy Spirit makes possible. "Divine love [is] the essence of all Christianity," and "the first thing in divine love, and that from which everything that appertains to its rise, is a relish of the excellency of the divine nature," writes Edwards. "So that the first effect of the power of God

1971), p. 10; Norman Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context* (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1981), p. 127; Virginia A. Peacock, *Problems in the Interpretation of Jonathan Edwards' "The Nature of True Virtue"* (Lewiston, N. Y., Edwin Mellen Press, 1990).

1. "Miscellanies," no. 530, in *Works*, 18, 74–75; ed. italics.

in the heart in regeneration, is to give the heart a divine taste or sense" (pp. 173, 174). The issue foremost in Edwards' mind here is how perception of the divine excellency, and thus the love of God, of which the unconverted person is totally incapable, becomes possible. Related concerns include the regenerate soul's actual experience of God, the difference of such experience from that of the unregenerate person, and the absolute necessity of God's saving grace in the sinner's regeneration.

In this context, Edwards discusses benevolence and complacency, stating that "of these two, a love of complacency is first, and is the foundation of the other—i.e. if by love of complacency be meant a relishing a sweetness in the qualifications of the beloved, and being pleased and delighted in his excellency." This is so because "a person must first relish that wherein the amiableness of nature consists, before he can wish well to him on the account of that loveliness, or as being worthy to receive good." Edwards further explains that "this relish is the foundation of love of benevolence, or desire of the good of the beloved." And he clearly identifies the regenerate's love of God as being for the sake of "the excellency of his own nature, and not any benefit we have received, or hope to receive, by his goodness to us" (p. 175). The point Edwards is anxious to make in the "Treatise on Grace" is that without a relish of the divine beauty and a disinterested love to God for such beauty in itself (complacency in God), one could neither know what to wish for in "wishing well" to God and in seeking God's "highest good" (benevolence to God), nor know how to wish well to others (benevolence to created beings). As Roland Delattre has written of Edwards' philosophy, "Benevolence can, in fact, reach no further than the range and quality (i.e. the perfection or the beauty) of being in which delight is taken."² The way the love of complacency functions as the "foundation" of the love of benevolence is highlighted here. However, the necessary involvement of both benevolence and complacency in Christian love that Edwards speaks of in "Miscellanies," no. 530, is neither contradicted nor denied.

In *The Nature of True Virtue*, Edwards' approach is quite different from the one in "Treatise on Grace." Especially in the early part of *True Virtue*, Edwards' method is strictly logical and meta-ethical analysis. As Norman Fiering has noted, Edwards argues here "on the basis of deductive reasoning alone." Through logical analysis, Edwards asks not only what true virtue is but also why virtue is virtue. As Fiering again observes, "[N]either the epistemological question of how we know a good act when we see it,

2. Delattre, *Beauty and Sensibility in the Thought of Jonathan Edwards*, p. 110.

nor the psychological question of how good actions are motivated" is considered.³ The relationship between benevolence and complacency is taken up on this abstract level. And as we shall see, Edwards' logical analysis is not for the sake of analysis alone but rather to demonstrate in the language of philosophy the theological truth of God's centrality in true virtue.

Edwards begins *The Nature of True Virtue* by citing the "common opinion" that virtue is a form of love and also of beauty. But what does the virtuous love? "It is a plain inconsistency to suppose," explains Edwards, "that virtue primarily consists in any love to its object for its beauty." This is so because the beauty of mind is none other than virtue itself, and thus to say that virtuous love is the love of beauty in the object amounts to saying that virtue consists in love of virtue. And to say that virtue is love of virtue is simply "going in a circle"; in this way, "we never come to any beginning or foundation." Thus, Edwards points out, "if the essence of virtue or beauty of mind lies in love, or a disposition to love, it must primarily consist in something *different* both from complacency, which is a delight in beauty, and also from any benevolence that has the beauty of its object for its foundation."⁴ One must go beyond beauty and virtue to get at the reason virtue is virtue, and beauty is beauty.

Edwards therefore asserts that "there is no room left for no other conclusion" than that the primary object of virtuous love is "*Being*, simply considered." Being or existence, in other words, is the foundation of virtue. Edwards further notes that for the love of benevolence, or the propensity to wish well for others, according to "common opinion," "beauty in the object is not always the ground," and that "benevolence doth not necessarily presuppose beauty in its object." He then combines this definition of benevolence with his axiom that virtuous love has "*Being*, simply considered" as its primary object, and declares that "virtue *primarily* consists in that affection of heart to being, which is exercised in benevolence, or inclination to its good." By the term "primarily" Edwards means that "the *first* object of a virtuous benevolence is *Being*, simply considered."⁵

From this conclusion Edwards deduces that "Being in *general*" is also the object of virtuous benevolence, and, even more, "the thing it has an ultimate propensity to, is the *highest good* of Being in general." This im-

3. Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought*, 322. George Hunsinger, my colleague at Princeton Theological Seminary, initially brought this reading of *The Nature of True Virtue* to my attention.

4. *The Nature of True Virtue*, in *Works*, 8, 543–44.

5. *Ibid.*, 544–45.

plication logically leads to a second: "[I]f Being, simply considered, be the first object of a truly virtuous benevolence, then that being who has the *most* of being, or has the greatest share of existence . . . will have the *greatest* share of the propensity and benevolent affection of the heart."⁶ God, in other words, is the central object of true virtue. And benevolence to individual created beings is truly virtuous to the extent that such benevolence is consistent with benevolence to Being in general and to the highest being. Starting with the "common opinion" of moral philosophers of his day and using logical analysis, Edwards has shown that without benevolence to God there simply is no true virtue.

Having shown the centrality of God in true virtue, Edwards expands his abstract meta-ethical analysis and brings up the experiential factors in the love of God into his discussion. He now looks at true virtue as it actually is, without doing away with the results of meta-ethical analysis. Edwards begins by asserting that "the second object of virtuous propensity of heart is benevolent being." In other words, there is another ground besides "*Being*, simply considered" for virtuous benevolence. Virtuous benevolence in a being is "the secondary ground of pure benevolence." Why is this true? Edwards takes three approaches in answering this question. First, he takes the commonsensical view that a being who is attracted to a particular value can only agree with and consent to another being who is attracted to the same value. He writes, "When anyone under the influence of general benevolence sees another being possessed of the like general benevolence, this attaches his heart to him, and draws forth greater love to him, than merely his having existence." Edwards also states that "he that has a simple and pure good will to general entity or existence must love that *temper* in others that agrees and conspires with itself" and that "a spirit of consent to Being must agree with consent to Being." Such terms as "sees" and "temper" indicate that Edwards has gone beyond logical deduction. In speaking about the actual experience of "seeing" a being with virtuous benevolence, he appears to give a kind of priority to complacency, as he did in "Treatise on Grace," where the actual experience was also the main context. Thus Edwards asserts that the secondary object of virtuous benevolence (i.e. benevolence in the object) "is one thing that must be considered as the ground or motive to a purely virtuous benevolence."⁷

6. Ibid., 545. Following Fiering and Ramsey, I take JE's "Being in general" to mean "the transcendent God *plus* his ordered creation." Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought*, 326, and *Works*, 8, 31.

7. *Works*, 8, 546–47.

Edwards' second approach in arguing that benevolent being is a ground of virtuous benevolence is to begin with the consequence of his meta-ethical analysis itself, namely, that being or "*Being*, simply considered" is the primary ground of true virtue. A benevolent being loves another benevolent being, explains Edwards, "because so far as the being beloved has love to Being in general, so far his own being is, as it were, enlarged; extends to, and in some sort comprehends, Being in general: and therefore he that is governed by love to Being in general, must of necessity have complacency in him, and the greater degree of benevolence to him, as it were out of gratitude to him for his love to general existence."⁸ A person with a benevolent disposition loves "*Being*, simply considered" and consequently most loves "Being in general." A benevolent being, by so loving Being in general, is ontologically "enlarged," and "extends to" and "comprehends" Being in general. Thus, if one considers "*Being*, simply considered" as the primary ground of benevolent love, a benevolent being has to be seen as deserving the love of virtuous benevolence. Benevolence in a being is a ground of virtuous benevolence, or, ontologically speaking, of love.

An important point to make here is that Edwards calls virtuous benevolence to benevolent being "complacency." Apparently he does so because complacency is by definition the love of an object for the qualification of it. Benevolence in a being, therefore, elicits complacency as well as virtuous benevolence. Even on a purely ontological level, complacency and benevolence coexist and reinforce each other. Complacency in an object, according to Edwards, brings about "the greater degree of benevolence." He goes so far as to say that "loving a being on this ground"—that is, benevolence to Being in general in a being—"necessarily arises from pure benevolence to Being *in general* and comes to the same thing."⁹ Love to being and thus to Being in general, in other words, is both benevolence and complacency.

The third approach Edwards takes in articulating why a benevolent being is an object of virtuous benevolence is to point out that beauty is present in a benevolent being, and thereby to make explicit what was implicit in the ontological argument. In this approach, Edwards states that a being's benevolence to Being in general is "the thing wherein true moral or spiritual beauty primarily consists." So a benevolent being has beauty in it and deserves both benevolence and complacency—the former be-

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 547. Ramsey has stated that, for JE, "in supreme love to God these loves coincide." Ibid., 551, n. 5.

cause, as we saw above, a benevolent being is ontologically united to Being in general, and the latter because complacent love by definition is love of an object because of the beauty in that object. "This spiritual beauty," Edwards writes, "that is but a *secondary* ground of a virtuous benevolence, is the ground not only of benevolence but *complacence*, and is the *primary* ground of the latter." This copresence of benevolence and complacence is described by Edwards also in the following way: "Therefore, he that has true virtue, consisting in benevolence to Being in general, and in that complacence in virtue, or moral beauty, and benevolence to virtuous being, must necessarily have a supreme love to God, both of benevolence and complacence."¹ The central object of benevolent love, in other words, is Being in general, in whom being and beauty are copresent. The object of true virtue, in the final analysis, is both benevolence and complacence. The virtuous love to Being in general, says Edwards, "is not in *simple* proportion of the degree of benevolent affection seen, but in a proportion compounded of the greatness of the benevolent being, or the degree of being and the degree of *benevolence*," or beauty.² Just as benevolence and complacence toward God cannot be separated, so too God's being and beauty are inseparable. Therefore, the main conclusion of Edwards' analysis of true virtue in the first two chapters of the treatise is that the central object of all true virtue is Being in general, and this object is at once being and beauty, thereby eliciting the loves of both benevolence and complacence.

At this point we should note the most pertinent aspects of the "Controversies" section on true virtue with regard to the issue of the relation between benevolence and complacence. In the published treatise, Edwards uses some of the materials from the "Controversies" notebook word for word. But with respect to the inseparability of benevolence and complacence, Edwards is much more explicit in the later, published text. For example, the "Controversies" and *The Nature of True Virtue* have an almost identical paragraph dealing with benevolence as the secondary object of virtuous benevolence. That paragraph in the "Controversies" states that "when a benevolent being sees another being having benevolence, this draws forth the greater benevolence toward him than merely his having existence." It further states that "he that loves Being in general must there-

1. Ibid., 551. On this issue Roland Delattre (*Beauty and Sensibility*, 97) has written: "The love of being for its primary beauty is so firmly connected for Edwards with the love of being 'simply considered' that it comes to the same thing, since . . . primary beauty is itself the first principle of being."

2. *The Nature of True Virtue*, in *Works*, 8, 548.

fore of necessity have a greater love to him" (p. 320). But in the published text, Edwards amplifies the passage, adding that "he that is governed by love to Being in general, must of necessity have complacence in him, and the greater degree of benevolence to him." When such a person with a love to Being in general sees benevolence in another being, that person sees it "as the beauty of the being in whom it is," rendering the person perceived "worthy of esteem, complacence, and the greater good will."³ In this way, *The Nature of True Virtue* in its final form emphasizes, more so than the earlier notebook, the commingling of the loves of benevolence and complacence in a person governed by benevolence to Being in general.

Another noteworthy aspect of the section on true virtue in the "Controversies" notebook is Edwards' awareness of the inadequacy of benevolence and complacence for describing the regenerate person's love of God—a love in which both benevolence and complacence are inseparably integrated. Toward the end of the "Controversies" section, we find Edwards stating that the nature of true virtue is not "exactly and fully" expressed by the word "benevolence" but rather by words like "love," "charity," or "agape," which all denote "an union with the object; . . . a kind of enlargement of the heart, whereby self takes in existence in general." Immediately following this comment, Edwards remarks that complacence is twofold. "There is complacence only in this enlargement and union. One that is united has a kind of delight in the object, which is a more primary exercise of virtue; but complacence in it as beautiful or virtuous is more secondary" (pp. 326–27). In short, ontological enlargement and beauty are both objects of the love of complacence. Obviously, in Edwards' mind benevolence and complacence co-inhere.

To summarize: When the logical or meta-ethical question of why virtue is virtue is raised, the love of benevolence with "*Being*, simply considered" as its object is prior to complacence. But a purely logical analysis of true virtue leads to the conclusion that true virtue is benevolence to Being in general, or, more specifically, God and the whole of reality. And since Being in general, or God, has benevolence in him, the benevolent love of God is necessarily accompanied by a complacent love of God. When the love of God is discussed as an actual experience, however, complacence has a kind of priority, although such complacent love to God necessarily coexists with benevolence to God. In fine, benevolence and complacence are inseparable in the love of God and, therefore, in all dispositions and acts of true virtue.

3. Ibid., 547.

The concluding sentence of Edwards' analysis of true virtue at the end of the second chapter of the treatise confirms this conclusion. Edwards writes, "[I]t may be asserted in general that nothing is of the nature of true virtue, in which God is not the *first* and the *last*; or which, with regard to their exercises in general, have not their first foundation and source in apprehension of God's supreme dignity and glory, and in answerable esteem and love to God as the supreme end."⁴ First of all, Edwards here does not even use the terms "benevolence" and "complacence," implying that the two loves are inseparable and even coincide in the love of God. Second, true virtue is said to have as its "first foundation and source" an "apprehension of God's supreme dignity and glory." This statement highlights the priority of complacence in the love of God, and agrees with Edwards' statement in "Treatise on Grace." Here, though, the focus is on the actual experience of the love of God. Third, Edwards does not ignore the priority of benevolence to "*Being, simply considered*" that he gives in the abstract analysis of *The Nature of True Virtue*. The object of the regenerate person's apprehension is God's "dignity and glory." According to Edwards, God's dignity is his "worthiness," which "consists in these things, *greatness* and moral *goodness*."⁵ Hence Edwards carries through the point of his meta-ethical analysis, that the degree of being as such, or "greatness," is the first object of true virtue.

I cannot pretend to have traced all the ways in which, for Edwards, benevolence, complacence, and the love of God are related. However, the above discussion at least suggests that his statements on the priority of complacence in "Treatise on Grace" and on the priority of benevolence in the early part of *The Nature of True Virtue* are not contradictory but rather represent different senses of the term "priority," or different ways of looking at the matter—in actual experience, on the one hand, and in abstract analysis, on the other. Furthermore, if we compare "Miscellanies," no. 530, and the published text of *The Nature of True Virtue*, the essential inseparability of benevolence and complacence in the love of God emerges as a view that Edwards held throughout his career.

Having reviewed the four documents in this volume that deal directly with Christian practice, I now turn to the question of the significance of Christian practice in Edwards' theology. I have already noted that Edwards' dispositional conception of grace necessarily entails an emphasis on the exercises of the new disposition in the life of the regenerate per-

4. *Ibid.*, 560.

5. *Ibid.*, 553.

son. But this concern with Christian practice must also be viewed from a wider perspective. The fundamental framework that subsumes his dispositional conception of grace and Christian practice is his vision of the chief end for which God created the world. As we saw earlier, Edwards held that God created the world in order to repeat in time and space his own internal glory. In order to achieve this end, God created intelligent beings who, by his grace, could repeat his glory through knowing and loving that glory. Such human knowing and loving of God's beauty necessarily results in holy actions. "God has made intelligent creatures capable of being concerned in these effects, as being the willing, active subjects or means, and so they are capable of actively promoting God's glory."⁶ God's creation of intelligent creatures, or more specifically, God's eternal election of the saints as "active subjects," was precisely so that they could actively "promote" God's end in creation. Christian practice, which serves that end, is the aim of both creation and election. Edwards writes, "[P]ractice is the aim of that eternal election which is the first ground of the bestowment of all true grace. . . . Christian practice is the scope and end of election."⁷ Seen in this light, both the inevitability and the significance of Christian practice, for Edwards, are grounded in the inevitability of God's attainment of his own end in creation and election.

If we push the issue even further, we see that God's end in creation itself is rooted in God's intra-trinitarian self-communication, in which God's dispositional essence is exercised. God's creation of the world is the spatio-temporal extension of his inner-trinitarian self-communication itself. Thus Edwards writes in "Miscellanies," no. 1082, "this twofold way of the Deity's flowing forth *ad extra*" through the incarnation and atonement of the Son and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the saints and their Christian practice, "answers to the twofold way of the Deity's proceeding *ad intra*, in the proceeding and generation of the Son and the proceeding and breathing forth of the Holy Spirit; and indeed is only a kind of second proceeding of the same persons, their going forth *ad extra*, as before they proceeded *ad intra*."⁸ Saints, through their Christian practice, participate in "the second proceeding" of the persons of the Trinity *ad intra*. In this way, according to Edwards, the saints through their good works in a sense participate in God's own inner-trinitarian life: "'Tis in our partaking of the Holy Ghost that we have communion with the Father and

6. "Miscellanies," no. 1218, in *Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Townsend, p. 152; see also *Works*, "Miscellanies," 1153–1160.

7. *Charity and Its Fruits*, in *Works*, 8, 294–95.

8. "Miscellanies," no. 1082, in "Miscellanies," 833–1152.

Son and with Christians: . . . this is the bond of perfectness, by which they are one in the Father and the Son, as the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father."⁹ The source and meaning of Christian practice cannot be grounded any more deeply than this.

Seen in this light, the justification of the sinner has an end larger than the salvation of sinful humanity. "The Scripture teaches that the way of justification that is appointed in the gospel covenant, is appointed, as it is, for that end, that free grace might be expressed and glorified."¹ The justification of the sinner by God's free grace is none other than the further exercise of God's original disposition to create beings out of nothing, so that God may communicate his internal beauty to and through them. Placing the history of the work of redemption in the larger context of God's end of creation, John F. Wilson has written that "[T]he very end, intention, or purpose of God in the creation of the world and its return to God is the central theme of the whole."² The redemption of fallen creatures through their justification by grace through faith, in other words, is grounded in something God is doing for his own purpose—nothing less than the repetition in time and space of God's infinite glory.

The Justification Doctrine and God's Chief End in Creation

I have suggested throughout this discussion that Edwards' soteriology is to be viewed within the larger framework of God's chief end in creation, which is to repeat his own glory *ad extra*. Now we may ask, Does this way of speaking about God's chief end in creation in any way derogate, or at least make ambiguous, the significance of God's redemptive work? Does the believer's love of God's excellency considered in itself—an act that promotes God's end of repeating his inner-trinitarian love in time and space—in any way diminish the importance of the believer's faith in God as the Savior of sinful humanity?

Thomas A. Schafer raised this question in his influential 1951 essay "Edwards and Justification by Faith" in the context of discussing the relation between faith and love in Edwards' soteriology. Noting the centrality of believers' love of God in Edwards' theological perspective, Schafer wondered whether his God-centered conception of piety shortchanged believers' love of and faith in God for what God has done for us, and consequently diminished the importance of the justification doctrine.

9. "Miscellanies," no. 376, in *Works*, 13, 448.

1. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 183.

2. "Editor's Introduction," in *Works*, 9, 38.

In the essay, Schafer first notes that Edwards himself had engaged in “what he later called a ‘miserable seeking’ to save his soul from hell; but what he looked back upon as his real conversion had no conscious relation to his personal destiny.”³ Schafer then quotes from Edwards’ *Personal Narrative*: “The delights which I now felt in the things of religion, were of an exceedingly different kind from those before-mentioned, that I had when a boy; and what then I had no more notion of, than one born blind has of pleasant and beautiful colors. They were of a more inward, pure, soul-animating and refreshing nature. Those former delights never reached the heart; and did not arise from any sight of the divine excellency of the things of God; or any taste of the soul-satisfying and life-giving good there is in them.”⁴ “Here is the center of Edwards’ piety,” Schafer concludes, “a direct, intuitive appreciation, a ‘sight,’ a ‘sense,’ a ‘taste’ of God’s majestic beauty, a love of God simply because he is God, an exultant affirmation of all God’s ways.” “This, to Edwards,” Schafer adds, “is the meaning of faith.”⁵ It appears to be Schafer’s judgment that Edwards’ God-centered piety somehow weakens the place of doctrines dealing with God’s justifying grace for us. Schafer observes, “[T]here are many elements in Edwards’ religious thought which cause the doctrine of justification to occupy an ambiguous and somewhat precarious place in his theology.”⁶

But a different reading regarding the place of the justification doctrine in Edwards’ theology is possible. We can argue instead that Edwards, in his conception of faith, effectively combines a sense and love of God’s excellency for what it is with an approbation and embrace of God’s redemptive work in Christ for our sakes. The section on “Justification” in the “Controversies” notebook has the following statement on the nature of faith:

Even a cordial acceptance of that rich and transcendent grace and love of God and Christ exercised and manifested in the salvation of Christ, implies a sight of the transcendent beauty of holiness and cordially embracing it. For he that truly and with all his heart embraces that glorious grace and love, sees the divine beauty of it as a moral perfection of God, or as that in which his moral excellency gloriously

3. Schafer, “Edwards and Justification by Faith,” p. 60.

4. Ibid. The passage quoted from the “Personal Narrative” can be found in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 16, *Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. George S. Claghorn (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1998), 794–95.

5. Schafer, “Edwards and Justification by Faith,” p. 61.

6. Ibid., p. 57.

shines forth, and so approves and embraces it, and not merely as 'tis something that promotes his private interest. He that accepts God's grace appearing in the salvation of Christ only as related to his interest, don't sincerely and really accept anything that is divine. What he does comes to no more than accepting himself and approving of his own private interest, which is quite a different thing from cordially embracing that glorious attribute of God (p. 359).

And in his notebook on "Faith," Edwards writes that "there is implied in believing in Christ not only and merely that exercise of mind which arises from a sense of his excellency and reality as a Savior, but also with that, what arises from the consideration of his relation to us and our concern in him, his being a Savior for such as we, for sinful men, and a Savior that is offered with his benefits to us" (p. 434). For Edwards, the act of loving and sensing God's beauty for what he is and does, considered in itself, and the act of faith in God for what God has done for us, are inseparable. For one thing, love and faith are both the expressions of the same divine disposition in the saint. Furthermore, in Edwards' view, one cannot truly know, experience, or have faith in anyone or anything without being inclined toward or loving that person or that entity at the same time. Emphasizing the inseparability of faith and love, Edwards writes in his notes on "Faith," "If [faith] were conversant about a person only, 'twould be more properly called 'loving'; if it were only about a gift, an inheritance, or reward, 'twould be more properly called 'receiving,' or 'accepting,' etc." (p. 423). Edwards then offers the following definition as his synthesis of the two: "Faith is the soul's entirely embracing and acquiescing in the revelation the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ as a Savior for us, in a sense of his reality and goodness as such" (p. 434).

Edwards' piety is an embrace of God in Christ based upon a heartfelt sense of the transcendent beauty of all that God is in himself and all that God has done through Christ for sinful humanity. What Edwards wants to reject is the kind of piety that loves God merely and only out of private interest. Such a self-interested love of God, says Edwards, "don't sincerely and really accept anything that is divine." A true approbation of the God who gave his only Son for our sakes is impossible without a true sense of the beauty of all that God has done, considered in itself. "Without a sense of the divine moral excellency of Christ," he writes, "the soul can't see [the] value of Christ's mediation, the value of his offering, the preciousness of his blood or merit of his obedience, and therefore [have] no entire confidence in Christ's sacrifice" (p. 434). So our love of God for what

God is and does, considered in itself, and our love of God for his love for us, are inextricably connected.

The same issue can be considered in terms of God's end in creation. God's ultimate end in creating the world is the repetition of his internal beauty in time and space. But this ultimate end comprehends and includes within it God's work of saving sinful humanity. In *Concerning the End for Which God Created the World*, Edwards gives careful attention to the issue of how God's creation of the world for his own glory is related to his seeking of the good of the creature. The chief and supreme end of creation is God himself—that is, to “enlarge” his own internal fullness by repeating or communicating it *ad extra*. In order to achieve this goal, God creates intelligent beings who are capable of knowing and loving him, and thereby of repeating his internal glory in time and space. Thus, “God is to be considered as first and original in his regard; and the creature is the object of God's regard consequentially and by implication, as being as it were comprehended in God.”⁷

Edwards takes pains to point out that the good of the creature is not to be “set in opposition” to or in a “disjunction” with the good that God seeks for himself. “God in seeking his glory, therein seeks the good of his creatures.”⁸ The good of the creature, like the good of God himself, is an “ultimate end” in creation, or an end which is sought “for its own sake.” But for Edwards, a particular ultimate end can be more valuable than other ultimate ends. God's seeking God's own good in creation is the “chief or highest” ultimate end. The good of the creature is also an ultimate end, but it is an ultimate end that is “comprehended in” or “implied by” God's chief ultimate end in creation.⁹

There is also a sense in which God's own good and the good of the creature “may be looked upon as one.” “If the happiness of the creature be considered as it will be, in the whole of the creature's eternal duration, with all the infinity of its progress, and infinite increase of nearness and union to God; in this view, the creature must be looked upon as united to God in an infinite strictness.” Considered in this way, there would be only one end in creation. But then Edwards says that “the time will never come when it can be said it has already arrived at this infinite height.”¹ So the creation never becomes simply identified with the Divine Being, although

7. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 440–41.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 440, 459.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 529. For JE's important discussion of the history of redemption as “the means” to God's end of “glorifying himself from eternity,” see *Works*, 9, 117–125.

1. *End of Creation*, in *Works*, 8, 534–35.

it is forever becoming more and more like that being. God is essentially a consenting, and thus a relating, being. The world remains an "other" to which God consents, and which consents to God. God's own good, sought through creation, and the good of the creature are still to be distinguished though not separated or put in opposition. They are, rather, inseparably linked. More accurately, the good of the creature is "comprehended in" God's own good; but the latter is "first and original."

The supreme and highest destiny of elect persons is to repeat God's internal beauty in time and space through a heartfelt sense of the beauty of God for its own sake. But accompanying this sense of God's beauty for its own sake is the saint's approbation and embrace of what God in Christ has done for the saint's own good. In fact, the beauty of God's own being has taken the form of the suffering love of Christ for the fallen creation. God's love has become a justifying love. Edwards notes, "The communications of divine goodness, particularly forgiveness of sin, and salvation, are spoken of from time to time, as being for God's goodness' sake."² God's love of his own glory for its own sake and God's forgiving love of sinful human beings for their good are interconnected.

Schafer implies in his 1951 essay that Edwards' conception of God's emanation or communication of his beauty to the creatures, and the creatures' return or repeating of God's beauty through their love of that beauty for its own sake, somehow left out God's salvation-history and justifying grace. Schafer writes, "God therefore takes real delight in the good principles and acts of the saints; not because there is 'merit' in them (that is really beside the point), but because the love wherewith they love him is simply his own love reflected and returned to him."³ Edwards' texts show that this is not the whole picture. God's communication of love to sinful humanity takes the form of the suffering and justifying love of Christ. And God takes real delight in the love returned by believing sinners through their faith only because God sees them "in Christ," whose merits have now been imputed to the believing sinners. Justification in Christ, therefore, is indispensable.

In short, Schafer is correct in suggesting that Edwards "went beyond the doctrine of justification, which had agitated the reformers, to the 'real' acts and relations which underlie it."⁴ Edwards indeed took the justification doctrine beyond simple forensic language into the larger framework of God's communication of his glory in time and space. But in do-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 506.

3. Schafer, "Edwards and Justification by Faith," p. 62.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

ing so, Edwards did not, as Schafer implies, belittle the justification doctrine or its traditional forensic language, nor did he leave the justification doctrine's place in his theology "ambiguous" and "precarious." Rather, Edwards integrated the justification doctrine and its forensic language into his larger theological vision and thereby enriched and deepened the meaning and purpose of God's justification in Christ.

Indeed, in this larger vision of Edwards', justification is not simply for the sake of justified human beings but has an end beyond that. For Edwards, justification has "that end, that free grace might be expressed and glorified."⁵ Justified in Christ, the believer's imperfect good works are looked upon by God with a "real and proper delight." Even more, God's own life is "enlarged" in his glory through the good works of the Christians whom God justifies in Christ.

Edwards' theology represents a fundamental reconception of God and God's relation to the world. In Edwards' view, God is essentially a dispositional being who is completely actualized within his internal trinitarian life. God is from eternity all that God has to be in order to be God. But the divine dispositional essence continues to exercise itself in time and space in a process of repeating and enlarging *ad extra* what already is infinitely perfect *ad intra*. For Edwards, then, unlike much traditional Western theology, God is in a sense "internally," not just "externally," related to the world. In Aquinas, for example, God affects the world, but what happens in the world does not affect God; God and the world are only "externally" related. For Edwards, what God does in the world neither increases nor changes God's self-realization as God *ad intra*. Nevertheless, God's self-communication to creatures, culminating in Christian good works, is the exercise of his original dispositional essence. Further, Christian good works repeat God's internal glory in time and space in the sense that those good works (which are God's self-communications and not purely human accomplishments) make God "happier" and "enlarge" his glory in time and space.

Edwards' brilliance was to see that in the special sense of a finite though real repetition of prior divine perfection, what Christians do, by God's grace, in this history and in this space, does matter, even to God himself, and is in this sense "internally" related to him. And the justification of the sinner—the imputation of Christ's righteousness upon believing sinners and their imperfect deeds—plays an indispensable role in the larger

5. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 83.

drama of God's enlargement and expansion of his inner beauty in time and space. For Edwards, to say that the good of the creature is "comprehended in" God's more original and ultimate end of glorifying himself *ad extra* is not to demean the creatures but rather to elevate them, even to a participation in God's own life.

*WRITINGS ON THE TRINITY,
GRACE, AND FAITH*

DISCOURSE ON THE TRINITY

ACCORDING TO Thomas A. Schafer, Edwards began the manuscript of what he called the “Discourse on the Trinity” (otherwise known as “Essay on the Trinity”) in early 1730, when he wrote eight folio pages in a short time. He was able to write at such a pace because he could draw upon numerous “Miscellanies” entries on the topic written up to that time.¹ He later went back over these eight pages, making some changes, soon after their original composition, struggling to improve the language and clarify the thought. Edwards’ intention for the composition is unclear; he put it aside for some time, apparently several years.

When in the mid- or late 1730s he took up the manuscript again, he added another folio signature (pp. 9–12), as well as an additional leaf or signature that is now missing.² The additions are of two kinds and perhaps reflect Edwards’ changing perception of the piece as a whole. At first he tried to improve the original portion of the essay by signaling additions, via cue marks, to particular passages. Probably in the early to mid-1740s, however, he simply started appending discrete entries without connecting them to earlier passages. This latter phase suggests that Edwards came to view the manuscript as a source book rather than as an autonomous statement, a speculation borne out by his willingness to cannibalize it for other works such as *A Divine and Supernatural Light*, *Treatise on Grace*, and *Religious Affections*. All the same, there are no use marks.

The first part of the “Discourse” is taken up with describing the persons of the Trinity, particularly the Son and the Holy Spirit. God, Edwards begins, is infinitely happy in the enjoyment and contemplation of himself, which engenders a “perfect idea of himself.” Thus the Deity is “repeated.”³ God’s idea of himself is “the express and perfect image of himself” and is a “spiritual idea,” or the repetition of all of God’s memories,

1. See “Miscellanies” nos. 68, 81, 93, 94, 96, 97, 103, 104, 107b, 108, 117, 119. “Miscellanies” no. 621 (c. 1732–33) contains a reference to the “Discourse on the Trinity.”

2. The two sheets on which pp. 1–8 are written both have Shield watermarks, while the sheet for pp. 9–12 has a Crown/GR mark. That there was at least one more leaf in the Discourse at one time is indicated by JE’s own references.

3. See “Editor’s Introduction,” pp. 10–20.

exercises, and powers—that is, a replication of God, or God himself again. This is confirmed by scriptural descriptions of the Second Person, where the Son is the “image” and “face” of God, the “brightness, effulgence and shining forth of God’s glory,” the “wisdom,” “logos,” and “Amen” of God. Between the Father and Son exists a mutual love, joy, and delight, a “pure act,” or the “Deity in act,” which is the Holy Spirit.⁴ The Holy Spirit *is* the love of the Father and Son for each other, the love that “quickens and enlivens” creation and created spirits, and comforts God’s people. Again, Scripture confirms this definition by describing the Holy Spirit as a dove, a symbol of love; scriptural types and similitudes of the Holy Spirit are oil, water, fire, breath, and wind, all of which connote a “flowing out.” So the saints’ communion with God consists in partaking of the Holy Spirit, or God’s love. This is why, in the New Testament, Paul’s greetings always mention the love and grace of the Father and Son, and the *communion* of the Holy Ghost.

In the next section, Edwards moves on from a discussion of the persons in themselves to a consideration of their shared qualities. He reiterates that the Deity can be understood as God, understanding, and love—everything else is a “mode or relation of existence.” All the persons are co-essential and co-eternal, yet each has his distinct office; all have equal honor, are equally concerned in the work of redemption, and garner equal glory from it; and all believers are equally dependent upon each person of the Trinity in redemption. At this point Edwards, seeking to correct what he sees as a prevailing tendency to neglect the Third Person, expands upon the role of the Holy Spirit in order to claim its equal importance and honor.⁵ Edwards ends this section of the “Discourse” (bringing us to page eight) by mentioning two images of the Trinity in the “visible creation”: the human soul with its various faculties, and the sun, its constitution, rays, and “beautiful colors.”

In the entries added after the mid-1730s, Edwards refines the language of the earlier discussion and attempts to reach further into the complexities of the relationships of the three persons. He repeats his realization that there are many objections that can be raised against his view, and reasserts the mysterious nature of the topic. Edwards then assembles Scripture texts on the Son and Holy Ghost, setting the tone for the remaining entries. The end of creation is for the gratification of the Son, including “providing a spouse for Christ,” namely, the elect. A stray quarto fragment

4. For an important development in JE’s conception of the Holy Spirit, see “On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity,” p. 147, and “Editor’s Introduction,” pp. 18–19.

5. *Ibid.*

contains a collection of short entries alternating between the Son and Holy Spirit, the order of their proceeding, and their place in the economy of the Trinity.

The “Discourse on the Trinity” was the subject of some controversy in the late nineteenth century.⁶ In 1851 Horace Bushnell wrote that he had heard of a manuscript in which Edwards espoused an “*a priori* argument for the Trinity,” and demanded that it be published because he had not been allowed to see it.⁷ Word spread that Edwards was a closet Arian, Sabellian, or Pelagian. In 1880 Oliver Wendell Holmes echoed Bushnell’s earlier challenge to publish the document. That same year Egbert Smyth of Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts published “Miscellanies” no. 1062, *Observations Concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption*, under the mistaken idea that this was the document in question. The following year Edwards A. Park published a two-part article on Edwards and the Trinity and pointed to the existence of a separate writing on the Trinity, which he claimed to own but added, characteristically, that he had misplaced it.⁸ The manuscript was eventually discovered and published in 1903 by George P. Fisher under the title “Essay on the Trinity.”⁹ The title given here, “Discourse on the Trinity,” not only follows Edwards’ own appellation but is also more reflective of the early eighteenth-century conception of an intellectual exercise as opposed to the more nineteenth-century “essay.”

Fisher’s edition contains the text of the twelve folio pages, but since then a quarto-sized signature (made from a folded letter cover) discovered elsewhere in the Yale collection has been restored to the “Discourse.” The content of this errant fragment is published here for the first time. That this signature was once a part of the “Discourse” is confirmed not only by its similar subject matter but also by stitch holes on its fold corresponding exactly to those in the folio pages. However, the original place of the quarto signature cannot be precisely determined, so its text is presented at the end of the “Discourse.”

6. See *Works*, 13, 548–49. See also A. V. G. Allen, *Jonathan Edwards* (Boston, 1889), 338–45, and Richard D. Pierce, “A Suppressed Edwards Manuscript on the Trinity,” *Crane Review* 1 (1959), 66–80.

7. Horace Bushnell, *Christ in Theology* (Hartford, 1851), vi.

8. Edwards A. Park, “Remarks on Jonathan Edwards on the Trinity,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 38 (1881), 147–87, 333–69.

9. George P. Fisher, *An Unpublished Essay of Edwards on the Trinity with Remarks on Edwards and His Theology* (New York, 1903).

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

DISCOURSE ON THE TRINITY

WHEN we speak of God's happiness, the account that we are wont to give of it is that God¹ is infinitely happy in the enjoyment of himself, in perfectly beholding and infinitely loving, and rejoicing in, his own essence and perfections. And accordingly it must be supposed that God perpetually and eternally has a most perfect idea of himself, as it were an exact image and representation of himself ever before him and in actual view. And from hence arises a most pure and perfect energy in the Godhead, which is the divine love, complacency and joy.

Though we cannot conceive of the manner of the divine understanding, yet if it be understanding or anything that can be anyway signified by that word of ours, it is by idea. Though the divine nature be vastly different from that of created spirits, yet our souls are made in the image of God: we have understanding and will, idea and love, as God hath, and the difference is only in the perfection of degree and manner. The perfection of the manner will indeed infer this, that there is no distinction to be made in God between power or habit and act; and with respect to God's understanding, that there are no such distinctions to be admitted as in ours between perception or idea, and reasoning and judgment—excepting what the will has to do in judgment—but that the whole of the divine understanding or wisdom consists in the mere perception or unvaried presence of his infinitely perfect idea. And with respect to the other faculty, as it is in God, there are no distinctions to be admitted of faculty, habit and act, between will, inclination and love: but that it is all one simple act. But the divine perfection will not infer that his understanding is not by idea, and that there is not indeed such a thing as inclination and love in God.²

That in John, "God is love" [I John 4:8, 16], shows that there are more persons than one in the Deity: for it shows love to be essential and neces-

1. Shortly after he composed the first part of the Discourse, JE revised the first sentence up to this point. The original reads: "Tis Common ~~for us~~ when speaking of the divine happiness to say that God."

2. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE's direction from the "third sheet," on MS p. 9. It is in the hand and ink of the mid to late 1730s.

sary to the Deity, so that his nature consists in it; and this supposes that there is an eternal and necessary object, because all love respects another, that is, the beloved. By love here the Apostle certainly means something beside that which is commonly called self-love, that is very improperly called love, and is a thing of an exceeding diverse nature from that affection or virtue of love the Apostle is speaking of.

The sum of the divine understanding and wisdom consists in his having a perfect idea of himself, he being indeed the all-comprehending Being, he that is and there is none else. So the sum of his inclination, love and joy is his love to and delight in himself. God's love to himself, and complacency and delight in himself, they are not to be distinguished, they are the very same thing in God; which will easily be allowed. Love in man being scarcely distinguishable from the complacency he has in any idea, if there be any difference it is merely modal, and circumstantial.

The knowledge or view which God has of himself must necessarily be conceived to be something distinct from his mere direct existence. There must be something that answers to our reflection. The reflection, as we reflect on our own minds, carries something of imperfection in it. However, if God beholds himself so as thence to have delight and joy in himself, he must become his own object: there must be a duplicity. There is God and the idea of God, if it be proper to call a conception of that that is purely spiritual an idea.

And I do suppose the Deity to be truly and properly repeated by God's thus having an idea of himself; and that this idea of God is a substantial idea and has the very essence of God, is truly God, to all intents and purposes, and that by this means the Godhead is really generated and repeated.

1. God's idea of himself is absolutely perfect, and therefore is an express and perfect image of him, exactly like him in every respect. There is nothing in the pattern but what is in the representation—substance, life, power, nor anything else—and that in a most absolute perfection of similitude; otherwise it is not a perfect idea. But that which is the express perfect image of God, and in every respect like him, is God to all intents and purposes, because there is nothing wanting; there is nothing in the Deity that renders it the Deity but what has something exactly answering of it in this image, which will therefore also render that the Deity.

2. But this will more clearly appear if we consider the nature of spiritual ideas, or ideas of things purely spiritual. Those that we call ideas of reflection—such as our ideas of thought, love, fear, etc.—if we diligently attend to them, we shall find they are repetitions of those very things either

more fully or faintly; or else they are only ideas of some external circumstances that attend them, with a supposition of something like what we have in our own minds that is attended with like circumstances. Thus 'tis easy to perceive that if we have an idea of thought, 'tis only a repetition of the same thought, with the attention of the mind to that reflection. So if we think of love—either of our [own self]-love³ or of the love of others that we have not—we either so frame things in our imagination, that we have [for a moment]⁴ a love to that thing, or to something we make to represent it and stand for it; or we excite for a moment that love that we have to something else, and suppose something like it there; or we only have an idea of the name with some of the concomitants and effects, and suppose something unseen that used to be signified by that name.⁵

And such kind of ideas very commonly serve us, though they are not indeed real ideas of the thing itself; but we have learned by experience, and it's become habitual to us, to govern our thoughts, judgment and actions about it as though we conceived of the thing itself. But if a person has truly and properly an idea of any act of love, of fear, or anger, or any other act or motion of the mind, things must be so ordered and framed in his mind that he must for that moment have something of a consciousness of the same motions, either to the same thing or to something else that is made to represent it in the mind; or towards something else that is *pro re nota* thither referred and as it were transposed: and this consciousness of the same motions, with a design to represent the other by them, is the idea itself we have of them. And if it be perfectly clear and full, it will be in all respects the very same act of mind of which it is the idea, with this only difference: that the being of the latter is to represent the former.⁶

3. Conjecture for where the text on the bottom corner of the first leaf is rubbed away.

4. MS damage; the insertion is according to Fisher, *An Unpublished Essay*, p. 82.

5. JE deletes the following passage with a vertical line: "and govern our thoughts about it, as though we conceived of the thing itself, as we learned how by experience and as it became habitual to us by use. So if we have an idea of a judgment not our own, the same ideas that are the terms of the proposition are repeated in our own mind, and recur to something in our minds, in our judgment, and suppose something like it there (that is, we govern our thoughts about it as if it were there), if we have a distinct idea of that judgment. Or else we have only an idea of some of the attendants and effects of the judgment, and supply the name and govern our actions and thoughts as supposing it there, as we have habituated ourselves in such cases. And such kind of ideas serve us in most cases: but evermore when we have clear and lively ideas of any spiritual act, there is a degree of the repetition of the very things themselves in our own minds; and if the idea be perfect, it is the very same thing absolutely over again. And especially is it so in God's most perfect idea and view he hath of his own nature and essence, which is pure act."

6. The next three paragraphs are inserted according to JE's cues from "the End of this discourse," i.e. the bottom half of p. 8, which is still a part of the original composition of the Discourse.

If a man could have an absolutely perfect idea of all that passed in his mind, all the series of ideas and exercises in every respect perfect as to order, degree, circumstances, etc. for any particular space of time past—suppose the last hour—he would really, to all intents and purposes, be over again what he was that last hour. And if it were possible for a man by reflection perfectly to contemplate all that is in his own mind in an hour, as it is and at the same time that it is there, in its first and direct existence; if a man had a perfect reflex or contemplative idea of every thought at the same moment or moments that that thought was, and of every exercise at and during the same time that that exercise was, and so through a whole hour: a man would really be two.⁷ He would be indeed double; he would be twice at once: the idea he has of himself would be himself again.

Note: by having a reflex or contemplative idea of what passes in our own minds, I don't mean consciousness only. There is a great difference between a man's having a view of himself⁸ so as to delight in his own beauty or excellency, and a mere direct consciousness. Or if we mean by consciousness of what is in our own minds, anything besides the mere simple existence in our minds of what is there, it is nothing but a power by reflection to view or contemplate what passes.

But the foregoing position about a man's being twofold or twice at once is most evident, by what has been said of the nature of spiritual idea; as for everything that a man is in that hour, he is twice fully and perfectly: for all the ideas or thoughts that he has are twice perfectly, and every judgment made, and every exercise of inclination or affection, every act of the mind.⁹

Therefore as God with perfect clearness, fullness and strength understands himself, views his own essence (in which there is no distinction of substance and act, but it is wholly substance and wholly act), that idea which God hath of himself is absolutely himself. This representation of the divine nature and essence is the divine nature and essence again. So that by God's thinking of the Deity, [the Deity] must certainly be generated. Hereby there is another person begotten; there is another infinite, eternal, almighty, and most holy and the same God, the very same divine nature.

7. MS: "two ~~through that hour~~ during."

8. MS: "a (view of himself) ~~Content~~ Reflex or Contemplative Idea of himself."

9. At the end of the addition on p. 8, JE deletes the following passage with a large X: "*Memo-randum*: Remember to look [at] all the texts in the Concordance where the Father is mentioned, to collect a catalogue of those texts where the Father and Son are mentioned and not the Holy Ghost, for this reason, viz. because divine love is the Holy Ghost."

And this person is the second person in the Trinity, the only begotten and dearly beloved Son of God. He is the eternal, necessary, perfect, substantial and personal idea which God hath of himself. And that it is so, seems to me to be abundantly confirmed by the Word of [God].

1. Nothing can more agree with the account the Scripture gives of the Son of God his being in the form of God and his express and perfect image and representation. II Cor. 4:4, “Lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of [God], should shine unto them.” Phil. 2:6, “Who being in the form of God.” Col. 1:15, “Who is the image of the invisible God.” Heb. 1:3, “Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.”¹ “The express image of his person”: in the original it is *χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου*, which denotes one person as like another, as the impression on the wax is to the engraving on the seal (Hurriion, *Of Christ Crucified*, vol. 1, pp. 189–90).² And what can more agree with this that I suppose, that the Son of God is the divine idea of himself?

What can [be] more properly called the image of a thing than the idea? The end of other images is to beget an idea of the things they represent in us; but the idea is the most immediate representation, and seems therefore to be a more primary sort of image. And we know of no other spiritual images, nor images of spiritual things, but ideas. An idea of a thing seems more properly to be called an image or representation of that thing than any distinct being can be. However exactly one being—suppose one human body—be like another; yet I think one is not in the most proper sense the image of the other, but more properly *in* the image of the other. Adam did not beget a son that was his image properly, but *in* his image; but the Son of God, he is not only *in* the image of the Father, but he *is* the image itself in the most proper sense.³ The design of an idea is to represent, and the very being of an idea consists in similitude and representation. If it don’t actually represent to the beholder, it ceases to be. And the being of it is immediately dependent on its pattern. Its reference to that ceasing, it ceases to be its idea.

That Christ is this most immediate representation of the Godhead, viz.

1. The remainder of the paragraph has been moved, according to JE’s directions, from MS p. 9. In the addition, JE repeated the citation of Heb. 1:3.

2. John Hurriion (1675–1731), *The Knowledge of Christ and Him Crucified . . . Applied in Eight Sermons* (London, 1727). JE probably called this “vol. 1” because in 1729 Hurriion published a companion volume, *The Knowledge of Christ Glorified, Opened and Applied, in Twelve Sermons on Christ’s Resurrection, Ascension, Sitting at God’s Right Hand, and Judging the World*.

3. Ed. italics.

the idea of God, is in my apprehension confirmed by John 12:45, "He that seeth me seeth him that sent me"; and John 14:7-9, "If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with [you, and] yet hast thou not seen me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou, Show us the Father?" See also John 15:22-24. Seeing the perfect idea of a thing is to all intents and purposes the same as seeing the thing; it is not only equivalent to the seeing of it, but it *is*⁴ the seeing it: for there is no other seeing but having the idea. Now by seeing a perfect idea, so far as we see it we have it; but it can't be said of anything else, that in seeing of it we see another, strictly speaking, except it be the very idea of the other.

2. This well agrees with what the Scripture teaches us concerning God's love to and delight in his Son: for the idea of God is that image of God that is the object of God's eternal and infinite love, and in which he hath perfect joy and happiness. God undoubtedly infinitely loves and delights in himself and is infinitely happy in the understanding and view of his own glorious essence; this is commonly said. The same the Scripture teaches us concerning that image of God that is his Son. The Son of God, he is the true David, or beloved. John 3:35 and 5:20, "The Father loveth the Son." So it was declared at Christ's baptism and transfiguration, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" [Matt. 3:17]. So the Father calls him his elect, in whom his soul delighteth [Is. 42:1]. The infinite happiness of the Father consists in the enjoyment of his Son. Prov. 8:30, "I was daily his delight," i.e. before the world was. It seems to me most probable that God has his infinite happiness but one way, and that the infinite joy he has in his own idea and that which he has in his Son is but one and the same.

3. Christ is called the face of God (Ex. 33:14). The word in the original signifies face, looks, form or appearance. Now what can be so properly and fitly called so with respect to God as God's own perfect idea of himself, whereby he has every moment a view of his own essence? This idea is that face of God which God sees, as a man sees his own face in a looking glass, his⁵ aspect, form or appearance, whereby God eternally appears to himself. The root that the original word comes from signifies to look upon or behold. Now what is that which God looks upon or beholds in so emi-

4. Ed. italics.

5. MS: "tis."

nent a manner as he doth on his own idea, or that perfect image of himself which he has in view? This is what is eminently in God's presence, and is therefore called the angel of God's presence, or face (Is. 63:9).

4. This seems also well to agree with Christ being called the brightness, effulgence or shining forth of God's glory, upon two accounts. First, because 'tis by God's idea that his glory shines forth and appears to himself. God may be conceived of as glorious, antecedent to his idea of himself; but then his glory is latent. But 'tis the idea by which it shines forth and appears to God's view, so that he can delight in it. Second, God is well represented by the luminary and his idea to the light: for what is so properly the light of a mind or spirit as its knowledge or understanding? The understanding or knowledge of God is much more properly represented by light in a luminary than the understanding of a created mind: for knowledge is light rather let into a created mind than shining from it. But the understanding of the divine mind originally proceeds from this mind itself and is derived from no other.⁶

5. But that the Son of God is God's own eternal and perfect idea, is a thing that we have yet much more expressly revealed in God's Word:

First, in that Christ is called the wisdom of God. If we are taught in the Scripture that Christ is the same with God's wisdom or knowledge, then it teaches us that he is the same with God's perfect and eternal idea. They are the same as we have already observed, and I suppose none will deny. But Christ is said to be the wisdom of God (I Cor. 1:24; Luke 11:49 compared with Matt. 23:34); and how much doth Christ speak in Proverbs under the name of Wisdom, especially in the eighth chapter. We there have Wisdom thus declaring, vv. 22–31:

The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, or ever the earth was. When there was no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth: while as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world. When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he [set] a compass upon the face of the depth: when he established the clouds above: when he strengthened the fountains of the deep: when he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth. Then was I by him, as one

6. JE deletes: "In Rev. 21:23 and 22:5, the Father is spoken of as being the luminary and the light that 'giveth them light'; but 'the Lamb is the light thereof.'"

brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before [him]; rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men.

It has been usual to say that he that God thus possessed and set up from everlasting, and that was brought forth before the world, that was by God as his companion and as one brought up with him, that was daily his delight, was the personal wisdom of God; and if so, it was God's personal idea of himself.

Secondly, in that the Scripture teaches us that Christ is the *logos* of God. It will appear that this *logos* is the same with the idea of God, whether we interpret it of the reason of God, or the word of God. If it signifies the reason or understanding of God, I suppose it won't be denied that 'tis the same thing with God's idea. If we translate it the word of God, he is either the outward word of God, or his inward. None will say he is his outward. Now the outward word is speech, whereby ideas are outwardly expressed. The inward word is thought or idea itself, the Scripture being its own interpreter: for how often is thinking in Scripture called saying or speaking when applied to both God and man. The inward word is the pattern or original of which the outward word, by which God has revealed himself, is the copy. Now that which is the original, from whence the revelation which God hath made of himself is taken and the pattern to which it is conformed, is God's idea of himself. When God declares himself, it is doubtless from and according to the idea he hath of himself.

Thirdly, to the same purpose is another name by which Christ is called, viz. the *AMEN*, which is a Hebrew word that signifies truth. Now what is that which is the prime, original and universal truth but that which is in the divine mind, viz. his eternal or infinite knowledge or idea?

And joining this with what was observed before, I think we may be bold to say that that which is the form, face, and express and perfect image of God, in beholding which God has eternal delight, and is also the wisdom, knowledge, *logos* and truth of God, is God's idea of himself. What other knowledge of God is there that is the form, appearance, and perfect image and representation of God, but God's idea of himself?

And how well doth this agree with his office of being the great prophet and teacher of mankind, the light of the world, and the revealer of God to creatures. John 8:12, "I am the light of the world." Matt. 11:27, "No man knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." John 1:18, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

Who can be so properly appointed to be [the] revealer of God to the world, as that person who is God's own perfect idea or understanding of himself? Who can be so properly appointed to be the light by which God's glory shall appear to creatures, as he is that effulgence of his glory by which he appears to himself? And this is intimated to us in the Scripture to be the reason why Christ is the light of the world and the revealer of God to men, because he is the image of God. II Cor. 4:4,⁷ "Lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." John 12:45–46, "And he that seeth me seeth him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness."

The Godhead being thus begotten by God's having an idea of himself and standing forth in a distinct subsistence or person in that idea, there proceeds a most pure act, and an infinitely holy and sweet energy arises between the Father and Son: for their love and joy is mutual, in mutually loving and delighting in each other. Prov. 8:30, "I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before [him]." This is the eternal and most perfect and essential act of the divine nature, wherein the Godhead acts to an infinite degree and in the most perfect manner possible. The Deity becomes all act; the divine essence itself flows out and is as it were breathed forth in love and joy. So that the Godhead therein stands forth in yet another manner of subsistence, and there proceeds the third person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, viz. the Deity in act: for there is no other act but the act of the will.

1. We may learn by the Word of God that the Godhead or the divine nature and essence does subsist in love. I John 4:8, "He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love." In the context of which place I think it is plainly intimated to us that the Holy Spirit is that love, as in the twelfth and thirteenth verses: "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby know we that we dwell in him, because he hath given us of his Spirit." 'Tis the same argument in both verses: in the twelfth verse the Apostle argues that if we have love dwelling in [us], we have God dwelling in us; and in the thirteenth verse he clears the force of the argument by this, that love is God's Spirit. Seeing we have of God's Spirit dwelling [in us], we have God dwelling in [us]: supposing it as a thing granted and allowed, that God's Spirit is God. 'Tis evident also by this verse that God's dwelling in us, and his love—or the love that he hath or exerciseth—being in us, are the same thing. The same is intimated in the same manner in the last verses of the foregoing chapter.

7. JE mistakenly cites Phil. 2:6.

The Apostle was in the foregoing verses speaking of love as a sure sign of sincerity and our acceptance with God, beginning with the eighteenth verse, and he sums up the argument thus in the last verse: "And hereby do we know that he abideth in us by the Spirit that [he] hath given us."

Again, in the sixteenth verse of this fourth chapter the Apostle tells us that "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." Which confirms not only that the divine nature subsists in love, but also that this love is the Spirit: for it is the Spirit of God by which God dwells in his saints, as the Apostle had observed in the thirteenth verse, and as we are abundantly taught in the New Testament.

2. The name of the third person in the Trinity, viz. the Holy Spirit, confirms it. It naturally expresses the divine nature as subsisting in pure act and perfect energy, and as flowing out and breathing forth in infinitely sweet and vigorous affection. It is confirmed both by his being called the Spirit, and by his being denominated Holy.

(1) By his being called the Spirit of God. The word "spirit" in Scripture, when used concerning minds, when it is not put [for] the spiritual substance or mind itself, is put for the disposition, inclination or temper of the mind. Num. 14:24, Caleb was of "another spirit." Ps. 51:10, "Renew in me a right spirit." Luke 9:55, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." I Thess. 5:23, "I pray God your whole spirit, soul and body." I Pet. 3:4, "The ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." When we read of the spirit, of a spirit or mind, it is to be thus understood. Eph. 4:23, "Be renewed in the spirit of your mind." So I suppose when we read of the Spirit of God, who we are told is a spirit, it is to be understood of the disposition, temper or affection of the divine mind. If we read or hear of the meek spirit, or kind spirit, or pious and holy spirit of a man, we understand it of his temper. So I suppose [when] we read of the good spirit and Holy Spirit of God, it is likewise to be understood of God's temper. Now the sum of God's temper or disposition is love, for he is infinite love; and as I observed before, here is no distinction to be made between habit and act, between temper or disposition and exercise. This is the divine disposition or nature that we are made partakers of (II Pet. 1:4); for our partaking or communion with God consists in the communion or partaking of the Holy Ghost.

[(2)] And it is further confirmed by his being peculiarly denominated Holy. The Father and the Son are⁸ both infinitely holy, and the Holy Ghost can be no holier. But yet the Spirit is especially called Holy, which doubt-

8. MS: "&."

less denotes some peculiarity in the manner in which holiness is attributed to him. But upon this supposition the matter is easily and clearly explicable. For, first, it is in the temper or disposition of a mind and its exercise that holiness is immediately seated. A mind is said to be holy from the holiness of its temper and disposition. Second, 'tis in God's infinite love to himself that his holiness consists. As all creature holiness is to be resolved into love, as the Scripture teaches us, so doth the holiness of God himself consist in infinite love to himself. God's holiness is the infinite beauty and excellency of his nature. And God's excellency consists in his love to himself, as we have observed in ["The Mind"].⁹

That the Spirit of God is the very same with holiness (as 'tis in God, 'tis the holiness of God; and as 'tis in the creature, 'tis the holiness of the creature) appears by John 3:6, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Here 'tis very manifest that flesh and spirit are opposed one to another, as two contraries. And 'tis also acknowledged by orthodox divines in general that by the flesh is meant sin or corruption; and therefore by the Spirit is meant its contrary, viz. holiness. And that is evidently Christ's meaning: that which is born of the flesh is corrupt and filthy, but that which is born of the Spirit is holy.

3. This is very consonant to the office of the Holy Ghost, or his work with respect to creatures, which is threefold: viz. to quicken, enliven and beautify all things; to sanctify intelligent [creatures]; and to comfort and delight them.

(1) He quickens and beautifies all things. So we read that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" [Gen. 1:2], or of the chaos, to bring it out of its confusion, into harmony and beauty. So we read, Job 26:13, that God "by his spirit garnished the heavens." Now whose office can it be so properly to actuate and enliven all things, as his who is the eternal and essential act and energy of God? And whose office can it be so properly to give all things their sweetness and beauty, as he who is himself the beauty and joy of the Creator?

(2) 'Tis he that sanctifies created spirits, that is, he gives them divine love: for the Scripture teaches us that all holiness and true grace and virtue is resolvable into that, as its universal spring and principle. As it is the office of the person that is God's idea and understanding to be the light of the world, to communicate understanding, so 'tis the office of the person that is God's love to communicate divine love to the creature. In

9. A reference to "The Mind" no. [45], §§ 9–13 (*Works*, 6, 364–65), written in 1726 or 1727. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 9.

so doing, God's Spirit or love doth but communicate of itself. 'Tis the same love, so far as a creature is capable of being made partaker of it. God's Spirit, or his love, doth but as it were come and dwell in our hearts and act there as a vital principle, and we become the living temples of the Holy Ghost; and when men are regenerated and sanctified, God pours forth of his Spirit upon them, and they have fellowship or, which is the same thing, are made partakers with the Father and Son of their good, i.e. of their love, joy and beauty. Thus the matter is represented in the gospel. And this agreeable to what was taken notice of before of the apostle John his making love's dwelling in us and God's Spirit's dwelling in us the same thing, and explaining of them one by another (I John 4:12–13).

When Christ says to his Father, John 17:26, "And I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it: that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them," I can't think of any way that this will appear so easy and intelligible as upon this hypothesis, viz. that the love wherewith the Father loveth the Son is the Holy Spirit, that Christ here concludes and sums up his prayer for his disciples with this request, that the Holy Spirit might be in his disciples, and so he might be in them thereby. For Christ dwells in his disciples by his Spirit, as Christ teaches us, John 14:16–18, "I will give you another Comforter, . . . even the Spirit of truth; . . . he shall be in you. I will not leave you comfortless: I will come unto you"; and the Apostle, Rom. 8:9–10, "If so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead."¹

Mr. Howe's observation from the fifth chapter of Galatians is here pertinent, of his sermons on *The Prosperous State of the Christian Interest Before the End of Time*, published by Mr. Evans, p. 185.² His words are:

Walking in the Spirit is directed with a special eye and reference unto the exercise of this love, as you [see] in Gal. 5, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth verses compared together: "All the law is fulfilled in one word" (he means the whole Law of the second table), "even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another" (the opposite to this love, or that which follows upon the want of it, or from the opposite principle), "take heed that ye be not

1. The following paragraph is moved here at JE's direction from MS p. 9. A later addition to the Discourse, it is roughly contemporaneous with the fragments from the "Treatise on Grace" (see pp. 149–50).

2. John Howe, *The Prosperous State of the Christian Interest Before the End of Time, by a Plentiful Effusion of the Holy Spirit; Considered in Fifteen Sermons on Ezek. 39:29 . . . Published by the Reverend John Evans* (London, 1726), p. 185.

consumed one of another. This I say then” (observe the inference), “Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lusts of the flesh.” To walk in the Spirit is to walk in the exercise of this love.

The Scripture seems in many places to speak of love in Christians as if it were the same with the Spirit of God in them, or at least as the prime and most natural breathing and acting of the Spirit in the soul. Phil. 2:1, “If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, any comfort of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any bowels and mercies, fulfill ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind.” II Cor. 6:6, “By kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned.” Rom. 15:30, “Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the love of the Spirit.” Col. 1:8, “Who declared unto us your love in the Spirit.” Rom. 5:5, having “the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given to us” (see notes on this text).³ Gal. 5:13–16, “Use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. This I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh.” The Apostle argues that Christian liberty don’t make way for fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, in biting and devouring one another and the like, because a principle of love, which

3. The “Blank Bible” note on Rom. 5:5, written contemporaneously with the Discourse, begins: “‘Because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.’] By this expression ’tis evident that love to God is something else besides a mere act of judgment, or merely a judicious determination of the mind as to its choice and the course of life. But there is a divine, sweet, holy and powerful affection that is as it were diffused in the soul.” In another note on the text that is slightly later than the first, JE continues: “The argument of the Apostle in these words is this: our hope of the glory of God is not an hope that only occasions the grief of disappointment, but meets with success, and has already obtained the thing hoped for in some degree in the earnest of it, in the earnest of the Spirit that are given in our hearts (Eph. 1:13–14, II Cor. 5:5–6, ch. 1:20–22, Eph. 4:30, Rom. 8:23), which we feel in that holy, sweet, divine love that ‘is shed abroad’ in us, which is the breathing and the proper and natural act of the Holy Ghost. Thus we are enabled to ‘glory in tribulation’ [v. 3]. . . . For when we, through hope of the reward, bear ‘tribulation’ with ‘patience’ in waiting for the reward, our patience issues in this joyful ‘experience’ of the earnest of the reward even here in this life. And this does further confirm hope, as in the two foregoing verses, so that we ben’t frustrated and left in confusion, when we through hope ‘patiently’ bear ‘tribulation,’ and under ‘tribulation, patiently’ wait for the reward. For when we thus bear and wait, God gives us our reward in the earnest of it, by causing us to feel the earnest of the Spirit in our heart in the sweet exercises of divine love and holy joy, mentioned, v. 11, so that we do even glory in tribulation. Hence an argument may be drawn that the Holy Ghost is only divine love, or the essence of God flowing out in love and joy, viz. that the Apostle mentions the love of God and joy in God that we feel in our hearts as that by which especially we are sensible of the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts, which is because the nature of the Spirit consists in love and joy.”

was the fulfilling of the law, would prevent it; and in the sixteenth verse he asserts the same thing in other words: "This I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh."

[(3)] The third and last office of the Holy Spirit is to comfort and delight the souls of God's people. And thus one of his names is the Comforter, and thus we have the phrase of "joy in the Holy Ghost." I Thess. 1:6, "Having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost." Rom. 14:17, "The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Acts 9:31, "Walking in the fear of the Lord, and comfort of the Holy Ghost." But how well doth this agree with the Holy Ghost being God's joy and delight. Acts 13:52, "And the disciples were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost," meaning, as I suppose, that they were filled with spiritual joy.

4. This is confirmed by the symbol of the Holy Ghost, viz. a dove, which is the emblem of love, or a lover, and is so used in Scripture, and especially often so in Solomon's Song. Cant 1:15, "Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves' eyes," i.e. eyes of love; and again, 4:1, the same words; and 5:12, "His eyes are as the eyes of doves"; and 5:2, "My love, my dove"; 2:14; and 6:9. And this I believe to be the reason that the dove alone of all birds (except the sparrow in the single case of the leprosy) was appointed to be offered in sacrifice: because of its innocency, and because it is the emblem of love,⁴ love being the most acceptable sacrifice to God. It was under this similitude that the Holy Ghost descended from the Father on Christ at his baptism, signifying the infinite love of the Father to the Son, who is the true David, or beloved, as we said before. The same was signified by what was exhibited to the eye, in the appearance there was of the Holy Ghost descending from the Father to the Son in the shape of a dove, as was signified by what was exhibited to the ear in the voice there was at the same time, viz. "This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" [Matt. 3:17].⁵

In the beginning of Genesis it is said, "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." The word translated "moved" in the original is מְרַחֵף, which, as Buxtorf and Grotius observe, properly signifies the

4. MS: "of the love."

5. The following paragraph, which JE entitled "HOLY GHOST, LOVE represented by the symbol of a dove," is inserted here at his direction from the middle of MS p. 11. The handwriting of this passage appears to date from the late 1740s. Following the cue on MS p. 5 that corresponds to this place, JE also wrote a cue to "p. 13.c," but the sheet or signature containing the passage is missing.

brooding of a dove upon her eggs. See Buxtorf on the radix *רָחַם*,⁶ and Grotius' *Truth of the Christian Religion*, Bk. 1, sec. 16, notes, where Grotius also observes that *meracheth* also signifies love.⁷ See my notes on Gen. 1:2. See *Synopsis* on Lev. 1:14.⁸

5. This is confirmed from the types of the Holy Ghost, and especially from that type of oil which is often used as a type of the Holy Ghost and may well represent divine love from its soft, smooth-flowing and diffusive nature. Oil is from the olive tree, which was of old used to betoken love, peace and friendship that was signified by the olive branch, with which the dove returned to Noah. It was a token for good, a sign of God's love and favor after so terrible a manifestation of his displeasure as the deluge. The olive branch and the dove that brought it were both the emblems of the same, viz. the love of God; but especially did the holy anointing oil, the principal type of the Holy Ghost, well represent the divine love and delight by reason of its excellent sweetness and fragrantcy. Love is ex-

6. Johannes Buxtorf, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (Basel, 1646), pp. 695–96. On the radix generally, Buxtorf writes: "*Commoveri, Commovere* Se: Hebræi notant, Verbum proprium esse avium alas motitantium, dum vel pullos ad volatum provocant . . ." On Gen. 1:2, "*Incubare* . . . Quemadmodum columba incumbit pullis suis, neque eos attingit aut lædit alis suis . . ." JE first refers to this work in his "Catalogue" probably between 1744 and 1746, and in 1747 received a copy of it from David Brainerd (Princeton University Collection).

7. Hugo Grotius, *Truth of the Christian Religion*, trans. John Clark (London, 1729), Bk. 1, sec. 16: "In Moses's history we find the spirit or breath, and the darkness; and the Hebrew word *Meracepheth*, signifies *Love*. . . . Now, because the Hebrew word *Meracepheth* signifies properly the brooding of a dove upon her eggs, therefore it follows in Sanchuniation, that the living creatures, that is, the constellations, were in that mud, as in an egg; and hence that spirit is called by the name of the *dove*. . . . Lucius Ampelius, in his book to Matrinus, says, 'It is reported that, in the river Euphrates, a dove sat many days upon a fish's egg, and hatched a goddess, very kind and merciful to the life of man.'"

8. In the "Blank Bible" note on Gen. 1:2, roughly contemporary with this addition to the Discourse, JE quotes extensively from Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (London, 1647), Pt. 1, bk. 3, ch. 3, § 7, pp. 42–44 (see below, p. 144, n. 6). Here Gale is discussing heathen traditions about the creation of the world and what they felt was "first matter," e.g. Thales thought it was water, Plato chaos, etc. Eusebius thought it was wind, "where the first moving principle of the universe is made to be a dark blustering spirit or wind, who finding the chaos confused, and involved in darkness, without bounds or order, being moved with love of his own principle, he made a contexture called love, whence the first production of all things proceeded." JE goes on to note that Aristotle speaks of Parmenides as making "love or cupidity the first principle."

Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, 1, on Lev. 1:14: "Qu. Cur non de aliis auibus, gallinis, perdibus, &c? Resp. Cæteræ aves vel sunt magis sylvestres; vel, si sunt domesticæ, vescuuntur immundo nutrimento, ut gallinæ, anates, &c. *E turturibus etiam magnis; quia turtur compare mortua nonjungitur alteri: aliter columbe, ideominores tantum aptae.* Vel, quia turtures in matura, columbae in tenera, aetate maxime praestunt. *Quia vero ambas istas aves aliae persequuntur, ideo elegit eas Deus.* Turtur significat Christi castitatem; Columba, quae felle caret, ejus dulcedinem, sive mansuetudinem."

pressly said to be like it in Scripture, in Ps. 133:1–2, “Behold, how good and pleasant is it for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron’s beard: that went down to the skirts of his garments.”⁹

That God’s love, or his lovingkindness, is the same with the Holy Ghost, seems to be plain by Ps. 36:7–9, “How excellent” (or “How precious,” as ’tis in the Hebrew) “is thy lovingkindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied” (in the Hebrew, “watered”) “with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them to drink of the river of thy pleasure. For with thee is the fountain of life: and in thy light shall we see light.” Doubtless that precious lovingkindness, and that fatness of God’s house and river of his pleasures, and the water of the fountain of life and God’s light here spoken [of], are the same thing. By which we learn that the holy anointing oil that was kept in the house of God, which was a type of the Holy Ghost, represented God’s love; and that the river of water of life, spoken of in the twenty-second [chapter] of Revelation, which proceeds out of the throne of God and of the Lamb—which is the same with Ezekiel’s river of living and life-giving water [Ezek. 47], which is here called the fountain of life and river of God’s pleasures—is God’s lovingkindness. But Christ himself expressly teaches us that by spiritual fountains and rivers of waters of life is meant the Holy Ghost (John 4:14 and 7:38–39).¹ That by the river of God’s pleasures here is meant the same thing with that pure river of water of life, spoken of in Rev. 22:1, will be much confirmed if we compare those verses with Rev. 21:23–24 and ch. 22:1, 5 (see the note on ch. 21:23–24).² I think if we compare these places and weigh

9. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE’s direction from the bottom of MS. p. 9. Following the cue on MS p. 5 that corresponds to this place, JE also placed a cue to “p. 13c,” but the sheet or signature containing the passage is missing.

1. The remainder of the paragraph is a later addition, written in the hand and black ink characteristic of 1739–42.

2. “Blank Bible note” on Rev. 21:23–24, written in 1739–42: “Lowman has this note here. ‘This part of the prophetic description seems to be taken from the *Shekinah*, or glory of God, in the several divine appearances. This is represented as a bright and glorious light. The Holy of Holies, the seat of God’s presence in the temple, had no other light than that of the *Shekinah*, or the glory that shone over the mercy seat between the cherubim. How strong is this figurative representation, to show that this happy state of the church shall be without comparison, more glorious than any former state of the church had been? The *Shekinah*, or glory of God’s presence, shall not be shut up or concealed in one part of the temple, but shall be spread through the whole extent of this spacious city, and every inhabitant shall enjoy the full felicity represented by it.’ Whereas it is here said, ‘The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it.’ Let this be compared with Is. 2:5, taken with the preceding verses that speak of the nations that shall be saved that shall resort to Jerusalem. See also Ps. 89:15, and compare these two verses, taken

them, we cannot doubt but that it is the same happiness that is meant in this Psalm that is spoken of there.

6. So this well agrees with the similitudes and metaphors that are used about the Holy Ghost in Scripture, such as water, fire, breath, wind, oil, wine, a spring, a river, a being poured out and shed forth, a being breathed forth. Can there any spiritual thing be thought [of], or anything belonging to any spiritual being, to which such kind of metaphors so naturally agree as to the affection of a spirit? The affection, love or joy may be said to flow out as water, or to be breathed forth as breath or wind. But it would [not] sound³ so well to say that an idea or judgment flows out or is breathed forth. It is no way different to say of the affection that it is warm, or to compare love to fire; but it would not seem natural to say the same of perception or reason. It seems natural enough to say that the soul is poured out in affection, or that love or delight are shed abroad (Tit. 3:5–6)—“The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts” [Rom. 5:5]—but it suits with nothing else belonging to a spiritual being.

This is that river of water of life spoken of in the twenty-third [chapter] of Revelation, which proceeds from the throne of the Father and the Son: for the rivers of living water or water of life are the Holy Ghost by the same Apostle’s own interpretation (John 7:38–39). And the Holy Ghost being the infinite delight and pleasure of God, the river is called the river of God’s pleasures (Ps. 36:8), not God’s river of pleasures, which I suppose signifies the same as the fatness of God’s house which they that trust in God shall be watered with; by which fatness of God’s house I suppose is signified the same thing which oil typifies.

7. It is a confirmation that the Holy Ghost is God’s love and delight, because the saints’ communion with God consists in their partaking of the Holy Ghost. The communion of saints is twofold: ’tis their communion with God, and communion with one another. I John 1:3, “That ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.” Communion is a common partaking of goods, either of excellency or happiness. So that when it is said the saints have⁴ communion or fellowship with the Father and with the Son, the meaning of it is that they partake with the Father and the Son of their good, which is either their excellency and glory—II Pet. 1:4, “Ye are made partakers of the divine nature”; Heb. 12:10, “That we might be partakers

with the next chapter and first verse, with Ps. 36:8–9.” The quote is from Moses Lowman, *Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation* (London, 1737; 2d ed. 1745), p. 266.

3. MS: “it would sound very improper sound.”

4. MS: “of.”

of his holiness"; John 17:22–23, "And the glory which thou hast given me I have given them; that may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me"—or of their joy and happiness, John 17:13, "That they may have my joy fulfilled themselves." But the Holy Ghost, being the love and joy of God, is his beauty and happiness; and it is in our partaking of the same Holy Spirit that our communion with God consists. II Cor. 13:14, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all." They are not different benefits, but the same, that the Apostle here wishes, viz. the Holy Ghost. In partaking with the Father and the Son of the Holy Ghost, we possess and enjoy the love and grace of the Father and the Son: for the Holy Ghost is that love and grace. And therefore I suppose it is that in that forementioned place, I John 1:3, we are said to have fellowship with the Son and not with the Holy Ghost, because therein consists our fellowship with the Father and the Son, even in partaking with them of the Holy Ghost. In this also eminently consists our communion with the saints, that we drink into the same Spirit: this is the common excellency and joy and happiness in which they all are united; 'tis the bond of perfectness by which they are one in the Father and the Son, as the Father is in the Son, and [he in him].⁵

8. I can think of no other good account that can be given of the apostle Paul's wishing grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ in the beginning of his epistles, without ever mentioning the Holy Ghost—as we find it thirteen times in his salutations in the beginnings of his epistles—but that the Holy Ghost is himself the love and grace of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. And in his blessing at the end of his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, where all three persons are mentioned, he wishes grace and love from the Son and the Father, but the communion, or the partaking, of the Holy Ghost. The blessing from the Father and the Son is the Holy Ghost; but the blessing from the Holy Ghost is himself, the communication of himself. Christ promises that he and the Father will love believers, but no mention of the Holy Ghost (John 14:21, 23); and the love of Christ and the love of the Father are often distinctly mentioned, but never any mention of the Holy Ghost's love.⁶

This I suppose to be the reason that we have never any account of the

5. Lacuna where corner of MS page is broken off; Fisher, *Unpublished Essay*, p. 109, has ellipsis dots. The conjectural insertion is based on John 17:21, which JE seems to be paraphrasing in the latter part of the sentence. At the top of the next page (MS p. 6), JE wrote and deleted the following: "*Memorandum*: Remember to look through all the texts in the Concordance where the Father is mentioned."

6. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE's directions from the bottom of MS p. 8.

Holy Ghost's loving either the Father or the Son, or of the Son's or Father's loving the Holy Ghost, or of the Holy Ghost's loving the saints: though these things are so often predicated of both the other persons.⁷ I think the Scripture reveals a great deal more about it than is ordinarily taken notice of.

And this I suppose to be that blessed Trinity that we read of in the holy Scriptures. The Father is the Deity subsisting in the prime, unoriginated and most absolute manner, or the Deity in its direct existence. The Son is the Deity generated by God's understanding, or having an idea of himself, and subsisting in that idea. The Holy Ghost is the Deity subsisting in act, or the divine essence flowing out and breathed forth, in God's infinite love to and delight in himself. And I believe the whole divine essence does truly and distinctly subsist both in the divine idea and divine love, and that therefore each of them are properly distinct persons.

And it confirms me in it, that this is the true Trinity, because reason is sufficient to tell us that there must be these distinctions in the Deity, viz. of God (absolutely considered), and the idea of God, and love and delight; and there are no other real distinctions in God that can be thought [of]. There are but these three distinct real things in God; whatsoever else can be mentioned in God are nothing but mere modes or relations of existence. There are his attributes of infinity, eternity and immutability: they are mere modes of existence. There is God's understanding, his wisdom and omniscience, that we have shown to be the same with his idea. There is God's will: but that is not really distinguished from his love, but is the same, but only with a different relation. As the sum of God's understanding consists in his having an idea of himself, so the sum of his will or inclination consists in his loving himself, as we have already observed. There is God's power or ability to bring things to pass. But this is not really distinct from his understanding and will; it is the same, but only with the relation they have to those effects that are or are to be produced. There is God's holiness, but this is the same—as we have shown in what we have said of the nature of excellency⁸—with his love to himself. There is God's justice, which is not really distinct from his holiness. There are the attributes of goodness, mercy and grace, but these are but the overflowings of God's infinite love. The sum of all God's love is his love to himself. These three—God, and the idea of God, and the inclination, affection or love

7. The following sentence is found on the top of MS p. 9, written in the hand and ink of the mid to late 1730s; JE's movement of passages on this page make this the only place where the sentence fits.

8. Another reference to "The Mind," no. [45]. See above, p. 123, n. 9.

of God—must be conceived as really distinct. But as for all those other things—of extent, duration, being with or without change, ability to do—they are not distinct real things, even in created spirits, but only mere modes and relations. So that our natural reason is sufficient to tell us that there are these three in God, and we can think of no more.

It is a maxim amongst divines that everything that is in God is God, which must be understood of real attributes and not of mere modalities. If a man should tell me that the immutability of God is God, or that the omnipresence of God and authority of God [is God], I should not be able to think of any rational meaning of what he said. It hardly sounds to me proper to say that God's being without change is God, or that God's being everywhere is God, or that God's having a right of government over creatures is God. But if it be meant that the real attributes of God, viz. his understanding and love, are God, then what we have said may in some measure explain how it is so: for Deity subsists in them distinctly, so they are distinct divine persons. We find no other attributes of which it is said that they are God in Scripture, or that God is they, but *Λογος* and *Αγαπε*, the reason and the love of God (John 1:1 and I John 4:8, 16). Indeed, it is said that God is light (I John 1:5). But what can we understand by divine light different from the divine reason or understanding? The same Apostle tells us that Christ is the true light (John 1:9), and the apostle Paul tells us that he is the effulgence of the Father's glory (Heb. 1:3).⁹

This is the light that the Holy Ghost in the prophet Daniel says dwells with God. Dan. 2:22, "And the light dwelleth with him." The same with that Word or reason that the apostle John says (first chapter of his Gospel) was with God, and was God; that he there says is the "true Light," and speaks much of under that character (vv. 4–5, 7–9). This is that Wisdom that says in Prov. 8:30 that he was by God "as one brought up with him." This is that light with respect to which especially, God the Father may be called the Father of Lights.

One¹ of the principal objections that I can think of against what has

9. The following paragraph (probably written in the late 1730s or early 1740s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 9.

1. Here we return to MS p. 6, at which point there are two deleted paragraphs that constitute an abortive attempt to formulate what is in the following paragraph. The deleted passage, which JE crossed out with diagonal lines, reads: "I can foresee many objections that may be made and many doubts that may arise concerning what has been said, many of which I don't pretend to be able fully to solve. One of the principal objections that I can think of, is that this scheme don't seem well to agree with the personality of the Holy Ghost. A person is that that hath an understanding, and hath a will, and love: and how can the understanding and love themselves be said to be persons?"

been supposed is concerning the personality of the Holy Ghost, that this scheme of things don't seem well to consist with that, [that] a person is that which hath understanding and will. If the three in the Godhead are persons, they doubtless each of 'em have understanding; but this makes the understanding one distinct person, and love another. How therefore can this love be said to have understanding? Here I would observe that divines have not been wont to suppose that these three had three distinct understandings, but all one and the same understanding. In order to clear up this matter, let it be considered, that the whole divine essence is supposed truly and properly to subsist in each of these three—viz. God, and his understanding, and love—and that there is such a wonderful union between them that they are after an ineffable and inconceivable manner one in another; so that one hath another, and they have communion in one another, and are as it were predicable one of another. As Christ said of himself and the Father, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me" [John 10:14], so may it be said concerning all the persons of the Trinity: the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; the Holy Ghost is in the Father, and the Father in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Ghost is in the Son, and the Son in the Holy Ghost. And the Father understands because the Son, who is the divine understanding, is in him. The Father loves because the Holy Ghost is in him. So the Son loves because the Holy Spirit is in him and proceeds from him. So the Holy Ghost, or the divine essence subsisting in divine love, understands because the Son, the divine idea, is in him. Understanding may be predicated of this love, because it is the love of the understanding both objectively and subjectively. God loves the understanding and the understanding also flows out in love, so that the divine understanding is in the Deity subsisting in love. It is not a blind love. Even in creatures there is consciousness included in the very nature of the will or act of the soul; and though perhaps not so that it can so properly be said that it is a seeing or understanding will, yet it may truly and

"The three that are in the Godhead, if they are persons, they doubtless all understand and all love. To this I would say, first, that divines have not been wont to suppose that those three are three distinct minds, but they are all the same mind in three distinct ways of subsisting. Neither have they been wont to suppose that they had three distinct understandings or three distinct wills, but that all three had the same understanding, and the same will, and the same love, and that because they have all the same essence, and the attributes are not distinct from the essence. To this I answer, that there is such an union of the persons in the Trinity, [and] that after an ineffable and inconceivable manner, one in another, so that one hath another and one is as it were predicable of another: the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; the Father is in the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost in the Father; the Holy Ghost is in the Son, and the Son in the Holy Ghost, and that because they are all the same divine essence. Christ often says, 'I am in the Father, and the Father in me.'"

properly [be] said so in God by reason of God's infinitely more perfect manner of acting, so that the whole divine essence flows out and subsists in this act. The Son is in the Holy Spirit, though it don't proceed from him, by reason that the understanding must be considered as prior in the order of nature to the will or love or act, both in creature and in the Creator. The understanding is so in the Spirit, that the Spirit may be said to know, as the Spirit of God is truly and properly said to know and to "search all things, even the deep things of God" [I Cor. 2:10].²

All the three are persons, for they all have understanding and will. There is understanding and will in the Father, as the Son and the Holy Ghost are in him and proceed from [him]. There is understanding and will in the Son, as he is understanding and as the Holy Ghost is in him and proceeds from him. There is understanding and will in the Holy Ghost, as he is the divine will and as the Son is in him. Nor is it to be looked upon as a strange and unreasonable figment that the persons should be said to have an understanding or love by another person's being in 'em: for we have Scripture ground to conclude so concerning the Father's having wisdom and understanding or reason, that it is by the Son's being in him; because we are there informed that he is the wisdom and reason and truth of God. And hereby God is wise by his own wisdom being in him. Understanding and wisdom is in the Father, as the Son is in him and proceeds from him. Understanding is in the Holy Ghost because the Son is in him, not as proceeding from him but as flowing out in him.

But I don't pretend fully to explain how these things are, and I am sensible a hundred other objections may be made, and puzzling doubts and questions raised, that I can't solve. I am far from pretending to explaining the Trinity so as to render it no longer a mystery. I think it to be the highest and deepest of all divine mysteries still, notwithstanding anything that I have said or conceived about it. I don't pretend to explain the Trinity, but in time, with reason, may [be] led to say something further of it than has been wont to be said, though there are still left many things pertaining to it incomprehensible. It seems to me that what I have here supposed concerning the Trinity is exceeding analogous to the gospel scheme, and agreeable to the tenor of the whole New Testament, and abundantly illustrative of gospel doctrines; as might be particularly shown, would it not exceedingly lengthen out this discourse.

I shall only now briefly observe that many things that have been wont

2. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 8, an addition made contemporaneous with or very shortly after the original composition.

to be said by orthodox divines about the Trinity are hereby illustrated. Hereby we see how the Father is the fountain of the Godhead, and why when he is spoken of in Scripture he is so often, without any addition or distinction, called God; which has led some to think that he only was truly and properly God. Hereby we may see why, in the economy of the persons of the Trinity, the Father should sustain the dignity of the Deity; that the Father should have it as his office to uphold and maintain the rights of the Godhead, and should be God, not only by essence, but as it were by his economical office. Hereby is illustrated the doctrine of the Holy Ghost preceding both the Father and the Son. Hereby we see how that it is possible for the Son to be begotten by the Father, and the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and Son, and yet that all the persons should be co-eternal. Hereby we may more clearly understand the equality of the persons among themselves, and that they are every way equal in the society or family of the three. They are equal in honor besides the honor which is common to 'em all, viz. that they are all God; each has his peculiar honor in the society or family. They are equal not only in essence.³ The Father's honor is that he is as it were the author of perfect and infinite wisdom. The Son's honor is that he is that perfect and divine wisdom itself, the excellency of which is that from whence arises the honor of being the author or generator of it. The honor of the Father and the Son is that they are infinitely excellent, or that from them infinite excellency proceeds. But the honor of the Holy Ghost is equal, for he is that divine excellency and beauty itself. 'Tis the honor of the Father and the Son that they are infinitely holy and are the fountain of holiness; but the honor of the Holy Ghost is that he is that holiness itself. The honor of the Father and the Son is, they are infinitely happy and are the original and fountain of happiness; and the honor of the Holy Ghost is equal, for he is infinite happiness and joy itself. The honor of the Father is that he is the fountain of the Deity, or he from whom proceed both divine wisdom and also excellency and happiness. The honor of the Son is equal, for he is himself the divine wisdom, and is he from whom proceeds the divine excellency and happiness. And the honor of the Holy Ghost is equal, for he is the beauty and happiness of both the other persons.

By this also we may fully understand the equality of each person's concern in the work of redemption, and the equality of the redeemed's concern with them and dependence upon them, and the equality and honor and praise due to each of them. Glory belongs to the Father and the Son,

3. MS: "essence but ~~they are Equal in honour.~~"

that they so greatly loved the world: to the Father, that he so loved that he gave his only begotten son; to the Son, that he so loved the world as to give up himself. But there is equal glory due to the Holy Ghost, for he is that love of the Father and the Son to the world. Just so much as the two first persons glorify themselves by showing the astonishing greatness of their love and grace, just so much is that wonderful love and grace glorified, who is the Holy Ghost. It shows the infinite dignity and excellency of the Father, that the Son so delighted and prized his honor and glory, that he stooped infinitely low rather than man's salvation should be to the injury of that honor and glory. It showed the infinite excellency and worth of the Son, that the Father so delighted in him, that for his sake he was ready to quit his anger and receive into favor those that had [deserved] infinitely ill at his hands. And what was done shows how great the excellency and worth of the Holy Ghost, who is that delight which the Father and the Son have in each other, shows it to be infinite. So great as the worth of a thing delighted in is to anyone, so great is the worth of that delight and joy itself which he has in it.

Our dependence is equally upon each in this affair: the Father appoints and provides the Redeemer, and himself accepts the price and grants the thing purchased; the Son is the Redeemer by offering up himself, and is the price; and the Holy Ghost immediately communicates to us the thing purchased by communicating himself, and he is the thing purchased. The sum of all that Christ purchased for man was the Holy Ghost. Gal. 3:13–14, he was “made a curse for us . . . that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.” What Christ purchased for us, was that we have communion with God in his good, which consists in partaking of the Holy Ghost, as we have shown. All the blessedness of the redeemed consists in their partaking of Christ's fullness, which consists in partaking of that Spirit which is given not by measure unto him. The oil that is poured on the head of the church runs down to the members of his body and to the skirts of his garment (Ps. 133:2). Christ purchased for us that we should have the favor of God and might enjoy his love; but this love is the Holy Ghost. Christ purchased for us true spiritual excellency, grace and holiness, the sum of which is love to God, which is but only the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the heart. Christ purchased for us spiritual joy and comfort, which is in a participation of God's joy and happiness; which joy and happiness is the Holy Ghost, as we have shown. The Holy Ghost is the sum of all good things. Good things and the Holy Spirit are synonymous expressions in Scripture. Matt. 7:11, “How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?” The sum of all spiritual

good which the saints have in this world is that spring of living water within them, which we read of, John 4:10–15; and those rivers of living water flowing out of them, which we read of, John 7:38–39, which we are there told means the Holy Ghost. And the sum of all happiness in the other world is that river of water of life which proceeds out of the throne of God and the Lamb, which we read of, Rev. 22:1, which is the river of God's pleasures and is the Holy Ghost; and therefore the sum of the gospel invitation is to come and take the water of life (v. 17). The Holy Ghost is the purchased possession and inheritance of the saints, as appears, because that little of it which the saints have in this world is said to be the earnest of that purchased inheritance (Eph. 1:14, II Cor. 1:22 and 5:5). 'Tis an earnest of that which we are to have a fullness of hereafter. The Holy Ghost is the great subject of all gospel promises, and therefore is called the Spirit of promise (Eph. 1:13). This is called the promise of the Father (Luke 24:49, and the like in other places). If the Holy Ghost be a comprehension of all good things promised in the gospel, we may easily see the force of the Apostle's arguing, Gal. 3:2, "This only would I learn, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" So that 'tis God of whom our good is purchased, and 'tis God that purchases it, and 'tis God also that is the thing purchased. Thus all our good things are of God, and through God, and in God; as Rom. 11:36, "For of him, and through him, and to him" (or "in him," as εἰς is rendered, I Cor. 8:6) "are all things: to whom be glory forever." All our good is of God the Father; 'tis all through God the Son; and all is in the Holy Ghost, as he is himself all our good. God is himself the portion and purchased inheritance of his people. Thus God is the Alpha and the Omega in this affair of redemption.

If we suppose no more than used to be supposed about the Holy Ghost, the concern of the Holy Ghost in the work of redemption is not equal with the Father's and the Son's, nor is there an equal part of the glory of this work belongs to him. Merely to apply to us or immediately to give or hand to us the blessing purchased after it was purchased (as subservient to the other two persons), is but a little thing to the purchasing of it by the paying an infinite price by Christ's offering up himself in sacrifice to procure; and 'tis but a little thing to God the Father's giving his infinitely dear Son to be a sacrifice for us, and upon his purchase to afford to us all the blessings of his purchase. But according to this, there is an equality. To be the love of God to the world is as much as for the Father and the Son to do so much from love to the world; and to be [the] thing purchased was as much as to be the price: the price, and the thing bought with that price, are

equal. And 'tis as much as to afford the thing purchased: for the glory that belongs to him that affords the thing purchased, arises from the worth of that thing that he affords; and therefore 'tis the same glory, and an equal glory: the glory of the thing itself is its worth, and that is also the glory of him that affords it.

There are two more eminent and remarkable images of the Trinity among the creatures. The one is in the spiritual creation, [the] soul of man. There is the mind, and the understanding or idea, and the spirit of the mind, as it is called in Scripture, i.e. the disposition, the will or affection.

The other is in the visible creation, viz. the sun. The Father is as the substance of the sun (by substance I don't mean in a philosophical sense, but the sun as to its internal constitution). The Son is as the brightness and glory of the disk of the sun, or that bright and glorious form under which it appears to our eyes. The Holy Ghost is as the action of the sun, which is within the sun, in its intestine heat, and being diffusive, enlightens, warms, enlivens and comforts the world. The Spirit, as it is God's infinite love to himself and happiness in himself, is as the internal heat of the sun; but as it is that by which God communicates himself, is as the emanation of the sun's action, or the emitted beams of the sun. They well represent the love and grace of God, and were made use of for this purpose in the rainbow after the flood; and I suppose also in those rainbows that were seen round about the throne by Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:28, Rev. 4:3), and round the head of Christ by John (Rev. 10:1).

The various sorts of the rays of the sun and their beautiful colors do well represent the Spirit, or the amiable excellency of God, and the various beautiful graces and virtues of the Spirit. These beautiful colors of the sun beams we find made use in Scripture for this purpose, viz. to represent the graces of the Spirit; as Ps. 68:13, "Though ye have lien among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold," i.e. like the light reflected in various beautiful colors from the feathers of a dove, which colors represent the graces of the heavenly dove. The same I suppose is signified by the various beautiful colors reflected from the precious stones of the breastplate. And that those spiritual ornaments of the church are what are represented by the various colors of the foundation and gates of the new Jerusalem (Rev. 21 and Is. 54:11–12), and the stones of the temple (1 Chron. 29:2). And I believe the variety there is in the rays of the sun and their beautiful colors was designed by the Creator for this very purpose, and indeed, that the whole visible creation, which is but the shadow of being, is so made and ordered

by God as to typify and represent spiritual things, for which I could give many reasons.⁴ I don't propose this merely as an hypothesis, but as a part of divine truth sufficiently and fully ascertained by the revelation God has made in the holy Scriptures.⁵

I am sensible what kind of objections many will be ready to make against what has been said. What difficulties will be immediately found: How can this be? and how can that be? I am far from asserting this as any explication of this mystery that unfolds and removes the mysteriousness and incomprehensibility of it: for I am sensible that however, by what has been said, some difficulties are lessened, others that are new appear; and the number of those things that appear mysterious, wonderful and incomprehensible are increased by it. I offer it only as a further manifestation of what of divine truth the Word of God exhibits to the view of our minds concerning this great mystery. I think the Word of God teaches us more things concerning it to be believed by us than have been generally taken [notice of], and that it exhibits many things concerning it exceeding glorious and wonderful than have been taken notice [of]; yea, that it reveals or exhibits more many wonderful mysteries than have been taken notice of: which mysteries that have been overvalued are incomprehensible things, and yet have been exhibited in the Word of God, though they are an addition to the number of mysteries that are in it. No wonder that the more things we are told concerning that which is so infinitely above our reach, the number of visible mysteries increases. When we tell a child a little concerning God, he has not an hundredth part so many mysteries in view on the nature and attributes of God, and his works of creation and providence, as one that is told much concerning God in a divinity school; and yet he knows much more about God, and has a much clearer understanding of things of divinity, more clearly to explicate some things that were dark and very unintelligible to him. I humbly apprehend that the things that have been observed increase the number of visible mysteries in the Godhead in no other manner, even as by them we perceive that God has told us much more about it than was before generally observed. Under the Old Testament, the church of God was not told near so much about the Trinity as they are now; but what the New Testament has revealed, though it has more opened to our view the nature of God, yet it

4. The final sentence of this paragraph is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 9.

5. At this point the text of the original composition (MS pp. 1–8) ends. From here we must go to MS p. 10, due to the many previous additions that JE has made. The hand and ink at this point date from the late 1730s or early 1740s.

has increased the number of visible mysteries and things that appear to us exceeding wonderful and incomprehensible. And so also it has come to pass in the church, being told more about the incarnation and the satisfaction of Christ and other glorious gospel doctrines. 'Tis so not only in divine things but natural things: he that looks on a plant, or the parts of the bodies of animals, or any other works of nature, at a great distance, where he has but an obscure sight of it, may see something in it wonderful and beyond his comprehension; but he that is near to it and views them narrowly, indeed understands more about them, has a clearer and distinct sight of them; and yet the number of things that are wonderful and mysteries in them that appear to him, are much more than before. And if he views them with a microscope, the number of the wonders that he sees will be much increased still. But yet the microscope gives him more of a true knowledge concerning them.

God is never said to love the Holy Ghost, nor are any epithets that betoken love anywhere given to him, though so many are ascribed to the Son: as God's elect, the beloved, he in whom God's soul delighteth, he in whom he is well pleased, etc. Yea, such epithets seem to be ascribed to the Son as though he were the object of love, exclusive of all other persons, as though there were no person whatsoever to share the love of the Father with the Son. To this purpose evidently he is called God's only begotten Son, at the same that it is added, in whom he is well pleased. There is nothing in Scripture that speaks of any acceptance of the Holy Ghost, or any reward, or any mutual friendship between the Holy Ghost and either of the other persons, nor any command to love the Holy Ghost, or to delight in or have any complacence in [him], though such commands are so frequent with respect to the other persons.⁶

THE SON OF GOD. Agreeable to the Son of God's being the WISDOM or UNDERSTANDING of God is that, Zech. 3:9, "For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone shall be seven eyes." This stone is the Messiah (see observations on the place in my discourse on the "Prophecies of the Messiah").⁷ By these eyes is represented God's under-

6. The following paragraph, written on MS p. 11 in what appears to be the ink and hand of the mid-1740s, relates to the discussion above of the second person, but JE does indicate where in that discussion it is to be placed.

7. The discourse begins in "Miscellanies," no. 891, and is continued in Nos. 922 and 1067. Sec. 9 of no. 891, which dates from the early 1740s (this entry in the Discourse is not contemporaneous with it), deals with Zech. 3:8–10. JE writes: "And this Branch that has been mentioned in prophecies that have been already mentioned, is undoubtedly the same person with him that is spoken of once and again in the prophecy of Zechariah, and there called by way of eminence, THE BRANCH. . . . So he appears to be the 'Shiloh' or 'Safe-maker.'"

standing, by the explanation which God himself gives of it in the next chapter, v. 10: "Those seven are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth." The seven eyes being by a wonderful work of God, graven on the stone, a thing in itself very far from sight, represents the incarnation of Christ in uniting the logos or wisdom of God, to that which is in itself so weak and blind and infinitely far from divinity as the human nature. The same again is represented, Rev. 5:6, "And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God." The plain allusion here to that other place in Zechary, shows that the stone there spoken [of] with seven eyes is the Messiah, that elsewhere is often called a stone. And whereas these seven eyes are here said to be the seven Spirits of God, i.e. the perfect and all-sufficient Spirit of God: for 'tis by the Holy Spirit, that the divine nature and the divine Logos, or understanding or wisdom, is united to the human nature.

That⁸ in Rom. 5:5, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us," in the original is, "The love of God is poured out into our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us"; so that the same representation is made of the manner of communicating it that is made from time to time to signify the manner of communicating the Spirit of God himself, and the same expression used to signify it. The love of God is not poured out into our hearts in any propriety any other way than as the Holy Spirit, which is the love of God, is poured out into our hearts; and it seems to be intimated that it is this way that the love of God is poured out into our hearts by the words annexed, "*by the Holy Ghost which is given to us.*"

HOLY⁹ GHOST. Those two texts illustrate one the other: Cant. 1:4, "We will remember thy love more than wine"; and that, Eph. 5:18, "Be not drunk with wine; but be ye filled with the Spirit."¹

That knowledge or understanding in God which we must conceive of as first, is his knowledge of everything possible. That love which must be this knowledge is what we must conceive of as belonging to the essence of the Godhead in its first subsistence. Then comes a reflex act of knowledge, his viewing himself and knowing himself, and so knowing his own

8. Here begins MS p. 12; the angular handwriting and dark gray-black ink indicate a date of the very late 1740s or early 1750s.

9. This paragraph is written in a brown ink.

1. The next three paragraphs constitute a still later addition, dating from the early to mid-1750s.

knowledge: and so the Son is begotten. There is such a thing in God as knowledge of knowledge, an idea of an idea, which can be nothing else than the idea or knowledge repeated.

The world was made for the Son of God especially. For God made the world for himself from love to himself; but God loves himself only in a reflex act He views himself and so loves himself; so he makes the world for himself, viewed² and reflected on, and that is the same with himself repeated or begotten in his own idea: and that is his Son. When God considers of making anything for himself, he presents himself before himself and views himself as his end; and that viewing himself is the same as reflecting on himself or having an idea of himself. And to make the world for the Godhead thus viewed and understood is to make the world for the Godhead begotten: and that is to make the world for the Son of God.

The love of God as it flows forth *ad extra* is wholly determined and directed by divine wisdom, so that those only are the objects of it that divine wisdom chooses. So that the creation of the world is to gratify divine love as that is exercised by divine wisdom. But Christ is divine wisdom, so that the world is made to gratify divine love as exercised by Christ, or to gratify the love that is in Christ's heart, or to provide a spouse for Christ—those creatures which wisdom chooses for the object of divine love as Christ's elect spouse, and especially those elect creatures that wisdom chiefly pitches upon and makes the end of the rest.

TRINITY.³ The righteousness of Christ, the thing given in justification, is in some respect the Holy Spirit in Christ, the expressions and fruits of his influence and actings in him.

TRINITY. In the sun peculiarly divine beauty manifested to men and to all creatures with peculiar advantage, and by how it appears in the Godhead itself, vid. sermon on the excellency of Christ, "His name is as ointment poured forth" [Cant. 1:3].⁴

2. MS: "views."

3. Here begins the text of the fragment, once stitched into the MS at an indeterminable point, that has been restored to the Discourse. It is made from a letter cover, folded over once, to make a quarto-sized signature. The hand and ink of the fragment indicate a date of the late 1730s.

4. There are two extant sermons on Cant. 1:3, the first undated, the second dated June 1733 and inscribed "preached at Boston." It is the second to which JE refers, the doctrine of which is "Jesus Christ is a person transcendently excellent and lovely." Under the doctrine, JE explains that Christ's excellency consists in his having the nature and likeness of the Father, in being possessed of all the excellencies of human nature (meekness, lowliness, love, etc.), in his being both God and man, in his end as Redeemer, and in the benefits by which he endears himself to humankind.

The glory of the Father appears chiefly in him, in his face; and the Spirit, who is the loveliness and love of the Father, flows nextly from him to men.

How many respects the Father first in order, fountain of Godhead, sustains dignity of Deity, sends forth the other two. All is from him, all is in him originally.

The Son. Though all be firstly from the Father, yet all is nextly from the Son. As 'tis a peculiar honor that all should be firstly from the Father, so there is a peculiar honor in that 'tis immediately from the Son.

And even *ad intra*, though the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son, yet he proceeds from the Father mediately by the Son, viz. by the Father's beholding himself in the Son. But he proceeds from the Son immediately by himself by beholding the Father in himself. The beauty and excellency and loveliness of the divine nature, though from the Father first and originally, yet is by the Son and nextly from him. The joy and delight of the divine nature is in the Father by the Son, but nextly and immediately in the Son.

Though the Spirit, the beauty, the loveliness and joy of the Deity, be from the Father originally and primarily, and from the Son as it were secondarily, yet the Son hath this honor that the Father hath not: that that Spirit is from the Son immediately by himself. Yet 'tis the Father not immediately by himself, but by the Son, by his beholding himself in the Son. For though it be from the Son by his beholding the Father, yet he beholds himself in himself. He beholds him no otherwise than in the idea of the Father, which is himself; and indeed, his beholding the Father is nothing else but his existing: for 'tis nothing else for an idea of a thing to behold that thing that it beholds, but only for an idea to exist. The idea's beholding is the idea's existing.

As the Father in the economy of the persons of the Trinity is especially the Lord, sovereign, lawgiver, and judge and disposer, so prayer is especially directed to him. He is as much especially the object of prayer as he is especially Lord, for prayer is directed to one only as Lord. Lordship and dominion and judgment belongs to the Son secondarily, viz. in the name of the Father; so prayer is to be directed to him secondarily as the Father's representative. The Spirit is Lord and disposer, and commands, as we have account he does—Acts [16:7], "But the Spirit suffered them not"—but 'tis but as the representative and messenger of both the other persons. So prayer is to be directed to him, as their representative. Thus we may pray to the Son in us, or communicating himself to us.

Consider that question, whether Christ is to be worshipped as mediator.

HOLY GHOST is DIVINE BEAUTY, love and joy. The Holy Ghost, or Comforter, is the great blessing then promised of Christ before his ascension. 'Tis called by way of eminency the promise of the Father, that is spoken of as the sum of all good (Luke [24:49]). This therefore Christ died to purchase. This is the blessing chiefly to be sought by prayer, and this was the blessing chiefly prayed for by Christ, chiefly sought by Christ's intercession. Hence he says, John 14:16, "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever." It would therefore be strange if in that solemn prayer of Christ's for his disciples and church, ch. 17, that is left as a specimen of his intercession for his church, we should have no request for this Comforter or Holy Spirit, which doubtless we have in these three places:⁵ v. 13, "That they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves"; [vv.] 22–23, "And the glory which thou gavest me have I given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me"—for the Spirit is the bond of union and that by which Christ is in his saints and the Father in him, as we have elsewhere observed; and especially [v.] 26, all the last purpose of his prayer and sum of all, "that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them."⁶

5. MS: "& w where if we in them." JE apparently meant to cancel these words.

6. On the final page of the fragment, JE wrote and then deleted with diagonal lines the following two entries, separated by about twelve blank lines: 1) "Heathen Philosophers speak of the Holy Spirit as Love; see Gale's *Court of the Gentiles*, Pt. I, Bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 42." 2) "Heathen Philosophers speak of the Son of God as Wisdom or Idea or Logos; Gale's *Court of the Gentiles*, Pt. I, Bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 42 at the bottom, and 44 at top." The passage on the Holy Spirit as love, from Pt. 1, Bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 42 ff., is excerpted above on p. 127, n. 8; the passage on the Son as Wisdom is found on the bottom of p. 43 and the top of p. 44: "There is one of Orpheus' verses amongst the ancient Philosophers, which mentions this Divine love: . . . *The first productive Principle was Wisdom and Sweet Love*. The Stoics also held, that there was . . . *a spermatic efformative word*, whereby the world was formed and shaped into its particularities, &c."

ON THE EQUALITY OF THE PERSONS OF THE TRINITY

THIS untitled fragment, in the collections of the Boston Public Library and written on a salvaged letter cover, addresses the equality of the persons of the Trinity. In the manner of the “Discourse on the Trinity,” Edwards asserts that each person has his own “distinct glory” but not a “distinct essence.” Also, each person has his own “personal dignity” or responsibility that the others have not, and the combination of these dignities makes them equal. For example, the Father and Son “principally stand in the place of lords,” but the Holy Ghost is the only person against whom the unpardonable sin can be committed.¹ The same equality applies both to their “personal glory” and their “economical glory.” Finally, divine essence is “undivided and independent” in “being” and in the autonomy of its will.

The theme of the fragment would suggest a relation to “Miscellanies,” no. 1062, which deals with the economy of the Trinity and the covenant of redemption. However, this composition has no content parallels with, and seems to predate, no. 1062, and so was probably written in the very early 1740s, and no later than 1742. The handwriting is roughly contemporaneous with that on the quarto-sized fragment at the end of the “Discourse on the Trinity.”

1. This fragment also includes an important new development in JE’s doctrine of the Holy Spirit. See “Editor’s Introduction,” pp. 18–19.

ON THE EQUALITY OF THE PERSONS OF THE TRINITY

TO show how the personal glory of each of the persons in the Trinity is equal, though each one, as they have a distinct personality, have a distinct glory, and so one has a peculiar glory that another has not.

Their personal glory is only a relative glory, or a glory of relation, and therefore may be entirely distinct. And to apply a distinct glory to the Father, Son and Spirit in that sense, don't at all infer an application of proper distinct perfections or attributes, and so a distinct essence: for if we call those relations attributes, as the use of words is arbitrary, yet to² apply distinct attributes in this sense in no wise implies an applying of a distinct essence, for personal relations are not the divine essence. They have their personal glory entirely distinct, and therefore one may have a peculiar personal dignity that another has not.

And though³ one has a personal dignity in one respect that another has not, yet the others have also in other respects; so that they appear as equal in their personal dignity.

Thus God the Father be the first person from whom the others proceed, and herein has a peculiar personal honor. And the Holy Ghost is the last that proceeds from both the other two, yet the Holy Ghost has this peculiar dignity: that he is as it were the end of the other two, the good that they enjoy, the end of all procession.

So the Son has his peculiar glory, though the Son as it were depends on the Father, as the Father is as it were his principle. Yet in other respects the Father depends on him as his object. The Father has good, and though the Son receives the infinite good, the Holy Spirit, from the Father, the Father enjoys the infinite good through the Son. He is the end of the other two in their acting *ad intra*, and also in his acting *ad extra*, in all they do in redemption and their distinct economical concerns.

The end of the Father in electing is the Spirit. He elects to a possession

2. MS: "the."

3. MS: "~~so th~~ so Each have ~~& yet one has a dignity~~ & tho." JE apparently intended to delete "so Each have."

of this benefit. His end in giving the Son [is] to purchase this. The end of the Son in all his suffering is to obtain this, to purchase this. This was the great precious thing to which all that the other two do is subordinated. So that the Spirit is highest in this respect, though he be last, as he is the messenger sent by the other two.

The Spirit is the messenger of both the other persons; but he hath this peculiar honor, though he represents and acts in the name of both the others, he as it were sustains the character and honor of both the other persons in acting. Whereas the Father acts only in his own name, the Son in his own name and the name of the Father, but the Holy Ghost in the name of both. Hence a reproaching him only is the unpardonable sin, is looked upon as reproaching the whole Trinity; but a reproaching of either of the other persons is not so.

The Father and the Son principally stand in the place of lords, and the Holy Ghost is servant to them both, and commanding chiefly belongs to them. But the Holy Ghost has this peculiar honor: that sinning against commands is most heinous and unpardonable when leveled against the Holy Ghost.

And as 'tis in their personal glory, so it is in their economical glory.

That there is a dependence in the Godhead of one person on another—if we don't understand it of an arbitrary [dependence] or a depending on another's will—is not at all inconsistent⁴ with a perfect equality in glory. There is a dependence every one has on another, though necessary and of different kinds.

In one respect the Father has the superiority: he is the fountain of Deity, and he begets the beloved Son. In another respect the Son has the superiority, as he is the great and first object of divine love. The beloved has as it were the superiority over the lover, and reigns over him. In another respect the Holy Ghost, that is, divine love, has the superiority, as that is the principle that as it were reigns over the Godhead and governs his heart, and wholly influences both the Father and the Son in all they do.

The Son derived the divine essence from the Father, and the Holy Spirit derives the divine essence from the Father and the Son. 'Tis objected against that, that the divine essence is undivided, and that it belongs to the very notion of the divine essence to be independent. I answer, 'tis true the divine essence is undivided and independent, in two respects:

1. With respect to its being, but not with respect to its relative being; or,

4. MS: "dont at all ~~derogate from~~ Inconsistent." In changing the sentence, JE neglected to change "don't" to "is not."

to speak more plainly, that the divine essence should be, and should be what it is, is not in any respect in any dependence or by derivation. But yet it may be by derivation. That it should be here or there, or that in some instances it should be where it is, or belonging to such persons, this don't in the least detract from the glory of the divine essence in itself considered.

That though the Son has life in himself because he is possessed of the divine essence, that has life in itself and in an independence, yet the Father has given him to have life in himself.

2. The divine essence is independent and underived in another respect, i.e. it is not dependent on any arbitrament or voluntary communication. Not but that its relative being may be dependent on a necessary, essential, and so an independent, communication. Though it be communicated, yet the person is not dependent for its communication: for the communication itself is independent; it don't depend on the will of any, but is essential to the Godhead.

To show and prove out of Scripture how that it cannot be that Christ is called the wisdom of God only in a figurative sense, because the wisdom of God appears in that work in which he has a special concern, and the like; but that he is the real proper wisdom of God.

TREATISE ON GRACE

WE owe the existence of the text of “Treatise on Grace,” as well as the disappearance of the original manuscript, to Alexander B. Grosart, a minister in Kinross, Scotland, during the mid-nineteenth century. Grosart had proposed in 1854 to produce a new edition of Edwards’ writings that was to include previously unpublished items. Toward that end, he negotiated with the guardian of the manuscripts, Tryon Edwards, and succeeded in carrying away to Scotland an unspecified number of texts, including the “Treatise on Grace.”

In 1865 Grosart published *Selections from the Unpublished Writings of Jonathan Edwards*, a small volume meant to garner support for his proposed Edwards edition (which never came about). The “Treatise on Grace” headed up the collection. Grosart stated in his introduction that the manuscript of the Treatise “was found by itself, carefully placed within folds of thick paper, and tied up with a silk ribbon. It proved to be arranged into chapters and sections, all paged; and, in short, precisely as now printed.”¹ He goes on to assure his readers that his “Selections are given with *scrupulous accuracy*.”

In the absence of the original manuscript, we cannot fully test Grosart’s claims to scrupulosity in transcription. However, a complete early nineteenth-century copy of the “Treatise” by Sereno Dwight, in the Franklin Trask Library at Andover Newton Theological School (Edwards Collection, f. ND4.1), does provide some basis for comparison.

More important for the purpose of testing textual accuracy, two fragments from the “Treatise” in Edwards’ hand are at the Beinecke Library (Edwards Collection, Box 21, f. 1253). The fragments consist of a total of twelve pages, numbered by Edwards 93–100 and 117–20, the latter representing the end of the “Treatise.” Grosart indicates that the manuscript of the “Treatise” that he used had “interlineations and erasures,” as do the fragments. The fragments are on duodecimo-sized pages, Edwards’ usual format for sermons until the Stockbridge period, raising the possibility that Edwards preached the substance of this treatise before working

1. Grosart, *Selections from the Unpublished Writings of Jonathan Edwards* (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 12.

it into a more finished form. This was his practice with other major efforts, such as *History of the Work of Redemption* and *Religious Affections*.

In any case, the basic content, if not the final form, of the “Treatise” seems to be a product of the years 1739–43.² Its content closely resembles that of the revival treatises from *Distinguishing Marks* to *Religious Affections* in differentiating common from saving grace (negative signs), in providing a sophisticated examination of the nature of saving grace (positive signs), and in demonstrating the origin of saving grace in God. Besides the size of the paper, as mentioned above, must be considered its quality. The pages (though only three signatures long) are of good foolscap, while Edwards’ habit after about 1742 was to incorporate fan-paper scraps and other inferior sorts of paper into his sermons.³ Also, the handwriting of the fragments is relatively large and sprawling but not as angular as the hand of the late 1740s: it compares best to the dated sermons of the early 1740s.

Paul Ramsey suggests that Edwards at one point conceived of the “Treatise” as part of a much larger work, which may explain why Edwards did not attempt to publish it separately. While working on the subject of original sin in the “Controversies” notebook during the 1750s, Edwards wrote a memorandum to himself:

METHOD. Perhaps in more volumes than one, a treatise, the first part concerning the nature of true virtue, and in this treat of God’s end in creating the world; and in the next part concerning original sin, an inquiry into the truth of the doctrine, both as to corruption of nature and imputation, and in the next place concerning the manner in which man’s nature came to be corrupt and its total corruption; and then concerning infused habits, and concerning saving grace’s differing from common grace in nature and kind, and concerning that moral taste that natural men [have], to show that there is nothing of true virtue in it.⁴

Edwards did approach the differences between common and saving grace in *Religious Affections* but not as explicitly as he does in the “Treatise.” Perhaps it was for this reason that he looked for an appropriate context in which to publish the “Treatise,” which by the time he was drafting

2. See *Works*, 8, 10.

3. However, after 1742 JE did write sermons that he considered important (e.g. his *Farewell Sermon*) wholly on good foolscap and fully wrote them out rather than in outline.

4. “Controversies,” MS p. 102; JE also refers to the passage below, pp. 300 and 316, in the “Efficacious Grace” and “True Virtue” sections of the “Controversies” notebook.

True Virtue, *End of Creation*, and *Original Sin* in the early to mid-1750s had been on his hands for more than a decade.

Based on comparisons of Grosart's and Dwight's texts with that of the fragments, Grosart does indeed seem to have been the better transcriber. Not only does he display a superior ability to read Edwards' hand, but his version retains the contractions, dangling participles, disagreements in tense and number, and often complex syntax that characterize Edwards' conversational writing style. He also heeds Edwards' paragraphing. The copy, however, contains many misreadings and instances of the sorts of "improvements" that Edwards' early editors made in order to make his writings more palatable to contemporary audiences. These corruptions include, among other things, changing pronouns, reducing instances of "And" at the beginning of sentences, expanding contractions, shifting sentence structure, and modifying Edwards' method of scriptural citation.

The text presented, therefore, is based on that published by Grosart, while the fragments are followed at the appropriate places. Where there is a significant difference between Grosart and Dwight, Dwight's reading is given in a note. However, in a few cases Dwight clearly has the correct reading, while Grosart does not. At such points Grosart's reading is relegated to the notes.⁵

In his text Grosart footnotes two passages that he indicates Edwards bracketed in the original text. Both occur in chapter 2, where Edwards discusses the marks of saving grace. The first (p. 170) is an exegetical distinction of I Cor. 13, in which Edwards maintains that vv. 1–6 regard charity toward neighbors and v. 7 concerns duty toward God.

The second case (p. 174) has been the source of some controversy, for it has been cited as a contradiction in Edwards' ranking of the love of benevolence and the love of complacency in his description of the kinds of love that constitute true love to God. In his 1889 intellectual biography of Edwards, A. V. G. Allen points out that in *True Virtue* Edwards places love of benevolence over love of complacency, but in the "Treatise" the order is apparently reversed.⁶ One consideration that explains why Allen assumes the contradiction is that he dates the Treatise to between 1752 and 1754, whereas, as we have seen, it actually was written ten or more years earlier. In his 1971 reprint of the "Treatise," Paul Helm addresses

5. The Treatise was published only one other time, in Helm, *Treatise on Grace and other posthumously published writings*, pp. 25–76. Helm reproduced Grosart's text without any alteration, since he was not in a position to be aware of the existence of the copy or the fragments.

6. Allen, *Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 358–59.

the problem by noting that “in *Virtue* Edwards placed love to being in general (in which, he says virtue essentially consists) as prior to both love of benevolence and love of complacence.”⁷ Paul Ramsey further attempts a resolution by stating that Edwards overlaid the common loves of benevolence and complacence to others with “pure benevolence,” or “being’s consent to Being.”⁸

Finally, Edwards freely borrowed from his “Discourse on the Trinity” in composing the “Treatise on Grace.” This is true particularly in the third chapter of the “Treatise,” where Edwards discusses the nature and role of Holy Spirit. The textual parallels are indicated in the annotations.

7. Helm, *Treatise on Grace*, p. 10, n. 2.

8. *Works*, 8, 609, n. 2. See also pp. 532n, 544, 547n. For an extended consideration of the relationship between the loves of benevolence and complacence, see above, pp. 90–97.

TREATISE ON GRACE

CHAPTER I: THAT COMMON AND SAVING GRACE DIFFER, NOT ONLY IN DEGREE, BUT IN NATURE AND KIND

SUCH phrases as “common grace,” and “special” or “saving grace,” may be understood as signifying either diverse kinds of influence of God’s Spirit on the hearts of men, or diverse fruits and effects of that influence. The Spirit of God is supposed sometimes to have some influence upon the minds of men that are not true Christians; and that those dispositions, frames and exercises of their minds that are of a good tendency, but are common to them with the saints, are in some respect owing to some influence or assistance of God’s Spirit. But as there are some things in the hearts of true Christians that are peculiar to them, and that are more excellent than anything that is to be found in others, so it is supposed that there is an operation of the Spirit of God different, and that the value⁹ which distinguishes them is owing to a higher influence and assistance than the virtues of others. So that sometimes the phrase, *common grace*, is used to signify that kind of action or influence of the Spirit of God, to which are owing those religious or moral attainments that are common to both saints and sinners, and so signifies as much as common assistance; and sometimes those moral or religious attainments themselves that are the fruits of this assistance, are intended. So likewise the phrase, *special* or *saving* grace, is sometimes used to signify that peculiar kind or degree of operation or influence of God’s Spirit, whence saving actions and attainments do arise in the godly, or, which is the same thing, special and saving assistance; or else to signify that distinguishing saving virtue itself, which is the fruit of this assistance. These phrases are more frequently understood in the latter sense, viz. not for common and special assistance, but for common and special, or saving virtue, which is the fruit

9. Cf. Andover copy, p. 1: “supposed that the act or operation of the Spirit of Grace is different, and that the virtue.”

of that assistance: and so I would be understood by these phrases in this discourse.

And that special or saving grace in this sense is not only different from common grace in degree, but entirely diverse in nature and kind; and that natural men not only have not a sufficient degree of virtue to be saints, but that they have no degree of that grace that is in godly men, is what I have now to show.

1. This is evident by what Christ says in John 3:6, where Christ, speaking of regeneration, says, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Now, whatever Christ intends by the terms "flesh" and "spirit" in the words, yet this much is manifested and undeniable, that Christ here intends to show Nicodemus the necessity of a new birth, or another birth than his natural birth; and that, from this argument, that a man that has been the subject only of the first birth, has nothing of that in his heart which he must have in order to enter into the kingdom. He has nothing at all of that which Christ calls spirit, whatever that be. All that a man [has] that has been the subject only of a natural birth don't go beyond that which Christ calls flesh: for however it may be refined and exalted, yet it cannot be raised above flesh. 'Tis plain, that by flesh and spirit, Christ here intends two things entirely different in nature, which cannot be one from the other. A man cannot have anything of a nature superior to flesh that is not born again, and therefore we must be "born again." That by flesh and spirit are intended certain moral principles, natures, or qualities, entirely different and opposite in their nature one to another, is manifest from other texts, as particularly Gal. 5:17, "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and they are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things which ye would"; v. 19, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication," etc.; v. 22, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace," etc.; and by Gal. 6:8, "For he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Rom. 8:6-9, "For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God." I Cor. 3:1, "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ." So that it is manifest by this, that men that have been the subjects only of the first birth, have no degree of that moral principle or quality that those that are new born have, whereby they have a title to the kingdom of heaven. This principle or qual-

ity comes out then no otherwise than by birth; and the birth that it must come by is not, cannot be, the first birth, but it must be a new birth. If men that have no title to the kingdom of heaven, could have something of the Spirit, as well as flesh, then Christ's argument would be false. It is plain, by Christ's reasoning, that those that are not in a state of salvation, cannot have these two opposite principles in their hearts together, some flesh and some spirit, lusting one against the other as the godly have; but that they have flesh only.

2. That the only principle in those that are savingly converted, whence gracious acts flow (which in the language of Scripture is called the Spirit, and set in opposition to the flesh), is that which others not only have not a sufficient degree of, but have nothing at all of, is further manifest, because the Scripture asserts both: negatively, that those that have not the Spirit are not Christ's—Rom. 8:9, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his"—and also [positively], that those that have the Spirit are his—I John 3:24, "Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us." And our having the Spirit of God dwelling in our hearts is mentioned as a certain sign that persons are entitled to heaven, and is called the "earnest" of the future inheritance (II Cor. 1:22 and 5:5, Eph. 1:14); which it would not be if others that had no title to the inheritance might have some of it dwelling in them.

Yea, that those that are not true saints have nothing of the Spirit, no part nor portion of it, is still more evident, because not only a having any particular measure¹ of the Spirit, but a being *of the Spirit* is given as a sure sign of being in Christ. I John 4:13, "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us *of his Spirit*." If those that are not true saints have any degree of that spiritual principle, then though they have not so much, yet they have *of it*, and so that would be no sign that a person is in Christ. If those that have not a saving interest in Christ have nothing of the Spirit, then they have nothing; no degree of those graces that are the fruits of the Spirit, mentioned in Gal. 5:22–23, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Those fruits are here mentioned with that very design, that we may know whether we have the Spirit or no.

3. Those that are not true saints, and in a state of salvation, not only have not so much of that holy nature and divine principle that is in the hearts of the saints; but they do not partake of it, because a being "par-

1. As in Andover copy, p. 6; Grosart, p. 21: "motion." Cf. below, p. 157, "measure of the Spirit."

takers of the divine nature” is spoken of as the peculiar privilege of true saints (II Pet. 1:4). It is evident that it is the true saints that the Apostle is there speaking of. The words in this verse with the foregoing are these: “According as his divine power hath given to us all things that pertain to life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue: whereby are given to us exceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.” The “divine nature” and “lust” are evidently here spoken of as two opposite principles in man. Those that are in the world, and that are the men of the world, have only the latter principle; but to be partakers of the divine nature is spoken of as peculiar to them that are distinguished and separated from the world, by the free and sovereign grace of God giving them all things that pertain to life and godliness, giving the knowledge of him and calling them to glory and virtue, and giving them the exceeding great and precious promises of the gospel, and that have escaped the corruption of the world of wicked men. And a being partakers of the divine nature is spoken of, not only as peculiar to the saints, but as one of the highest privileges of the saints.

4. That those that have not a saving interest in Christ have no degree of that relish and sense of spiritual things or things of the Spirit, of their divine truth and excellency, which a true saint has, is evident by I Cor. 2:14, “The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.” A “natural man” is here set in opposition to a “spiritual” one, or one that has the Spirit, as appears by the foregoing and following verses. Such we have shown already the Scripture declares all true saints to be, and no other. Therefore by natural men are meant those that have not the Spirit of Christ and are none of his, and are the subjects of no other than the natural birth. But here we are plainly taught that a natural man is perfectly destitute of any sense, perception, or discerning of those things of the Spirit, by the words, he neither does nor “can know them,” or “discern” them. So far from this, they are “foolishness unto him”: he is a perfect stranger, so that he does not know what the talk of such things means; they are words without a meaning to him; he knows nothing of the matter any more than a blind man of colors.

Hence it will follow, that the sense of things of religion that a natural man has, is not only not to the same degree, but nothing of the same nature with that which a true saint has. And besides, if a natural person has the fruit of the Spirit, which is of the same kind with what a spiritual per-

son has, then he experiences within himself the things of the Spirit of God: and how then can he be said to be such a stranger to them, and have no perception or discerning of them?

The reason why natural men have no knowledge of spiritual things, is because they have nothing of the Spirit of God dwelling in them. This is evident by the context: for there we are told that it is by the Spirit that these things are taught (vv. 10–12); and godly persons in the next verse are called spiritual, because they have the Spirit dwelling in them. Hereby the sense again is confirmed, for natural men are in no degree spiritual; they have only nature and no Spirit. If they had anything of the Spirit, though not in so great a degree as the godly, yet they would be taught spiritual things, or things of the Spirit, in proportion to the measure of the Spirit that they had. The Spirit that searcheth² all things would teach them in some measure. There would not be so great a difference, that the one could perceive nothing of them and that they should be foolishness to them, while to the other they appear divinely and remarkably wise and excellent, as they are spoken of in the context (vv. 6–9); and as such the Apostle spoke here of discerning them.

The reason why natural men have no knowledge or perception of spiritual things, is because they have none of the anointing spoken of, I John 2:27, “The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and you need not that any man teach you.” This anointing is evidently spoken of here, as a thing peculiar to true saints. Ungodly men never had any degree of that holy oil poured upon them, and therefore have no discerning of spiritual things. Therefore none of that sense that natural men have of things of religion, is of the same nature with what the godly have; but to these they are totally blind. Therefore in conversion the eyes of the blind are opened. The world is wholly unacquainted with the Spirit of God, as appears by John 14:17, where we read about “the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it knoweth him not.”

5. Those that go farthest³ in religion that are not true saints and in a state of salvation, have no charity, as is plainly implied in the beginning of the thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. Therefore they have no degree of that kind of grace, disposition, or affection, that is so called. So Christ elsewhere reproves the Pharisees, those high pretenders to religion among the Jews, that they had not the love of God in them (John 5:42).

2. Cf. Andover copy, p. 12: “teacheth.”

3. As in Andover copy, p. 13; Grosart, p. 23: “for those.”

6. That those that are not true saints have no degree of that grace that the saints have is evident, because they have no communion or fellowship with Christ. If those that are not true saints partake of any of that Spirit, those holy inclinations and affections, and gracious acts of soul that the godly have from the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ, then they would have communion with Christ. The communion of saints with Christ does certainly very much consist in that receiving of his fullness and partaking of his grace, spoken of, John 1:16, “Of his fullness have all we received, and grace for grace”; and in partaking of that Spirit which God gives not by measure unto him. Partaking of Christ’s holiness and grace, his nature, inclinations, tendencies, love and desires, comforts and delights, must be to have communion with Christ. Yea, a believer’s communion with the Father and the Son does mainly consist in his partaking of the Holy Ghost, as appears by II Cor. 13:14, “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the *communion* of the Holy Ghost.”

But that unbelievers have no fellowship or communion with Christ appears, (1) because they are not united to Christ. They are not in Christ. For the Scripture is very plain and evident in this, that those that are in Christ are actually in a state of salvation, and are justified, sanctified, accepted of Christ, and shall be saved. Phil. 3:8–9, “Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found *in him*.” II Cor. 5:17, “If any man be *in Christ*, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.” I John 2:5, “But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby know we that we are *in him*”; and 3:24, “He that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.” But those that are not in Christ, and are not united to him, can have no degree of communion with him; for there is no communion without union. The members can have no communion with the head or participation of its life and health unless they are united to it. The branch must be united with the vine, otherwise there can be no communication from the vine to it, nor any partaking of any degree of its sap, or life, or influence. So without the union of the wife to the husband, she can have no communion in his goods. (2) The Scripture does more directly teach that it is only true saints that have communion with Christ: as particularly this is most evidently spoken of as what belongs to the saints, and to them only, in I John 1:3, together with vv. 6–7, “That which

we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." Verses 6–7, "If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Also in I Cor. 1:9, "God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord."

7. The Scripture speaks of the actual being of a truly holy and gracious principle in the heart, as inconsistent with a man's being a sinner or a wicked man. I John 3:9, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Here it is needless to dispute what is intended by this seed, whether it be a principle of true virtue and a holy nature in the soul, or whether it be the Word of God as the cause of that virtue. For let us understand it in either sense, it comes to much the same thing in the present argument; for if by the seed is meant the Word of God, yet when it is spoken of as abiding in him that is born again, it must be intended, with respect to its effect, as a holy principle in his heart: for the Word of God does not abide in one that is born again more than another, any other way than in its effect. The Word of God abides in the heart of a regenerate person as a holy seed, a divine principle there, though it may be but as a seed, a small thing. The seed is a very small part of the plant, and is its first principle. It may be in the heart as a grain of mustard seed, may be hid, and seem to be in a great measure buried in the earth. But yet it is inconsistent with wickedness. The smallest degrees and first principles of a divine and holy nature and disposition are inconsistent with a state of sin; whence it is said, "he cannot sin." There is no need here of a critical inquiry into the import of that expression; for doubtless so much at least is implied through this, "his seed being in him" [I John 3:9], as is inconsistent with his being a sinner or a wicked man. So that this heavenly plant of true holiness cannot be in the heart of a sinner, no, not so much as in its first principle.

8. This is confirmed by the things that conversion is represented by in the Scriptures, particularly its being represented as a work of creation. When God creates, he does not merely establish and perfect the things which were made before, but makes wholly and immediately something entirely new, either out of nothing, or out of that which was perfectly void of any such nature, as when he made man of the dust of the earth. "The things that are seen are not made of things that do appear" [Heb. 11:3].

Saving grace in man is said to be the new man or a new creature, and corrupt nature the old man. If that nature⁴ that is in the heart of a godly man be not different in its nature and kind from all that went before, then the man might possibly have had the same things a year⁵ before, and from time to time from the beginning of his life, but only not quite to the same degree. And how then is grace in him, the new man or the new creature?

Again, conversion is often compared to a resurrection. Wicked men are said to be dead, but when they are converted they are represented as being by God's mighty and effectual power raised from the dead. Now there is no medium between being dead and alive. He that is dead has no degree of life; he that has the least degree of life in him is alive. When a man is raised from the dead, life is not only in a greater degree, but it is all new.

The same is manifest by conversion being represented as a new birth or as regeneration. Generation is not only perfecting what is old, but 'tis a begetting something⁶ new. The nature and life that is then received has then its beginning: it receives its first principles.

Again, conversion in Scripture is represented as an opening of the eyes of the blind. In such a work those have light given them that were totally destitute of it before. So in conversion, stones are said to be raised up children to Abraham [Matt. 3:9, Luke 3:8]: while stones, they are altogether destitute of all those qualities that afterwards render them the living children of Abraham, and not only had them not in so great a degree. Agreeably to this, conversion is said to be a taking away a heart of stone and a giving a heart of flesh [Ezek. 11:19, 36:26]. The man while unconverted has a heart of stone which has no degree of that life and sense that the heart of flesh has, because it yet remains a stone, than which nothing is further from life and sense.⁷

4. Cf. Andover copy, p. 18: "virtue."

5. Cf. Andover copy, p. 19: "threescore years."

6. As in Andover copy, p. 19; Grosart, p. 25: "from the."

7. Andover copy, p. 19: "See another argument from John 6:64, 70–71 in paper concerning Perseverance." The copyist adds, "Rem. p. 326," referring to *Remarks on Important Theological Controversies* (Edinburgh, 1796), where the passage was published. The scriptural note that JE refers to is in "Controversies," MS p. 107. It reads: "That there is an essential difference between the faith and seeming grace of such professors as fall away, and such as persevere, even before any distinction appears as to perseverance, or while both retain their religion, is exceeding manifest by John 6:64–65, 'But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him. And he said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father.' And v. 70, 'And Jesus answered them, Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?' Here before Judas had fallen away, he is said not to believe and to be a devil. Now Judas was a professing disciple and a distinguished one. He was a visible believer. Christ speaks of him as one that had forsaken all and followed him in the regeneration, as is evident in Matt. 19:27–28; and as one

Inference 1. From what has been said, I would observe that it must needs be that conversion is wrought at once. That knowledge, that reformation and conviction that is preparatory to conversion may be gradual, and the work of grace after conversion may be gradually carried on; yet that work of grace upon the soul⁸ whereby a person is brought out of a state of total corruption and depravity into a state of grace, to an interest in Christ, and to be actually a child of God, is in a moment.

It must needs be the consequence: for if that grace or virtue that a person has when he is brought into a state of grace be entirely different in nature and kind from all that went before, then it will follow that the last instant before a person is actually a child of God and in a state of grace, a person has not the least degree of any real goodness, and of that true virtue that is in a child of God.

Those things by which conversion is represented in Scripture hold forth the same thing. In creation, something is brought out of nothing in an instant. God speaks and it is done; he commands and it stands fast. When the dead are raised, it is done in a moment. Thus when Christ called Lazarus out of his grave, it was not a gradual work. He said, "Lazarus, come forth" [John 11:43], and there went life with the call. He heard his voice and lived. So Christ, John 5:25, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live"; which words must be understood of the work of conversion. In creation, being is called out of nothing and instantly obeys the call, and in the resurrection the dead are called into life: as soon as the call is given the dead obey.

By reason of this instantaneousness of the work of conversion, one of the names under which conversion is frequently spoken of in Scripture, is *calling*: Rom. 8:28–30, "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose. For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called:

that had continued with Christ in his temptations, Luke 22:28 compared with v. 30. There were great appearances of true grace in him, as there was in Ahitophel his type, with whom David took sweet counsel, etc. And therefore as a righteous man, Christ had given him the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, and sent him forth to preach the gospel, and heal the sick and cast out devils. Yet he, even before he fell away, is said not to believe, but to be then a devil; which is agreeable to what the Apostle says of apostates, "They went out from us, because they were not of us; if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us" [I John 2:19]. See "Faith," no. [99], where this same passage is cited.

8. Cf. Andover copy, p. 20: "heart."

and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified." Acts 2:37–39, "Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Heb. 9:15 (last clause), "That they which are called might receive the promise of the eternal inheritance." I Thess. 5:23–24, "And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly. . . . Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it." Nothing else can be meant in those places by calling than what Christ does in a sinner's saving conversion. By which it seems evident that it is done at once and not gradually; whereby Christ, through his great power, does but speak the powerful word and it is done, he does but call and the heart of the sinner immediately comes. It seems to be symbolized by Christ's calling his disciples, and their immediately following him. So when he called Peter, Andrew, James and John, they were minding other things; but at his call they immediately left all and followed him. Matt. 4:18–22—Peter and Andrew were "casting a net into the sea," and Christ says to them as he passed by, "Follow me"; and it is said, "they straightway left their nets, and followed him." So James and John were in the ship with Zebedee their father "mending their nets; and he called them. And immediately they left the ship and their father, and followed him" [Matt. 4:21–22]. So when Matthew was called, Matt. 9:9, "And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose, and followed him." Now whether they were then converted or not, yet doubtless Christ in thus calling his first disciples to a visible following of him, represents to us the manner in which he would call men to be truly his disciples and spiritually to follow him in all ages. There is something immediately and instantaneously put into their hearts at that call that they had nothing of before, that effectually disposes them to follow.

It is very manifest that almost all the miracles of Christ that he wrought when on earth were types of his great work of converting sinners; and the manner of his working those miracles holds forth the instantaneousness of the work of conversion. Thus when he healed the leper, which represented his healing us of our spiritual leprosy, "he put forth his hand, and touched him, and said, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed" (Matt. 8:3, Mark 1:42, Luke 5:13). And so, in opening the

eyes of the blind, which represents his opening the eyes of our blind souls, Matt. 20:30–34, he “touched their eyes: and immediately their eyes received sight, and they followed him.” So Mark 10:52, Luke 18:43. So when he healed the sick, which represents his healing our spiritual diseases, or conversion, it was done at once. Thus when he healed Simon’s wife’s mother, Mark 1:31, he “took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them.” So when the woman which had the issue of blood touched the hem of Christ’s garment, immediately the issue of blood stanchd (Luke 8:44). So the woman that was bowed together with the spirit of infirmity: when Christ “laid his hands upon her, immediately she was made straight, and glorified God” (Luke 13:12–13); which represents that action on the soul whereby he gives an upright heart, and sets the soul at liberty from its bondage to glorify him. So the man at the pool of Bethesda, when Christ bade him rise, take up his bed and walk, was immediately made whole (John 5:8–9). After the same manner Christ cast out devils, which represents his dispossessing the devil of our souls in conversion; and so he settled the winds and waves, representing his subduing in conversion the heart of the wicked, which is like the troubled sea when it cannot rest; and so he raised the dead, which represented his raising dead souls.

The same is confirmed by those things which conversion is compared to in Scripture. It is often compared to a resurrection. Natural men (as was said before) are said to be dead, and to be raised, when they are converted by God’s mighty effectual power, from the dead. Now, there is no medium between being dead and alive; he that is dead has no degree of life in him, he that has the least degree of life in him is alive. When a man is raised from the dead, life is not only in a greater degree in him than it was before, but it is all new. The work of conversion seems to be compared to a raising the dead to life, in this very thing, even its instantaneousness, or its being done as it were at a word’s speaking. As in John 5:25 (before quoted), “Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live.” He speaks here of a work of conversion, as appears by the preceding verse; and by the word themselves, which speak of the time of this raising the dead, not only as to come hereafter, but as what was already come. This shows conversion to be an immediate instantaneous work, like to the change made on Lazarus when Christ called him from the grave: there went life with the call, and Lazarus was immediately alive. Immediately before the call sinners are dead or wholly destitute of life, as appears by the expression, “*the dead* shall hear the voice,” and immediately after

the call they are alive; yea, there goes life with the word, as is evident, not only because it is said they shall live, but also because it is said, they shall hear his voice. The first moment they have any life is the moment when Christ calls, and as soon as they are called; which further appears by what was observed before, even that a being called and converted are spoken of in Scripture as the same thing.

The same is confirmed (as observed before) from conversion being compared to a work of creation, which is a work wherein something is made either out of nothing or out of that having no degree of the same kind of qualities and principles, as when God made man of the dust of the earth. Thus it is said, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature" [II Cor. 5:17]; which obviously implies that he is an exceeding diverse kind of creature from what he was before he was in Christ, that the principle or qualities that he has by which he is a Christian, are entirely new, and what there was nothing of, before he was in Christ.

Inf. 2. Hence we may learn that it is impossible for men to convert themselves by their own strength and industry, with only a concurring assistance helping in the exercise of their natural abilities and principles of the soul, and securing⁹ their improvement. For what is gained after this manner is a gradual acquisition, and not something instantaneously begotten, and of an entirely different nature, and wholly of a separate¹ kind, from all that was in the nature of the person the moment before. All that men can do by their own strength and industry is only gradually to increase and improve and new-model and direct qualities, principles and perfections of nature that they have already. And that is evident, because a man in the exercise and improvement of the strength and principles of his own nature has nothing but the qualities, powers and perfections that are already in his nature to work with, and nothing but them to work upon; and therefore 'tis impossible that by this only, anything further should be brought to pass, than only a new modification of what is already in the nature of the soul. That which is only by an improvement of natural qualities, principles and perfections—let these things be improved never so much and never so industriously, and never so long—they'll still be no more than an improvement of those natural qualities, principles and perfections; and therefore not anything of an essentially distinct² and superior nature and kind.

"'Tis impossible" (as Dr. Clarke observes) "that any effect should have

9. Cf. Andover copy, p. 27: "succeeding."

1. Cf. Andover copy, p. 27: "superior."

2. Cf. Andover copy, p. 28: "entirely different."

any perfection, that was not in the cause: for if it had, then that perfection would be caused by nothing.”³ ’Tis therefore utterly impossible that men’s natural perfections and qualities in that exercise, and however assisted in that exercise, should produce in the soul a principle or perfection of a nature entirely different from all of them, or any manner of improvement or modification of them.

The qualities and principles of natural bodies, such as figure or motion, can never produce anything beyond themselves. If infinite comprehensions and divisions be eternally made, the things must still be eternally the same, and all their possible effects can never be anything but repetitions of the same. Nothing can be produced by only those qualities of figure and motion, beyond figure and motion: and so nothing can be produced in the soul by only its internal⁴ principles, beyond these principles or qualities, or new improvements and modifications of them. And if we suppose a concurring assistance to enable to a more full and perfect exercise of those natural principles and qualities, unless the assistance or influence actually produces something beyond the exercise of internal principle: still, it is the same thing. Nothing will be produced but only an improvement and new modification of those principles that are exercised. Therefore it follows that saving grace in the heart, can’t be produced in man by mere exercise of what perfections he has in him already, though never so much assisted⁵ by moral suasion, and never so much assisted in the exercise of his natural principles, unless there be something more than all this, viz. an immediate infusion or operation of the Divine Being upon the soul. Grace must be the immediate work of God, and properly a production of his almighty power on the soul.

CHAPTER II: SHOWING WHEREIN ALL SAVING GRACE DOES SUMMARILY CONSIST⁶

The next thing that arises for consideration is, What is the nature of this divine principle in the soul that is so entirely diverse from all that is naturally in the soul? Here I would observe,

1. That that saving grace that is in the hearts of the saints, that within them above nature, and entirely distinguishes ’em from all unconverted

3. Samuel Clarke, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (London, 1705), p. 104. JE used the 6th edition of 1724.

4. Cf. Andover copy, p. 29: “natural.”

5. Cf. Andover copy, p. 30: “exerted.”

6. Cf. Andover copy, p. 31: “On the Nature of Saving Grace.”

men, is radically but one—i.e. however various its exercises are, yet it is but one in its root; 'tis one individual principle in the heart.

'Tis common for us to speak of various graces of the Spirit of God as though they were so many different⁷ principles of holiness, and to call them by distinct names as such: repentance, humility, resignation, thankfulness, etc. But we err if we imagine that these in their first source and root⁸ in the heart are properly distinct principles. They all come from the same fountain, and are, indeed, the various exertions and conditions of the same thing; only different denominations according to the various occasions, objects and manners,⁹ attendants and circumstances of its exercise. There is some one holy principle in the heart that is the essence and sum of all grace, the root¹ and source of all holy acts of every kind, and the fountain of every good stream, into which all Christian virtues may ultimately be resolved, and in which all duty and holiness is fulfilled.

Thus the Scripture represents it. Grace in the soul is one fountain of water of life (John 4:14), and not various distinct fountains. So God, in the work of regeneration, implants one heavenly seed in the soul, and not various different² seeds. I John 3:9, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his *seed* remaineth in him." The day star³ arisen on the soul is but one [II Pet. 1:19]. The oil in the vessel is simple and pure, conferred by one holy anointing. All is wrought by one individual work of the Spirit of God. And thus it is there is a consentanation of graces. Not only is one grace in some way allied to another, and so tends to help and promote one another, but one is really implied in the other: the nature of one involves the nature of another. And the great reason of it is, that all graces have one common essence, the original principle of all, and is but one. Strip the various parts of the Christian soul of their circumstances, concomitants, appendages, means and occasions, and consider that which is as it were their soul and essence, and all appears to be the same.

2. That principle in the soul of the saints, which is the grand Christian virtue, and which is the soul and essence and summary comprehension of all grace, is a principle of divine love. This is evident,

(1) Because we are abundantly taught in the Scripture that divine love is the sum of all duty; and that all that God requires of us is fulfilled in it—

7. Cf. Andover copy, p. 31: "distinct."

8. Cf. Andover copy, p. 31: "seat."

9. Cf. Andover copy, p. 31: "modes."

1. Cf. Andover copy, p. 32: "seat."

2. Cf. Andover copy, p. 32: "distinct."

3. As in Andover copy, p. 32; Grosart, p. 30: "The Day [that] has arisen."

i.e. that love is the sum of all duty of the heart, and its exercises and fruits the sum of all duty of life. But if the duty of the heart, or all due dispositions of hearts, are all summed up in love, then undoubtedly all grace may be summed up in love.

The Scripture teaches us that all our duty is summed up in love, or, which is the same thing, that 'tis the sum of all that is required in the law; and that, whether we take the law as signifying the Ten Commandments, or the whole written Word of God. So when by the Law is meant the Ten Commandments, Rom. 13:8, "Owe no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law"; and, therefore, several of these commandments are there rehearsed. And again, in v. 10, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." And unless love was the sum of what the law required, the law could not be fulfilled in love. A law is not fulfilled but by obedience to the sum of what it contains. So the same Apostle again, I Tim. 1:5, "Now the end of the commandment is charity."

If we take the law in a yet more extensive sense for the whole written Word of God, the Scripture still teaches us that love is the sum of what is required in it. Matt. 22:40—there Christ teaches us that on these two precepts of loving God and our neighbor "hang all the law and the prophets"; that is, all the written Word of God. So that what was called the Law and the Prophets was the whole written Word of God that was then extant. The Scripture teaches this of each table of the Law in particular.

Thus, the lawyer that we read of in the tenth chapter of Luke, vv. 25–28, mentions the love of God and our neighbor as the sum of the two tables of the Law; and Christ approves of what he says. When he stood up and tempted Christ with this question, "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Christ asks him what was required of him "in the law?" He makes answer, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself"; and Christ replies, "Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live"; as much as to say, "Do this, then thou hast fulfilled the whole law."

So in Matt. 22:36–38, that commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind," is given by Christ himself as the sum of the first table of the Law, in answer to the question of the lawyer, who asked him, "Which is the great commandment of the law?" And in the next verse, loving our neighbors as ourselves is mentioned as the sum of the second table, as it is also in Romans 13:9, where most of the precepts of the second table are rehearsed over in particular: "For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not

kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”

The apostle James seems to teach the same thing. Jas. 2:8, “If ye fulfill the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well.”

Thus frequent, express and particular is the Scripture in teaching us that all duty is comprehended in love. The Scripture teaches us, in like manner, of nothing else. This is quite another thing than if religion in general had only sometimes gone under the name of the love of God, as it sometimes goes by the name of the fearing of God, and sometimes the knowledge of God, and sometimes seeking⁴ of God.

This argument does fully and irrefragably prove that all grace, and every Christian disposition and habit of mind and heart, especially as to that which is primarily holy and divine in it, does summarily consist in divine love, and may be resolved into it; however, with respect to its kinds and manner of exercise and its appendages, it may be diversified. For certainly there is no duty of heart, or due disposition of mind, but what is included in the Law and the Prophets, and is required by some precept of that law and rule which he has given mankind to walk by. But yet the Scripture affords us other evidences of the truth of this.

(2) The Apostle speaks of divine love as that which is the essence of all Christianity in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. There the Apostle evidently means a comparison between the gifts of the Spirit and the grace of the Spirit. In the foregoing chapter the Apostle had been speaking of the gifts of the Spirit throughout, such as the gift of wisdom, the gift of knowledge, the gift of faith, the gift of healing or working miracles, prophecy, discerning spirits, speaking with tongues, etc.; and in the last verse in the chapter he exhorts the Corinthians to “covet earnestly the best gifts,” but adds, “and yet I show you a more excellent way”; and so proceeds to discourse of the saving grace of the Spirit under the name of *ἀγάπη*, love, and to compare this saving grace in the heart with those gifts. Now, ’tis manifest that the comparison is between the gifts of the Spirit that were common to both saints and sinners, and that saving grace that distinguishes true saints; and, therefore, charity or love is here understood by divines as intending the same thing as sincere grace of heart.

By love or charity here there is no reason to understand the Apostle only of love to men, but that principle of divine love that is in the heart of

4. As in Andover copy, p. 37; Grosart, p. 32: “feeling.”

the saints in the full extent, which primarily has God for its object. For there is no reason to think that the Apostle doesn't mean the same thing by charity here as he does in the eighth chapter of the same epistle, where he is comparing the same two things together, knowledge and charity, as he does here. But there he explains himself to mean by charity the love of God: "Now, as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth. And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know. But if any man love God, the same is known of him," etc.⁵

'Tis manifest that love or charity is here (ch. 13) spoken of as the very essence of all Christianity, and is the very thing wherein a gracious sincerity consists. For the Apostle speaks of it as the most excellent, the most necessary and essential thing of all, without which all that makes the greatest, and fairest, and most glittering show in religion is nothing; without which, if we "speak with the tongues of men and angels, we are become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals"; and without which, though we have "the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge," and have all faith, so that we could remove mountains, and should bestow all our goods to feed the poor, and even give our bodies to be burned, we are nothing [I Cor. 13:1–2]. Therefore, how can we understand the Apostle any otherwise than that this is the very thing whereof the essence of all consists; and that he means the same by charity as a gracious charity,⁶ as indeed it is generally understood. If a man does all these things here spoken, makes such glorious prophecies, has such knowledge, such faith, and speaks so excellently, and performs such excellent external acts, and does such great things in religion as giving all his goods to the poor and giving his body to be burned, what is wanting but one thing? The very quintessence of all religion, the very thing wherein lies summarily the sincerity, spirituality and divinity of religion. And that, the Apostle teaches us, is love.

And further, 'tis manifestly the Apostle's drift to show how this excellent principle does radically comprehend all that is good. For he goes on to show how all essences of good and excellent dispositions and exercises, both towards God and towards man, are virtually⁷ contained and will flow from this one principle: love "suffereth long, and is kind; envieth not, . . . endureth all things" [I Cor. 13:4–7]. The words of this last verse especially

5. Grosart notes, p. 33: "The paragraph commencing, 'In [sic] love or charity,' down to this, is an after-insertion."

6. Andover copy, p. 40: "gracious heart."

7. Cf. Andover copy, p. 41: "actually."

respects duties to God, as the former did duties to men, as I would show more particularly afterwards.⁸

Here it may be noted, by the way, that by charity “believing all things, hoping all things,” the Apostle has undoubtedly respect to the same faith and hope that in other parts of the chapter are mentioned together and compared with charity.⁹ And not believing and hoping, in the case of our neighbor, which the Apostle had spoken of before, in the last words of v. 5, and had plainly summed up all parts of charity towards our neighbor in the sixth verse. And then in this verse the Apostle proceeds to mention other exercises or fruits of charity quite of another kind, viz. patience under suffering, faith and hope, and perseverance.

Thus the Apostle don’t only represent love or charity as the most excellent thing in Christianity, and as the quintessence, life and soul of all religion, but as that which virtually comprehends all holy virtues and exercises. And because love is the quintessence and soul of all grace, wherein the divinity and holiness of all that belongs to charity does properly and essentially consist; therefore, when Christians come to be in their most perfect state, and the divine nature in them shall be in its greatest exaltation and purity, and be free from all mixtures, stripped of these appurtenances and that clothing that it has in the present state, and it shall lose many other of its denominations, especially from the peculiar manner and exercises accommodated to the imperfect circumstances of the present state, they will be what will remain. All other names will be swallowed up in the name of charity or love, as the Apostle, agreeably to his chapter on this (I Cor. 13) observes in vv. 8–10: “Charity never faileth. . . . But when that *which is perfect is come*, then that which is in part shall be done away.” And therefore, when the Apostle in the last verse speaks of charity as the greatest grace, we may well understand him in the same sense as when Christ speaks of the command to love God, etc. as the greatest commandment—viz. that among the graces, that is the source and sum of all graces, as that commanded is spoken of as the sum of all commands, and requiring that duty which is the ground of all other duties.

It must be because charity is the quintessence and soul of all duty and all good in the heart that the Apostle says that it is “the end of the commandment” [I Tim. 1:5]: for doubtless the main end of the commandment is to promote that which is most essential in religion and constituent of holiness.

8. Grosart, p. 30, n. 2, removes the following paragraph from the text, noting that in the MS JE drew brackets around it. The passage is incorporated in the Andover copy, p. 42.

9. Grosart, p. 30, notes that JE deletes: “as I think might be sufficiently made manifest, if it were proper here to spend time upon it.”

3. Reason bears witness to the same thing.

(1) Reason testifies that divine love is so essential in religion that all religion is but hypocrisy and a vain show without it. What is religion but the exercise and expressions of regard to the Divine Being? But certainly if there be no love to him, there is no sincere regard to him; and all pretenses and show of respect to him, whether it be in word or deed, must be hypocrisy, and of no value in the eyes of him who sees the heart. How manifest is it that without love there can be no true honor, no sincere praise! And how can obedience be hearty, if it be not a testimony of respect to God? The fear of God without love is no other than the fear of devils; and all that outward respect and obedience, all that resignation, that repentance and sorrow for sin, that form in religion, that outward devotion that is performed merely from such a fear without love, is all of it a practical lie, as in Ps. 66:3, "How terrible art thou in thy works! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves unto thee." In the original it is "shall thine enemies lie unto thee"; i.e. shall yield a feigned or lying obedience and respect to thee, when still they remain enemies in their hearts. There is never a devil in hell but what would perform all that many a man performed in religion, that had no love to God; and a great deal more if they were in like circumstances and the like hope of gain by it, and be as much of a devil in his heart as he is now. The devil once seemed to be religious from fear of torment. Luke 8:28, "When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high? I beseech thee, torment me not." Here is external worship. The devil is religious; he prays: he prays in a humble posture; he falls down before Christ, he lies prostrate; he prays earnestly, he cries with a loud voice; he uses humble expressions—"I beseech thee, torment me not"¹—he uses respectful, honorable, adoring expressions—"Jesus, thou Son of God most high." Nothing was wanting but love.

And² with respect to duties towards men, no good offices would be accepted by men one from another, if they saw the heart, and knew they did not proceed from any respect in the heart. If a child carry it very respectfully to his father, either from a strong³ fear, or from hope of having the larger inheritance when his father is dead, or from the like consideration,

1. Andover copy, p. 46, adds: "He was sincere in this wish. He believed that Christ would grant his request. He hoped some kind of favorable answer to his request."

2. Andover copy, p. 47, has point 2 beginning here: "2. Reason testifies the same thing in regard to our duties towards men."

3. Cf. Andover copy, p. 47: "slavish."

and not at all from any respect to his father in his heart; if the child's heart were open to the view of his father, and he plainly knew that there was no real regard to him: would the child's outward honor and obedience be acceptable to the parent? So if a wife should carry it very well to her husband, and not at all from any love to him, but from other considerations plainly seen, and certainly known by the husband, would he at all delight in her outward respect any more than if a wooden image were contrived to make respectful motions in his presence?

If duties towards men are accepted of God as a part of religion and the service of the Divine Being, they must be performed not only with a hearty love to men, but that love must flow from regard to him.

(2)⁴ Reason shows that all good dispositions and duties are wholly comprehended in, and will flow from, divine love. Love to God and men implies all proper respect or regard to God and men; and all proper acts and expressions of regard to both will flow from it, and therefore all duty to both. To regard God and men in our heart as we ought, and to have that nature of heart towards them that we ought, is the same thing. And therefore, a proper regard or love comprehends all virtue of heart; and he that shows all proper regard to God and men in his practice, performs all that in practice towards them which is his duty. The Apostle says, Rom. 13:10, "Love works no ill to his neighbor." 'Tis evident by his reasoning in that place, that he means more than is expressed: that love works no ill, but all good, all our duty, to our neighbor; which reason plainly shows. And as the Apostle teaches that love to our neighbor works no ill but all good towards our neighbor, so, by a parity of reason, love to God works no ill, but all our duty, towards God.

A Christian love to God, and Christian love to men, are not properly two distinct principles in the heart. These varieties are radically the same: the same principle flowing forth towards different objects, according to the order of their existence. God is the first cause of all things, and the fountain and source of all good; and men are derived from him, having something of his image, and are the objects of his mercy. So the first and supreme object of divine love is God: and men are loved either as the children of God or his creatures, and those that are in his image, and the objects of his mercy; or in some respects related to God, or partakers of his loveliness, or at least capable of happiness.

That love to God, and a Christian love to men, are thus but one in their root and foundation-principle in the heart, is confirmed by several pas-

4. Andover copy, p. 48, has this as point 3.

sages in the First Epistle of John, ch. 3, vv. 16–17: “Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. But whoso hath this world’s goods, . . . how dwelleth the love of God in him?” Ch. 4:20–21, “If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.” Ch. 5:1–2, “Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him. By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments.”

Therefore to explain the nature of divine love, what is principally requisite is to explain the nature of love to God. For this may especially be called divine love; and herein all Christian love or charity does radically consist, for this is the fountain of all.

As to a definition of divine love, things of this nature are not properly capable of a definition. They are better felt than defined. Love is a term as clear in its signification, and that does as naturally suggest to the mind the thing signified by it, as any other term or terms that we can find out or substitute in its room. But yet there may be a great deal of benefit in descriptions that may be given of this heavenly principle, though they all are imperfect. They⁵ may serve to limit the signification of the term and distinguish this principle from other things, and to exclude counterfeits, and also more clearly to explain some things that do appertain to its nature.

Divine love, as it has God for its object, may be thus described: ’tis the soul’s relish of the supreme excellency of the divine nature, inclining the heart to God as the chief good.

The first thing in divine love, and that from which everything that appertains to it arises, is a relish of the excellency of the divine nature; which the soul of man by nature has nothing of.

The first effect that is produced in the soul, whereby it is carried above what it has or can have by nature, is to cause it to relish or taste the sweetness of the divine relation.⁶ That is the first and most fundamental thing in divine love, and that from which everything else that belongs to divine love, naturally and necessarily proceeds. When once the soul is brought to relish the excellency of the divine nature, then it will naturally,⁷ and of

5. Andover copy, p. 51: “principle. Though they all are imperfect, they.”

6. Cf. Andover copy, p. 52: “divine perfections.”

7. Cf. Andover copy, p. 52: “wholly.”

course, incline to God every way. It will incline to be with him and to enjoy him. It will have benevolence to God; it will be glad that he is happy; it will incline that he should be glorified, and that his will should be done in all things. So that the first effect of the power of God in⁸ the heart in regeneration, is to give the heart a divine taste or sense, to cause it to have a relish of the loveliness and sweetness of the supreme excellency of the divine nature; and indeed this is all the immediate effect of the divine power that there is, this is all the Spirit of God needs to do, in order to a production of all good effects in the soul. If God, by an immediate act of his, gives the soul a relish of the excellency of his own nature, other things will follow of themselves without any further act of the divine power than only what is necessary to uphold the nature of the faculties of the soul. He that is once brought to see, or rather to taste, the superlative loveliness of the Divine Being, will need no more to make him long after the enjoyment of God, to make him rejoice in the happiness of God, and to desire that this supremely excellent Being may be pleased and glorified.⁹

Love is commonly distinguished into a love of complacency and love of benevolence. Of these two, a love of complacency is first, and is the foundation of the other—i.e. if by a love of complacency be meant a relishing a sweetness in the qualifications of the beloved, and a being pleased and delighted in his excellency. This, in the order of nature, is before benevolence, because it is the foundation and reason of it. A person must first relish that wherein the amiableness of nature consists, before he can wish well to him on the account of that loveliness,¹ or as being worthy to receive good.² Indeed, sometimes love of complacency is explained something differently, even for that joy that the soul has in the presence and possession of the beloved, which is different from the soul's relish of the beauty of the beloved, and is a fruit³ of it, as benevolence is. The soul may relish the sweetness and the beauty of a beloved object, whether that object be present or absent, whether in possession or not in possession: and this relish is the foundation of love of benevolence, or desire of the good of the beloved; and it is the foundation of

8. Cf. Andover copy, p. 52: "on."

9. Grosart removes the following paragraph from the text, noting (p. 37) that in the MSJE placed it within brackets. The Andover copy incorporates it into the text.

1. Cf. Andover copy, p. 54: "amiableness."

2. Andover copy, p. 54, adds: "by that amiableness."

3. Cf. Andover copy, p. 54: "part."

love of affection to⁴ the beloved object when absent, and it is the foundation of one's rejoicing in the object when present; and so it is the foundation of everything else that belongs to divine love.

And if this be true, then the main ground of true love to God is the excellency of his own nature, and not any benefit we have received, or hope to receive, by his goodness to us. Not but that there is such a thing as a gracious gratitude to God for mercies bestowed upon us; and the acts and fruits of his goodness to us may [be], and very often are, occasions and incitements of the exercise of true love to God, as I must show more particularly hereafter. But love or affection to God, that has no other ground⁵ than only some benefit received or hoped for from God,⁶ without any sense of a delight in the absolute excellency of the divine nature, has nothing divine in it. Such gratitude towards God requires no more to be in the soul than that human nature that all men are born with, or at least that human nature well cultivated and improved, or indeed not further vitiated and depraved than it naturally is. It is possible that natural men, without the addition of any further principle than they have by nature, may be affected with gratitude by some remarkable kindness of God to them, as that they should be so affected with some great act of kindness of a neighbor. A principle of self-love is all that is necessary to both. But divine love is a principle distinct from self-love, and from all that arises from it. Indeed, after a man is come to relish the sweetness of the supreme good there is in the nature of God, self-love may have a hand in an appetite after the enjoyment of that good. For self-love will necessarily make a man desire to enjoy that which is sweet to him. But God's perfections must first savor⁷ appetite and [be] sweet to men, or they must first have a taste to relish sweetness in the perfection of God, before self-love can have any influence upon them to cause an appetite after the enjoyment of that sweetness. And therefore that divine taste or relish of the soul, wherein divine love doth most fundamentally consist, is prior to all influence that self-love can have to incline us to God; and so must be a principle quite distinct from it, and independent of it.

4. Cf. Andover copy, p. 55: "foundation of desire for."

5. As in Andover copy, p. 55; Grosart, p. 37: "good."

6. Grosart, p. 37: "from God, is not true love. [If it be] without." The Andover copy (p. 55) reads "from God is ~~not true~~," suggesting that in the MS JE had meant to delete "is not true." The copyist realized this and so canceled the words, but Grosart did not, thereby forcing himself into an interjection.

7. Cf. Andover copy, p. 57: "become."

CHAPTER III: SHOWING HOW A PRINCIPLE OF GRACE IS
FROM THE SPIRIT OF GOD

1. That this holy and divine principle, which we have shown does radically and summarily consist in divine love, comes into existence in the soul by the power of God in the influences of the Holy Spirit, the third person in the blessed Trinity, is abundantly manifest from the Scriptures.

Regeneration is by the Spirit. John 3:5–6, “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.” And v. 8, “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.”

The renewing of the soul is by the Holy Ghost. Tit. 3:5, “Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.” A new heart is given by God’s putting his Spirit within us. Ezek. 36:26–27, “A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.” Quickening of the dead soul is by the spirit. John 6:63, “It is the spirit that quickeneth.” Sanctification is by the Spirit of God. II Thess. 2:13, “God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.” Rom. 15:16, “That the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.” I Cor. 6:11, “Such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.” I Pet. 1:2, “Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.” All grace in the heart is the fruit of the Spirit. Gal. 5:22–23, “But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.” Eph. 5:9, “The fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness and truth.” Hence the Spirit of God is called the Spirit of grace (Heb. 10:29).

This doctrine of a gracious nature⁸ being by the immediate influence of the Spirit of God, is not only taught in the Scriptures, but is irrefragable

8. Cf. Andover copy, p. 58: “Doctrine of True virtue.”

to reason. Indeed there seems to be a strong disposition in men to disbelieve and oppose the doctrine of true disposition, to disbelieve and oppose the doctrine of immediate influence of the Spirit of God in the hearts of men, or to diminish and make it as small and remote a matter as possible, and put it as far out of sight as may be. Whereas it seems to me, true virtue and holiness would naturally excite a prejudice (if I may so say) in favor of such a doctrine; and that the soul, when in the most excellent frame and the most lively exercise of virtue—love to God and delight in him—would⁹ naturally and unavoidably think of God as kindly communicating himself to him and holding communion with him, as though he did as it were see God smiling on him, giving to him and conversing with him; and that if he did not so think of God, but on the contrary should conceive that there was no immediate communication between God and him, it would tend greatly to quell his holy motions of soul and be an exceeding damp¹ to his pleasure.

No good reason can be given why men should have such an inward disposition to deny any immediate communication between God and the creature, or to make as little of it as possible. 'Tis a strange disposition that men have to thrust God out of the world, or to put him as far out of sight as they can, and to have in no respect immediately and sensibly to do with him. Therefore so many schemes have been drawn to exclude, or extenuate, or remove at a great distance, any influence of the Divine Being in the hearts of men, such as the scheme of the Pelagians, the Socinians,² etc. And therefore these doctrines are so much ridiculed that ascribe much to the immediate influence of the Spirit, and called enthusiasm, fanaticism, whimsy and distraction; but no mortal can tell for what.

If we make no difficulty of allowing that God did immediately make the whole universe at first, and caused it to exist out of nothing, and that every individual thing owes its being to an immediate, voluntary, arbitrary act of almighty power, why should we make a difficulty of supposing that he has still something immediately to do with the things that he has made, and that there is an arbitrary influence still that God has in the creation that he has made?

And if it be reasonable to suppose it with respect to any part of the creation, it is especially so with respect to reasonable creatures, who are the

9. Grosart's dashes are preserved here. Alternate reading: "exercise of virtue, love to God, and delight in him, would."

1. As in Andover copy, p. 60; Grosart, p. 39: "damage."

2. Andover copy, p. 60, adds "Arminians."

highest part of the creation, next to God, and who are most immediately made for God, and have him for their next head,³ and are created for the business wherein they are mostly concerned. And above all, in that wherein the highest excellency of this highest rank of beings consists, and that wherein he is most conformed to God, is nearest to him, and has God for his most immediate object.

It seems to me most rational to suppose that as we ascend in the order of being we shall at last come immediately to God, the first cause. In whatever respect we ascend, we ascend in the order of time and succession.

2. The Scripture speaks of this holy and divine principle in the heart as not only from the Spirit, but as being spiritual. Thus saving knowledge is called "spiritual understanding." Col. 1:9, "We desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding." So the influences, graces and comforts of God's Spirit are called "spiritual blessings." Eph. 1:3, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ." So the imparting of any gracious benefit is called the imparting of a spiritual gift. Rom. 1:11, "For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift." And the fruits of the Spirit which are offered to God are called "spiritual sacrifices." 1 Pet. 2:5, "A spiritual priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." And a spiritual person signifies the same in Scripture as a gracious person, and sometimes one that is much under the influence of grace. 1 Cor. 2:15, "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man"; and 3:1, "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal." Gal. 6:1, "If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness." And to be graciously minded is called in Scripture a being "spiritually minded." Rom. 8:6, "To be spiritually minded is life and peace."

Concerning this, two things are to be noted:

(1) That this divine principle in the heart is not called spiritual, because it has its seat in the soul or spiritual part of man, and not in his body. It is called spiritual, not because of its relation to the spirit of man, in which it is, but because of its relation to the Spirit of God, from which it is. That things are not called spiritual because they appertain not to the body but the spirit of man is evident, because gracious or holy understanding is called spiritual understanding in the forementioned passage, Col. 1:9. Now, by spiritual understanding cannot be meant that understanding

3. Cf. Andover copy, p. 61: "end."

which has its seat in the soul, to distinguish it from other understanding that has its seat in the body: for all understanding has its seat in the soul; and that things are called spiritual because of their relation to the Spirit of God is most plain, by the latter part of the second chapter of First Corinthians. There we have both those expressions, one immediately after another, evidently meaning the same thing: vv. 13–14, “Which things also we speak, not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.” And that by the spiritual man is meant one that has the Spirit is also as plainly evident by the context, vv. 10–12: “God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.” Also v. 15, “He that is spiritual judgeth all things,” by which is evidently meant the same as he that hath the Spirit that “searcheth all things,” as we find in the foregoing verses. So persons are said to be spiritually minded, not because they mind things that relate to the soul or spirit of man, but because they mind things that relate to the Spirit of God. Rom. 8:5–6, “For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit. For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace.”

(2) It must be observed that where this holy divine principle of saving grace wrought in the mind is in Scripture called spiritual, what is intended by the expression is not merely nor chiefly that it is from the Spirit of God, but that it is of the nature of the Spirit of God. There are many things in the minds of some natural men that are from the influence of the Spirit, but yet are by no means spiritual things in the scriptural sense of the word. The Spirit of God convinces natural men of sin (John 16:8). Natural men may have common grace, common illuminations and common affections, that are from the Spirit of God, as appears by Heb. 6:4. Natural men have sometimes the influences of the Spirit of God in his common operations and gifts: and therefore God’s Spirit is said to be striving with them [Gen. 6:3]; and they are said to resist the Spirit (Acts 7:51); to grieve and vex God’s Holy Spirit (Eph. 4:30, Is. 63:10); and God is said to depart from them even as the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul—I Sam. 16:14, “But the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him.”

But yet natural men are not in any degree spiritual. The great difference between natural men and godly men seems to be set forth by this, that the one is natural and carnal, and the other spiritual; and natural men are so totally destitute of that which is Spirit, that they know nothing about it, and the reason given for it is because they are not spiritual (I Cor. 2:13–15). Indeed, sometimes those miraculous gifts of the Spirit that were common are called spiritual because they are from the Spirit of God; but for the most part the term seems to be appropriated to its gracious influences and fruits on the soul, which are no otherwise spiritual than the common influences of the Spirit that natural men have, in any other respect than this: that this saving grace in the soul is not only from the Spirit, but it also partakes of the nature of that Spirit that it is from, which the common grace of the Spirit does not. Thus things in Scripture language are said to be earthly, as they partake of an earthly nature, partake of the nature of the earth; so things are said to be heavenly, as they in their nature agree with those things that are in heaven; and so saving grace in the heart is said to be spiritual, and therein distinguished from all other influences of the Spirit, that it is of the nature of the Spirit of God. It partakes of the nature of that Spirit, while no common gift of the Spirit doth so.

But here an inquiry may be raised, viz.:

Inq. How does saving grace partake of the nature of that Spirit that it is from, so as to be called on that account spiritual, thus essentially distinguishing it from all other effects of the Spirit? For every effect has in some respect or another the nature of its cause, and the common convictions and illuminations that natural men have are in some respects the nature of the Spirit of God: for there is light and understanding and conviction of truth in these common illuminations, and so they are of the nature of the Spirit of God—that is, a discerning spirit and a spirit of truth. But yet saving grace, by its being called spiritual, as though it were thereby distinguished from all other gifts of the Spirit, seems to partake of the nature of the Spirit of God in some very peculiar manner.

Clearly to satisfy this inquiry, we must do these two things: 1. We must bear in mind what has already been said of the nature of saving grace, and what I have already shown to be that wherein its nature and essence lies, and wherein all saving grace is radically and summarily comprised, viz. a principle of divine love. 2. We must consider what the Scripture reveals to be in a peculiar manner the nature of the Holy Spirit of God; and in an inquiry of this nature I would go no further than I think the Scripture plainly goes before me. The Word of God certainly should be our rule in matters so much above reason and our own notions.

And here I would say,

(1)⁴ That I think the Scripture does sufficiently reveal the Holy Spirit as a proper divine person; and thus we ought to look upon him as a distinct personal agent. He is often spoken of as a person, revealed under personal characters and in personal acts, and it speaks of his being acted on as a person; and the Scripture plainly ascribes everything to him that properly denotes a distinct person. And though the word “person” be rarely used in the Scriptures, yet I believe that we have no word in the English language that does so naturally represent what the Scripture reveals of the distinction of the eternal three—Father, Son and Holy Ghost—as to say they are one God but three persons.

(2) Though all the divine perfections are to be attributed to each person of the Trinity, yet the Holy Ghost is in a peculiar manner called by the name of love, *Αγάπε*, the same word that is translated “charity” in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. The⁵ Godhead or the divine essence is once and again said to be love. I John 4:8, “He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love.” So again, v. 16, “God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.” But the divine essence is thus called in a peculiar manner as breathed forth and subsisting in the Holy Spirit; as may be seen in the context of these texts, as in the twelfth and thirteenth verses of the same chapter: “No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit.” It is the same argument in both these verses: in the twelfth verse the Apostle argues that if we have love dwelling in us, we have God dwelling in us; and in the thirteenth verse he clears the force⁶ of the argument by this, that this love which is dwelling in us is God’s Spirit. And this shows that the foregoing argument is good, and that if love dwells in us, we know God dwells in us indeed: for the Apostle supposes it as a thing granted and allowed that God’s Spirit is God.⁷ The Scripture elsewhere does abundantly teach us that the way in which God dwells in the saints is by his Spirit, by their being the temples of the Holy Ghost [I Cor. 3:16, 6:19]. Here this Apostle teaches us the same thing. He says, “We know that he dwelleth in us, that he hath given us his Spirit”; and this is mani-

4. Andover copy, pp. 68–69, does not number the two following paragraphs.

5. For the passage beginning here and ending “that God’s Spirit is God,” see “Discourse on the Trinity,” p. 121.

6. Both Grosart and the Andover copy read “face,” but the passage on which this one is based in the “Discourse on the Trinity,” p. 121, reads “force.”

7. Andover copy, p. 70, adds: “& One of the Divine Persons.”

festly to explain what is said in the foregoing verse, viz. that God dwells in us, inasmuch as his love dwells in us; which love he had told us before (v. 8) is God himself. And afterwards, in the sixteenth verse, he expresses it more fully, that this is the way that God dwells in the saint, viz. because this love dwells in them, which is God.⁸

Again, the same is signified in the same manner in the last verses of the foregoing chapter. In the foregoing verses, speaking of love as a true sign of sincerity and our acceptance with God, beginning with the eighteenth verse, he sums up the argument thus in the last verse: “And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.”

We have also something very much like this in the apostle Paul’s writings. Gal. 5:13–16, “Use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. This I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh.” Here it seems most evident that what the Apostle exhorts and urges in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth verses—viz. that they should walk in love, that they might not give occasion to the gratifying of the flesh—he does expressly explain in the sixteenth verse by this, that they should walk in the Spirit, that they might not fulfill the lust of the flesh; which the great Mr. Howe takes notice of in his *Sermons on the Prosperous State of the Christian Interest before the End of Time*, p. 185, published by Mr. Evans. His words are,

Walking in the Spirit is directed with a special eye and reference unto the exercise of this love; as you may see in Gal. 5, the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth verses compared together. “All the law is fulfilled in one word” (he means the whole law of the second table), “even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another” (the opposite to this love, or that which follows on the want of it, or from the opposite principle), “take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. This I say then” (observe the inference), “Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh.” To walk in the Spirit is to walk in the exercise of this love.⁹

8. For the following paragraph, see “Discourse on the Trinity,” p. 122.

9. The quote from John Howe also appears as a later addition to the “Discourse on the Trinity” (pp. 124–25), roughly contemporaneous with the fragments from the Treatise. JE refers to Howe’s *The Prosperous State of the Christian Interest Before the End of Time, by a Plentiful Effusion of the Holy Spirit; Considered in Fifteen Sermons on Ezek. 39:29. Published by the Reverend John Evans*, p. 185.

So that as the Son of God is spoken of as the wisdom, understanding and Λογος of God (Prov. 8, Luke 11:49, John 1 at the beginning) and is, as divines express things, the personal wisdom of God; so the Spirit of God is spoken of as the love of God, and may with equal foundation and propriety be called the personal love of God. We read in the beloved disciple's writings of these two, Λογος and Αγαπε, both of which are said to be God (John 1:1, I John 4:8–16). One is the Son of God, and the other the Holy Spirit. There are two things that God is said to be in this first epistle of John: light and love. Ch. 1:5, "God is light." This is the Son of God, who is said to be the wisdom and reason of God, and the brightness of his glory. And in the fourth chapter of the same epistle he says, "God is love," and this he applies to the Holy Spirit.¹

Hence the Scripture symbol of the Holy Ghost is a dove, which is the emblem of love, and so was continually² accounted (as is well known) in the heathen world, and is so made use of by their poets and mythologists; which probably arose partly from the nature and manner of the bird, and probably in part from the tradition of the story of Noah's dove, that came with a message of peace and love after such terrible manifestations of God's wrath in the time of the deluge. This bird is also made use of as an emblem of love in the Holy Scriptures: as it was on that message of peace and love that God sent it to Noah, when it came with an olive leaf in its mouth; and often in Solomon's Song: Cant. 1:15, "Thou hast doves' eyes"; Cant. 5:12, "His eyes are as the eyes of doves"; Cant. 5:2, "Open to me, my love, my dove"; and in other places in that Song.

This bird, God is pleased to choose as the special symbol of his Holy Spirit in the greatest office or work of the Spirit that ever it has or will exert, viz. in anointing Christ, the great head of the whole church of saints; from which head this holy oil descends to all the members, and the skirts of his garments, as the sweet and precious ointment that was poured on Aaron's head, that great type of Christ. As God the Father thus³ poured forth his Holy Spirit of love upon the Son without measure, so that which was then seen with the eye—viz. a dove descending and lighting upon Christ—signified the same thing to the eye as what was at the same time proclaimed to the ear,⁴ viz. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." This is the Son on whom I pour forth all my love, towards whom

1. For the following three paragraphs, see "Discourse on the Trinity," pp. 126–28.

2. Cf. Andover copy, p. 74: "antiently."

3. As in Andover copy, p. 74; Grosart, p. 45: "then."

4. As in Andover copy, p. 75, and "Discourse on the Trinity," p. 126; Grosart, p. 45: "signified the same thing as what was at the same time proclaimed to the Son."

my essence entirely flows out in love. See Matt. 3:16–17, Mark 1:10–11, Luke 3:22, John 1:32–33.

This was the anointing of the head of the church and our great high priest; and therefore the holy anointing oil of old with which Aaron and other typical high priests were anointed was the most eminent type of the Holy Spirit of any in the Old Testament. This holy oil, by reason of its soft-flowing and diffusive nature, and its unparalleled sweetness and fragrancy, did most fitly represent divine love, or that Spirit that is the Deity, breathed forth or flowing out and softly falling⁵ in infinite love and delight. It is mentioned as a fit representation of holy love, which is said to be “like the precious ointment on the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron’s beard: that went down to the skirts of his garments” [Ps. 133:2]. It was from the fruit of the olive tree, which it is known has been made use of as a symbol of love or peace, which was probably taken from the olive branch brought by the dove to Noah in token of the divine favor; so that the olive branch and the dove that brought it, both signified the same thing, viz. love, which is specially typified by the precious oil from the olive tree.

God’s love is primarily to himself, and his infinite delight is in himself, in the Father and the Son loving and delighting in each other. We often read of the Father loving the Son, and being well-pleased in the Son, and of the Son loving the Father. In the infinite love and delight that is between these two persons consists the infinite happiness of God. Prov. 8:30, “Then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him.” And therefore seeing the Scripture signifies that the Spirit of God is the love of God, therefore it follows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from, or is breathed forth from, the Father and the Son in some way or other infinitely above all our conceptions, as the divine essence entirely flows out and is breathed forth in infinitely pure love and sweet delight from the Father and the Son; and this is that pure river of water of life that proceeds out of the throne of the Father and the Son, as we read at the beginning of the twenty-second chapter of the Revelation: for Christ himself tells us that by the water of life, or living water, is meant the Holy Ghost (John 7:38–39). This river of water of life in the Revelation is evidently the same with the living waters of the sanctuary in Ezekiel (Ezek. 47:1–6); and this river is doubtless the river of God’s pleasure, or of God’s own infinite delight, spoken of in Ps. 36:7–9, “How excellent is thy lovingkindness, O God! therefore the children of men put

5. Cf. Andover copy, p. 76: “and returning[?].”

their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life.” The river of God’s pleasures here spoken of is the same with the fountain of life spoken of in the next words. Here, as was observed before, the water of life by Christ’s own interpretation is the Holy Spirit. This river of God’s pleasures is also the same with the fatness of God’s house, the holy oil of the sanctuary spoken of in the next preceding words; and is the same with God’s love, or God’s excellent lovingkindness, spoken of in the next preceding verse.

I have before observed that the Scripture abundantly reveals that the way in which Christ dwells in the saint is by his Spirit’s dwelling in them; and here I would observe that Christ in his prayer, in the seventeenth chapter of John, seems to speak of the way in which he dwells in them as by the indwelling of the love wherewith the Father has loved him. John 17:26, “And I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it: that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.” The beloved disciple that wrote this gospel having taken particular notice of this, he⁶ afterwards in his first epistle once and again speaks of love’s dwelling in the saints and the Spirit’s dwelling in them being the same thing.

Again, the Scripture seems in many places to speak of love in Christians as if it were the same with the Spirit of God in them, or at least as the prime and most natural breathing and acting of the Spirit in the soul. So Rom. 5:5, “Because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.” Col. 1:8, “Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit.” II Cor. 6:6, “By kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned.” Phil. 2:1, “If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, fulfill ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind.”

The Scripture therefore leads us to this conclusion—though it be infinitely above us to conceive how it should be—that yet as the Son of God is the personal word, idea or wisdom of God, begotten by God, being an infinitely perfect, substantial image or idea of himself (as might be very plainly proved from the holy Scripture, if here were proper occasion for it); so the Holy Spirit does in some ineffable and inconceivable manner proceed and is breathed forth both from the Father and Son, by the di-

6. Grosart, p. 46: “notice of this, that he”; Andover copy: “notice of these words that he.”

vine essence being wholly poured and flowing out in that infinitely intense, holy and pure love and delight that continually and unchangeably breathes forth from the Father and the Son, primarily towards each other and secondarily towards the creature; and so flowing forth in a different subsistence or person in a manner to us utterly inexplicable and inconceivable: and that this is that person that is poured forth into the hearts of angels and saints.

Hence⁷ 'tis to be accounted for, that though we often read in Scripture of the Father loving the Son, and the Son loving the Father, yet we never once read either of the Father or the Son loving the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit loving either of them. It is because the Holy Spirit is the divine love itself, the love of the Father and the Son. Hence also it is to be accounted for, that we very often read of the love both of the Father and the Son to men, and particularly their love to the saints; but we never read of the Holy Ghost loving them, for the Holy Ghost is that love of God and Christ that is breathed forth primarily towards each other, and flows out secondarily towards the creature. This also will well account for it, that the apostle Paul so often wishes grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, in the beginning of his epistles, without even mentioning the Holy Ghost, because the Holy Ghost is himself the love and grace of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. He is the Deity wholly breathed forth in infinite, substantial, intelligent love: from the Father and Son first towards each other, and secondarily freely flowing out to the creature, and so standing forth a distinct personal subsistence.

Both the holiness and happiness of the Godhead consists in this love. As we have already proved, all creature holiness consists essentially and summarily in love to God and love to other creatures; so does the holiness of God consist in his love, especially in the perfect and intimate union and love there is between the Father and the Son. But the Spirit that proceeds from the Father and the Son is the bond of this union, as it⁸ is of all holy union between the Father and the Son, and between God and the creature, and between the creatures among themselves. All seems to be signified in Christ's prayer in the seventeenth chapter of John, from the twenty-first verse. Therefore this Spirit of love is the "bond of perfectness" (Col. 3:14) throughout the whole blessed society or family in heaven and earth, consisting of the Father, the head of the family, and the Son, and all his saints that are the disciples, seed and spouse of the Son. The hap-

7. For a source of this paragraph, see "Discourse on the Trinity," p. 130.

8. Cf. Andover copy, p. 82: "He."

piness of God doth also consist in this love: for doubtless the happiness of God consists in the infinite love he has to and delight he has in himself; or, in other words, in the infinite delight there is between the Father and the Son, spoken of in Prov. 8:30. This delight that the Father and the Son have in each other is not to be distinguished from their love of complacence one in another, wherein love does most essentially consist, as was observed before. The happiness of the Deity, as all other true happiness, consists in love and society.⁹

Hence it is that the Spirit of God, the third person in the Trinity, is so often called the Holy Spirit, as though “Holy” were an epithet some way or other peculiarly belonging to him, which can be no other way than that the holiness of God does consist in him. He is not only infinitely holy as the Father and the Son are, but he is the holiness of God itself in the abstract. The holiness of the Father and the Son does consist in breathing forth this Spirit. Therefore he is not only called the Holy Spirit, but the “Spirit of holiness.” Rom. 1:4, “According to the Spirit of holiness.”

Hence also the river of living waters, or waters of life, which Christ explains in the seventh [chapter] of John of the Holy Spirit, is in the fore-mentioned Psalm [36:8] called the “river of God’s pleasures”; and hence also that holy oil with which Christ was anointed, which I have shown was the Holy Ghost, is called the “oil of gladness.” Heb. 1:9, “Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.” Hence we learn that God’s fullness does consist in the Holy Spirit. By “fullness,” as the term is used in Scripture, as may easily be seen by looking over the texts that mention it, is intended the good that anyone possesses. Now the good that God possesses does most immediately consist in his joy and complacence that he has in himself. It does objectively, indeed, consist in the Father and the Son; but it doth most immediately consist in the complacence in these elements. Nevertheless¹ the fullness of God consists in the holiness and happiness of the Deity. Hence persons, by being made partakers of the Holy Spirit, or having it dwelling in them, are said to be “partakers of the fullness of God,” or Christ. Christ’s fullness as mediator consists in his having the Spirit given him “not by measure” (John 3:34); and so it is that he is said to have “the fullness of the Godhead,” is said “to dwell in him bodily” (Col. 2:9); and so we, by receiving the Holy Spirit from Christ and being made partakers of his Spirit, are said to receive “of his fullness, and grace for grace” [John 1:16]. And

9. For the following paragraph, see “Discourse on the Trinity,” p. 122.

1. At this point begins the text of the first fragment in JE’s hand.

because this Spirit, which is the fullness of God, consists in the love of God and Christ; therefore we, by knowing the love of Christ, are said “to be filled with all the fullness of God” (Eph. 3:19). For the way that we know the love of Christ, is by having that love dwelling in us, as I John 4:13; because the fullness of God consists in the Holy Spirit. Hence our communion with God the Father and God the Son consists in our partaking of the Holy Ghost, which is their Spirit: for to have communion or fellowship with another, is to partake with them of their good in their fullness, in union and society with them. Hence it is that we read of the saints having fellowship or communion with the Father and with the Son, but never of their having fellowship with the Holy Ghost, because the Holy Ghost is that common good or fullness which they partake of, in which their fellowship consists. We read of the communion *of* the Holy Ghost, but not of communion *with* him,² which are two very different things. Persons are said to have communion with each other, when they partake with each other in some common good; but anyone is said to have communion of anything, with respect to that thing they partake of, in common with others. Hence, in the apostolical benediction, he wishes the “grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion” (or partaking) “of the Holy Ghost” [II Cor. 13:14]. The blessing wished is but one, viz. the Holy Spirit. To partake of the Holy Ghost is to have that love of the Father and the grace of the Son.³

From what has been said, it follows that the Holy Spirit is the sum of all good. 'Tis the fullness of God. The holiness and happiness of the Godhead consists in it; and in the communion or partaking of it consists all the true loveliness and happiness of the creature. All the grace and comfort that persons have here, and all their holiness and happiness hereafter, consists in the love of the Spirit, spoken of, Rom. 15:30; and joy and comfort⁴ in the Holy Ghost, spoken of, Rom. 14:17; Acts 9:31, 13:52. And therefore, that⁵ in Matt. 7:11, “If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?” is in Luke 11:13 expressed thus: “If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your

2. Ed. italics.

3. At this point in the first MS fragment, p. 95, JE refers to “separate paper p. 6,” which is now missing.

4. In the MS fragment, after making a false start on the first sentence of the next paragraph, JE writes and then deletes: “Look over papers and see what is proper and just.” He could be referring, among other things, to the “Discourse on the Trinity” and to “On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity.”

5. MS: “that which.”

children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit [to them] that ask him?" Doubtless there is an agreement in what is expressed by each Evangelist, and giving the Holy Spirit to them that ask is the same as giving good things to them that ask: for the Holy Spirit is the sum of all good.⁶

Hence we may better understand the economy of the persons of the Trinity as it appears in the part that each one has in the affair of redemption, and shows the equality of each person's concern in that affair, and the equality of honor and praise due to each of them for that work. Glory belongs to the Father and the Son, that they so greatly loved the world: to the Father, that he so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, who was all his delight, who is his infinite objective happiness; to the Son, that he so loved the world that he gave himself. But there is equal glory due to the Holy Ghost on this account, because he is the love of the Father and the Son that flows out primarily towards each, and secondarily towards the elect that Christ came to save; so that, however wonderful the love of the Father and the Son appear to be, so much the more glory belongs to the Holy Spirit, in whom subsists that wonderful and excellent love.

It shows the infinite excellency of the Father, that the Son so delighted in him and prized his honor and glory, that when he had a mind to save sinners, he stooped infinitely low, rather than men's salvation should be the injury of that honor and glory. It showed the infinite excellency and worth of the Son, that the Father so delighted in him, that for his sake he was ready to quit his anger and receive into favor those that had deserved infinitely ill at his hands. Both shows the infinite excellency of the Holy Spirit, because he is that delight of the Father and the Son in each other, which is manifested to be so great and infinite by these things.

And what has been said shows that our dependence is equally on each person in this affair. The Father approves and provides the Redeemer, himself accepts the price for the good purchased, and bestows that good. The Son is the Redeemer and the price that is offered for the purchased good. And the Holy Ghost is the good purchased. The Scriptures seem to intimate that the Holy Spirit is the sum of all that Christ purchased for men. Gal. 3:13–14, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree: that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith."

6. For the next seven paragraphs, see "Discourse on the Trinity," pp. 135–38.

What Christ purchased for us, was that we might have communion with God in his good, which consists in partaking of or having communion of the Holy Ghost, as I have shown. All the blessedness of the redeemed consists in partaking of the fullness of Christ, their head and Redeemer, which, I have observed, consists in partaking of the Spirit that is given him not by measure. This is the vital sap, which the branches derive from the true vine; this is the holy oil poured on the head, that goes down to the members. Christ purchased for us that we should enjoy the love, but the love of God flows out in the proceeding of the Spirit; and he purchased for them that the love and joy of God should dwell in them, which is by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The sum of all spiritual good which the saints have in this world, is that spring of living water within them which we read of, John 4:10–14; and those rivers of living waters flowing from within them which we read of, John 7:38–39, which we are there told is the Holy Spirit. And the sum of all happiness in the other world, is that river of living waters which flows from the throne of God and the Lamb, which is the river of God's pleasure and is the Holy Spirit; which is often compared in Scripture to water, to the rain and dew, and rivers and floods of waters (Is. 44:3, 32:15, 35:6–7, 41:17–18 compared with John 4:14, and 43:19–20). The Holy Spirit is the purchased possession and inheritance of the saints, as appears, because that little of it which the saints have in this world is said to be the earnest of that purchased inheritance. Eph. 1:13–14, "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory." II Cor. 1:22, "Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts"; and 5:5, "Now that he hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit." 'Tis an earnest of that which we are to have a fullness of hereafter.

The Holy Ghost is the great subject of all gospel promises, and therefore is called the Spirit of promise. Eph. 1:13, "In whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise." He is called "the promise of the Father" (Luke 24:49).

The Holy Ghost being a comprehension of all good things promised in the gospel, we may easily see the force of the Apostle's arguing, Gal. 3:2, "This only would I know, Received ye the Spirit by the works⁷ of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" So that in the offer of redemption, 'tis of God

7. Here the first MS fragment ends; Grosart's text resumes.

of whom our good is purchased, and 'tis God that purchases it, and 'tis God also that is the thing purchased. Thus all our good things are of God, and through God, and in God, as Rom. 11:36, "For of him, and through him, and to him, and in him" (as *εἰς* is rendered in I Cor. 8:6), "are all things: to whom be glory for ever." All our good is of God the Father, and through God the Son, and all is in the Holy Ghost, as he is himself all our good. And so God is himself the portion⁸ and purchased inheritance of his people. Thus God is the Alpha and Omega in this affair of redemption.

If we suppose no more than used to be supposed about the Holy Ghost, the honor⁹ of the Holy Ghost in the work of redemption is not equal in any sense to the Father and the Son's; nor is there an equal part of the glory of this work belonging to him. Merely to apply to us, or immediately to give or hand¹ to us, [the] blessing purchased after it is purchased, as² subordinate to the other two persons, is but a little thing to the purchaser of it by the paying an infinite price by Christ, by Christ's offering up himself a sacrifice to procure it; and 'tis but a little thing to God the Father's giving his infinitely dear Son to be a sacrifice for us to procure this good. But according to what has now been supposed, there is an equality. To be the wonderful love of God, is as much as for the Father and the Son to exercise wonderful love; and to be the thing purchased, is as much as to be the price that purchases it. The price, and the thing bought with that price, answer each other in value; and to be the excellent benefit offered, is as much as to offer such an excellent benefit. For the glory that belongs to him that bestows the gift,³ arises from⁴ the excellency and value of the gift; and therefore the glory is equal to that excellency of the benefit. And so that person that is that excellent benefit, has equal glory with him that bestows such an excellent benefit.

But now to return: from what has been now observed from the holy Scriptures of the nature of the Holy Spirit, may be clearly understood why grace in the hearts of the saints is called spiritual, in distinction from other things that are the effects of the Spirit in the hearts of men. For by this it appears that the divine principle in the saints is of the nature of the Spirit: for as the nature of the Spirit of God is divine love, so divine love is the nature and essence of that holy principle in the hearts of the saints.

8. Cf. Andover copy, p. 91: "possession."

9. Cf. Andover copy, p. 91: "concern."

1. Cf. Andover copy, p. 92: "lend."

2. As in Andover copy, p. 92; Grosart, p. 51: "is."

3. As in Andover copy, p. 92; Grosart, p. 51: "gospel."

4. Cf. Andover copy, p. 92: "depends on."

The Spirit of God may operate and produce effects upon the minds of natural men that have no grace, as he does when he assists natural conscience and convictions⁵ of sin and danger. The Spirit of God may produce effects upon inanimate things, as of old he moved on the face of the waters [Gen. 1:2]. But he communicates holiness⁶ in his own proper nature only, in those holy effects in the hearts of the saints. And therefore, those holy effects only are called spiritual; and the saints only are called spiritual persons in sacred Scripture.

Men's natural faculties and principles may be assisted by the operation of the Spirit of God on their minds, to enable them to exert those acts which, to a greater or lesser degree, they exert naturally. But the Spirit don't at all communicate himself in it in his own nature, which is divine love, any more than when he moved upon the face of the waters.

Hence also we may more easily receive and understand a doctrine that seems to be taught us in the sacred Scripture concerning grace in the heart, viz. that it is no other than the Spirit of God itself dwelling and acting in the heart of a saint; which the consideration of these things will make manifest:

1. That the sacred Scriptures don't only call grace spiritual, but "spirit."

2. That when the sacred Scriptures call grace spirit, the Spirit of God is intended; and that grace is called "Spirit" no otherwise than as the name of the Holy Ghost, the third person in the Trinity, is ascribed to it.

1. This holy principle is often called by the name of "spirit" in sacred Scripture. So in John 3:6, "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Here by flesh and spirit, we have already shown, are intended those two opposite principles in the heart, corruption and grace. So by flesh and spirit the same things are manifestly intended in Gal. 5:17, "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." This that is here given as the reason why Christians cannot do the things that they would, is manifestly the same that is given for the same thing in the latter part of the seventh chapter of the [Book of] Romans. The reason there given why they cannot do the things that they would, is that the law of the members warreth⁷ against the law of the mind [v. 23]; and therefore, by the law of the members and the law of the mind are meant the same as the flesh and spirit in Galatians. Yea, they are called by the same name of the flesh and spirit there, in that context, in the continua-

5. Cf. Andover copy, p. 93: "convinces."

6. Cf. Andover copy, p. 93: "Himself."

7. As in Andover copy, p. 95; Grosart, p. 52: "war with [and] against."

tion of the same discourse in the beginning of the next chapter: "Therefore there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, that walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit" [Rom. 8:1]. Here the Apostle evidently refers to the same two opposite principles warring one against another that he had been speaking of in the close of the preceding chapter, which he here calls flesh and spirit, as he does in his epistle to the Galatians.

This is yet more abundantly clear by the next words, which are, "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death" [Rom. 8:2]. Here these two things that in the preceding verse are called flesh and spirit, are in this verse called "the law of the Spirit of life" and "the law of sin and death," evidently speaking still of the same law of our mind and the law of sin spoken of in the last verse of the preceding chapter. The Apostle goes on in the eighth chapter to call corruption⁸ and grace by the names of flesh and spirit (vv. 4–9, and again vv. 12–13). These two principles are called by the same names in Matt. 26:41, "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak." There can be no doubt but that the same thing is intended here by the flesh and spirit as (compare what is said of the flesh and spirit here and in these places) in the seventh and eighth chapters of Romans and Gal. 5. Again, these two principles are called by the same words⁹ in Gal. 6:8. If this be compared with the eighteenth verse of the foregoing chapter, and with Romans 8:6 and 13, none can doubt but the same is meant in each place.

2. If the sacred Scriptures be duly observed, where grace is called by the name of "Spirit," it will appear that 'tis so called by an ascription of the Holy Ghost, even the third person in the Trinity, to that divine principle in the heart of the saints; as though that principle in them were no other than the Spirit of God itself, united to the soul, and living and acting in it, and exerting itself in the use and improvement of its faculties.

Thus it is in the eighth chapter of Romans, as does manifestly appear by vv. 9–16:

But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that

8. As in Andover copy, p. 96; Grosart, p. 52: "aversation."

9. Cf. Andover copy, p. 96: "names."

dwelleth in you. Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if you live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God.

Here the Apostle does fully explain himself what he means when he so often calls that holy principle that is in the hearts of the saints by the name "Spirit." This he means, the Spirit of God itself dwelling and acting in them. In the ninth verse he calls it the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of Christ in the tenth verse. He calls it Christ "in them" in the eleventh verse. He calls it the "Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead" dwelling in them; and in the fourteenth verse he calls it the Spirit of God. In the sixteenth verse he calls it the "Spirit itself." So it is called the Spirit of God in I Cor. 2:11–12. So that that holy, divine principle, which we have observed does radically and essentially consist in divine love, is no other than a communication and participation of that same infinite divine love, which is God, and in which the Godhead is eternally breathed forth and subsists in the third person in the blessed Trinity. So that true saving grace is no other than that very love of God; that is, God, in one of the persons of the Trinity, uniting himself to the soul of a creature as a vital principle, dwelling there and exerting himself by the faculties of the soul of man, in his own proper nature, after the manner of a principle of nature.

And we may look back and more fully understand what the apostle John means when he says once and again, "God is love: and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him" [I John 4:16]; and "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby we know that we dwell in him and he in us, because he has given us of His Spirit" [I John 4:12–13].

By this also we may understand what the apostle Peter means in his second epistle, [ch.] 1:4, that the saints are made "partakers of the divine nature." They are not only partakers of a nature that may in some sense be called divine, because 'tis conformed¹ to the nature of God; but the very Deity does in some sense dwell in them. That holy and divine love dwells in their hearts, and is so united to human faculties that 'tis itself become a principle of new nature. That love, which is the very native

1. Cf. Andover copy, p. 99: "compared."

temper² and spirit of God, so dwells in their souls that it exerts itself in its own nature in the exercise of those faculties, after the manner of a natural or vital principle in them.

This shows us how the saints are said to be the “temples of the Holy Ghost,” as they are [I Cor. 3:16–17, 6:19; II Cor. 6:16].

By this also we may understand how the saints are said to be made “partakers of God’s holiness,” not only as they partake of holiness that God gives, but partake of that holiness by which he himself is holy. For it has been already observed, the holiness of God consists in that divine love in which the essence of God really flows out.

This also shows us how to understand our Lord when he speaks of his joy being fulfilled in the saints. John 17:13, “And now I come unto thee; and these things I speak in the world, that they might have my joy fulfilled in themselves.” It is by the indwelling of that divine Spirit, which we have shown to be God the Father’s and the Son’s infinite love and joy in each other. In the thirteenth verse he says he has spoken his word to his disciples, that his joy might be fulfilled; and in v. 26 he says, “And I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it; that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.”

And herein lies the mystery of the vital union that is between Christ and the soul of a believer, which orthodox divines speak so much of: Christ’s love, that is, his Spirit, is actually united to the faculties of their souls. So it properly lives, acts and exerts its nature in the exercise of their faculties. By this love being in them, he is in them (John 17:26); and so it is said, I Cor. 6:17, “But he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit.”

And thus it is that the saints are said to live, yet not they, but Christ lives in them (Gal. 2:20). The very principle³ of spiritual life in their souls is no other than the Spirit of Christ himself. So that they live by his life, as much as the members of the body live by the life of the head,⁴ and as much as the branches live by the life of the root and stock. “Because I live, ye shall live also” (John 14:19). We are dead: but our “life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear” (Col. 3:3–4).

There is a union with Christ, by the indwelling of the love of Christ, two ways: first, as ’tis from Christ, and is the very Spirit and life and fullness of Christ; and second, as it acts to Christ: for the very nature of it is love and union of heart to him.

Because the Spirit of God dwells as a vital principle or a principle of new

2. As in Andover copy, p. 99; Grosart, p. 53: “tongue.”

3. As in Andover copy, p. 101; Grosart, p. 54: “promise.”

4. As in Andover copy, p. 101; Grosart, p. 54: “Lord.”

life in the soul, therefore 'tis called the Spirit of life (Rom. 8:2); and the Spirit that "quickens" (John 6:63).

The Spirit of God is a vital principle in the soul, as the breath of life is in the body. Ezek. 37:5, "Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live"; and so vv. 9–10.

That principle of grace that is in the hearts of the saints is as much a proper communication or participation of the Spirit of God, the third person in the Trinity, as that breath that entered into these bodies is represented to be a participation of the wind that blew upon them. The Prophet says, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live" [Ezek. 37:9]; it was⁵ the very same wind and the same breath, but only was united⁶ to these bodies to be a vital principle in them, which otherwise would be dead. And therefore Christ himself represents the communication of his Spirit to his disciples by his breathing upon them, and communicating to them his breath (John 20:22).

We often, in our common language about things of this nature, speak of a principle of grace. I suppose there is no other principle of grace in the soul than the very Holy Ghost dwelling in the soul and acting there as a vital principle. To speak of a habit of grace as a natural disposition to act grace, as begotten in the soul by the first communication of divine light, and as the natural and necessary consequence of the first light, it seems in some respects to carry a wrong idea with it. Indeed, the first exercise of grace in the first light has a tendency to⁷ future acts, as from an abiding principle by grace and by the covenant of God, but not by any natural force. The giving one gracious discovery or act of grace, or a thousand, has no proper natural tendency to cause an abiding habit of grace for the future; nor any otherwise than by divine constitution and covenant. But all succeeding acts of grace, must be as immediately and to all intents and purposes, as much from the immediate acting of the Spirit of God on the soul as the first; and if God should take away his Spirit out of the soul, all habits and acts of grace would of themselves cease as immediately as light ceases in a room when a candle is carried out. And no man has an habit of grace dwelling in him any otherwise than as he has the Holy Spirit dwelling in him as his temple, and acting in union with his natural faculties after the manner of a vital principle. So that when they act grace, 'tis, in the language of the Apostle, "not they, but Christ living in them." In-

5. As in Andover copy, p. 103; Grosart, p. 55: "is now."

6. As in Andover copy, p. 103; Grosart, p. 55: "wanted."

7. Here begins the second MS fragment. It continues for the remainder of the *Treatise*.

deed, the Spirit of God, united to human faculties, acts very much after the manner of a natural principle or habit, so that one act makes way for another, and as it were settles the soul in a disposition to holy acts; but that it does so is by grace and covenant, and not from any natural necessity.

Hence the Spirit of God seems in Scripture to be spoken of as to become a quality of the persons in whom it resided, so that they are called spiritual persons; as when we say “a virtuous man,” we speak of virtue as the quality of the man. 'Tis the Spirit itself that is the only principle of true virtue in the heart. So that to be truly virtuous, is the same as to be spiritual.

And thus it is not only with respect to the virtue that is in the hearts of the saints on earth, but also the perfect virtue and holiness of the saints in heaven. It consists altogether in the indwelling and acting of the Spirit of God in their habits. And so it was with man before the fall; and so it is with the elect, sinless angels. We have shown that the holiness and happiness of God consists in his Holy Spirit; and so the holiness and happiness of every holy or truly virtuous creature of God, in heaven or earth, consists in the communion of the same Spirit.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE, BOOK I

THIS is the first of three extant notebooks on the subject of efficacious grace, originally labeled “Moral Agency” by Edwards and renamed after he had used and deleted entries from it while writing *Freedom of the Will*. In the manuscript notebook called the “Controversies,” in the section on efficacious grace, Edwards directs himself to consult “what is left of papers on free will, No. 8, p. 13,” indicating that there were at least eight books in the series at one time.¹ In the conclusion to *Freedom of the Will*, Edwards briefly discusses efficacious grace as a related doctrine. It seems that he was gathering leftover materials from *Freedom of the Will* for a treatise on divine decrees that was to deal primarily with efficacious grace.²

1. See also “Sacrament Book I,” where JE refers to a “Bk. 4 on Moral Agency.”

2. See also “Efficacious Grace” from the “Controversies” notebook (printed in this volume). JE outlined a treatise on the decrees that would have used much of the materials in these three notebooks and in the “Controversies” section. The outline reads as follows:

TITLE. Of the Decrees of God and his Particular Decisive Disposals, Especially with Respect to Men’s Salvation.

PART I. Of the Decrees of God in General.

Ch. I. Explaining the Nature of Divine Decrees.

1. What I mean by a divine decree.

2. The difference between God’s decrees of good and evil. N.B. God never properly decrees evil, as he decrees it is good.

Here several things may be observed:

It don’t belong to the definition of a divine decree, that it should be eternal. Whether divine decrees are eternal is a matter to be proved.

It comes into the nature of divine decrees, they are for some end, and that the event is decided by them.

Where there is no decisive providence, there is no government or no disposing ordering or governing providence. What he don’t determine beforehand, he don’t order at all; it comes to pass without his ordering and will, and so without his government.

Ch. II. Of the Universality of God’s Decrees.

1. Showing in general that God decrees all events. Prove it from the foreknowledge [of God] and other rational arguments, and from Scripture.

2. In particular, that he decrees the acts of the wills of intelligent creatures.

Ch. III. That God’s Decrees are all Eternal.

PART II. Concerning God’s Decisive Influence and Grace in the Conversion of a Sinner.

Show first what is included in efficacious [grace]:

1. The main thing meant by the word “efficacious,” is this, its being decisive. This seems to be the main question.

The notelike nature of this manuscript is readily evident. Edwards sketches out arguments, objections, and answers in terse fashion, to be amplified at a later time. In order to separate thoughts as he jots down ideas that occur to him or takes notes from books he is reading, he draws horizontal lines, which are retained in this edition for the sake of distinguishing discrete entries. He writes directions to himself on how to make his arguments, plays with book titles (as seen in the notebook's first entry, a title for his treatise on freedom of the will), and even pokes fun at what he sees as the ridiculous reasoning of his opponents. Other entries, meanwhile, provide some precise language that he intended to use when writing a more complete version of his thoughts on efficacious grace. Throughout this book, as in the two that accompany it, Edwards is intent on defending the doctrine that saving virtue comes through a special, arbitrary, and effectual working of God on the heart.

Edwards was working on the series in late 1746. In a letter of January 15, 1747, to Joseph Bellamy, he writes, "I have been reading [Daniel] Whitby, which has engaged me pretty thoroughly . . . and I have written considerably upon it in my private papers." He then asks to borrow Henry Stebbing's *A Treatise Concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit* (1719). Here Edwards quotes from Whitby's infamous *Discourse on the Five Points* (1710; corr. ed., 1735) and refers to books by Stebbing, Isaac Watts, and others as if he had them nearby when he was writing. Toward the end of the notebook, Edwards refers to John Taylor's *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, published in 1746, which he received from John Erskine in the summer of 1748.³

The manuscript is made up of odd-shaped pieces of fan paper, stitched into a cover of coarse brown paper. Its pages are numbered 1–2, 7–8, 17–18, 23–26, 29–34, 39–64, and 67–71, reflecting Edwards' practice of removing pages whose contents had been used. Lacunae are indicated by

2. Its being immediate and arbitrary in that sense as not to be limited to laws of nature.

3. That the principles are supernatural in that sense that they are entirely different from all that is in the heart before conversion.

4. That they are infused, and not contracted by custom and exercise.

5. That the change is instantaneous and not gradual.

These four last heads may be subdivisions of a second general head.

So that the division may be thus:

1. The main thing meant is that, its being decisive.

2. Another thing wherein they differ is the manner wherein the orthodox suppose the work to be immediate and supernatural. The four last of the heads mentioned above may be subdivisions of the last.

3. See *Works*, 16, 248.

line spaces and bracketed ellipses. A considerable number of entries have vertical use lines through them, as indicated in the annotations.

Portions of this notebook were printed, using the transcription of Jonathan Edwards, Jr., in *Miscellaneous Observations on Important Theological Subjects* (Edinburgh, 1793), as §§ 15–18 (pp. 196–200), and reprinted in the Worcester rev. ed., 2, 557–59, §§ 16–21. Selected entries were used without regard to Edwards' original ordering. Edwards, Jr., supplied transitions and, on occasion, changed words.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE, BOOK I

A Dissertation⁴ on the Freedom of the Will.⁵

A Discourse Concerning the Freedom of the Will [and] Moral Agency, Showing Wherein the Proper Nature of the Virtuousness and Sinfulness of the Actions and Dispositions of Reasonable Creatures Consists, and What is the True Ground of Punishment or Blame, and Reward or Praise.

Quotations from Whitby, No. 1, pp. 11, 13, 16, 17.⁶

Texts of Scripture, pp. 13, 17, 24, 29.⁷

*Obj.*⁸ This is Hobbes' main objection against the being of God and his moral government.

Show how improperly those Scripture expressions are used upon the scheme of our adversaries: "MAKE ME to go in the way of thy commandments," "FAITH is the gift of God," etc.

*Obj.*⁹ It tends to infidelity and all manner of licentiousness, as it saps all the foundation of moral virtue.

Ans. Let us consider what the fact has been. Has infidelity and licentiousness prevailed most when these principles have most prevailed?

If they say they had rather deny God's foreknowledge of future contingencies than allow this doctrine of necessity, I answer, I had as lieu they should deny it as not, for matter of any advantage they can get to their cause by it: for if we can prove anything by the Scripture, we can prove God's foreknowledge of future voluntary actions of men; for most of the

4. JE inscribed this booklet "No. I"; a later owner (possibly Tryon Edwards) wrote "13" in pencil on the cover. In the "Gazetteer Notebook," JE refers to this as "1 Book on moral agency."

5. JE drew a vertical line through the first four entries, which all appear on the inside of the front cover.

6. See below, pp. 203, 206, 210, 211.

7. See below, pp. 203, 204, 214, 217.

8. JE drew a vertical line through this statement.

9. JE drew a vertical line through the next seven paragraphs, which are interrupted by missing pages in the text and by shifting of passages by JE's direction.

predictions of Scripture are either of these: voluntary actions of men, or things consequent and dependent on these actions.

[. . .] inattentive¹ minds that will not compose their thoughts, and either are not capable of or will not give themselves the troubles of close and distinct thought disengaged from the disguise of obscure and frightful words.

Men's passions are likely to be raised by such expressions² made to principles that have been so strenuously maintained and gloried in so much, on which they have gone such a length in triumph.

It may alarm.

And the foundation-terms of fatal necessity, etc. may be often repeated on this occasion; but rational men thus accumulating³ frightful words is a different thing from real reasoning. [. . .]

EFFICACIOUS, IRRESISTIBLE GRACE. See "Miscellanies" no. o.⁴

If the Spirit of God does anything at all besides moral suasion, his grace is efficacious ("Miscellanies" no. p).⁵

Whether⁶ God's certain foreknowledge of future events is not as inconsistent with the Arminian notion of human liberty, as God's absolute decrees.

Whether or no the notion of a self-determining power in the will of man, or that the will voluntarily determines all its own acts, don't imply a contradiction.

DEFINITION. Show particularly the nature of NECESSITY and impossibility, metaphysical necessity, moral necessity and force, how they differ. How moral necessity is included in metaphysical necessity.

MORAL NECESSITY, when it is absolute necessity—as it always is when it is proper necessity—comes under the head of metaphysical.

1. JE directs the following paragraph to be inserted in a later page that is missing, therefore the passage has been retained in its original place.

2. Conjectural reading where JE is writing perpendicularly over the text of a prayer bid.

3. MS: "but let rational men that accumulating."

4. See *Works*, 13, 170.

5. *Ibid.*, 171.

6. JE drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs.

Concerning God's FOREKNOWLEDGE of future contingencies, or things happening without a cause, I say, not only we cannot conceive of the *το πῶς*, or *medas*, and that this exceedingly incomprehensible [. . .]

[. . .] TEXT. I Pet. 2:7–8, “Being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed.” Whitby says, “The meaning of these words, saith Dr. Hammond, is this, that they who disobey the gospel, standing out obstinately against it, were appointed by God to stumble and fall at this stone; that is, to be bruised by it, and by that means to be destroyed among the crucifiers of the Messiah” (p. 19).⁷ Dr. Whitby proposes another sense, thus: “To you that believe belongs, *ἡ τιμή*, the honor (of being built upon this stone into a spiritual house); but to them who are disobedient (belongs that of Ps. 118:22), the ‘stone which the builders refused,’ etc. and (also to them he is) ‘a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offense, even to them that stumble at the word, being disobedient,’ *εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτεθῆσαν*, for which also these stones were laid.”⁸

CONCLUSION.⁹ It is demonstrable, in the first place, that the FREEDOM that man has as a moral agent that constitutes virtue and vice and blame, don't consist in indifference. And second, it is likewise demonstrable that it does not consist in being able to will contrary to his present prevailing inclination, for that is a contradiction. And therefore 'tis demonstrable, in the third place, that the mind exercises its liberty in following its prevailing inclination, if we mean anything that has any existence: for the soul, in all that is voluntary, ever more follows its prevailing inclination, is guided by its own choice. Wherein it is not guided by its choice, it don't act of choice and so don't act voluntarily, and so exercises no liberty [. . .]

[. . .] Which¹ tends most to ATHEISM: ours, which . . . , or theirs, that is built on a foundation that is the utter subversion of every argument for the proof of a Deity and of all other existence, excepting our own perceptions for the present moment?

7. Whitby, *Discourse*. JE cites the 2nd ed. of 1735 (see below, p. 208); a copy of the 2nd corrected ed. of 1735 is at the Beinecke Library, but its page numbers do not correspond to JE's references. References here are to the corrected edition, in this case, p. 20.

8. *Ibid.*, 2nd corr. ed., p. 21.

9. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

1. JE drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs.

In the introduction of the discourse concerning the FOREKNOWLEDGE of God being consistent with the Arminian notion of liberty, say, "I desire that this matter may be particularly and thoroughly searched into. I cannot but think that if it be narrowly examined and viewed on every side, it may be perfectly determined whether it be indeed so or no. To this end I shall be particular in this matter."

Necessity: 'tis one sort of metaphysical necessity, or rather one way and means by which things become metaphysically necessary.

To have definitions of many terms at the beginning and, among others, explain what is meant by MORAL AGENCY, NECESSITY, MORAL NECESSITY, CONSTRAINT, CONTINGENCY.

When the Psalmist PRAYS, "Make me to go in the way of thy statutes" [Ps. 119:33], is indeed his meaning that God would give him the general grace which he gives to all, and which is sufficient for all, if they will but improve [it]? Is this all?

TEXT. Eph. 2:8, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." Mr. Beach observes, this text "don't mean, that their faith is so God's gift, as not to be of themselves, as is most evident to any who reads the original."² This is certainly a great mistake. What I suppose he means is that the relative *that*, being of the neuter gender, and the word *faith* of the feminine, they can't agree together. But if he would only translate the Greek relative *that thing*, viz. the thing last spoken of, so all the difficulty vanishes (vid. Beza in loc.).³

Observe⁴ how arbitrary they are in their interpretations of SCRIPTURE. They say the meaning is thus or thus, when no such thing is said or implied.

2. John Beach, *A Sermon, Shewing, that Eternal Life is God's Free Gift, Bestowed Upon Men According to Their Moral Behaviour: And that Free Grace and Free Will Concur, in the Affair of Man's Salvation* (Newport, 1745), p. 10.

3. Theodore Beza, *The Bible: That is, The Holy Scriptures Contained in the Olde and New Testament . . . with most profitable Annotations* (London, 1595), on Eph. 2:8: "So then Grace, that is to say, the gift of God, and faith, doe stand one with another, to which these two are contrary, to be saved by ourselves, or by our workes. Therefore what meane they which would joyne together things of so contradictorie nature?"

4. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

If liberty consists in acting from *INDIFFERENCE* and without *NECESSITY*, and that⁵ a sovereignty and self-determining power in the will is necessary in order to the virtuousness of an act of the will, then the virtuousness of an act of the will⁶ be not determined or governed by any motive; but that the will be its own mover only and wholly, and that it wills because it will (for by their scheme, so far as the will is determined or moved by anything, so much is taken from its liberty, so far it is not determined by itself, so far that act of the will fails of being the exercise of the will's own sovereignty). But this is absurd and contrary to all our natural notions of virtue, that a man acts most virtuously when he acts most without motive [. . .]

[. . .] though⁷ they are the common principles of all the Reformed churches.

[. . .] They may raise endless cavils about the manner of sin's first ingress into the world, which yet their own scheme will never solve any better, unless plain self-contradictions are admitted as good solutions of seeming difficulties.

They may answer mine by repeating theirs, which is often Dr. Whitby's manner when an objection [is raised], thus [to] cry out, "O! if this objection be good, then such and such horrid consequences! Then God is insincere, hypocritical, unjust, cruel," etc. Which Dr. Whitby repeats over, times without number, the greatest part of his book being filled up with repeating the same direful exclamations over and over and over in an endless manner.

Such *SCRIPTURES* as these, I Cor. 15:10, "Not I, but the grace of God that was with me"; "Not I, but Christ liveth in me" [Gal. 2:20].⁸

To define the term *INABILITY*. How inability to do a thing differs from the impossibility of its coming to pass. What is a *MORAL INABILITY* and what a natural inability. *DEFINITION*.

5. MS: "from." JE made extensive revisions to this sentence, but neglected to make this necessary correction.

6. MS: "will that (it) be."

7. The next two paragraphs are cued by JE to be relocated in pages that are now missing, so they have been retained in their original place. JE drew a vertical line through the next six paragraphs.

8. JE, Jr., adds, "prove efficacious grace."

Dr. Whitby speaks of INDIFFERENCE as requisite to men's freedom in the state of trial in the words of Mr. Thorndike, which he cites with great approbation, as follows, pp. 300–01: "Excellent to this purpose are these words of Mr. Thorndike, 'We say not that indifference is requisite to all freedom, but to the freedom of man alone in this state of travail and proficiency, the ground of which is God's tender of a treaty and conditions of peace and reconcilement to fallen man, together with those precepts and prohibitions, these promises and threats, those exhortations and dehortations it is enforced with.'"⁹

It will follow that God himself is worthy of no praise.¹

Why² do the saints praise God and love him for his holiness, if there be no moral goodness in it?

Dr. Whitby speaks as though this sort of freedom without necessity is absolutely essential to virtue (see p. 11 of this paper book),³ and yet owns that 'tis no perfection of human nature. His words are, "This liberty is indeed no perfection of human nature; for it supposes us imperfect, as being subject to fall by temptation, and when we are advanced to the spirits of just men made perfect, or to a fixed state of happiness, will, [with] our other imperfections be done away."⁴ So that virtue, by him, is no perfection of human nature.

To define a COMMAND, and show what is the proper notion of commanding, in order to clear up the difficulties that are objected about the inconsistency of God's secret and revealed will.

The Arminian notion of liberty consisting in indifference as to any bias towards good or evil being essential to virtue or vice, praise or dispraise, is directly contrary to all our natural notions of virtue and vice, praise and dispraise.

9. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., p. 309. Whitby cites the reference from Herbert Thorndike, *An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England* (London, 1655), pt. 2, p. 183.

1. Two paragraphs have been moved to Efficacious Grace Bk. III at JE's direction; see below, p. 242 and n. 6.

2. JE drew a vertical line through the next nine paragraphs.

3. The page is missing.

4. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., pp. 307–08.

How far does the voice of reason concur with the voice of revelation, with respect to the great doctrine of a public and general judgment at the end of the world.

Whether or no there are not good evidences from reason that the visible world will come to an end.

About God's being the AUTHOR of sin, concerning the meaning of the expression: in what senses it would be a reproach and blasphemy against the Most High to suppose him the author of sin; in what sense it would be no reproach at all.

If Dr. Whitby's reasoning be good, then, according to him, God is the author of the evil actions of the devil, at least the cause of his being determined to evil actions in general: for he allows that the devil has not that liberty that man has in a state of probation, consisting in a freedom not only from coercion but necessity; and that although he is not determined to evil actions in particular, yet is determined to do evil in general and not good (p. 202; see also p. 305).⁵ And yet he often asserts that if God withholds that grace without which sin will surely and unfrustrably⁶ follow, that then God is the AUTHOR of that sin, or to that purpose.

If that liberty that is essential to virtue consists in INDIFFERENCE, then there is no virtue in loving holiness and righteousness; and the more love to holiness, the further from virtue, contrary to Ps. 45 and almost everything else in Scripture.

Dr. Whitby seems to deny any physical influence at all of the Spirit of God on the will, but only MORAL SUASION, moral causes (p. 344),⁷ to show how that this is to deny that the Spirit of God does anything at all, excepting inspiring the prophets and giving the means of grace, with God's ordination of this in his providence. Here to show, if God does do anything physically, what he does must be efficacious and irresistible.

5. Ibid., pp. 213, 317.

6. Conjectural reading.

7. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., p. 353: "God acts suitably to our Faculties, to wit, by the Illumination of our Understanding, and by persuading of the Will; for if God work only on the Will by Moral Causes, then lays he no Necessity upon it, since Moral Causes have no necessary Influence on the Effect, but move only by such Persuasion as the Will may resist."

To prove that the influence of the Spirit is not only by moral suasion, but that there is an exertion of the power of the Spirit now in these days. Borrow Dr. Guyse on the Spirit, and also Dr. Stebbing.⁸ Here inquire whether it is not possible the Spirit may operate by moral suasion by suggesting ideas to the understanding, as Satan tempts men.

Such an assistance Dr. Whitby maintains, and concerning it says the following things, pp. 221–22:⁹

1. Then, I say, it must be granted that in raising an idea in my brain by the Holy Spirit, and the impression made upon it there, the action is truly physical.
2. That in these actions I am wholly passive; that is, I myself do nothing formally to produce these ideas, but the good Spirit, without my operation, doth produce them in me.
3. That these operations must be irresistible in their production, because they are immediately produced in us without our knowledge of them, and without our will, and so without those faculties by which we are enabled to act. [. . .]

[. . .] Dr.¹ Whitby seems to deny that the liberty of the will consists merely in the power of *doing what we will*, and opposes this opinion as that wherein the Calvinists agree with Hobbes (pp. 351–52, 2nd ed.).² Those divines that are of his mind and think that liberty don't consist in this, would do well to tell us what it does consist in. If they say that human liberty don't only consist in a liberty of doing what one wills, but also in a liberty of willing without necessity,³ still the question returns: if it be so that men's liberty consists not only in a liberty of *doing*, but also in a liberty of willing, what does that liberty of willing consist in, if it don't consist in a power to will as we please, or in a power to will as we will? And if this be so, that the liberty of the will consists in this, then what the Calvinists assert still holds good, that men's liberty consists in a power to do as he will. And his power to will as he wills is one instance of it. If it be owned that a man's liberty of will consists in a power to will as he wills, then one of these two things must be meant by it: either, first, a man has power to will as he wills,

8. John Guyse, *The Holy Spirit a Divine Person, or, the Doctrine of His Godhead Represented. Practical Sermons on I Cor. XII* (London, 1721); and Henry Stebbing, *A Treatise Concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit: Being the Substance of the Late Reverend and Learned Dr. William Clagett's Discourse upon that Subject* (London, 1719).

9. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., pp. 226–27.

1. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

2. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., pp. 360–61.

3. MS: "necessity But still."

i.e. he has power to will as he does will, because what he wills, he wills, and therefore what he has power to will, that he has power to will; or, if this ben't the thing intended, and anything at all be intended by it, then it must be, second, a man has power to will as he pleases or as he will, i.e. he has power by some antecedent act of his will to choose a consequent act of will, and therein to execute his own choice. And if this be their meaning, this is nothing but shuffling [with] those they dispute with, and not only [so], but shuffling with their own reason: for still the question returns, Wherein consists men's liberty in that antecedent liberty in that antecedent act of will that determined the consequent act? Did the man's liberty in this also consist in his willing as he pleased, i.e. a willing or choosing agreeable to another act of will preceding that? And so the question returns, *in infinitum*.

To show the unreasonableness of the distinction between VIRTUE AND MORAL good. COMMON SENSE.

Though it should be allowed that God assists man with a physical ASSISTANCE, and yet by an obliged and promised assistance only, then God don't do or effect or give the thing assisted to, any more than if he operated and assisted man only according to the established laws of nature, and men may as properly [be] said to do it of themselves and of their own power. The doing the thing is in the same manner in their power. The assistance by which God assists a drunkard that goes to the tavern and there drinks excessively, or by which he assists an adulterer or pirate in their actions, is that he upholds the laws of nature, the laws of the nature of the human soul, whereby it is able to perform such and such acts in such order and dependence, and the laws of the union of soul and body, and moves the body in such a stated manner in consequence of such acts of the soul, and upholds the laws of motion, and causes that there shall be such and such effects on corporeal things and also on minds in consequence of such motions.

All the difference is that⁴ the assistance he grants in the duties of religion is according to a newer establishment than the other, according to a method established a little later; and also that the method of the assistance in one case is written and revealed by way of promise or covenant, and not the other.

But if it be said, No, though God has promised assistance, yet he has not

4. MS: "that as."

promised the exact degree, he has, notwithstanding his promise, left himself liberty to assist some much more than others in consequence of the very same endeavors: I answer, that this will prove a giving up their whole scheme and will infallibly bring in the Calvinistical notion of sovereign and arbitrary grace, whereby some, with the very same sincerity of endeavors and the same degree of endeavors and the same use of means, shall have the success which is denied others; and although all things are exactly equal in both cases, both as to their persons and their behavior, yet one has that success by sovereign grace and God's arbitrary pleasure that is denied another. If God has left himself no liberty of sovereign grace in giving success to man's endeavors, but his succeeding assistance be always tied to such endeavors precisely, then man's success is just as much in his own power and is just the same way his own doings, as the effect and fulfillment of his endeavors to commit adultery or murder, and indeed much more: for his success in those endeavors is not tied to such endeavors, but may be providentially disappointed. Although particular motions follow such and such acts of will, in such a state of body exactly according to certain laws of nature, yet a man's success in such wickedness is not at all tied to their endeavors by any divine establishment, as the Arminians suppose success is to men's endeavors after conversion.

EFFECTUAL GRACE. For the Spirit of God to assist in that manner is not to be the efficient cause of those things, as the⁵ Scriptures do certainly represent.

EFFECTUAL GRACE. If God ben't the proper bestower, author and efficient cause of virtue, then the greatest benefits are not from him, not owing to his goodness, nor have we him to thank for them.

According⁶ to Dr. Whitby, UNBELIEF is never a SIN, nor FAITH any virtue, for he abundantly asserts that our not doing what we cannot do is not sin, and also that to do what we cannot but do is no virtue. But of faith he says in the following words, p. 110, 2nd ed.: "Faith being an assent to a divine testimony upon sufficient evidence, without which evidence we cannot assent to it; and when we have it, we cannot but assent."⁷

5. MS: "to."

6. JE drew a vertical line through the next five paragraphs.

7. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., p. 112.

In reply to some of their reasoning: *This reasoning looks whole and sound at a distance, but it will drop to pieces if you handle it.*

That assertion of the Arminians is certainly false, that that which we han't power to avoid is no sin. It will follow that it is false, even from the doctrines of their own scheme, for they allow that we, since the fall, have no power to perform perfect obedience or to avoid all sin. Dr. Whitby owns this in these words, p. 165: "The nature of Adam had a power to continue innocent, and without sin, whereas 'tis certain our nature never had so."⁸ And so their own scheme of Christ's coming into the world, pardon of these unavoidable sins, and to procure a more mild covenant, more adapted to our present circumstances. See my discourse on Justification by Faith.⁹

At the conclusion of my discourse on this head of free will and moral agency, etc., bring in a discourse about MYSTERIES.¹

EFFICACIOUS GRACE. Christ upbraids the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, that they were worse than Sodom, etc.; and the Jews of that generation, that they were worse than the men of Nineveh; and the Pharisees, that the publicans and harlots went into the kingdom of God before them. But why did he do this, if the only reason was that the one [was]² brought to repent by effectual grace, and the other not? (See Whitby, pp. 169–71.)³ I answer, the unbelief and impenitence of these cities, this generation, and those Pharisees, when the publicans and Nineveh repented, and the men of Sodom would have repented, was an argument that they were worse, more perverse and hard-hearted than they; because though repentance is owing to special efficacious assistance, yet in his ordinary methods of proceeding with men, [God] is wont much more rarely to bestow it on those that are most perverse, hard-hearted and rooted in evil than others. So much the more as their hearts are hardened, so much the less likely are they to be brought to repentance. And though there are oftentimes exceptions of particular persons, yet it still holds as

8. Ibid., p. 169.

9. Published in *Various Discourses on Important Subjects* (1738); see *Works*, 19, 143–242.

1. See entries on mysteries of religion in both the "Miscellanies" (e. g. nos. 83, 181, 184, 583, 652, 654, 765, 770, 839, and 964) and the "Controversies" notebook, MS pp. 190–97.

2. JE, Jr.'s insert.

3. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., pp. 172–75.

a general rule, and especially with regard to societies, nations, cities, and ranks of men; so that Christ might well, from the fact that he mentions, draw an argument of the greater perverseness and stubbornness of those societies and ranks of men that he spake of.

“The distinction of GRACE into COMMON AND SPECIAL may be understood two ways, viz. that grace which is afforded without any condition required on our part, as the vouchsafement of the knowledge of the gospel, and the calling men by it to the faith, may be called common grace, because it is common to all who live under the sound of the gospel; but that grace which is suspended upon a condition, as the receiving the assistance of the Holy Spirit upon our asking, seeking, knocking for him, our receiving more upon the due improvement of the talents received, the remission of sins upon our faith and repentance, may be styled special grace, because it only is vouchsafed to them who perform the condition; and so it is the same with grace absolute and conditional, or else that may be styled common grace by which we are led to the faith of Christ, and so it includes all those good desires which are excited in us, and all those good dispositions which are produced in the minds of men before they believe, all this grace being common to men before they are admitted into the new covenant; and that will be special grace which is given to believers only, for the strengthening of their faith, the increasing of their good desires, and the enabling them to live according to the gospel” (Whitby, pp. 224–25, 2nd ed.).⁴

The⁵ arguments by which we prove the falseness of the Papist doctrine of transubstantiation are METAPHYSICAL, that a body can’t be in ten thousand different places at once, because it is inconsistent with the notion of corporeal identity. The only arguments by which we can prove that the sourness of vinegar is not triangular, or that the color of a violet don’t weigh a pound, is metaphysical; or that the soul of man is not corporeal, or that God is not limited to place, or is not mutable, or that he can’t be ignorant or forgetful, or that there is but one God. We can come to an absolute certainty of no one proposition relating to the being and nature of God, the creation of the world, the dependence of things on him, concerning the nature of bodies or spirits, concerning the nature of our own souls, and concerning the great truths and principles of morality, till we

4. Ibid., p. 230.

5. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

have examined these things metaphysically and have brought them to a metaphysical demonstration.

A COMMAND and a manifestation of will are not the same thing. It don't imply a true desire that [the] thing commanded should be done. So much at least is manifest by that instance of Abraham. [Show] whether in other respects that instance of a command of God be parallel with his commands to believe and repent, etc.

Whitby's EXPOSITION OF TEXTS RELATING TO EFFECTUAL GRACE, pp. 265, etc.⁶ Eph. 1:19–20, "Exceeding greatness of power." It relates to the power to be exercised on our bodies, to give them a glorious resurrection to eternal life. See Stebbing, p. 193, etc.⁷

Texts that speak of conversion as a work of creation, are only metaphysical and strange figures. See Stebbing on II Cor. 4:6, p. 195.⁸

6. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., pp. 271–72, on Eph. 1:19–20: "It must be absurd hence to infer that the Power of God working Faith in Believers is equal to that which affected the Resurrection of our Lord, . . . for the *Apostle* speaks not of the Power exercised on us to render us Believers, but of the Power exercised on us who believe already: Not of the Power to be exercised on our Souls to raise them from a Death in Sin, to a Life of Righteousness, but of the Power to be exercised on our dead Bodies to give them a glorious Resurrection to Eternal Life, as he had done already on the Body of our Head *Jesus Christ*."

7. Ch. XII, pp. 193–208, is entitled "Some Testimonies of Scripture urged in favour of the Doctrine of irresistible grace considered." On Eph. 1:19–20, Stebbing writes (p. 194): "the *Apostle* does no where speak of the *exceeding Greatness of God's Power* under the Notion of a *Cause why* they *believed*, but of the *Greatness of his Power towards those who believed* already. And the Meaning seems to be either, 1. That the *exceeding Greatness of God's Power* was that whereby he still continued to give Testimony to the Truth, answerably to that great Testimony of the Resurrection, to wit, by enabling Believers in those Days to work Miracles. Or, 2. *By the exceeding Greatness of God's Power* may be meant that wherewith God would raise *them* at the last Day, according as he had already raised *Christ*." Stebbing concludes (p. 195) that "this Text speaks nothing at all of the *Manner whereby* God *worketh Faith* in Men, after he hath afforded them the Grounds and Means of believing, nor doth the Context lead to any such Meaning. It speaks of that which is nothing to these Mens Purpose, *viz.* the Greatness of God's Power towards those *who believed already*, whether that whereby the Truth was confirmed, or that whereby they themselves should be raised from the Dead."

8. P. 195, on II Cor. 4:6: "What they would argue from hence is, that as it was by an *Almighty Act* that God *created the Light*, so it is also by an *Almighty Act* that he *illuminates us* with the *saving Knowledge* of the Gospel. But this is a very strange sort of Inference. For tho' the *Apostle* does indeed say that the *same Person* who *commanded the Light to shine*, &c. hath also enlightened our Minds, yet he does not say that he enlightens our Minds *after the same manner* in which he enlightened the World, nor any thing like it. The only way therefore of inferring this must be from those *metaphorical Expressions* of *shining* and *giving Light*; but these . . . will afford no Foundation for such a Conclusion, unless no reason can be assigned for the Allusion without supposing that God enlightens our Minds after the same manner in which he enlightened the World; which cannot be pretended."

Conversion is represented as a new birth. 'Tis only a metaphor borrowed from the Jews, who called their proselytes "new born."

Texts that speak of sinners as dead in sin, as Eph. 2:1 and Col. 2:13, speak only of heathens that were gross idolaters, yea, some of the worst of the heathen.

I Cor. 2:14, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God"; i.e. the wise man and disputer of this world, who will admit nothing but what he can see proved by reason, and so receives not things revealed by the Spirit because he doth not see them proved by philosophical deductions from reason, but deems them foolishness for want of that which only is, in his esteem, true wisdom. He cannot know them by that human wisdom by which alone he will be guided, for, being mysterious and secret counsels of God's will, they are not knowable by human reason, till God is pleased to reveal them. Whence the Apostle demonstrates the necessity of supernatural revelation, that the hidden wisdom of God may be made known unto the world.

John 15:5, "Without me ye can do nothing"; i.e. without the gifts and powerful influence of the Spirit, which belonged alone to them who abode in Christ, they could do nothing to convert the world. If they are understood of Christians in general, then the meaning is, says he, "Separated from me ye can do nothing; without abiding in the faith, ye cannot be fruitful in the faith."

John 6:44, "No man can come to me except the Father draw him"; i.e. it must be by means of the miracles which the Father has given the Son to work (John 10:25), and the great promises of eternal life, confirmed by those miracles. And this sense, he says, is confirmed by the following words: "It is written, They shall be all taught of God He therefore that hath heard, and learned of the Father, cometh to me" [John 6:45].

Matt. 7:18, "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit"; and Rom. 8:7, "The carnal mind cannot be subject to the law of God." *Ans.* This is to be understood in like manner as we understand those words, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruits" [Luke 6:43], and elsewhere, "He that is born of God cannot sin" [I John 3:9].

God is said to give us faith and repentance (Acts 11:18. and Eph. 2:8). *Ans.* So God is said to have given the wicked Jews a “spirit of slumber” (Rom. 11:8), and to have given “a lying spirit in the mouth” of the false prophets (I Kgs. 22:23), and to have given to the enemies of the church “to take peace from the earth” (Rev. 6:4, 8), and to have given to the Beast to speak blasphemies (Rev. 13:5). And to these and all sayings of the like nature, he gives this as a general explanation, viz. that God gives those faculties by which we are enabled to obtain those things, and means and motives sufficient to excite those faculties to the performance of their proper actions. So God giveth riches, he gives our daily bread, he gives all things to all men; but yet they must employ these faculties which God has given to procure ’em. Thus the Jews say God hath given repentance to the Gentiles, when Peter, preaching to them and proposing motives, they repented and believed (Acts 10:36, 43). So faith is said to be the gift of God, because the objects of our faith are only by divine revelation, and are confirmed to us and made credible by the evidence which God has given.

See Stebbing’s answer to that text, Deut. 29:4, “The Lord hath not given an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day,” p. 205.⁹

Acts 16:14, “The Lord opened the heart of Lyddia”; i.e. God used moral means to open her heart. He,¹ by moral means, inclined her to open her own heart. So God is said to open man’s ear to discipline by affliction (Job 36:10, 15). So Lyddia might have her heart opened by the arguments and motives of the Word of God exhibited by his messenger; her heart by these motives was inclined to receive the gospel he preached. In fine, says the Doctor, “God is here said to have opened the heart of Lyddia not to believe, but to attend to the things spoken by Paul, [...] and that attention produced this faith in her.”²

God promiseth to circumcise the heart (Deut. 30:6), and Ephraim prays thus, “Turn thou us, O Lord, and so we shall be turned” [Jer. 31:18].

“Now” (says Dr. Whitby), “in answer to such texts as these in general. I

9. P. 205: “[I]t is plain from the Context that the Reason intended in this Place why they *did not perceive*, was not because they wanted that Grace which was *necessary to enable them to perceive*, but because of their own Perverseness.”

1. MS: “heart ~~as is~~ that he.”

2. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., p. 286.

lay down as a most certain rule, that when God doth require us to do what he himself doth promise, and hath made it our duty to perform, his promise is only to perform what is requisite on his part towards the work, . . . and the tenor of those prayers is only to afford his assistance to help our infirmities.” The promise made to circumcise their heart was a promise made “to nations, not to particular persons,” and that prayer of Ephraim is only a prayer that God would bring ’em out of captivity.³

God promiseth to write his law in the hearts of his people, and to put it into their inward parts [Jer. 31:33]; that he “will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear him forever,” and “will make an everlasting covenant with them, that he will not turn away from them, to do them good: but will put his fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from him” (Jer. 32:39–40).

Ans. These promises are made to the nation, and not to particular persons (see No. III, p. 132).⁴ And those words, “I will put my law in their hearts, and write it in their inward parts:

1. That he would clearly make known his will to them, that they need not be at much pains to find it out, as in Deut 30:11, 14, and Rom. 10:8–9 and Rom. 2:15. Hence the effect of [it] here is said to be, “They shall all know me, from the least to the greatest” [Jer. 31:34]. So Heb. 8:13.

2. In inculcating them on the soul by the Holy Spirit, so that they shall be still fresh on the memory. So Deut 6:6, and Prov. 3:1, 3 and ch. 7:1, 3, Deut. 11:18.

Again, says Dr. Whitby, the promise, Jer. 32:39–40, is plainly conditional.⁵ See v. 37, and ch. 24:7, and ch. 3:10 and v. 40, and ch. 3:19, and Is. 55:3. Again, this text only contains a promise that when the Jewish [nation] should be converted at the close of the world, they should never fall off any more from being his people. See Stebbing, pp. 200–05.⁶

3. *Ibid.*, 286–88.

4. “Efficacious Grace, Bk. III,” p. 243.

5. Whitby, *Discourse*, 2nd corr. ed., p. 290.

6. In pp. 200–05, Stebbing is considering Ezek. 36:26 as proof of the need for irresistible grace. He states (p. 200): “But that the Meaning of this Promise was not that God would do all himself, and leave nothing for them to do, is plain, because . . . these Men were required to *make THEMSELVES a new Heart and a new Spirit*. From whence it is evident, that notwithstanding God’s *giving them a new Heart*, it was necessary for them *to renew their own Hearts*; and what can this signify but that the Promise was not absolute, but supposed the Concurrence of their own Endeavours; or else if it were absolute, that the Meaning of it was no more than this, *viz.* that God would do every thing that was *proper* to be done *on his Part* to bring them to Repentance, leaving it still to their own Choice whether they would actually repent or not?”

God saith concerning his people, Ezek. 11:19–20, “I will give you one heart, and I will put a new spirit in you; and take the stony heart out of their flesh, and give them an heart of flesh: that they may walk in my statutes, and keep my ordinances.” And again, ch. 36:25, 27, “I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your filthiness, [. . .] And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.”

Ans. These are promises to the nation, and not particular persons. And they are conditional promises. Particular persons can’t claim anything by them, any more than to be filled with corn (v. 29). God may be said to do those things when, by his providential dispensations, his rich mercies or his judgments, or his miraculous dealings, he doth that which affords a powerful inducement to engage men to cleanse themselves from their defilements, and turn to him with a perfect heart. See Is. 1:25, Is. 4:4, Hos. 11:4, Ezek. 24:13.

See Stebbing, pp. 200–05.⁷

TEXT.⁸ PHIL. 2:13., “’Tis God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his own good pleasure.”

The plain meaning of this text is that ’tis God that gives both the will and the deed, that ’tis God by his operation and efficiency gives both the will and also enables us to put that in execution; or that he by efficiency gives both the will and the deed. And this will remain the plain meaning of this text after this sort of gentlemen have worked upon [it] a thousand years longer, if any of them shall remain on earth so long. It will be the indisputable meaning of it after their criticisms on the word *ENERGEI*, etc.

I question whether any word can be found in all the Greek language more expressive and significant of an effectual operation. Wherever the words “effectual” and “effectually” are used in our translation of the Bible, this is the word used in the original. See the English Concordance.⁹

Phil. 2:13 (see Stebbing, pp. 198, etc.; see Chubb, p. 357, § 1),¹ “God

7. See preceding note.

8. The next three paragraphs are moved by JE’s direction from Bk. III, MS p. 62.

9. The work that JE used was Alexander Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1737).

1. On pp. 198–200, Stebbing writes on Phil. 2:13. On pp. 198–99, he states: “Now that these Words do not imply that God is the *sole* Agent in Conversion, is plain from hence, that we are exhorted in the Verse immediately preceding to *work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*; and it is brought as a *reason why* we ought to do this, because *it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do*. Now it would be very strange that God should use that for a reason to us why *we should*

worketh in you to will and to do of his own good pleasure”; and in Heb. 13:21, [the Apostle] prays that he would work in us what “is well-pleasing in his sight.”

That God doth thus is not denied; but the question is whether he doth it by a physical operation, or by internal suasion, or inducements to prevail on us thus to will and do. That it is the latter only, the words immediately preceding confirm: “Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.” The word *energein* is sometimes used for a moral operation, as when Satan is said, *energein*, to work in the children of disobedience (Eph. 2:2). And besides, both these places speak of men already believing and converted. See Taylor’s interpretation, pp. 103–04 of his *Key*.²

Phil. 2:13. The drift of the words most plainly is to declare that God works or effects all the whole of the matter.

I Cor. 4:7, “Who maketh thee to differ from another?” Here the Apostle speaks only of extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. See Stebbing, pp. 228, etc. He supposes ’tis differing in having a better teacher.

I Cor. 1:29–31, “That no flesh should glory in his presence. For of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.” Eph. 2:8–9, “By grace ye are saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast.”

“Through grace ye are saved through faith,” i.e. through the saving grace of God, appearing to us by the preaching of the gospel, and believed

work out our own Salvation, which is on the other hand a clear reason why *we need not*. And yet this is the very Case, if God’s *working in us* be supposed to imply that he is the *sole* Cause of Conversion. For if God be the *sole* Cause of Conversion, if he does *so much* himself, that there is *nothing* left for us to do, to what purpose is it that *we* should *work*?”

Thomas Chubb, *A Collection of Tracts on Various Subjects* (London, 1730). JE refers to Treatise XXVI, “Scripture Evidence Considered: in a View of the Controversy, betwixt the Author and Mr. Barclay’s Defenders.” “Mr. Barclay” is Robert Barclay, who wrote *An Apology* (London, 1676).

2. John Taylor, *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans. To Which is Prefix’d, A Key to the Apostolic Writings* (Dublin, 1746), pp. 103–04, on Phil. 2:13: “God works in (among) you both to will and to do (that is, God had supplied them with all proper Means, and Motives, to engage them to a faithful Discharge of their Duty, and was ready to supply them with Strength to enable them to do it).”

The following paragraph on Phil. 2:13 is inserted from Book III, p. 71, at JE’s direction. JE drew a vertical line through the entry.

by us, we are put into a state of salvation; and that all this is done to any church or nation through the free grace and mercy of God, without anything done by them antecedently to this grace. And though our actual salvation depends on good works, yet is all boasting utterly excluded upon several accounts: first, because that revelation which contains the matters of our faith, and all the powerful motives to embrace it, and all those miracles which rendered that grace highly credible and so engaged us to believe it, is the free gift of God; second, because the good works that we do, proceed not from ourselves, but are the fruits of that faith which, in the sense now mentioned, is the gift of God.

The glorying which the Apostle excludes is only that of the merit of our works, or that which doth exclude the help or assistance of the grace of God in Christ; but not all glorying, as is evident by I Cor. 9:15–16, and II Cor. 11:10, and II Cor. 1:12, and Gal. 6:4.

And as to that in I Cor. 1:29–31, the glory of our conversion is wholly due to God, because the principle by which man cooperates with God is from God; and all the motives which excite this principle to act, arise purely from God's preventing and exciting grace. Thus, though wealth be the fruit of industry, and the diligent hand makes riches, yet 'tis God that gives power to get wealth, and 'tis his blessing on our enterprises which maketh rich. The glory therefore is due to God alone.

God himself looks on our work [as] praiseworthy, and therefore will give praise to the saints: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant" [Matt. 25:21]. See also Phil. 4:8, I Pet. 1:19–20.

See Stebbing's general answer to texts that speak of God's giving faith and repentance, etc., pp. 196, etc.

Either it is so that the stronger the habitual inclination to good is the more virtue, and the stronger the disposition to evil the more vicious, or INDIFFERENCE is essential to both virtue and vice. [. . .]

[. . .] If³ the assistance God⁴ affords be moral, or let it be what it will; yet according to Arminian notions of virtue and liberty of will, no assistance can promote virtue. For it can't be assistance any further than it

3. JE drew a line through this and the following paragraph.

4. MS: "G. he."

tends to sway the will or bias it to good. But so far as it is biased, so far is liberty destroyed, because thereby the mind is put out of a state of indifference.

Here, if it be said the assistance may not be biased, or by assistance not⁵ put out of a state of indifference, but the assistance may be only against some lust that did bias it, to bring it into a state [of] indifference: in answer, If this be the case, yet the cause of virtue is not promoted, for a bias to good is no virtue, so neither is a bias to evil no vice or sin.

DR. WHITBY'S INCONSISTENCE. One while, when he is disputing against the decree of election, the Epistles, when the Apostle speaks to the elect, are not written to the converted, only because then it suits his turn that they should not be converted. But then afterwards, when disputing against efficacious grace, when the Apostle says to them, "God worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure" (Phil. 2:13), then he speaks only to them that are converted (p. 288).⁶

See Book of Minutes on the Arminian Controversy, p. 26.⁷

Here,⁸ if any one shall, contrary to demonstration, assert there is no need of perfect indifference immediately preceding an act of the will in order to that act's not being necessary, but that the will has power to determine contrary to its present inclination, and so by that act immediately to change its own inclination, without any indifference intervening: according to this supposition, it will be more notoriously absurd to say the will determines this act out of choice, for then choice is so far from preceding and directing and determining the act that a contrary inclination or choice of the will immediately preceded and continued till the new act of will actually stood forth.

5. MS: "or."

6. Second corr. ed., pp. 294–95.

7. The entry in "Gazetteer Notebook," p. 26, in which JE first refers to this point made in "Efficacious Grace, Bk. I," reads:

WHITBY'S INCONSISTENCE. Again, when it suits the Doctor's turn when writing about perseverance, then all that the apostles write to are true saints, as particularly those the apostle Peter writes to that had *previous faith* (p. 399); and of those that the apostle [Paul] wrote the Epistle to the Galatians to (pp. 401–02).

DR. WHITBY'S INCONSISTENCE. First, he supposes that the Apostle asserts that true saints, when they fall away, 'tis impossible to renew them again to repentance (pp. 394–95); but yet, a few pages afterwards, supposes the same Apostle travailed in birth with some that had been true saints and had fallen away, that they might renew in them that faith from which they had fallen (p. 402).

8. JE directed that the next two paragraphs be inserted in an earlier page that is now missing. He also drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs.

Again, if liberty consists in INDIFFERENCE and equilibrium, this further proves our virtue in no measure to be from God, nor from his Word, nor his Spirit, nor his providence: for after all means, the mind is left in equilibrium, without any good act or inclination or tendency to a good act.

According to the Arminians, the virtue of the act is not at all from God; for by their principles, all the virtue there is, is only in those acts of the will wherein the will is free, according to their notion of freedom.

If there ben't a perfect INDIFFERENCE at the moment the act arises, it is easily demonstrable that it is impossible that the act should be more than one way, and so there is that necessity that overthrows the Arminian notion of liberty.⁹

If God has obliged himself to bestow holy and saving dispositions—those that are given in regeneration—either for natural men's asking or for the diligent improvement of common grace, because otherwise it would not be our fault that we are without it, nor our virtue that we have it: I say, according to the opinion of all such, virtue don't consist at all in those holy qualities themselves obtained by the regenerate, but only the fruit of virtue. All the virtue is in asking, and diligent improvement of common grace.

If¹ good acts did proceed from INDIFFERENCE, they could not be virtuous: for then they could not be owing to any good principle, as then no virtue of heart is exercised in it, for virtue of heart consists in virtuous inclinations and dispositions. If it arises from indifference, then before it did come from them it was owing to no goodness in them: for indifference of heart between good or evil is not goodness; for goodness certainly inclines to goodness.

Again, if liberty consists in INDIFFERENCE, and this liberty be essential to virtue, then virtuous acts are always equally easy, no more difficult for corruption of nature or antecedent ill habits contracted—the contrary of which Dr. Whitby allows.²

See concerning liberty of indifference, Dr. Watts, pp. 8–9.³

9. JE directs that a passage on MS p. 65, which is missing, be moved here.

1. JE drew a horizontal line through the remaining entries.

2. See especially Discourse IV, "Of the Freedom of the Will," ch. 2 (pp. 337–53 in 2nd corr. ed.).

3. Isaac Watts, *An Essay on the Freedom of Will in God and in Creatures, and on Various Subjects Connected Therewith* (London, 1732). The first section is entitled, "Of Liberty and Necessity, and how far they are consistent." In pp. 8–9, Watts writes: "Now let us enquire what is a *Liberty of Choice or of Indifference*. Tho' necessary Actions are sometimes said to be *free*, when they are done thus *spontaneously*, . . . yet a *Liberty of Choice or Indifference* in things not necessary is the more common sense

Corollary. This new scheme of divinity, built on these principles looked upon so happy, is not happy; not owing to an increase of real light and knowledge, the happy fruit of freedom of [will]; not owing to a happy delirium from superstition, the opinions of forefathers, bigotries. But 'tis rather to be found owing to the folly [and] great ignorance of them in departing from the dictates of that Being that sees infinitely further than they. [They are become] vain [in their] imagination of their own strength.⁴ And 'tis worthy of everyone's consideration, whether there be not some secret enmity against the truth at the bottom, the soul-humbling scheme of Christianity plainly revealed in the Scripture.

CONCLUSION. 'Tis probable some will here object. Some real difficulties about the fall of man, or on some other topic that don't belong to the controversy—let the difficulties be greater or less, and more or less real and inexplicable—are not owing⁵ to the difference of this scheme from the Arminian scheme, and would not be at all diminished by renouncing this scheme and adhering to the Arminians.

in which the word *Liberty* is used . . . and this implies a *Power to chuse or refuse, to chuse one thing or the contrary among several things which are proposed, without any inward or outward restraint, force or constraining byass or influence*. . . . Man is *free* whether he will chuse to honour God his Maker, or dishonour him; to do good to his Neighbour, or do him hurt; to keep himself sober, or to make himself drunk: In all these things he may chuse or refuse which he pleases. This is what the Schools call *Libertas indifferentiae ad opposita*, i.e. a Liberty of Indifference to chuse one thing, or its opposite."

4. See Rom. 1:21.

5. Conjectural reading.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE, BOOK II

THIS manuscript, probably started after 1746, is long octavo in size. It is composed of fan paper and a salvaged prayer bid stitched into a rectangular cover of coarse brown paper. Edwards himself inscribed the cover “N. II,” with the title “Moral Agency,” and then, as with the first book, changed it to “Efficacious Grace” after he had used entries to write *Freedom of the Will*. Vertical lines drawn through some entries indicate parts of the notebook that were used when composing the treatise. Edwards also removed some pages that had been wholly used. The present pagination is as follows: 5–6, 17–18, 23–24, 35–38, 43–44, 47–50, 61–68, 71–74, and 93–99. The lacunae are indicated in this edition by line spaces and bracketed ellipses.

Selected entries from this notebook were printed in *Miscellaneous Observations* (1793) as §§ 21–28 (pp. 201–07), and subsequently reprinted in the Worcester rev. ed., 2, 559–62, §§ 22–29. Both these editions reflect the transcription of Edwards, Jr., including occasional additions for transitions and clarity, as well as some outright word changes. In this book, Edwards, Jr., wrote “Tr. *” in the margin beside selected entries to indicate that they had been or were to be transcribed.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE, BOOK II

ASSISTANCE.¹ According to their principles, God gives men virtue, holiness, a new heart to will and to do, etc. no otherwise than [men]² give one another virtue, a new heart, etc. Nor so much as men do, according to our notion of virtue: for according to our notions, those acts that necessarily follow from what precedes what men do, or any other, may be virtue notwithstanding, but not according to theirs.

If³ a state of FREEDOM of the will consists in a state of INDIFFERENCE, then it consists in a state of inaction in not acting at all; because for the will to be in a state of indifference, and for it to be in a state of inactivity, are the same thing. To be in a state of indifference is to be without choice, and that is to be without willing.

'Tis unreasonable to suppose that the acts of the will are events that come to pass without a cause, on this account, viz. that so many events of this sort come to pass, that they come to pass in a course, that there are in all men such events—viz. acts of the will—continually arising throughout their whole existence. Such events—i.e. some acts of the will or other—are ready on all occasions, as they need 'em, to guide and govern all their external actions without failure. How should this be, if there be no cause? Is it not strange that so many events of this sort come to pass without a cause, and in such a course, and no other sort of events in the whole creation are ever seen to come to pass WITHOUT A CAUSE. [. . .]

[. . .] destroy⁴ all the moral evil or blameworthiness of determining wrong, even in those great cases: for why, if a man's will must be in equilibrio, full as likely to go preponderate the wrong way as the right, so that the event must be a perfect contingency, why is he to blame that he happens to choose wrong? If he was not to blame for being in such a state

1. "II" is JE's original designation on the cover; a later hand inscribed in pencil "11."

2. JE, Jr.'s insert.

3. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

4. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

wherein he was as likely to choose wrong as right, then he is no more to blame for choosing wrong than right: for according to the laws of chance or contingency, in such a case he will choose wrong as often as right.

Define the meaning of the phrase, NATURAL NOTIONS.

To show from the Scriptures how evident it is that man's VIRTUE IS FROM GOD; that those acts of the will wherein virtue consists are from him; that that in Phil. [2:13], "God worketh in you both to will and to do of his own good pleasure," etc. don't have respect to the virtuous acts of will; and that [God] is certainly the author, exarter, etc. of virtuous acts in another manner than he is of vicious acts. With reference to what is said, pp. 36–40 of my book on free will.⁵

If⁶ the liberty of the will consists in a power to SUSPEND the prosecution of any desire in order to further consideration, then all virtue consists in the act of the will determining that suspension.

INDIFFERENCE. If every act of the will be induced by some MOTIVE, then it will follow that every act of the will is necessary. [. . .]

[. . .] GOD⁷ THE AUTHOR of sin. 'Tis evident that God may be the orderer of sin for a good and important end, and yet punish that sin severely; that he so orders [is evident] by Matt. 18:7, "It must needs be that offenses or scandals come; but woe to that man by whom they come!"

"It must needs be." In the original, "it is": it is a matter that is very needful or of great importance.

In the context it is said, "It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." Difference between the SECRET AND REVEALED WILL OF GOD.

[. . .] of⁸ liberty, to be in a such a state that he shall be driven by chance, or anything else, to that which at the same time he looks upon as a thing

5. Not a reference to *Freedom of the Will* nor to the notebook entitled "Of Free Will," but rather to another MS book that is no longer extant.

6. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

7. JE drew a vertical line through the next five paragraphs.

8. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph, which he directs to be moved to a page that is now missing. Thus the passage has been retained in its original place, with a bracketed ellipsis.

prejudicial to him. (See Locke, p. 215, vol. 1.)⁹ This is not liberty according to our *natural notions of liberty*. And on the other hand, if we suppose that the will is necessarily dependent on and connected with any kind of view of the understanding, that destroys all liberty, according to the Arminian notion of liberty: for that supposes the determinations of the will to be necessary, being necessarily dependent on and connected with something without the will itself and prior to its own determinations.

See what Mr. Robe says of FATALISTS in his letter of March 22, 1746, p. 3.¹

Concerning God's being determined to choose what is best, see Mr. Locke, p. 216, vol. 1.² GOD'S LIBERTY.

Only asking the question whether it be in our POWER to will or not to will, suggests and seems to suppose something false. COMMON SENSE. [. . .]

[. . .] Here³ possibly introduce the discourse about MYSTERIES.⁴

Whatever our opinions are, and how greatly soever we may differ, this is needful to guide us and to unite us. 'Tis the spirit of truth and the spirit of union. How might our uniting thus in prayer happily tend to a further union.

9. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. In Four Books . . . The Seventh Edition, With Large Additions* (2 vols. London, 1714). JE refers to Bk. 1, ch. XXI, "Of Power," § 48, entitled "To be determined by our own Judgment, is not Restraint to Liberty." Locke writes: "This is so far from being a Restraint or Diminution of *Freedom*, that it is the very Improvement and Benefit of it; 'tis not an Abridgement, 'tis the End and Use of our *Liberty*; and the farther we are removed from such a Determination, the nearer we are to Misery and Slavery. A perfect Indifference in the Mind, not determinable by its last Judgment of the Good or Evil, that is thought to attend its Choice, would be so far from being an Advantage and Excellency of any intellectual nature, that it would be as great an Imperfection, as the Want of Indifference to act, or not to act, 'till determined by the *Will*, would be an Imperfection on the other side."

1. The whereabouts of this letter, if it still exists, is not known.

2. Locke, *Essay*, I, 216, § 49: "If it were fit for such poor finite Creatures as we are, to pronounce what infinite Wisdom and Goodness could do, I think, we might say, that God himself cannot chuse what is not Good; the Freedom of the Almighty hinders not his being determined by what is best."

3. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

4. See "Controversies" Notebook, MS pp. 190–99, 267–72, 297–98.

Buy or borrow of Dr. Johnson or Mr. Sergeant, DR. CLARK's posthumous sermons, which Dr. Johnson speaks of as explaining all texts relating to God's decree of predestination.⁵

Though⁶ it be true that the foregoing reasoning in some respects is metaphysical, yet 'tis not scholastic METAPHYSICS, nor do they depend upon any nice, abstract and abstruse points in metaphysics. 'Tis no great degree of niceness nor abstraction or metaphysics needful to determine that a thing is not before it is, and therefore can't be the cause of itself, etc.; nor is there any great degree of abstruse speculation in these things.

DEFINITION. Alting says none of the orthodox say that FREEDOM from COACTION is alone sufficient to constitute a man free, but also a freedom from physical NECESSITY (*Theologica Elenctica*, p. 358 at top and 360 at bottom; see natural necessity explained, p. 360 at bottom, p. 364, ¶ 4).⁷

SCRIPTURES. PROV. 21:1, "The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord, as the river of water: he turneth it whithersoever it pleaseth him."

This shows that the Arminian notion of liberty of will is inconsistent with the Scripture notion of God's providence and government of the world, Jer. 31:18, "Turn me, and I shall be turned."

Necessity⁸ not inconsistent with punishment. Matt. 18:7, "It must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" I Cor. 11:19, "There must be heresies among you, that they that are approved may be made manifest." Yet heresy is spoken of as a punishable evil in Timothy and Titus, and Matt. 23 and 24.

Matt. 7:18, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruits, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." Let us understand this how we will, it destroys the Arminian notion of LIBERTY AND VIRTUE AND VICE: for if [it] means only a great difficulty, then so much the less liberty, and therefore so much the less virtue or vice; and the preceding verse would be false,

5. JE makes the same reference in the Gazetteer Notebook. Dr. Samuel Johnson was the Anglican missionary at Stratford, Conn., and Rev. John Sergeant the Congregational missionary at Stockbridge, Mass. The work in question is Samuel Clarke, *Sermons on the Following Subjects* (10 vols. London, 1731–32), and the specific sermon is in vol. 4, pp. 271–95, "Of the Number of Those That Shall Be Saved" (on Rev. 3:4).

6. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

7. Henricus Alting, a Dutch theologian, wrote *Theologica Elenctica nova: sive, systema elencticum in inclytâ Academia Groningæ and Omlandie publicis prælectionibus propositum* (Amsterdam, 1654).

8. JE drew a vertical line through this paragraph.

which says, “Every good tree bringeth [forth] good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.”

Rom. 8:6–9, with the design of the Apostle in that place, overthrows Arminian notions of liberty, virtue and vice.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE. Show from Scripture that God gives such assistance to virtue and virtuous acts as to be properly a DETERMINING ASSIS[TANCE], so as to determine the effect; which is inconsistent with the Arminian notion of liberty. The Scripture shows that his influence in the case is such that he is the CAUSE of the effect; he causes it to be. Which shows that his influence determines the matter, whether it shall be or not; otherwise, innumerable expressions of Scripture are exceeding improper and quite without a meaning.

PREFACE.⁹ I don’t use the term “Arminian” because I choose to give odious names to any sect or part, but for distinction’s sake, and to avoid circumlocutions.

SELF-DETERMINING power, held by our adversaries in general, Alting, p. 365, near top.¹

Arminians in general hold liberty of will consisting in INDIFFERENCE. See Alting, from p. 360, but most expressly concerning the Remonstrants, p. 370, near the top.²

If we allow something can begin to be WITHOUT A CAUSE, we can be certain of nothing but our own present ideas and consciousness, not the least because ’tis a peculiar sort of effect, such an effect as a volition. If we once allow this sort of effect as such, how do we know but that many other sort of effects may?

’Tis not the kind of effect that makes the absurdity; ’tis things common to all sorts of effects, viz. that they are not self-existent, not necessary in their own nature. This is common to all things that begin to be. All effects do begin to be.

We could not know that there is a God.

Though there be in the nature of things a foundation of the knowledge of the being of God, without this [there is] not a proper proof: for all

9. JE drew a vertical line through the next seven paragraphs.

1. See above, n. 7.

2. See above, n. 7.

proofs of existence are either from causes to effects, or from effects to causes. Yet [. . .]

[. . .] all³ that they have said and so pretend, then all of conscience falls to the ground and all is answered in a few words.

The main strength of the argument in those that write in so OVER-BEARING and contemptuous a manner lies in this: "I am wiser than you, and you are a fool and blockhead in comparison of me."

NECESSITY is a word that ever has a relation to opposition. Consider it any otherwise than with relation to opposition, and it differs nothing from certainty, or a true and real connection of one thing with another, or of some predicate with some subject.

INABILITY, as the word is vulgarly used, is evermore a relative term, carrying in it a relation to an endeavor.

The word IMPOSSIBLE is a relative term that has relation to power exerted in order to bring a thing to pass. The word IRRESISTIBLE is a word that has relation to resistance.

To show how the Arminian notion of ASSISTANCE much more exposes to ENTHUSIASM, and is much nearer to it than what we hold.

The SCRIPTURE expressions are exceeding unhappy for their scheme.

Another⁴ late author that has made a great noise (Taylor on original sin, 2nd ed., p. 180): "Adam could not be originally created in righteousness and true holiness; because he must choose to be righteous before he could be righteous; and therefore he must exist, he must be created, yea, he must exercise thought and reflection before he was righteous."⁵ [. . .]

[. . .] LOVE TO GOD. If a man does first choose to love God before he actually loves him, yet there is no virtue in that choice, unless the choice be from some good principle or disposition, or unless there be the exercise of some good principle in the choice. If a man chooses to love God,

3. JE drew a vertical line through the next five paragraphs.

4. JE drew a vertical line through this paragraph.

5. Taylor, *Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin* (London, 1740; 2nd ed. London, 1741), p. 180.

but not at all from love to him, but wholly from love to something else, then it is no virtue to love; there is no virtue at all in such a choice. If a man chooses to have regard to some good object or end not at all from love to any good object or end, surely (according to all the natural notions we have of virtue) there is no virtue in such a choice. It is not agreeable to any of the natural notions of mankind, that a good principle or disposition is virtuous because that disposition flows from and is the effect of his choice; but on the contrary, that a choice is virtuous because it flows from or is the exercise of a good principle or disposition.

Which⁶ shows the falseness of the Arminian notion that liberty of will, in their sense of it, is essential to and the foundation of all virtue; and that nothing can be virtuous but what flows from the will's own determination of itself.⁷

See scriptures in Alting, *De Libero Arbitrio*.⁸

Of the charge of ENTHUSIASM. Dr. Whitby's notion of the assistance of the Spirit is of the same sort with inspiration, whereas that which I suppose is the true notion, is entirely different. Consequently their notion is much more enthusiastical, does much rather agree with and much more expose to pernicious enthusiasm than our's. Hence we find the grossest enthusiasts, such as Quakers and others, are generally Arminians in the doctrines of free will, etc.⁹

If¹ any suppose that our being destitute of such and such good habits in itself, such as proper and suitable degrees of love to God, love to holiness, love to mankind, love to the Word of God, love to Christ, love to enemies, hatred of sin, meekness, patience, heavenly-mindedness, loving Christ above father and mother, wife and children, proper humility towards God, etc.: I say, if any suppose that a being void of these proper habits is not in itself sin, and of the proper nature of vice and blameable-

6. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

7. In a different ink JE wrote and then deleted: "see N. 4. p. 51," a reference to a fourth book on the subject of moral agency, apparently no longer extant. JE also refers to this fourth book in "Sacrament Bk. I," which he used to draft *An Humble Inquiry*.

8. Possibly a separate work from *Theologica Elenctica*, as above, or a part of it.

9. Whitby, *Discourse*, III, "Of Sufficient and Effectual, Common and Special Grace," ch. 1, § 6, where he argues that God raises "Ideas" in our minds. He writes (p. 229): "These *Ideas* being thus raised up in us by God alone, . . . we should have had none of these good Effects produced in us. . . . [A]s they help us in the Consideration of, and our Endeavours and Inclinations to perform our Duty and resist Temptations, they may be stiled *assisting Grace*."

1. JE drew a vertical line through the next paragraph.

ness, but only our not using such endeavors to obtain them, as men can do by common assistance before they have these habits, I will undertake to demonstrate that they take away 999 thousandth parts of what the Scripture represents as the sin and wickedness of the world, yea, of that which is so accounted by the common sense of mankind, yea, no sin at all. For according to this, it will follow that sin don't consist at all in being void, or the negation, of any good habit, but only in not using endeavors to obtain it; and by fully equal reason, that virtue don't at all consist in any good habit, but only in the endeavors used to obtain it; and so then, still by the same reason, it will still follow that vice or sin don't consist at all in any ill habit or disposition, but only in those free acts that were the occasion of 'em. And this will follow from their doctrine of free will and virtue and vice consisting only in the exercise of free will: for the exercise of free will don't consist in the being of habits and dispositions, evil or good, or in the being destitute of 'em; but only in the free acts [. . .]

[. . .] it² had no cause without itself, it could not have made itself at first to be otherwise, because it did not make itself at all; and therefore if it be wholly without a cause, it must be necessary. That must be necessary that is not dependent on no free act, but that which is without any cause cannot be dependent on any free act, because it is dependent on nothing, and so can have no moral good or evil in it, according to their own principles: for according to their principles, nothing that is necessary has any moral good or evil in it.

'Tis exceeding manifest, and according to the common and natural notions of all mankind, that moral evil consists in a certain deformity in the nature of the thing itself that is morally evil, and not in the deformity of something else that is diverse from the very thing itself being its cause. That thing in which the deformity is, in that thing, and in that only, is the moral evil. If it be wholly in the effect, then the moral evil is only in the effect. If it be in the cause only, then the cause only is morally evil, and the effect not at all. Hence it will follow that the moral good and evil of the inclinations and acts of the mind, don't essentially consist in their origin, and so not in their having their spring from such an exercise of free self-determination in the will, as they suppose; but in the deformity³ inherent in those very acts and inclination themselves that are morally evil.⁴

2. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

3. MS: "deformity of."

4. JE deletes: "if we suppose that moral Evil consists in the origin of it as arising from a free determination as its Cause that is to drive more wholly to exclude moral evil as tis to drive it back in infinitum for if so the moral Evil of the."

SCRIPTURE EXPRESSIONS are everywhere exceeding contrary to their scheme, according to all use of language in the world in these days. But then they have their refuge here: they say the ancient figures of speech are exceeding diverse from ours, and that we in this distant age can't judge at all of the true force of expressions used so long ago but by a skill in antiquity, and being versed in ancient history, and critically skilled in the ancient languages—never considering that the Scriptures are written for us in these ages, on whom the ends of the world are come, yea, were designed chiefly for the later age of the world, in which they shall have their chief and, comparatively, almost all their effect; and they were written for God's people in these ages, of whom at least 99 in an hundred must be supposed incapable of such knowledge by their circumstances and education, and 999 in a thousand of God's people that hitherto have been saved by the Scriptures.

'Tis easy to refine and criticize any book to death.

If God is truly unwilling that there should be any moral evil in the world in this sense, why don't he cause there to be less moral evil than there is? If it be answered, as it [has] respect to such kind of objections, that though God is unwilling there should be moral evil, yet he won't infringe on man's liberty or destroy his moral agency to prevent [it]: but then I ask, If this be all, why does God cause there to be so much less at some times than in some certain times, wherein God causes virtue gloriously to prevail? and other times are spoken of and promised, wherein it shall prevail yet vastly more, and this is spoken of as of God's effecting, and is abundantly so spoken of [and] promised as what God would do and none should hinder, etc.?

The Arminian principles denying the efficacious determining grace of God as the cause of man's virtue and piety, are wholly inconsistent with the promises and prophecies of the future flourishing of religion and virtue in the world, and never can be made consistent therewith. This flourishing of religion is spoken of as what God would effect, made the matter of his abundant promise, spoken of as his glorious work, the work of his almighty power, what he would effect and none should hinder, what he would effect against all opposition, removing and overcoming the wickedness of men, etc.

EFFICACIOUS Grace. That efficient that so produces as to determine the effect, that only is properly said to give it, to procure, and this only can

properly promise it, and to this the chief thanks and glory is due; that only is the proper fountain and author of it. Indeed, to determine an effect without positive efficient, only by permission, as God determines sin, he is not properly the author.

Dr. Stebbing says, p. 104, "So much grace as is necessary to lead us to that obedience which is indispensably required in order to salvation, God will give to everyone who humbly and devoutly prays to him for it. For this is the condition, and the only condition, prescribed by our Savior, Luke 11:9–10, 13, where the promise of the Spirit is made."⁵ Here humility and devotion is mentioned as the condition of that obedience which [is] indispensably required in order to salvation. Here, by that obedience that is required in order to salvation, must be meant either, first, that sort of virtue and obedience that is requisite; or second, perseverance in it. If he means that sort of virtue that is requisite in order to salvation, then I would [ask], What sort of humility and devotion is that to which God has promised that grace necessary to their obtaining that virtue that is the condition of salvation? Must it not be real, sincere humility and devotion? Surely, if God has promised so great a gift to any humility and devotion, it must be to that which is sincere and upright, because that which is not sincere is nothing; 'tis hypocritical, a mere show of that which is really wanting, and it would be very unreasonable to suppose that God promises such infinite benefits to that which he has often declared is abominable to him and only provokes him the more. But if it be true, sincere, upright humility and devotion, 'tis unreasonable to suppose that God makes this the condition of that grace necessary to his obtaining that kind of virtue that is requisite to salvation, because he has that kind of virtue already. The Scripture everywhere speaks of uprightness and sincerity of heart as that virtue that is saving. He that sincerely asks for grace to obey, has that sincerity and uprightness of heart that is exercised in sincere obedience: for he that sincerely asks this, is sincerely willing to obey, and sincerely desirous of obeying. Or if, second, the Doctor by that obedience that is indispensably required in order to salvation, means perseverance in sincere virtue, and this be promised to devoutly and sincerely asking it, then hereby must be meant either final perseverance in this sincere asking,⁶ or a certain limited continuance in thus asking. If it be a final perseverance

5. Stebbing, *Discourse on the Operations of the Holy Spirit*, p. 104.

6. MS: "perseverance in sincere vertue & a devoutly asking of it humbly this be promised to devoutly & sincerely asking it if by then hereby must be meant either devoutly & sincerely asking it once or for a certain num number of a certain limited continu or final perseverance in this sincere asking."

in asking, the condition of grace to lead us to persevering saving virtue is, as before, the condition of itself: for persevering sincerity is the condition of obtaining persevering sincerity. If it be only once asking, or asking a limited number of times, or a limited continuance in asking, this is contrary to the Arminian doctrine about perseverance: for it supposes a person in this life on a past condition to be already, before the end of the day of his probation, so confirmed in obedience, that 'tis impossible for him to fall away.

When⁷ we argue with the papists and demonstrate clearly the falseness of their doctrine of transubstantiation from that, that the same body cannot be in many places at the same time, that it implies a contradiction because 'tis inconsistent with the notion of identity and diversity [. . .]

[. . .] and⁸ need no satisfaction to atone for our failure, nor can we need Christ to procure a mild dispensation for us. (See what is said in my discourse on justification on this head.)⁹

DANGER OF THESE ARMINIAN NOTIONS. Because it tends greatly to prevent convictions of sin. See of what necessity it is that men should be convinced of sin, sermon on Matt. 9:2, Dir. 1.¹

Not² only do not the fundamental dictates of REASON AND COMMON SENSE oblige us to find out some INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE agreeable to the Arminian notions, but if that were so, that all the texts relating to those things seemed most plainly to be on their side and there were no texts that had so much as any look on the contrary, it would be the greatest difficulty in the world in the Scripture, vastly greater than any that ever yet were found in it or objected against it.

Corollary. Moral perfections of God don't oblige us to find out other interpretations of Scripture.

COROL. Hence all the late glorying, all the talk about Calvinistical principles with such a contemptuous air, is for nothing. There has been no

7. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

8. JE drew a vertical line through the remainder of the following paragraph.

9. See *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19.

1. This sermon is not extant.

2. JE drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs. For a parallel with the following paragraph, see *Works*, 1, 439.

sort of cause for it. The whole earth may, without arrogance or vanity, be challenged to make their principles consistent with common sense. These holy and plain doctrines that that omniscient God, our Maker, has plainly and abundantly taught us, have been trampled upon for a long time with great assurance, triumph and contempt, been treated as the meanest badge of ignorance, superstition and folly, not worthy of a place among men of common sense, to be stifled out of the world. 'Tis not men, poor Calvinists, but Jehovah that has been trampled upon.

To say it is METAPHYSICS is no more a just answer to or solution of an argument, than to say the argument is in Latin or French. Does it show the reasoning not to be conclusive, because 'tis reasoning belongs to such a science, than if a man should tell his opponents that his reasonings were not good because he made use of such a language? Plain reason and demonstration is plain reason and demonstration, whatever science any supposes to belong to, as much as well as in whatever language it is spoken. The question is not whether what is said be metaphysics or physics, logic or mathematics, Latin, French, English, Greek or Mohawk, but whether the reasoning be good and the arguments indeed conclusive.³

Their vast pretenses to an accurate and clear view of the SCOPE AND DESIGN of the sacred penmen, and a critical knowledge of the ORIGINALS, will prove forever vain and insufficient to help them against such clear Scripture evidence.

Their⁴ MAGISTERIAL, CONTEMPTUOUS, SOVEREIGN, ASSURED, OVERBEARING, INSULTING, OVERLOOKING [AIRS].

Obj. The DEISTS are many of 'em FATALISTS.

COMMON SENSE. 'Tis not the dictate of common sense, that such a sort of liberty as consists either in things coming to pass accidentally and without any cause, is necessary in order to blame or praise. The coming to pass of a thing without any cause or reason is contrary to common sense. Nor should such a liberty as consists in the will's being the cause of its own acts, or determining and so causing its own determination, or choosing and so causing its own choice: for such a notion of liberty is what men commonly have no notion of, none but some that have darkened their own

3. For a parallel, see *Works*, I, 423.

4. JE drew a vertical line through the next three paragraphs.

minds with study and words, confounding their own thoughts. The common notion of liberty is that a man can [. . .]

[. . .] nor⁵ can the volitions that immediately spring out of such a state of indifference be virtuous, because, by the supposition, they are not determined by any antecedent choice of ours, and our choice is not the cause of them: and thus virtue again is excluded out of the world.

SCRIPTURES. I desire it may be shown, if it can, that ever any terms that are fuller and stronger are used, or used more frequently and in greater variety, to signify God's being the author, efficient and bestower of any kind of benefit, than in the bestowment of true virtue or goodness of heart: whether concerning the deliverance out of Egypt, or the manna that was rained down from heaven, or the bestowment of the blessings of Canaan, or saving Noah and his family in the Ark; or the raising any from the dead, or Christ's giving health to the sick, or sight to the blind, or bread to the hungry in the wilderness, or anything else whatsoever; or the giving being to mankind in their creation, giving reason to them and their other natural faculties, giving them life and breath, the giving them the beautiful form of their bodies, the giving them life at the general resurrection, the giving them their glory and happiness in heaven; the giving prophets and the Word of God by the prophets and others, the giving the means of grace and salvation, the giving Christ and providing means of salvation in him.

Yea, I know of no one thing in Scripture wherein such significant strong expressions are used, or so great a variety, or one half so often, as the bestowment of this benefit of true goodness and piety of heart.

After particularly taking notice of a great variety of SCRIPTURE expressions signifying God to be the determining cause of true goodness of heart, to add: "But, after all, we must be faced down in it with vast confidence, that the Scriptures do not imply any more than only exhibiting means of instruction, leaving the determining and proper causing of the effect wholly with man as the only proper, efficient and determining cause; and the current of Scripture is all against us, and that is because we don't understand language, and are bigots and fools for imagining any such thing as though the Scripture said anything of that nature, and because the divines on our side don't understand Greek, and don't lay the

5. JE drew a vertical line through the remainder of this paragraph.

Scripture before 'em to mind the scope of Scripture, don't mind the connection," etc., etc.

SCRIPTURES. Perhaps it will be said that every one of those scriptures⁶ may bear another interpretation, found out by careful and critical examination. But alas, is that the way of the Most High's instructing mankind, to use such a multitude of expressions in different languages and various different ages, all [which]⁷ in their natural and most common acceptance in all languages, nations and ages, must undoubtedly be understood in this sense, yea, that the whole thread and current of all that God says, according to use of the speech of mankind, tends to lead to such an understanding, and so unavoidably leads his people in all ages into such an understanding, but yet means no such thing; but [God] intended that the true meaning should not be found out but only by such a use of criticism as might possibly allow of a strange, unusual and surprising meaning?

EFFICACIOUS GRACE. SCRIPTURE. Instead of persons being the determining causes and efficient of their own virtue and piety, after all the moral means God uses with them, let us suppose some third person between God and the subject of this gift to be in the very same manner the sovereignly determining cause and efficient of this or any other benefit that we receive: that he had power to bestow virtue on us, or cause us to be the subject of it, just in the same manner as Arminians suppose we ourselves have power to be the causes of our being the subjects of virtue; and our being the subjects of the benefit depended on this third person's free will, just in the same manner as now they suppose our having that benefit, virtue, depends on our own free will; and that God used moral means with that third person to bestow that benefit on us, just in the same manner that he uses moral means to persuade us to cause virtue in us, and the moral means had the like tendency to operate on their will as ours: but finally it was left entirely to their free will to be the sole determining cause whether we should have the benefit without any such influence on his will as in the least to injure his sovereignly arbitrary disposal and perfectly free self-determination, and it should be left contingent whether he would bestow it or no, and in these circumstances, this third person should happen to determine in our favor and bestow the benefit. Now I ask, would it be proper to ascribe the matter so wholly to God in such strong terms or

6. JE, Jr., inserts: "which are thought to prove efficacious grace." "Those scriptures" may refer to the catalog of texts in "Efficacious Grace, Bk. III."

7. JE, Jr.'s insert.

in such a great variety, to ascribe it so entirely to him as his gift, to pray to him beforehand for it, to give him thanks, give him all the glory, etc.? On the contrary, would not this determining cause, whose arbitrary, self-determined, self-possessed, sovereign will decides the matter, be properly looked upon as the main cause, vastly the most proper cause, the truest author and bestower of the benefit? Would not he be as it were all in the cause? Would not the glory properly belong to him on whose pleasure the determination of the matter properly depended?

EFFICACIOUS GRACE, BOOK III

As with the other two notebooks on efficacious grace, Edwards originally titled this “Moral Agency.” Having used whatever materials he needed from them for *Freedom of the Will*, Edwards thereafter shifted to a discussion of efficacious grace, which he decided would be featured in a larger work on the divine decrees.

The manuscript consists of scraps of fan paper with some pieces of foolscap interspersed, bound in a cover of coarse brown paper, cut in a semi-circle (the only notebook in the Edwards Collection to be so shaped).¹ The pages are numbered 1–23, 38–71, 76–83, 88–105, 114–17, and 122–47, with some entries deleted with vertical use lines. Lacunae are indicated by line spaces and bracketed ellipses. The notebook dates from no earlier than 1748, since Edwards cites John Beach’s work of that year. As in the previous books in the series, Edwards here makes wide use of Henry Stebbing’s book on the Holy Spirit to represent the Arminian position. A considerable part of this notebook functions as a catalogue for proof texts on the subject of efficacious grace.

Excerpts were first printed in *Miscellaneous Observations* (1793), §§ 52–62, 67–72, and 74–92, pp. 226–35, 337–40, 342, 344, 352–72; and later in the Worcester rev. ed., 2, §§ 51–60, 62, 64–82, and 84–91, pp. 570–73, 575–77, 579–85, and 588–90. These editions are based on the transcription of Edwards, Jr. (who wrote “Tr. *” beside the chosen entries), and reflect his emendations in the notebook, including word changes, supplied words and cues, and directions such as to “Quote” a text that Edwards, Sr., cites.

1. The physical makeup of this notebook was the subject of an article on “Curious Bindings” by Jane Greenfield in the *Yale University Library Gazette* 68 (Oct. 1993), 71–73. There she assumes that Sarah Pierpont Edwards stitched JE’s MS notebooks, but all indications are that he did it himself.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE, BOOK III

SCRIPTURES. EFFICACIOUS GRACE. God is said to give true virtue and piety of heart, to work it in us, to create it, to form it; yea, with regard to it, we are said to be his workmanship. Yea, that there may be no room to understand it in some improper sense, 'tis often declared as the peculiar character of God. He makes it his character to be the author and giver of this, in his being called the sanctifier, he that sanctifieth us [Heb. 2:11] — “I am he that sanctifieth you” — spoken of as a great prerogative of God, Lev. 20:8 and other parallel places.

He declares expressly the effect shall be connected with his act or what he shall do in order [to it]. “I will sprinkle clean water [upon you], and you shall be clean” [Ezek. 36:25].² What God does is often spoken [of] as thoroughly effectual, and the effect as infallibly consequent: “Turn us, and we shall be turned” [Lam. 5:21].

Jesus Christ has the character of a Savior on this account, because he saves his people from their sin. See Rom. 11:26–27.

God [says], “I will put my fear into their heart,” “I will write my law in their inward parts,” “and they shall not depart away from me” [Jer. 32:40, 31:33]; “I will take away the heart of stone, and give them an heart of flesh” [Ezek. 11:19]; “I will give them an heart to know me” [Jer. 24:7]; “I will circumcise their heart to love me” [Deut. 30:6]. God says, “O that there were such an heart in them!” and it is spoken of as his work to give, to cause, to excite such a heart, to put it in them. God is said not only to give statutes, but to incline their heart to his statutes.

Moses speaks of the great moral means that God had used with the children of Israel to enlighten them and convince and persuade them, but of their being yet unpersuaded and unconvinced; and gives this as a reason,

2. JE, Jr., here inserts a cue symbol and reference to MS p. 8, where JE's corresponding symbol and reference to MS p. 1 occur. However, JE's symbol does not appear on MS p. 1. The text on MS p. 8 where the cue appears discusses Jer. 31:18, “Turn thou me, and I shall be turned.” In light of the absence of JE's cue, the original order of the text has been preserved in this instance.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

First two pages of “Efficacious Grace,” Book III, showing the unusual semi-circular shape of the manuscript. Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

that God had not given them “eyes to see, and ears to hear” [Deut. 29:4]. See Stebbing’s answer, pp. 205, etc.³

3. Stebbing, *A Treatise Concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit*. On pp. 205–07, Stebbing considers Deut. 29:4: “But it is plain from the Context that the reason intended in this Place why they *did not perceive*, was not because they wanted that Grace which was *necessary* to *enable them to perceive*, but because of their own Perverseness, who might have *perceived*, and would not. . . . Nothing seems plainer than that *Moses* designed to expostulate with the *Israelites* about their unreasonable Unbelief, and so lays before them the Inexcusableness of their Murmuring and Disobedience. . . . The Sense of the Place therefore must necessarily be this: That notwithstanding God had done so much for them, as that it was not only possible for them *to perceive*, but even a marvelous thing if they should not, yet all this while they *did not perceive*, i.e. they did not consider and lay to Heart those Instances of the Divine Power and Mercy towards them, so as thereby to be wrought up to a firm Reliance and Dependance upon him.”

The Scripture plainly makes a distinction between exhibiting light, or means of instruction and persuasion, and giving eyes to see, circumcising the heart, etc.

Why should [Christ]⁴ teach us to pray in the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven," when it is not God's work to bring that effect to pass, but is left to men's free will and can't be otherwise? Because otherwise [it] is no virtue and none of their obedience in doing God's will; and God does what he can, oftentimes consistent with [man's]⁵ liberty, and those that enjoy the means he uses generally neglect and refuse to do his will. He does so much, that he can well say, "What could I have done more?" And yet almost all are at the greatest distance from doing his will. See Col. 1:9–10.⁶

The virtuous actions of men that are rewardable are not left to men's indifference without divine ordering and efficacy so as to be possible to fail. They are often in the Scripture the matter of God's promises.

How often does God promise reformation. How often does he promise that great revival of religion in the latter days.

If it be as the Arminians suppose, all men's virtue is of the determination of their own free will, independent on any prior determining, deciding and disposing the event; that 'tis no part of the ordaining of God whether there be many virtuous or few in the world, whether there shall be much virtue or little, or where it shall be, in what nation [or] country, or whether in what generation or age, or whether there shall be any at all. These things [do] not belong to God's disposal, and therefore surely it don't belong to him to promise 'em: for it does not belong to him to promise in an affair concerning which he has not the disposal.

And how can [God] promise, as he oftentimes does in his Word, glorious times when righteousness shall generally prevail and his will shall generally be done, and yet it is not an effect that it belongs to him to determine? 'Tis not left to his determination, but to the sovereign arbitrary determination of others, independent on any determination of him. And therefore surely they ought [not] to be promises. For him to promise that

4. JE, Jr.'s insert.

5. JE, Jr.'s insert.

6. The next two paragraphs are moved here from "Efficacious Grace, Bk. I" according to JE's directions; see above, p. 206, n. 1.

has it not in his hands to dispose and determine is a great absurdity. And yet God oftentimes in promising speaks of himself as the sovereign disposer of the matter, using such expressions as abundantly imply it. Is. 60:22, “I the Lord do hasten it in its time.” Surely this is the language of a promise, and not merely a prediction.

God promises Abraham that all the families of the earth shall be blessed in him. God swears that every knee should bow and every tongue confess. And it is said to [be] given to Christ that every nation {and language} should serve and obey him (Dan. 7:14).

After what manner they shall serve and obey him is abundantly declared in other prophecies, as Is. 11 and innumerable others. They are spoken of in the next chapter, ch. 12, as the “excellent things” that God does.

There are no sort of benefits that are so much the subject of the promises of Scripture, as this sort, the bestowment of virtue or benefits that imply it.

Stebbing owns that, on their principles, conversion depending on the determination of free will, it is possible in its own nature that none should ever be converted (p. 235).⁷

How often is the faith of the Gentiles, or their coming into the Christian church, promised to Christ in the Old Testament (Is. 49:6 and many other places); and he has promised it to his church (ch. 49:18–21 and innumerable other places). See Rom. 15:12–13.

If God is not the disposing author of virtue, then he is not the giver of it. The very notion of a giver implies a disposing cause of possession of the benefit. I John 4:4, “Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them” (i.e. have overcome your spiritual enemies) “because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world”; i.e. plainly, he is stronger and his strength overcomes. But how can this be a reason, if God don’t put forth any overcoming effectual strength in the case, but leaves it to free will to get the victory, to determine the point in the conflict?

7. This paragraph is inserted from MS p. 132 at JE’s directions; he also instructs it to be inserted below, p. 245. On p. 235 of his *Treatise*, Stebbing allows that one of the consequences of his principles is “That if the Grace of God may be resisted, *it is, and ever was possible, in the nature of the thing, that none should ever be converted.*” At the end of the paragraph, JE, Jr., adds: “Then all the promises of virtue, of the revival of religion &c. are nothing.”

What a promise have we, Is. 60:21, "Thy people also shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hand, that I may be glorified"; compared with the next chapter, third verse, "That they may be called the tree of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified." See also v. 8. of the same ch. 61. See also ch. 60:17–18, "I will make thy officers peace, and thy exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders." Here it is promised that the rulers shall be righteous, and then in the twenty-first verse following, 'tis promised that the people shall be so.

The change of men to be of a peaceable disposition, as in places innumerable. So in Is. 11:6–11.⁸

Is. 55:5, "Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that know not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee."

Is.⁹ 57:17–18, "For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him: I hid me, and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart. I have seen his ways, and will heal him: I will lead him also and restore comforts to him and to his mourners." Here the word "heal" is evidently used: to "heal him" of his iniquity and froward and evil way spoken of.

Jer. 3:15, "And I will give you pastors according to mine heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding." This implies a promise that there should be such pastors in being and that they should be faithful to feed them with knowledge and understanding. Jer. 10:23, "The way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps."

Jer. 31:18, "Turn thou me, and I shall be turned," compared with Jer. 17:14, "Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved: for thou art my praise." Which shows the force of such a phraseology, the meaning being that God alone can be the doer of it, and that if he undertakes it, it will be effectually done. So 'tis in Jer. 31, in the next words, v. 19: "Surely AFTER that I was turned, I repented; and AFTER I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded."

8. MS: "See p. 9. about middle" (see below, n. 1).

9. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

See Lam. 5:21 and Ps. 80:3, 5, 7, 19. Jer. 31:23, "As yet they shall use this speech in the land of Judah and in the cities thereof, when I shall bring again their captivity; The Lord bless thee, O habitation of justice, and mountain of holiness." See also Zech. 8:2–3. Jer. 31:32–35, "Which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord: but this shall be the covenant, that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest." The Prophet elsewhere tells what he means by knowing God, viz. doing judgment and justice, showing mercy, etc. (ch. 22:16). Here compare Is. 11.¹

Jer. 32:39–40, "And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for the good of them, and their children after them: and I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, and they shall not depart from me."

Jer. 33:2, "Thus saith the Lord the maker thereof, the Lord that formed it." V. 8, "And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity, whereby they have sinned against me."

Stebbing owns that, on their principles, conversion depending on the determination of free will, it is possible in its own nature that none should ever be converted (p. 235).²

Ezek. 11:18–20, "And they shall come thither, and they shall take away all the detestable things thereof and all the abomination thereof from thence. And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give them an heart of flesh: that they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God." See Stebbing's answer, pp. 200, etc.³

1. MS: "See p. 7. a little past the middle" (see above, p. 244, n. 8).

2. This is one of two places in which JE refers to this note, which is taken from MS p. 132 by his direction. See above, n. 7.

3. In the *Treatise*, pp. 200–203, Stebbing considers Ezek. 36:26: "That the Meaning of this Promise was not that God would do all himself, and leave nothing for them to do, is plain, because (as I have before observed) these Men were required to *make THEMSELVES a new Heart and a new Spirit*. From whence it is evident, that notwithstanding God's *giving them a new Heart*, it was necessary for them to *renew their own Hearts*; and what can this signify but that the promise was not absolute, but supposed the Concurrence of their own Endeavours; or else if it were ab-

Ezek. 36:25–33, “Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give unto you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them. And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be by my people, and I will be your God. And I will also save you from all your uncleannesses: and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. And I will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field, that ye shall receive no more the reproach of famine among the heathen. Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that were not good, and shall loath yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities and for your abominations. Not for your selves do I this, saith the Lord God, be it known unto you: be ashamed and confounded for your own ways, O house of Israel. Thus saith the Lord; In the day that I have cleansed you from all your iniquities I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded.” And then the whole is concluded, v. 36, “I the Lord have spoken it, and I will do it.” (See the continuation of texts, p. 252.)⁴

DEFINITION.⁵ I shall [not] pretend to enter [a] full and large inquiry into the nature of the soul and the distinction of its faculties, shall say no more than is requisite to a proper distinct understanding of terms used in the controversies before us.

I speak the sentiment of my heart when I say there are not more INCONSISTENCIES and direct self-repugnances in the DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION, or any or any other popish doctrine whatsoever, than in their doctrine of liberty, moral agency, virtue and vice.

Or express it thus: The doctrine of transubstantiation has not more, nor greater, nor more demonstrable absurdities than the Arminian doctrine of liberty and moral agency, and perhaps no other doctrine that ever was taught by Papists, Mahometans and pagans. But let the matter be judged of by clearly viewing the thing as it is.

solute, that the Meaning of it was no more than this, *viz.* that God would do every thing that was *proper* to be done *on his Part* to bring them to Repentance, leaving it still to their own Choice whether they would actually repent or not?” Stebbing cites Francis Turretin on this topic, whose system, he states, is the “Standard of the Doctrines of that Party of Men for whom he has engaged” (p. vi).

4. JE refers (on MS p. 11) to MS p. 44.

5. JE drew a vertical line through the next three paragraphs.

By DISPOSING OR DETERMINING CAUSE of a benefit, I mean a cause that disposes, orders or determines whether we shall⁶ be actually possessed of the benefit or [not].⁷ And the same cause may be said to be an efficacious or effectual cause. That cause only can be said to an efficacious cause, whose efficiency determines, reaches and produces the effect. DEFINITION.

Let⁸ the whole work be divided into PARTS, each PART into CHAPTERS, some of the longer chapters into SECTIONS, with titles to each part, chapter and section.

At the beginning of each part and chapter, or at least where there is occasion, have definitions and positions laid down. METHOD.

Note:⁹ A being may be determiner and disposer of an event, and not properly an efficient or efficacious cause; because though he determines the futurity of the event, yet there is no positive efficiency or power of the cause that reaches and produces the effect, but only a withdrawing or withholding of efficiency or power.

Concerning the term ARMINIANS: some of those that hold these doctrines go vastly beyond Arminians, are Socinians, Pelagians, Arians and of new schemes of divinity of their own inventing; and some, it may be, in some points, don't go so far as Arminians. PREFACE.

DEFINITION. Define what is meant by CONTINGENCE, CHANCE: sometimes a thing's happening without the desire of the subject of it, and without foresight or knowing any connection with causes that are seen. But some mean something else, viz. happening without any proper dependence upon or fixed connection with any antecedent cause.

They¹ use those metaphysical terms of contingency and self-determination, sovereignty of the will, etc. that are without any consistent meaning, or any meaning of distinct consistent ideas to answer 'em; perhaps as far from it as any of the terms and phrases of the schools in their greatest

6. Conjecture for where the MS is damaged.

7. Conjecture for where the MS is damaged.

8. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

9. JE placed a cue mark before the following paragraph, indicating that he wanted to insert it elsewhere; however, there is no corresponding mark that appears earlier, so the passage has been kept here.

1. JE notes regarding the following paragraph: "Add this to B. 2. p. 79 at the place marked." Since the page in "Efficacious Grace, Bk. II" is missing, the text has been kept here. JE drew a vertical line through the paragraph.

jargon or any of the abstruse and perplexed phrases of the peripatetic philosophers. Yea, it can be demonstrated that these phrases are nothing but pure metaphysical sound without any possible proper notion in the mind to answer them, because it may be demonstrated there cannot be any notion in the mind consistent with these expressions: for no notion that implies self-contradiction, and so self-destruction—and that a great many ways—can subsist in the mind. That idea which, if it be supposed, must be supposed to abolish itself, cannot subsist, or truly there can be no such idea; as there can be no idea of a whole that [is less than]² any of its parts, or of a number four that is made up of 3 and 3, or of solid extension without dimensions, because these contradictions and the notion abolishes itself. The common people have no such notion of contingency, any thing's happening without a cause or reason. They have no such notion of freedom, etc. (See p. 274.)³ METAPHYSICS.

Concerning the GIVER being a DISPOSER or a DETERMINER, consider that objection that when a man gives [to] a beggar, he does but offer and leaves it with the determination of the beggar's will whether he will be possessed.⁴

In answer to this, observe that in order to a gift, in the denomination of a GIVER, the very thing given is the fruit of the bounty of the giver. The thing given is virtue, and that consists in the determination of the inclination and will. Therefore the determination of the will is the gift of God, otherwise virtue is not his gift, and it is an inconsistency to pray to God to give it to us. Why should we pray to God to give us such a determination of will, when that is what is not from him but ourselves?

METAPHYSICS.⁵ Here is, as I apprehend, no use of any abstruse metaphysical phrases without any distinct meaning, like those of the school divines.

Consider the objection from the expressions used in Scripture concerning SATAN's operations in man, which is only in a moral way. Such as, "The spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience; among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others" [Eph. 2:2–3].

2. MS: "no Idea of a Part that is Less whole that." The editorial interpolation is based upon JE's deletion earlier in the sentence.

3. JE refers (on MS p. 19) to MS p. 103.

4. JE, Jr., adds: "of the thing offered."

5. JE drew a vertical line through the next three paragraphs.

GOD IS PRAISEWORTHY on the account of his virtue, though necessary. If it be denied that God is worthy of that sort of praise or commendation that virtuous men [are], let it be considered what they mean by praise or commendation. Don't let us have words here without any distinct notions to answer them. If they mean anything by praise or commendation, they must mean the testimony of some sort of esteem and respect and honorable regard. And will any say that men on the account of their virtue are worthy of some esteem and respect that God is not; and that their virtue and the excellency that is in them⁶ in some respect has a worthiness of esteem, respect and honor that God's excellency has not; and in some respect beyond any excellency in the divine nature, because their excellency is from themselves, of their own free choice, but his is necessary? And is not God a being worthy of all possible respect, and worthy of the utmost esteem and honor that we are capable of rendering to him by any means and in any respect whatsoever?

EFFICACIOUS GRACE. Everything in the Christian scheme argues that man's title to and fitness for heaven depends on some great divine influence at once causing a vast change, and not any such gradual change as is supposed to be brought to pass by men themselves in the exercise of their own power. The exceeding diversity of the states of men in another world argues it.

Concerning⁷ our scheme being agreeable to HOBBS and the STOICS. Inquire who shows theirs ben't agreeable to the opinion of Lucretius and his followers, and to the Mahometans, and to all Arians, Socinians, Pelagians, etc. [. . .]

[. . .] in⁸ it, or influence from it, and so without any relation to it; which is the same thing as producing itself immediately from an equilibrium.

Arminians make a great ado about the phrase, IRRESISTIBLE GRACE, but the grand point of controversy really, [is] what is that which DETERMINES, DISPOSES and decides the matter whether there shall be saving virtue in the heart or not. Much more properly whether the grace of God in the affair be determining grace, than whether it be irresistible.

6. MS: "them is."

7. JE drew a vertical line through the next paragraph.

8. JE drew a vertical line through the remainder of this paragraph.

Our case is indeed extremely unhappy, if we have such a book to our grand and only rule, our light and directory, that are so extremely perplexed, dark, paradoxical and hidden everywhere in the manner of expressions as the *SCRIPTURES* must be to make them consistent with their opinions, by whatever means this is come to pass, if it be through the distance of ages, and diversity of instances, or whatever. It is to be considered this is given for the rule of all ages, and not only of the most learned, accurate and penetrating critics and men of vast inquiry and skill in antiquity, but for all sorts of persons, of every age and nation, learned and unlearned. If this be, how unequal and unfit is the provision that is made, how improper to answer the end designed.

If men will take subterfuge in pretenses of a vast alteration of phrase through diversity of ages and nations, what may not men hide themselves from under such a pretense? No words will hold and secure. 'Tis not in the nature of words to do it. Language⁹ is a sort of thing that, in its own nature, has no sufficiency to communicate ideas.

DEFINITION.¹ The Arminians speak often of the will's determining itself, which is improper speaking, because actions are to be ascribed to agents and not properly to the powers of those agents. But yet, concerning this, I will not debate with them. I suppose by the will's determining itself, they mean the soul's willing. When they speak of the will in this case as the determiner, I suppose they mean the soul, in the exercise of a power of willing—or the soul's determining by an act of will or voluntary act—determines the will; or the soul voluntarily, or in the exercise of the faculty of will, determines the will. Or, which is the same thing, the soul by an act of the will determines the acts of the will.

Afterwards show the absurdity of this.

If I say love seeks the object loved, I mean the soul loving; if I say love delights in the object, I mean the soul loving, or in the exercise of love; or if I say hatred delights in the misery of the person hated, {I mean the person hating, or in the exercise of hate}.

DEFINITION. The will's determining anything is the same with choosing or refusing. Or, these two may be reduced to one, viz. choosing for a refusal of a choice. A choosing a negative, a choosing not to have, or not to be, or not to do the will's determining, is a voluntary determining be-

9. JE, Jr., rewrote the beginning of the sentence to read, "At this rate, language . . ."

1. JE drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs.

tween two. But that is the same thing as making a choice. So every act of the will whatsoever is choosing or refusing; there is no other act, no act of commanding, forbidding, determining, accepting, rejecting, directing, cleaving, flying from, or whatever terms we use to signify any act of the will. For the soul to act voluntarily, is to act electively.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE. We are not merely passive in it, nor yet does God do some and we do the rest, but God does all and we do all. God produces all and we act all. For that is what he produces, our own acts. God is the only proper author and fountain; we only are the proper actors. We are in different respects wholly passive and wholly active.

There² the same things are represented as from God and us. So God is said to convert, and men are said to convert, or turn. God makes a new heart, and we are commanded to make us a new heart. God circumcises the heart, and we are commanded to circumcise [our hearts]. Not merely because we must use the means in order to the effect, but the effect itself is our act and our duty.

These things are agreeable to that text, "God worketh in you both to will and to do" [Phil. 2:13].

Show how the term IRRESISTIBLE is improperly used, and on what account.

SELF-DETERMINING. If the will determines the will, then choice determines its choice, conducts and orders the choice, and choice follows the direction and conduct of some act of choice, or follows some act of the soul acting voluntarily and electively.

SELF DETERMINING. If the will determines itself, it determines it in a way of willing, or by a voluntary determination.

DEFINITION. These definitions, I think, are clear and, I suppose, cannot be disputed to be real and proper explanations of words and phrases. And therefore I shall lay them as foundations in this dispute as points fixed and settled, and shall refer to 'em from time to time as things granted and beyond dispute.

DEFINITION. Show that as there [is] a NATURAL AND MORAL NECESSITY, so there is also a natural and moral PROPENSITY that approaches to ne-

2. I.e. in Scripture.

cessity, and a natural and moral DIFFICULTY that approaches to impossibility. Show wherein these consist.

(Here is a continuation of the catalog of texts from p. 246.)³

Ezek. 37:23–24, “Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions; but I will save them out of all their dwelling places, wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them: so shall they be my people, and I will be their God. And David my servant shall be king over them; and they all shall have one shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgments.”

Dan. 7:14 (see Rev. 11:15–17, ch. 12:7–10), “And there was given dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him.” V. 27, “And all dominions shall serve and obey him,” together with the oath in the latter part of Is. 45. And Is. 53:10, “He shall see his seed, and the pleasure of the land shall prosper in his hands.” Hosea 14:8, “From me is thy fruit found,” with the foregoing context, beginning with v. 4.

Zech. 8:2–3, “Thus saith the Lord of hosts; I was jealous for Zion with great jealousy, and I was jealous for her with great fury. Thus saith the Lord; I am returned unto Zion, and I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth; the mountain of the Lord of hosts the holy mountain.”

Zech. 12:10 to the end,

I will pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn. In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon. And the land shall mourn, every family apart; and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Levi apart, and their wives apart; the family of Shimei apart, and their wives apart; all the families that remain, every family apart, and their wives apart.

So the next chapter, at the beginning: “I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered.”

Mal. 3:3–4, “And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he

3. Continued on MS p. 44 from MS p. 11.

shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant, as in the days of old, and as in the former years.”

Catalog of texts beginning from the beginning of the Bible:

Deut. 29:4, “Yet the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day.” See Stebbing’s answer, pp. 205, etc.⁴

I Sam. 2:35, “I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to that which is in mine heart and in my mind: and I will build him a sure house; and he shall walk before mine anointed for ever.”

I Kgs. 8:58, “That he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgments, which he commanded our fathers.”

I Chron. 29:18–19, “O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their heart unto thee; and give unto Solomon my son a perfect heart, to keep thy commandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all these things.”

We are told, Job 28:28, that “the fear of the Lord is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.” The same is also abundantly declared in other places (look [up] other places at leisure). But it is abundantly declared, that God is the author and giver of wisdom, and that he is the author wholly and only. ’Tis denied of other things. ’Tis in the twenty-eighth chapter of Job abundantly declared that it cannot be obtained of any creature by any means. And ’tis implied there, in the end of the chapter, that ’tis God that gives wisdom, as is asserted, Prov. 2:6.

Ps. 19:12–14, “Who can understand his errors? cleanse thou me from secret faults. Keep back thy servant from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me: then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression. Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my redeemer.”

Ps. 51:5–7, “Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me. Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts: in the hidden parts thou shalt make me to know wisdom. Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.”

4. See above, p. 241, n. 3.

V. 10, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew in me a right spirit [within me]."

'Tis the promise of God the Father, Ps. 110:3, "Thy people shall be willing."

Ps. 119:35, "Make me to go in the way of thy commandments."

V. 36, "Incline my heart unto thy testimonies."

V. 37, "Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity."

Ps. 119:133, "Order my steps in thy word: and let not any iniquity have dominion over me."

Ps. 141:3-4, "Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips. Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practice wicked works with men that work iniquity: and let me not eat of their dainties."

Ps. 143:10, "Teach me to do thy will; for thou art my God: thy spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness."

Ps. 5:8, "Lead me in thy righteousness, O God, because of mine enemies; make thy way strait before my face." Ps. 139:24, "See if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

We are directed earnestly to pray and cry to God for wisdom and the fear of the Lord, for that reason, because it is he that giveth wisdom (Prov. 2, at the beginning; compare Job 28).

Prov. 21:1, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of waters: he turneth it whithersoever he will." Here it is represented as though the will of God determined the wills of men, and that when God was pleased to interpose, he ever directs them according to his pleasure without fail in any instance. This shows that God has not left men's hearts so in their own hands as to be determined by themselves alone, independent on any antecedent determination.

Prov. 28:26, "He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool."

A man is to be commended for making a wise improvement of his outward possessions, for his own comfort, but yet 'tis the gift of God. Eccles. 2:24-26, "There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labor. This also I saw, that it was from the hand of God." [V.] 26, "For God giveth to a man that which is good in his sight wisdom, and knowledge, and joy: but to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up, that may give to him that is good before God." Eccles. 3:13, "And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labor, it is the gift of God." Ch. 5:18, "I beheld that which I have seen: it is good and comely for a man to eat and drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labor that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: for it is his portion.

Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof, and to take his portion, and to rejoice in his labor; this is the gift of God." V. 20, "God answers him in the joy of his heart."

Ch. 6:1–2, "There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is common among men: a man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honor, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof."

Eccles. 7:29, "God hath made man upright."

See⁵ the SCRIPTURES they allege against efficacious grace. Stebbing, pp. 165, etc.⁶

Borrow MR. BEACH's last book.⁷

John 1:12–13, "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of men, but of God." See John 3:8 and Jas. 1:18.

Luke 3:8, "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham."

John 3:3, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." [V.] 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." [V.] 6, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." [V.] 8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Jas. 1:18.

What Christ meant by being born again, we may learn by the abundant use of the like phrase by the same disciple that wrote this gospel, in his first epistles; who doubtless learned his language from his master, and particularly from those sayings of his concerning the new birth which he took more special notice of and left the deepest impression on his mind, which we may suppose are those he records when he writes the history of his life.

Matt. 4:19, "I will make you fishers of men." So Mark 1:16, 20, together

5. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

6. Stebbing, *Treatise*, pp. 165–80. The texts that Stebbing cites to prove that the grace of God may be resisted include Is. 5:1–8, Ezek. 12:2, Matt. 23:37–38, John 5:34, 40, Acts 7:51, Matt. 11:20–23, Ezek. 18:24, II Pet. 1:10, 12–13, II Cor. 11:2–3, I Cor. 9:27, and Deut. 30:19.

7. John Beach, *An Attempt to Prove the Affirmative Part of that Question, Whether There be any Certainty that A Sinner under the Advantages of the Gospel and Common Grace, Striving with all His Might and Persevering to the Last in his Utmost Endeavours to Please God, Shall Obtain Such a Measure of Divine Assistance as is Necessary to Fit Him for Eternal Salvation? Containing Some Remarks upon a Late Piece Intituled A Vindication of Gospel-Truth, and Refutation of Some Dangerous Errors, Etc. Done in a Letter to Mr. Jedidiah Mills* (Boston, 1748).

with Luke 5:10, "From henceforth thou shalt catch men," compared with the foregoing story of Christ's giving them so great a draught of fishes, which was wholly his doings and was ascribed to him.

Matt. 6:10, "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Matt. 11:25–27, "At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." So Luke 10:21–22.

John 6:37, "All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me."

V. 44, "No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him."

V. 45, "It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and learned of the Father, cometh unto me." V. 65, "Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given him of my Father."

Matt. 16:17, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father."

John 8:34, "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin." V. 36, "If the Son therefore make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

V. 47, "He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God."

Luke 15: the parables of the good shepherd seeking his lost sheep till he find it, and bringing it home on his shoulders; and of the woman giving⁸ her last piece of silver. The application in those words, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth" [v. 10].

Matt. 19:24–26, "And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. When his disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved? But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible." So Mark 10:25–27, Luke 18:25–27.

John 10:16, "Other sheep I have, which is not of this fold: them also I must bring; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." And vv. 26–29, "But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you.

8. MS: "seeking," an obvious confusion with the previous part of the sentence.

My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, [is greater than all].”

John 12:23–24, “Jesus answered them, saying, The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit”; with v. 28, “Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.” Vv. 31–32, “Now is the judgment of this world: now is the prince of this world cast out. And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me”; together with Ps. 2:8, “I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,” and Ps. 110:3, “Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power.” Compare John 17:1–3. Acts 14:27, “They rehearsed all that God had done with them.”

Acts 15:3–4, “Declaring the conversion of the Gentiles . . . and they declared all things that God had done with them.” [V.] 9, “And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.” Therefore ’tis not probable that the heart is first purified to fit it for faith.

John 14:12, “Greater works than these shall he do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.” The meaning of it confirmed from John 12:23–24, 28, 31–32; and John 17:1–3; and Is. 49:3, 5 and 26:15; Is. 16:14; Is. 19:3–5, 16–17, and 22, 24 (especially Is. 55:4–5); Jer. 30:19.

Rom. 9:16, “’Tis not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.” By such an expression in the Apostle’s phraseology from time to time is meant the use of endeavors, whereby they seek the benefit they would obtain. So what he says is agreeable to what he says, ch. 11:4–7, where he particularly shows that ’tis God that preserves the remnant, and that it [is] of the election of his grace or free kind[ness], and not of their works, but in such a way of freedom as is utterly inconsistent with its being of their works; and in v. 7, that it is not determined by their seeking but God’s election. If the Apostle here, as Mr. Taylor says,⁹

9. Taylor, *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 269, on Rom. 9:16: “I conclude therefore . . . that the making or continuing any Body of Men the peculiar People of God, is righteously determined, not by the Judgment, Hopes or Wishes of Men, but by the Will and Wisdom of God alone. For ABRAHAM judged the Blessing ought, and desired it might, be given to his eldest Son *Ishmael*; and ISAAC also designed it for his First-born ESAU; and *Esau*, wishing and hoping it would be his, readily went a hunting for Venison, that he might receive it. But they were all frustrated . . . And when, by this Apostacy, they had forfeited this Privilege, it was not MOSES’ Willing, nor any prior Obligation God was under, but his own sovereign mercy, which continued the Enjoyment of it.”

has respect to bodies of men, to the posterity of Esau and Jacob, etc. yet this he applies to distinctions made in these days of the gospel, and that distinction made between those that were in the Christian church and those that were not—particularly some of the Jews that were in the Christian [church] and others of the same nation that were not—which [is] made by some believing and accepting Christ and others' rejection, [by]¹ that faith which they professed to be with all their hearts, that faith which was a mercy and virtue, and the want of which was a fault, as by the objection the Apostle supposes, v. 19, "Why doth he yet find fault"; the want of which argued hardness of heart (v. 18), exposed 'em to wrath and destruction as a punishment of sin (v. 22), and exposes persons to be like the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 29).

Rom. 11:4–7, "But what saith the answer of God unto him? I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. Even so at this present time there is a remnant according to the election of grace. And if by grace, then it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work." (II Tim. 2:9, Eph. 2:9, Tit. 3:5.) "What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained, and the rest were blinded."

Rom. 11:17–18, "If some of the branches are broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in amongst them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree: boast not against the branches."

Rom. 11:25–27, "Blindness is in part happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. For this is my covenant unto them, when I still take away their sins"; together with vv. 35–36, "Who hath first given unto him, and it shall be recompensed to him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory forever and ever."

That expression Rom. 1:7, and I Cor. 1–2 and elsewhere, "called to be saints," implies that God makes the distinction. Compare this with what Christ says (see I Cor.² 2:2, 9), John 10:27, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me." [V. 16], "Other sheep have I, which are not of this fold: them also must I bring in, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd."

1. JE, Jr.'s insert.

2. JE does not indicate a book; I Corinthians seems to best fit his reference.

I Cor. 1:26 to the end, "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." Rom. 11, latter end; Heb. 13:20–21.

I Cor. 3:5–9, "Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, and Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase. . . . We are laborers together with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building." According to the Arminian scheme it ought to have been, "I have planted, and Apollos watered, and God hath planted and watered more especially: for we have done it only as his servants. But you yourselves have given the increase; the fruit has been left to your free will," according to what the Arminians from time to time insist, in what they say upon the parable of the vineyard which God planted in a fruitful hill, etc. and "looked that it should bring forth grapes," and says, "What could I have done more to my vineyard?"

II Cor. 3:3, "Ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart." They were the epistle of Christ as the effect of the Spirit of God in their hearts held forth the light of the truth, of gospel truth, with its evidence to the world, as the church is compared to a candlestick, and called the pillar and ground of truth. This is agreeable to those scriptures in the Old Testament that speak of writing God's law in their hearts, etc. Add to this ch. 4:6, "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

II Cor. 5:14–18, "If one died for all, then were all dead: that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again. . . . Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new. And all things are of God."

II Cor. 8:16–17, "Thanks be to God, who put the same earnest care into

the heart of Titus for you. For indeed he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you.”

So the next chapter speaks of the Corinthians’ forwardness [and] readiness in their bounty to the poor saints, not as of necessity, but with freedom and cheerfulness, according to the purpose of their own hearts or wills; but yet speaks of their charity as just cause of much thanksgiving to God, and speaks expressly of thanksgiving to him for such a subjection of them to the gospel and liberal distribution to them.

Gal. 1:15–16, “But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother’s womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me that I might preach him among the Gentiles,” compared with II Cor. 4:6–7 and the account which he himself gives of his conversion (Acts 26:16–18).

Gal. 2:19–20, “I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.”

Gal. 5:22–23, “The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.”

Eph. 1:18–20, “The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ Jesus, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in heavenly places.” The Apostle repeats the same thing in substance again in the third chapter, fourteenth and following verses, and tells us what sort of knowledge he desired and so earnestly prayed that they might receive, and what is the *power* that he speaks of: that they “may be able to comprehend with all saints the length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge”; and tells by what means God would “dwell in their hearts by faith, being rooted and grounded in love” (vv. 16–17); and he tells us there what is the power of God he speaks of, v. 20: “Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us.” See note on Phil. 3:10.³ The Apostle, in Eph. 1:19–20, speaks of some exceeding great work of power by

3. Blank Bible note on Phil. 3:10: “It seems to me that by ‘the power of Christ’s resurrection,’ the Apostle here means the power that wrought that effect of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. He sought that he might experience the same power in himself, raising him to newness of life, agreeable to Eph. 1:18–20. . . . The Apostle expresses the same in the next verse in other words. What this Apostle says, Rom. 6:3–11, clearly explains what the Apostle means by being ‘made conformable to his death,’ that he might also be to his resurrection.”

which they that believe are distinguished; but a bodily resurrection is no such distinguishing work of power. See Rom. 15:13, I Pet. 1:3–5. See II Thess. 1:11–12. See also what the Apostle speaks of as an effect of God’s glorious power, Col. 1:11. Taken⁴ with the words that follow in the beginning of the next chapter [Eph. 2], which is a continuation of the same discourse, where the Apostle evidently explains himself in those words. There is as it were a rendition of what had before been more figuratively represented. He here observes that those that believe are the subjects of a “like exceeding greatness of power” that Christ was [of] “when he was raised from the dead, and set at his own right hand in heavenly places” [Eph. 1:19–20]; and then in the prosecution of the discourse shows how, viz. in our being raised from the dead, having been dead in trespasses and sins, raised as Christ was, and “made to sit together in heavenly places” [Eph. 2:6]. And this he speaks of not only as the fruit of the exceeding greatness of his power, but of the riches of his mercy and “exceeding riches of his grace”; by grace in opposition to works; that ’tis by faith, which is “the gift of God.” The Apostle repeats it over and over, that it is by grace, and then explains how, “not of works”; and that even faith itself, by which it is, is not of ourselves, but is God’s gift; and that we are wholly God’s workmanship; and that all is owing to God’s foreordaining that we should walk in them. I know not what the Apostle could have said more. Here rehearse particularly the whole of the passage, Eph. 2:1–10.

Perhaps first mention that passage in the second [chapter] of Ephesians, and then in explaining and confirming the sense of it, and showing by it that the Apostle means to declare the efficacious determining grace of God, bring in the eighteenth, nineteenth [and] twentieth verses of the foregoing chapter and show how evidently he is there speaking of the same thing as here.

In Eph. 3, ’tis spoken of as a glorious mystery of God’s will, contrived of old and determined from the foundation of the world, and his “eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord,” that God would bring the “fellow heirs, and of the one body, and partakers of the promise in [Christ] by the gospel”; which confirms the promises of the Old Testament. Show that they were not foretold only as foreseen, but foredetermined as what God would bring to pass. This is often elsewhere spoken of as the fruit of God’s eternal purpose, his election, etc. as our adversaries acknowledge.

4. I.e. Eph. 1:18–20. The interruption is caused by the insertion of passages from elsewhere in the MS at JE’s directions.

Sincerity itself is spoken of as being from God. Phil. 1:10, "That ye may approve the things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offense in the day of Christ." And elsewhere God is represented as creating a clean heart, renewing a right spirit, giving an heart of flesh, etc.

Phil. 2:13, "For 'tis God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his own good pleasure."

The Apostle gives thanks for the faith and love of the Colossians, and being delivered from the power of darkness, etc. and prays that they may "be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom," and might, agreeable to their knowledge, "being fruitful in every good work," and for their perseverance, be made meet for the reward of the saints (Col. 1:3-4, 9-13). This argues all to be from God as the giver. Their first faith, and their love that their faith was attended with; and their knowledge, spiritual wisdom and prudence; and walking worthy of the Lord, and universal obedience, and doing every good work; and increasing in grace, and being strengthened in it; and their perseverance and cheerfulness in their obedience, and being made meet for their reward: all are from God; they are from God as the determining cause. Or why does the Apostle pray that God would bestow it or effect it, if it ben't at his determination whether they shall have it or not? And he speaks of God's glorious power as manifested in it (II Thess. 3:3-5). See here, I Thess. 1:2 to the end; ch. 5:23-24; and ch. 2:13-14; and ch. 3:9-10, 12-13; II Thess. 1:3-4, 11-12 and 2:17-18.

Col. 2:13, "And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him."

Col. 3:10, "Have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him."

See how many things the Apostle gives thanks to God for in the Thesalonians, and prays for for them. II Thess. 1:3-4, 11-12, and 2:17-18 and 3:3-5; I Thess. 1:2 to the end, and ch. 2:13-14 and ch. 3:9-10, 12-13; ch. 5:23-24.

I Thess. 3:12, "The Lord make you to increase and abound in love one towards another, and towards all men, even as we do toward you."

I Thess. 4:9-10, "But as touching brotherly love ye need not that I should write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another. And indeed ye do it towards all the brethren."

I Thess. 5:23-24, "And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit, soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that has called you, who also will do it."

II Thess. 1:3–4, “We are bound to thank God always for you . . . because your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charity [of] every one of you all toward each⁵ other aboundeth. So that we glory in you . . . for your faith and patience in all your persecutions and tribulations.”

Vv. 11–12, “Wherefore we pray always for you, that God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfill all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power: that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and you in him, according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.”

II Thess. 2:16, “Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work.”

Ch. 3:3–5, “But the Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil. And WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE LORD TOUCHING YOU, THAT YE BOTH DO AND WILL DO THE THINGS WE COMMAND YOU. And the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and patient waiting for Christ.”

The Apostle thanks God for his own prayers for others (II Tim. 1:3). If they are from God, then doubtless also our prayers for ourselves, our very prayers for the Spirit. The Prophets ascribe persons’ prayers to their having the Spirit of grace and supplication. True acceptable prayer [is] spoken of in Rom. 8 as being the language of the Spirit. Not that I suppose that the very words are indited, but the disposition given.

II Tim. 1:7, “God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.”

II Tim. 1:9, “Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began.”

II Tim. 2:25–26, “In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.”

Tit. 2:11–13, “The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared.” [V.] 14, “Our Savior Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.” And ch. 3:3–5, “For we ourselves were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another. But after

5. MS: “&.” The scripture reads “each.”

that the kindness and love of God our Savior toward men appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.”

Phil. 1:4–5, “I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast towards the Lord Jesus Christ, and towards all saints.”

Heb. 13:2–21, “Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory forever and ever and ever. Amen.” See Eph. 1:19–20 and I Cor. 1, latter end.

Heb. 12:2, “Jesus the author and finisher of our faith,” compared with Phil. 1:5.

Jas. 1:5–8, “If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, that giveth liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For that he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven of the wind and tossed. For let not that man think that he shall obtain any thing of the Lord. A double minded man is unstable in all his ways.” So that in order to a man’s having any reason to expect to be heard, he must first have faith and a sincere single heart. And what that is which the Apostle calls wisdom, may be learned from ch. 3:17–18, “The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and with hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace.”

Here God is spoken of as the giver of this wisdom, and in the following part of the chapter he is spoken of as the giver of this and every benefit of that kind, everything that contains anything of the nature of light or wisdom or moral good, and that ’tis the fruit of his mere will and pleasure. Vv. 16–18, “Do not err, my beloved brethren. Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, nor shadow of turning. Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures” (vid. John 1:13 and 3:8). The scope of the Apostle, and connection of his discourse, plainly shows that the Apostle means to assert that [. . .]⁶ all moral good [is from God].⁷ In the preceding verses, he was

6. JE, Jr. heavily deletes nearly a whole line of text, obliterating JE’s words.

7. JE, Jr.’s insert.

warning those he wrote to not to lay their sins or fruits of their lusts to God; and on that occasion would have 'em be sensible that every good gift is from God, and no evil; that God is the Father of *light*, and only of light, and that no darkness is from him, because there [is] no darkness in him, no change from light to darkness, no, not the least shadow. What he says is plainly parallel to what the Apostle John says, when he would signify God's perfect holiness without any sin (I John 1:5–6). But if all moral good is from God, cometh down from him and is his gift, then the very first good determination of the will, and every good improvement of assistance, is so.

I Pet. 1:2–5, “Elect according to the foreknowledge of God, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again to a lively hope” (or “a living hope,” i.e. from the dead—to be begotten from the dead,⁸ in the phrase of the New Testament, is the same as to be raised from the dead; see Col. 1:18, Rev. 1:5) “by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, reserved in⁹ heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.” See Eph. 1:18–20 and [ch.] 2 at the beginning.

Rev. 13:3, “And all the world wondered after the beast.” Vv. 7–8, “And power was given over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations. And all that dwell on the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.” And then observe ch. 14:3–5, “The 194,000, which were redeemed from the earth. Those were they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from amongst men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God.”

Rev. 17:14, “They that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful.”

NATURAL¹ NOTIONS. COMMON SENSE. As to the supposition that 'tis contrary to men's natural notions of things that moral agency, blame or praise, should be without this kind of liberty: I would observe that mankind have no natural notions about it, for they have no notion of any

8. MS: “said.”

9. MS: “from.” The scripture reads “in.”

1. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

such kind of liberty, it being entirely diverse from the common notion of liberty; such an use of the words being invented de nouveau by philosophers and metaphysicians, which don't in the least belong to any natural notions mankind have about liberty and moral agency. And indeed, there are no such notions among merited² philosophers. There are indeed such words that are explained by such other words, but without any ideas or any real, true, distinct notions in the mind to answer to 'em. (See "Miscellanies," no. 657.)³

If any one should coin a word that they should see cause to explain thus, that it signified a certain number that was equal to two and two, and yet did [not] amount to four, it would not follow that anyone had any notion or idea of such a number. [. . .]

[. . .] To prove that by many scriptures, both in the Old Testament and New, is meant his church, his present or future church, and not all in the world that are of a meek teachable spirit, though not of his church; which Stebbing supposes is meant by his SHEEP in John 10.⁴

Christ says that no other than those whom the Father DRAWS will come to him, and Stebbing supposes none but whom the Father draws in this sense, viz. first gives them [a] teachable spirit, etc. But show this to be false in fact in the apostle Paul and others: at least he did not give it in answer to prayer, as their scheme supposes, and must suppose, or efficacious grace is established and the liberty of the will, in their sense of it, overthrown.

When Christ says, John 10:16, "Other sheep have I, which are not of the fold," 'tis unreasonable to suppose he means all in the world that were then of a teachable disposition. Many of them would be dead before the gospel was spread among the Gentiles, and many of the Gentiles were doubtless brought in that at that time were not of a teachable disposition. And unless God's decrees and efficacious grace made a difference, 'tis unreasonableness to suppose any other than that multitudes in countries where the apostles never preached were as teachable as in those countries where they did go, and so they never were brought in, according to the

2. Conjectural reading.

3. See *Works*, 18, 197.

4. Stebbing, *Treatise*, p. 32: "Accordingly, our Saviour mentions the want of this *teachable* Disposition as the main Reason why some of the *Jews* believed not in him, *John* x. 25. *But ye believe not, because ye are not of my Sheep*; where by *Sheep* cannot be meant *actual Disciples*, (for then the Sense were, *Ye believe not, because ye believe not*) but such as were by a *teachable Spirit disposed* to be so, and would hear his Voice."

words of Christ: “Those whom the Father hath given me shall come to me” [John 6:37]. Christ speaks of the Father’s giving them as a thing past. John 10:29, “My Father, which *gave* them me.”

When Christ speaks of men’s being drawn to him, he don’t mean any preparation of disposition antecedent to their hearing the gospel, but a being converted to Christ by faith in the gospel, revealing Christ crucified; as appears by John 12:32, “And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.” Acts 15:9, “Purifying their hearts by faith.” Therefore we are not to suppose God first purifies the heart with the most excellent virtues to fit it for faith.

The Apostle says, without faith ’tis impossible to please God. Therefore ’tis not probable that persons have first those virtues that are peculiarly amiable to Christ, as Stebbing supposes, before faith. The apostle James tells us that if we don’t pray in faith, we have no reason to expect to receive anything, and particularly not to receive divine wisdom; and therefore ’tis unreasonable to suppose with Stebbing that persons first pray, even before they have a spirit of meekness and teachableness and humility, faith or repentance, and that God has promised to answer these prayers.

Christian virtue being everywhere spoken of as the special effect of GRACE, and often called by the name of grace, by reason of its being the peculiar fruit of grace, don’t well consist with the Arminian notion of assistance, viz. that God is obliged to give us assistance sufficient for salvation from hell, because, forsooth, it is not just to damn us for the want of that which we han’t sufficient means to escape; and then after God has given these sufficient means, our improving them well is wholly from ourselves, our own will, and not from God; and the thing where the Christian virtue itself consists, is wholly and entirely from ourselves.

EFFICACIOUS GRACE NOT INCONSISTENT WITH FREEDOM. This appears by II Cor. 8:16–17, “Thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you. For indeed he accepted the invitation; but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you.” So that his forwardness being put into his heart by God, and his being forward of his own accord, are not inconsistent one with the other. [. . .]

[. . .] antecedent⁵ to any good endeavors and prayers of their own. I answer, by this they contradict themselves another way: for then there is

5. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

some virtue that is not from them, that don't arise from any of their free endeavors, being from grace that prevents all endeavors, and that is the fountain whence all good endeavors arise, and so is, by their principles, no virtue.

According to their principles, men have a good and honest heart—the very thing that is the grand requisite in order to God's acceptance, and so the proper grand condition of salvation, and is often spoken of in Scripture as such—before they have the proper condition of salvation (see Stebbing, p. 48 and thereabouts).⁶ This good and honest, meek and humble, sincere heart, they suppose they have before they have faith, repentance or obedience. Yea, they themselves hold this previous qualification to be the grand and essential requisite in order to God's acceptance and salvation by him, that they greatly insist that if men have it they shall surely be saved, though they live and die in ignorance of the gospel, faith, repentance and holiness, necessary in order to salvation, according to them (Stebbing, p. 13).⁷

SELF-DETERMINING Power.⁸ If our free acts of will are all self-determined, i.e. if our will be the cause of their particular determination, then such a particular determination of our will is the fruit of some voluntary endeavor of the mind in order to bring to pass that effect. Everything that I am properly the voluntary cause of, is the effect of some voluntary endeavor or effort of mine, and if every free determination of my will be the effect of some voluntary effort of mine, then that effort is properly antecedent to this effect; and as the effort, by the supposition, is voluntary, here was an act of the will antecedent to the determination of the will, and this prior act of the will must be free, too, otherwise they will not suppose the act that is consequent and dependent on it must be free. And this prior act being free, must also be self-determined, i.e. it must in like manner be the effect of some voluntary effort: and so there is another third act of the will which also must be free, and so on; and so we must go on in infinitum, or we shall come to a first act that is the first link in the chain; and this also

6. In the *Treatise*, pp. 48–50, Stebbing argues that “a meek and teachable Disposition” and “a serious Concern for Eternal Life” are the two things “that do *fully make up* that *honest and good Heart* spoken of by our Saviour.”

7. In his *Treatise*, Stebbing enumerates the four things necessary to salvation: faith in Jesus Christ, knowledge of Christian doctrines, the virtues of practical Christianity, and perseverance.

8. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

must be free, and consequently must be the fruit of a voluntary effort of the mind and of an antecedent act: which is a contradiction.

I would ask how is it possible for us to come by virtue at first, according to Arminian principles, or how we come by our FIRST VIRTUE. Is it natural? Is there some virtuous disposition with which we come into the world? But how is that virtue? That which we bring into the world is necessary, and what we had no opportunity to prevent, and it is not at all from our free will. How, then, can there be any virtue in it, by their principles? Or is our first virtue wholly from the influence of the Spirit of God, without any endeavor or effort of ours to be partly the cause of it? This, to be sure, can't be by their principles: for according to them, that which is not at all from us, or that we are not the causes of, is no virtue of ours. Is it wholly from our endeavors, without any assistance at all of the Spirit? This is contrary to what they pretend to hold: for they assert that without divine assistance there can be no virtue (Stebbing, pp. 27–28 and pp. 20–21 and other places).⁹ If they say it is¹ partly from the influence of the Spirit of God and partly from our own endeavors, I would inquire whether those endeavors that our first virtue partly arises from be good endeavors, at all virtuous. If the answer be in the affirmative, this contradicts the supposition: for I am now inquiring what the first virtue is. The first virtue we have certainly don't arise from virtuous endeavors preceding that first virtue, for that is to suppose virtue before the first virtue. If the answer be that they are no good endeavors, they have nothing at all of the nature of the exercise of any good disposition, or any good aim or intention, or any virtuous sincerity, I ask, what tendency can such efforts of the mind as are wholly empty of all goodness [have]² to produce true moral goodness in the heart? Can an action that in its principles and ends has no degree of moral good, have a tendency to beget an habit of acting from good principles and good ends? For instance, can a man's doing something purely to sat-

9. Stebbing, *Treatise*, pp. 27–28: “[H]e who believes in Christ, and sincerely keeps his Commandments, *hath the Spirit of God*; for it is *the Effect* of his *Grace*, and to say that Man may do this, and yet be void of *Grace*, is to contradict the Scriptures, which ascribe *Faith* and *Obedience*, in whomsoever they are, to the Operations of the Holy Spirit . . . This *Change* does necessarily suppose that we have *Grace*, because it is *the Effect of Grace*.”

Pp. 20–21: “But that the Assistance of the Spirit is needful (even to the Degree of Necessity) to enable us to obey the Will of God, need not be proved by way of Consequence, seeing our Saviour has asserted it in express Terms.”

1. MS: “Is it.”

2. JE, Jr.'s insert.

isfy some sensitive appetite of his own, or to increase his own worldly profit, have any kind of tendency to beget a habit of doing something from true disinterested benevolence, or to excite to any act from such a principle? Certainly an act perfectly void of benevolence has no more tendency to produce either an habit or act of benevolence than nothing has a tendency to produce something.

Stebbing supposes the assistance God gives, or the operation of the Spirit in order to faith, is to give a good and honest heart, prepared to receive and well improve the Word, as particularly meekness, humility, teachableness, etc. and supposes that these effects of the Spirit are to be obtained by prayer; but yet allows that the prayer must be acceptably made (p. 106).³ Which supposes that some degree of virtue must be exercised in the prayer, for surely they don't suppose anything else in a prayer, or in any other part of religion, is acceptable to God. I suppose they will not deny that there must be at least some virtuous respect to the Divine Being, as well as some virtuous concern for the good of their own souls, to make any external act of religion in them at all acceptable to God, who is a Spirit and the searcher of hearts. And it may also be presumed that they will allow that there are multitudes of men who at present are so wicked, so destitute of virtue, that they han't virtue enough for acceptable prayer to God. They han't now so much respect to God or their own souls as to incline 'em to pray at all, but they live in a total neglect. Now I would inquire how these men shall come by virtue in order to acceptably praying to God, or how is [it] within their reach by virtue of God's promise, or how can they come by it but by God's sovereign arbitrary grace? Shall they pray to God for it, and so obtain it? But this is contrary to the supposition: for that is supposed, that they now have not virtue enough to pray acceptably, and this is the very thing inquired, How they came by virtue necessary in order to their making an acceptable prayer? Or shall they work the virtue in themselves wholly without God's assistance? But this is contrary to what they pretend, viz. that all virtue is from God. Or by the grace and assistance of God, which they allow to be evident by that Scripture, "*without me ye can do nothing*"? Or is God obliged to give it, or to assist 'em to obtain it, without their praying for it or having virtue enough to ask it of him? That they don't pretend: for they suppose the condition of our obtaining the Holy Spirit is our seeking, asking, etc. And then if God gives it without

3. P. 106: "[S]eeing *every Man* may, if he pleases, pray to God for that Grace which he stands in need of, it is evident that sufficient Grace, and consequently Obedience, is possible *to all* that have embraced the Gospel. But can a Man (you will perhaps ask) pray acceptably without the Grace of God? I answer, No."

their first seeking of it, that will make God the first determining efficient, yea, the mere and sole author of it, without their doing anything towards it, without their so much as seeking or asking for it; which would be entirely to overthrow their whole scheme, and would, by their principles, make the virtue no virtue at all, because not at all owing to them or any endeavors of theirs.

If they reply they must in the first place *consider* they are capable of consideration, and if they would consider as they ought and may, they would doubtless pray to God and ask his help; every man naturally has some virtue in him which proper consideration would put into exercise so far as to cause him to pray in some measure acceptably without any new gift from God: I answer, this [is] inconsistent with many of their principles, that men should naturally have some virtue in them; for what is natural is necessary, is not from themselves and their own endeavors and free acts, but prevents them all and therefore can't be the man's virtue. If they say, no, consideration won't stir up any virtue that is naturally in them to cause 'em [to] pray virtuously, but God has obliged himself to give virtue enough to enable 'em to pray and seek acceptably, if they will consider, I answer, this is more than they pretend: they don't pretend that God has promised any new grace to any man on any lower conditions than asking, seeking, knocking, etc.; and if they should think best at last to pretend any promise on lower terms, they had best to produce the promises and tell us what and where they be. If they say serious consideration itself is some degree of seeking their own good, and there is an implicit prayer in it to the Supreme Being to guide 'em into the way to their happiness, I answer, if this be supposed, there is an implicit prayer in their consideration. Still, they allow that prayer must be in some measure acceptable prayer in order to its being entitled to an answer, and consequently must have some degree of virtuous respect to God, etc. And if so, then the same question returns with all the forementioned difficulties over again, viz. how came the profane, thoughtless, vain, inconsiderate person by this new virtue, this new respect to God that he now exercises in this serious consideration and implicit prayer?

If they say there is no necessity of supposing any implicit prayer in the first consideration, and yet if the wicked, profane, careless person makes a good improvement of what grace he has, in proper consideration or otherwise, God has obliged himself to give him more, in that general promise, "To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundance": then I answer, here is new virtue in his making a good improvement of what common assistance he has, which before he neglected and

made no good improvement of. How came he by this new virtue? Here again, all the forementioned difficulties return. Was it wholly from themselves? This is contrary to what they pretend. Or is God obliged to give new assistance in order to this new virtue by any promise? If he be, what is the condition of the promise? 'Tis absurd to say making a good improvement of what assistance they have, for that is the thing we are inquiring after, viz. how he came by that new virtue, making a good improvement of what he has, that before had not virtue enough to make such an improvement.

Of whatever kind this assistance is, if it be some afflictive dispensation of providence or some other outward dispensation or inward influence, the difficulty is the same: how comes God [to be] obliged to give this assistance, and what is the condition of the promise?

That⁴ which makes the grand difference between [the] difference between NATURAL AND MORAL NECESSITY in this controversy, is this: that in the former kind of necessity the will is not at all concerned as cause or effect; yea, oftentimes it is against the will.

DEFINITION. (See Dr. Watts, p. 7, § 2.)⁵ 'Tis not called NATURAL NECESSITY in distinction from MORAL NECESSITY because the nature of things is not as much concerned in moral necessity as the other, or that the connection don't result as much from the nature of things; but only that men's nature is concerned without anything of choice. For language, which is a very arbitrary [thing], depends chiefly on custom—which is not always foreordered on very clear reason—often uses the word “nature” in opposition to “choice.”

4. JE directs that this paragraph be inserted on MS p. 86, but the page is no longer in the notebook, so the passage has been kept here. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

5. Isaac Watts, *An Essay on the Freedom of Will in God and in Creatures* (London, 1732), pp. 7–8: “I know some great Writers distinguish here between a *natural* and a *moral* Necessity, and call all those *Actions* of the Will which are really natural, as well as constant, certain and universal, such as Acts of Truth, and Justice in God, *morally necessary*; and will allow scarce any thing to be *naturally necessary* but what belongs to Matter, or to the meer *passive* or perceptive Powers of a Spirit: I grant indeed, that the Will, which is influenced by rational Motives, is not under such a sort of influence in its Actions as Bodies are, because Bodies are mechanically moved; yet the Necessity may be as strong and unalterable: and if it be the very *Nature of God* to act justly and faithfully, so that he cannot Will nor Act otherwise, it may be called (I think) a *Natural Necessity*, since it springs from his *Nature*; as well as it may be called a *Moral* one, because 'tis the Action of an intelligent and free Agent.”

Either he is blind [and] stupid that shall say thus, and believes what he says, or I must confess myself to be so with a witness.

This is the common way of the Arminians in their solution of difficulties and in the account they give of things, which they pretend are so much more consistent with reason and common sense than the doctrines of the Calvinists; do really give no account at all, make no proper answer to the inquiries made, but only put the difficulty further out of sight, and do as Mr. Locke says of the Indian philosopher, who when asked what the earth stood upon, answered, etc.⁶ None of their accounts will bear to be traced. The first link of the chain, and fountain of the whole stream, must not be inquired after. If it be, it brings all to a gross absurdity and self-contradiction.

And yet when they have done, [they] look upon others as stupid bigots and void of common sense, or at least going directly counter [to it], and worthy of contempt and indignation because they won't agree with them.

The answer must be that this new virtue is without any new assistance given, and is from God no otherwise than as the former neglected assistance or grace subserves it. But the question is, whence came the virtue of not neglecting but improving that former assistance? Is that proper to say, that a man is assisted to improve assistance by the assistance improved? Supposing a number of men were in the water in danger of drowning, and a friend on shore throws out a cord amongst them, but all of them for a while neglect [it]. At length, one of them takes hold of it and makes improvement of it: and [if] any should inquire how that man came by the prudence and virtue of improving the cord, when others did not, and when he before had neglected it, would it be a proper answer to say that he [that] threw out the rope assisted him wisely to improve the rope, by throwing out the rope to him? This would be an absurd answer. The question is not how he came by his opportunity, but how he came by the virtue and discretion of improvement of [the rope]. His friend on shore gave him the opportunity, and this is all the man's virtue in improving it; [it] was not at all from him. Would it be exceeding impertinent in such a case to set forth from time to time how this man's virtue and prudence

6. *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, ch. XIII, § 19: "Had the poor *Indian Philosopher* (who imagined that the Earth also wanted something to bear it up) but thought of this word *Substance*, he needed not to have been at the trouble to find an Elephant to support it, and a Tortoise to support his Elephant: The word *Substance* would have done it effectually."

was the gift of his friend on the shore, his mere gift, the fruit of his purpose and mere good pleasure, and of his power; that it was of his own will, etc.?

Men's virtue, by Arminian [principles],⁷ must consist wholly and entirely in improving assistance: for in that only consists the exercise of their free will in the affair, and not in their having the assistance; and therefore their virtue must be, by their principles, entirely from themselves, and God has no hand in it.

From the latter part of the above discourse, it appears that, according to Arminian principles, MEN'S VIRTUE IS ALTOGETHER OF THEMSELVES, AND GOD HAS NO HAND AT ALL IN IT.

STATING QUESTION. DETERMINING GRACE. When I say that the acts and influences of the Spirit determine the effects, 'tis not meant that man has nothing to do to determine in the affair. The soul of man undoubtedly, in every [instance],⁸ does voluntarily determine with respect to his own consequent actions; but this determination of the will of man, or voluntary determination of the soul of man, is the effect determined. This determining act of the soul is not denied, but supposes,⁹ as in the effect we are speaking of, that the influences of God's Spirit determines.

If they say, 'tis no act at all if it be thus disposed and absolutely determined by another cause, I answer, 'tis no more an act if it be supposed to come to pass accidentally, or in pure contingency, without a cause. 'Tis no more caused by the soul for coming to pass in the soul without any cause.

But¹ then this don't at all enter into the vulgar and common notion of an act, that it be a thing uncaused. 'Tis only their subtil, abstruse and inconsistent METAPHYSICS that has brought in this notion. (See p. 248.)²

SELF-DETERMINING POWER.³ The question is whence the free acts of the will first begin or take their first rise. To say they begin of themselves is a contradiction: for to say they take their beginning or rise from themselves is a contradiction, for this supposes that these acts are causes before they

7. JE, Jr.'s insert.

8. JE, Jr.'s insert.

9. MS: "supposed."

1. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

2. Here (MS p. 103) JE refers back to MS p. 19.

3. JE drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs.

began, and that implies that they exist before they begin. To say they begin from antecedent free acts [is] a contradiction; for the inquiry is after the first source of free acts, and that implies whence the first free act in the whole train or succession begins. To say that that begins from antecedent free acts is a contradiction.

CONTINGENCY. That anything new should begin to be without a cause, is what is inconcileably repugnant to common sense. God has put that natural sense into the minds of all mankind that is invincibly opposite to a new thing, of any sort whatsoever, starting into existence without a cause.

To suppose that an act of will should be without a cause, is as repugnant to reason as to suppose a mind with a faculty of will and other faculties should come into being without a cause.

DEFINITION. BY MORAL NECESSITY, I mean a necessity arising from the strength of inclination, or strength of motives and inducement, and the certain connection that there is in many cases between these and such and such acts of the will. [. . .]

METAPHYSICS.⁴ The propositions that demonstrate it are no more metaphysical, and no more abstruse, than those by which we demonstrate the falsity of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

DEFINITION. STATING THE QUESTION. To endeavor to make it⁵ very plain, that the main thing in debate, [is] who is the DETERMINING DISPOSING CAUSE of virtue.

The Scripture speaks of that as the reason that good men have virtue, that God *hath given it* to them, and the reason why bad men have it not, that God *hath not given it* to them. These two together clearly prove that GOD is the DETERMINING OR DISPOSING CAUSE of the virtue or goodness in men.

To show in what sense the grace of God is IRRESISTIBLE. If the grace of GOD BE DETERMINING OR DISPOSING, then it is in this sense irresistible. See Stebbing's state of the question concerning irresistible grace, p. 129.⁶

4. JE drew a vertical line through this paragraph.

5. MS: "tis."

6. P. 129: "The Question therefore is this, *Whether supposing all the Operations of Grace, which God makes use of in order to Conversion, Conversion be still so far in the Power of Man, as that he may be*

Dr. Stebbing insists upon it, that conversion is the effect of God's Word, and therefore supposes it to be⁷ demonstrably evident that it must needs be the effect of man's free will, and not the necessary effect of the Spirit of God.⁸ But I say that, by their doctrine of self-determination, it can't be the effect of the Word of God in any proper sense at all. 'Tis as inconsistent with their scheme, as they suppose it to be with ours, and is also utterly inconsistent with its⁹ being at all the effect of either Word or Spirit.

They say that COMMANDS, THREATENINGS, promises, invitations, counsels, etc. are to no purpose on our scheme; but indeed they have no place in their scheme, for their scheme excludes all motive.

To enumerate many particulars wherein their scheme contradicts COMMON SENSE. It is contrary to common sense that a being should continually meet with millions of millions of real proper disappointments and crosses to his proper desires, and not continually live on a distressed and unhappy life. 'Tis contrary to common sense that God should know that to be contingent, will certainly come to pass, whose nonexistence he at the same time knows is not impossible; that a thing should be the cause of itself, or that a thing not necessary in its own nature should come to pass without any cause; that the more indifferent, the more virtuous, etc.

IF THE GRACE OF GOD IS NOT DISPOSING AND DETERMINING, then a gracious man's differing in this respect from another is not owing to the goodness [of God].¹ He owes no thanks to God for it, and so owes no

either converted or not converted?" Stebbing goes on to say that the "Patrons of *absolute Personal Decrees*" advocate "That Conversion is the Effect of such an Operation of the Spirit upon the Mind, as makes it impossible for a Man not to be converted; and withal that Conversion is impossible without such an irresistible Operation" (p. 130).

7. MS: "& supposes that therefore supposes it to be."

8. In discussing the manner of the Spirit's operation, Stebbing asserts, "That *such is the Manner of the Spirit's Operations, that Faith, Obedience, together with Improvement in Holiness, are nevertheless the proper and genuine Effects of the Revelation of the Gospel*" (p. 122). P. 142: "The Word of God can be the Cause of Conversion no otherwise than as it moves the Heart to Faith and Repentance, by those Arguments or rational Grounds of Conviction which it proposes to us. Now as this *immediate Almighty* Act of the Spirit exerts it self, and the Mind thereby becomes regenerate, all Arguments and Persuasions must necessarily be fruitless and ineffectual. Upon this *Hypothesis* then the Word of God can have no Force till Conversion be actually wrought; and therefore to say after this that Conversion is *the Effect* of God's Word, is to make *the Effect* antecedent to *the Cause*."

9. JE, Jr., replaces "its" with "conversion."

1. JE, Jr.'s insert.

thanks to God that he is saved, and no others. Show how contrary this is to Scripture.

When the Scripture speaks of giving it,² it speaks of the possession of it as a fruit of God's bounty.

See what the Arminians say concerning those Scripture that speak of sinners as DEAD IN SIN, BLIND, having a HEART OF STONE, etc. Stebbing, pp. 181, etc.³

If the effect⁴ is partly owing to assistance or motive: if the effect has ten degrees, and 'tis in some measure owing to foreign assistance—suppose five degrees—then only the remaining five degrees is to be ascribed to the man himself, and therefore there are but five degrees of virtue or vice.

Dr. Stebbing says that a man is indeed passive and active both in his own conversion, and he represents God as partly the cause of man's conversion, and man himself partly the cause (p. 208).⁵

Again Stebbing says, p. 254, "Faith and regeneration are our works, as well as his gifts, i.e. they arise partly from God, and partly from ourselves."⁶

CONTINGENCE,⁷ things coming to pass WITHOUT CAUSE. If there be no absurdity or difficulty in supposing one thing to start out of nothing into

2. JE, Jr., takes this to mean "the gift of virtue."

3. In Ch. 11 of the *Treatise*, Stebbing considers arguments in favor of irresistible grace and the state of man before conversion. In regard to the metaphors of "deadness," "blindness," and the like, he summarizes his answers (p. 183): "[F]irst, that it is absurd to argue from the whole Latitude of these Metaphors, so as to conclude *every thing* to be true of the *Unconverted*, &c. which may be affirmed of the *Dead*, &c. Secondly, That there are other Respects, and those very obvious and plain ones, in which the Resemblance between the *Unconverted* and the *Dead* or *Blind*, and between the *Converted* and the *raised up* or *enlightened*, will justify the Use of these *Metaphors*, without supposing that Conversion must be wrought by an irresistible Operation. Thirdly, . . . the Impossibility of being converted, otherwise than by an irresistible Operation, cannot be argued from these Expressions, whatever else may be argued from them."

4. JE, Jr., deletes the beginning of the sentence and inserts: "A man's conformity to the rule of duty."

5. Stebbing, *Treatise*, p. 208: "Man is indeed *passive*, but not *merely passive* in the Work of Conversion. For if Man were not *at all passive*, it could not be said of GOD, that he *worketh in us both to will and to do*, that he *gives us a new Heart, a new Spirit*, and the like; and if Man were *merely passive*, i.e. if he were not at all the Cause of his own Conversion, it would be absurd to exhort him *to work out his own Salvation*, to *make himself a new Heart and a new Spirit*. Wherefore there is no other way to make the Scriptures consistent with themselves, but by saying that *Conversion* is the Work of God and of Man too."

6. JE, Jr., adds: "But if so, on his scheme, they imply virtue so far only as they are our works."

7. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

being, then there is no more difficulty in supposing⁸ a million millions: for nothing multiplied by nothing don't increase the number. If there be nothing of difficulty in one instance, there is nothing [. . .]

[. . .] or⁹ motion, or figure, or some perception, or sensation, or act of will; and also something that divides and exactly limits the time, place and subject in which it shall come into existence. This shows that the thing don't come into existence of itself, but from a cause, and so the supposition is an absurdity.

Supposing¹ the sort of existence that was wont to start into existence of itself, without any cause, were diamonds; and those came into being of themselves by millions of millions, and in a very constant manner all over the world; and no other effects came into being of themselves but those: this would show there was some cause, and so the supposition would be an absurdity. And if the sort of existence be motion, or color, or some perception of the mind or act of the will, the case is the same. It cannot be the nature of the effect itself that shall have influence in this matter.

See² to that there be no seeming inconsistency here with anything that may be said in the definitions concerning the different kinds of necessity, as though there was no real difference between natural and moral necessity.

Concerning the GLORY of our conversion and salvation being due to ourselves on Arminian principles, see Stebbing, pp. 209, etc.³

8. MS: "suppose."

9. JE drew a vertical line through the next three paragraphs.

1. JE directs that the following paragraph, through which he drew a vertical line, should be inserted on the "last p.," i.e. MS p. 121, which is missing. The passage has therefore been kept here.

2. JE directs that this paragraph be moved to MS p. 119, which is missing.

3. Ch. XII, pp. 209–28, is entitled, "Of The Evil Consequences which are Supposed to Follow From Maintaining the Grace of God to be Resistible; and First, that it Ascribes the Glory of Conversion to Ourselves." On pp. 210–11, Stebbing writes: "I say, 'tis no consequence from our Principles, that we must ascribe *the whole* Glory of Conversion to *our selves*, and *none* to the *Grace of God*. . . . We do *in great Part* ascribe Conversion to the Grace of God merely upon this Account, *viz.* Because we say and believe that it is truly and properly the *Effect of God's Word* revealed to us in the Gospel." P. 215: "Seeing then that the Promise of eternal Life and Happiness cutteth off all Pretence of *glorying* before God, when for his Sake we suffer the sharpest Persecutions, much more will it make the Praise of all other Acts of Obedience, as not being so difficult, become due to him in the first place, who hath by the Offer of such inestimable Rewards, induced us thereunto." P. 218: "*Finally*, we do not ascribe *the whole* Glory of Conversion to our selves, because we

Men's salvation is attributed wholly and entirely to men in their scheme, and none at all of the praise of it due to God, as will most evidently appear if the matter be considered with a little attention. For, first, they hold that men's salvation is given as a reward of men's virtue; so is pardon of sin, deliverance from hell, and eternal life and glory in heaven. All is for men's virtue. Second, rewardable virtue wholly consists in the exercise of a man's own free will. They hold that a man's actions are no further virtuous nor rewardable than they are from man himself. If they are partly from some foreign causes, so far they are not rewardable in the man. It being so, that that virtue which is rewardable in man is entirely from man himself, hence 'tis to himself wholly that he is to ascribe his obtaining the reward. If the virtue, which is that thing, and that thing only, which obtains the reward, be wholly from man himself, then it will surely follow that his obtaining the reward is wholly from himself.

All their arguments suppose that men's actions are no further virtuous or rewardable than they are from themselves the fruits of their own free will and self-determination. And therefore men's virtue, they say, is the only condition of salvation, and so must be the only thing by which salvation is obtained. And this being only of themselves, it surely follows that their obtaining salvation is only of themselves.

They say their scheme gives almost all the glory to God. That matter, I suppose, may easily be determined, and it may be made [to] appear beyond all contest how much they do ascribe of the man and how much they do not.

By them, salvation is so far from God that 'tis God that gives opportunity to obtain salvation, 'tis God that gives the offer and makes the promise; but the obtaining the thing promised is of men. The being of the promise is of God, but their interest in it is wholly of themselves, of their own free will.

And furthermore, it is to be observed that even God's making the offer and giving the opportunity to obtain salvation—at least that which consists in salvation from eternal misery—is not of God so as to owing to any proper grace or goodness of his: for they suppose he was obliged to make the offer, and it would have been a reproach to his justice if he had not given an opportunity. For they hold 'tis unjust for God to make men miserable for Adam's sin, and that it is unjust to punish 'em for that sin that they can't avoid, and that therefore it is unjust for God not to preserve or

do acknowledge that there is a Variety of other Means besides these which have been already mentioned, whereby God traineth us up to his Fear."

save all men that do what they can or use their sincere endeavors to do their duty. And therefore it certainly follows that 'tis unjust in God not to give all opportunity to be saved or preserved from misery, and consequently it is no fruit at all of any grace or kindness in him to give such opportunity as to make the offer of it. So that all that is the fruit of God's kindness in men's salvation, is the positive happiness that he brings to salvation. But neither of these two things are in any respect whatsoever the fruit of God's kindness, neither his deliverance from sin nor his deliverance from misery, nor his virtue and holiness. When hereafter they see the misery of the damned, they will have it to consider that 'tis in no respect owing to God that they are delivered.

And that good men differ from others that shall burn in hell to all eternity, is wholly owing to themselves. When they at the day of judgment behold . . .⁴ and see how they differ, they may and ought, as they would act according to truth, take all the glory of it to themselves. And therefore the glory of their salvation belongs to them: for it is evident that a man's making himself to differ with regard to any great spiritual benefit; and his not receiving it from another, but his having it in distinction from others, being from himself, is ground of a man's boasting and glorying in himself with respect [to it] and boasting of it: I say 'tis evident by the Apostle's words, "Who maketh thee to differ from another? Why boastest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?" [I Cor. 4:7], these words plainly imply it. (See the next §.)

(See the last §.) It is evident that 'tis God's design to exclude man's BOASTING in the affair of his salvation.

Now let us consider what does give ground for boasting in the Apostle's account, and what is it that, in his account, excludes boasts or cuts off occasion for it.

'Tis evident by what the Apostle says, I Cor. 1, latter end, that the entire[ness]⁵ and universality of our dependence on God, is that which cuts off occasion [for boasting].

And that such an universal dependence is what takes away occasion of taking glory to ourselves, and is a proper ground of an ascription of all glory of things belonging to man's salvation to God, is manifest from Rom. 11:35–36, "Or who hath first given unto him, and it shall be recompensed to him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all

4. JE, Jr., inserts: "some set on the left hand of the judge, while they are on his right hand."

5. JE, Jr.'s insert.

things: to whom be GLORY for ever and ever. Amen.” The words are remarkable and very significant if we look into all the foregoing discourse, from the beginning of ch. 9, of which this is the conclusion. By not giving to God, but having all this wholly *from, through* and *in* God, is intended that these things, these great benefits forementioned, are thus from God without being from or through us. That some of the Jews were distinguished from others in enjoying the privileges of Christians, was not of themselves: “Not of him that willeth, nor him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.” ’Tis of him who has “mercy on whom he will have mercy.” ’Tis of God, whom makes of the same lump a vessel of honor and a vessel unto dishonor. ’Tis not of us nor our works, but of the calling of God, or “of him that calleth” (ch. 9:11, 16, 21). Not first of our own choice, but of God’s election (ch. 9:11, 27 and ch. 11:5). All of the grace of God in such a manner as not to be of our works at all, yea, and so as to be utterly inconsistent with its being of our works (ch. 11:5–7). In such a manner as not firstly to be of their seeking; their seeking don’t determine, but God’s election (ch. 11:7). ’Tis of God, and not of man, that some were grafted in that were wild olive branches in themselves, and were unlikely as to any[thing]⁶ in themselves to be branches than others (v. 17). Their being grafted in is owing to God’s distinguishing goodness, while he was pleased to use severity towards others (v. 22). Yea, God has so ordered it on purpose that all should be shut up in unbelief, be left to be so sinful, that he might have mercy on all, so as more visibly to show the salvation of all to be merely dependent on mercy. Then the Apostle fitly concludes all this discourse with, “Who hath first given to him, [and it shall be recompense unto him again? For] of him, through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.”

{That our dependence on God cuts off all boasting is further evident from the Apostle}, as our receiving our wisdom, our holiness and our redemption through Christ and not through ourselves; that Christ is made to us wisdom, holiness and redemption; and not only so, but that ’tis of God that we have any part in Christ: “Of him are ye in Christ Jesus.”

And not only so, but that it is from God that we receive those benefits of wisdom, holiness, etc. through the Savior that we are interested in. The import of all these things, if we may trust to Scripture representations, is that God has contrived to exclude our glorying, that we should be wholly and every way dependent on God for the moral and natural good that belongs to salvation, and that we have all from the hand of God by his power

6. JE, Jr.’s insert.

and grace. And certainly this is wholly inconsistent with our holiness being wholly of ourselves, and our being interested in the benefits of Christ rather than others, being wholly of our own decision.

Again, in the Apostle's account, a benefit being of our works gives occasion for boasting, and that therefore God has contrived that our salvation shall not be [of] our works but of mere grace (Rom. 3:27, Eph. 2:9); and that both the salvation and condition of it, neither of them be of our works, but that with regard to all we are God's workmanship and his creation antecedent to our works; and his grace and power in producing this workmanship, and his determination or purpose with regard to 'em, are all prior to our works, and the cause of 'em. See also Rom. 11:4–6.

And 'tis evident man's having it from himself and not receiving it from another, and making himself to differ with regard to great spiritual benefits, does so,⁷ by the words of the Apostle in [Rom. 3:27];⁸ and that is allowed by these men in spiritual gifts. And if so in them, more so in greater things; more so in that which in itself is a thousand times more excellent, and of ten thousand times greater importance and benefit. So that by the Apostle's suppositions, man's receiving spiritual benefits of himself and not from another, being the author of his own distinction in them, as⁹ that which gives ground of boasting, can be excluded by the scheme of those, in the Apostle's notion of an occasion for [boasting]. For by them, that which is infinitely the most excellent thing, viz. virtue and holiness, which the Apostle himself sets forth as being so infinitely the most honorable, and will bring 'em infinitely to the greatest and highest honor, [is] that which is infinitely the highest dignity of man's nature of all things that belong to man's salvation, in comparison of which all other things belonging to that salvation are nothing; that which does infinitely more than anything else constitute the difference between them and others as more excellent, more worthy, honorable and happy: not only that which is infinitely the most honorable, but which men, on the supposition of their being possessed of [it], are more apt to glory in than anything else whatsoever. For what are men so apt to glory in as their own supposed excellency, and that sort of glory which, it is evident in fact, the Scriptures do chiefly guard against. 'Tis glorying in their own righteousness, their own holiness, their own works.

How¹ apparent is it that God, in the whole series of his dealings with his

7. JE, Jr., deletes "so" and inserts "give ground for boasting."

8. JE, Jr., supplied the text.

9. MS: "is."

1. JE drew a vertical line through the following paragraph.

people from the beginning of the world, has greatly guarded against men's GLORYING in benefits as though they were of themselves.

This is from themselves with regard to this: they have not received it from another. With regard to this great thing, they, and they only, make themselves to differ from others, not at all from the power or grace of God.

Again, in the Apostle's account, it² will give occasion to have a great benefit that appertains to salvation, [not]³ of grace but of works.

That, in the Apostle's account, 'tis a proper consideration to prevent our boasting, that our distinction from others is not of ourselves, not only in being distinguished in having better gifts and better ministers; but in our being made partakers of the great privileges of Christians, such as being ingrafted into Christ and partaking of the fitness of that olive tree. Rom. 11:17–18, "And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in amongst them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches." Here 'tis manifest, 'tis the distinction that was made between some and others that is the thing insisted on by the Apostle. Others were broken off; they were grafted in. And the Apostle, v. 22, calls upon them to consider this great distinction, and to ascribe it only to the distinguishing goodness of God: "Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness." And its being owing not to them but to God and his distinguishing goodness, is the thing the Apostle urges as a reason why they should not boast but magnify God's grace or distinguishing goodness. And if it was a good reason, and the scheme [of] our salvation be anyway so contrived (as the Apostle elsewhere signifies) that all occasion of boasting should be precluded and all reasons given to ascribe all to God's grace, then doubtless 'tis so ordered that the greatest privileges, excellency, honor and happiness of Christians should be that wherein they don't distinguish themselves, but the distinction is owing to God's distinguishing goodness.

Stebbing strongly asserts that God is not the author of that difference that is between some and others, that some are good and others bad (p. 232).⁴

2. JE, Jr., deletes "it" and inserts "this scheme."

3. JE, Jr.'s insert.

4. JE's statement is confusing in light of the fact that, on p. 232 of his *Treatise*, Stebbing asserts that God is the author of the difference. Stebbing writes on I Cor. 4:7: "After all, I do not say that there was *no* Difference between these Teachers [Paul and Apollos], nor yet that God *was not* the Author of that Difference. . . . It is likewise true, that this Difference was *of God's making*. For it depended not at all upon the *Will of Man* whether he should be *thus* or *thus* qualified by *extraordinary* Gifts, but merely upon the good Pleasure of God, who *divided* these Gifts to *every Man several as he would*, I Cor. 12.11." Perhaps JE's use of the negative "not" is a mistake on his part.

ARMINIANS differ among themselves. Dr. Whitby supposes what God does is only proposing moral motives, but that our attending and advertizing and considering is that wherein we exercise our liberty. But Stebbing supposes that the attention and consideration itself is the thing owing to the Spirit of God (p. 217).⁵

STEBBING changes the question, [pp.] 223–24. He was considering who has the chief GLORY of our conversion or of our virtue, and there, in answering objections, endeavors to prove the affirmative of another question, viz. Who is the author of pardon and that salvation of which conversion and virtue are the condition?⁶

See the SCRIPTURES they allege against efficacious grace. Stebbing, pp. 165, etc.⁷

SUPERCILIOUS, MAGISTERIAL, CASTIGATORY AIRS.

Stebbing supposes that one thing wherein the assistance of the Spirit consists, [is] in giving a meek, teachable, disinterested temper of mind, to prepare 'em for faith in Christ (pp. 217, 259); and that herein consists the drawing of the Father (John 6:44), viz. in giving such a temper of mind.⁸

5. Stebbing, *Treatise*, p. 217: "What I have hitherto said, must not be interpreted as if I thought that the bare proposal of these Motives in the holy Scripture, or by the Ministry of Men, is *of it self* sufficient for Conversion. For all that I affirm is, that *if this were* sufficient, the Glory of Conversion ought still to be ascribed chiefly unto God, and consequently, we who acknowledge Conversion to be the Effect of God's Word, as *one* Cause or Means of it, are for this reason, unjustly charged with giving the *whole* Glory of Conversion to our selves. . . . [W]e do moreover ascribe Conversion to the *internal Operations* of the holy Spirit, applying the Motives of Religion to our Minds, and with them perswading us to be converted."

6. On p. 222 of the *Treatise*, Stebbing states the objection that "that which LEAST *conducceth* to Man's Salvation is *attributed to God*, and that which *conducceth* MOST is *ascribed to MAN HIMSELF*. . . ." To this Stebbing replies: "1. That 'tis Nonsense to say that *the Power* which we have to believe and repent is *from God*, and at the same time to say that *the Act* of Conversion is *from our selves*, i.e. from our selves *only*. . . . 2. The Meaning of this Objection, to make Sense of it, must be this: 'That we suppose the *Act* of Conversion to be *so much* from our selves, that it depends upon the Use of our own Liberty.' Which indeed is very true; but then I deny that it follows from hence that *Man* contributes *more* to his own Conversion than God; for this Conclusion is grounded upon a most false Proposition, viz. That that Cause, without which the Effect cannot be produced, is always *the principal* Cause; whereas nothing can be more plain, than that many Causes may be necessary for the producing of an Effect."

7. These include Is. 5:1–8, Ezek. 12:2, Matt. 23:37–38, John 5:34, 40, Acts 7:51, Matt. 11:20–21, 23, Ezek. 18:24, Heb. 6:4–5, II Cor. 11:2–3, I Cor. 9:27, and Deut. 30:19.

8. On p. 217 of his *Treatise*, Stebbing writes that one of the "internal operations" of the Holy Spirit is to give "a serious and considerate Temper." On p. 259, he writes on John 6:44: "[T]o be

This he calls the preventing grace of God, that goes before conversion [p. 259]. He several times speaks of a part that we do, and a part that God does; and he speaks of this, as that part which God does. Therefore this, if it be the part which⁹ God does in distinction from the part which we do (for so he speaks of it), is wholly done by God; and consequently here is virtue wholly from God and not at all from the exercise of our own free will, inconsistent with his own and all other Arminians' principles.

Stebbing speaks of these preparatory dispositions as virtue (pp. 30–32), yea, as that wherein virtue does in a peculiar manner consist (p. 31).¹

And he there also, viz. [p.] 259, talks inconsistently with himself: for he supposes that this meek and teachable temper is given by God by his preventing grace, and also supposes that all that have this shall surely come to the Father. He says, p. 256: "'Tis certainly true of the meek, disinterested man, that [as] he will not reject the gospel at first, so he will not be prevailed on by any worldly considerations to forsake it afterwards." "He who is under no evil bias of mind, by which he may be prejudiced against the truth [. . .] (which is the notion of a meek and disinterested man), such a one, I say, cannot possibly fail of being wrought upon by the preaching of the Word, which carries in it all that evidence of truth which reason requires," etc.

And his words, pp. 259–60, are: "John 6:37, 39, 'All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me'; for to be given of the Father signifies the same thing with being drawn of the Father, as has been already shown. And to be drawn of the Father signifies to be prepared or fitted for the reception of the gospel by the preventing grace of God, as has also been proved. Now this preparedness consisting, as has likewise been shown, in being endued with a meek and disinterested temper of mind, those who are given of the Father will be the same with Christ's sheep, and the sense of the place the same with the preceding, where our Savior says, that his sheep hear his voice and follow him, i.e. become his obedient disciples. This text therefore being no more than a declaration what will be certain, and (morally speaking) the necessary effect of that disposition, upon the

drawn of the Father signifies to be *prepared* or *fitted* for the Reception of the Gospel by the preventing Grace of God . . . Now this Preparedness consisting . . . in being endued with a *meek* and *disinterested* Temper of Mind, those who are *given of the Father* will be the same with *Christ's Sheep*."

9. MS: "which is."

1. P. 31: "That these [Moral] *Endowments* being once found out, if it can be proved that they are also *sufficient* to lead us to Faith and Obedience, it will then follow, that they must make up *the whole* of what our Saviour means by an *honest and good Heart*, because otherwise *these Endowments* would not be *sufficient*, something else included under an *honest and good Heart* being still supposed to be necessary."

account of which men are said to be given of the Father (to wit, that it will lead em to embrace the gospel when once proposed to 'em).” By these things, the preventing grace of God, the part that God does in distinction from the part that we do, and that which prevents or goes before what we do, thoroughly decides and determines the case as to our conversion, or our faith and repentance and obedience; notwithstanding all the hand our free will is supposed to have in the case, and which he supposes is what determines men’s conversion, and insists upon it most strenuously and magisterially through his book, and abundantly professed condemnation of the contrary.

Stebbing supposes the influences of the Spirit necessary to prepare men’s hearts (pp. 15–18).²

He (pp. 17–18) speaks of this as what the Spirit does, and as being his preventing grace, and speaks of it as always effectually, so that all such,³ and only such, will believe. See also pp. 28–30.⁴

That these dispositions must be effectual, see pp. 46–48.

This teachable, humble, meek Spirit is what Stebbing speaks of everywhere as what the Spirit of God gives antecedent to obedience. He insists upon it, that God’s assistance is necessary in order to obedience.

In [pp.] 20–21, he plainly asserts that it is necessary in order to our obedience, and declares that our Savior has asserted it in express terms in those words, John 15:5, “Without me ye can do nothing”; i.e. as he says, no good thing.⁵ Hence it follows that this teachable, humble, meek disposition, [this]⁶ good and honest heart, is not the fruit of any good thing

2. On p. 15, answering the inquiry, “Whether it be needful in order to our Attainment of these Qualifications [needful in order to salvation], that we have the *Assistance of the Spirit*,” Stebbing replies in part “That the Mind be prepared, fitted, or disposed to discern, and be wrought upon by this Evidence.” He goes on, pp. 16–18, to “undertake to prove, that the Assistance of the Spirit is necessary to *prepare Men’s Hearts*, and put them into a *fit Temper and Disposition* to embrace the Gospel, when proposed to them with sufficient Evidence.”

3. JE, Jr., adds: “as have it.”

4. Stebbing, *Treatise*, p. 18: “[T]he *preventing* Grace of God, i.e. the Assistance of the Divine Spirit, *fitting and disposing* our Minds to be wrought upon by that Evidence which the Gospel carries along with it, is necessary to *believing*.” In pp. 28–30, the beginning of Ch. III, “What the Spirit does towards producing the foregoing Effects,” Stebbing states: “Now the Work of the Spirit in bringing us to Faith and Obedience, in general, I take to be this, viz. the enduing us with certain *Moral Qualifications*, necessary to *dispose, fit, or prepare us* thereunto.”

5. Pp. 20–21, “But that the Assistance of the Spirit is needful (even to the Degree of Necessity) to enable us to obey the Will of God, need not be proved by way of Consequence, seeing our Saviour has asserted it in express Terms. For thus he speaks to his Disciples, *John* 15. 5. *Without me ye can do nothing*, i.e. no good thing.”

6. JE, Jr.’s insert.

we do in the exercise of our free will, but is merely the fruit of divine operation.

Here observe well what Stebbing says concerning God's giving grace sufficient for obedience in answer to prayer, pp. 103–06.

No reason in the world can be given why a meek humble spirit and sense of the importance of eternal things should not be as requisite in order to acceptable prayer as hearing and believing the Word. As much [is] so spoken of. A praying without a good spirit, in these and other respects, is represented as no prayer, ineffectual, what we have no reason to expect will be answered.

If that meekness, etc. depends on some antecedent self-determined act of theirs, and be determined by that, then their being Christ's, being his sheep, and therein distinguished from others that are not his sheep, is not properly owing to the Father's gift but to their own gifts. The Father's pleasure is not the thing it is to be ascribed to at all, for the Father does nothing in the case decisively. He acts not at all freely in the case, but acts on an antecedent firm obligation to the persons themselves. But their own pleasure, undetermined by God, is that which disposes and decides this matter. How impertinent would it be to mention the gift of the Father in this case, when the thing he speaks of is not from thence, etc.

Stebbing interprets that, Luke 19:16–17—which speaks of our being little children, and receiving the kingdom of God as little children—of that meekness, humility, etc. that is antecedent, whereas 'tis apparent Christ elsewhere speaks of it as consequent on conversion, as Matt. 18. So that there is nothing left for the great First and Last, no glory for either Father, Son or Holy Ghost in the affair. This is not carrying things too far, but is a consequence truly and certainly to be ascribed to their scheme of things.

That the assistance that God gives in order to obedience is giving this good and honest heart, see pp. 46–47, together with pp. 40, 45. And therefore this good and honest heart is not the fruit of our own obedience, but must be assistance, that prevents our good works, as he often calls it “the preventing grace of God.” Therefore if this grace determines the matter, and will certainly be followed with faith and obedience, then all Arminianism and all his own scheme comes to the ground.

DEFINITION.⁷ Explain what I mean by being antecedent or prior in the order of nature.

7. JE drew a vertical line through the following two paragraphs.

AXIOM. That which [is] antecedent in the order of nature is as truly distinct from the other thing to which it is antecedent, as that which is antecedent in order of time.

BORROW MR. BEACH's last book.⁸

He may be said to be the giver of mercy,⁹ that offers it to us, without being the proper determiner of our acceptance of it. But if the acceptance of an offer itself be the thing which is supposed to be the thing given, he can't, in any proper sense whatsoever, be properly said to be the GIVER of this who is not the determiner of it. But 'tis in the acceptance of offers, the proper improvement of opportunities, wherein consists virtue. He may be said to be the giver of mercy or goods that don't determine the wise [choice];¹ but if the wise and good choice itself be said to be [the] thing given, that supposes the giver determines the existing of such a wise [choice]. But now this is the thing that God is represented as the giver of, when he is spoken [of] as the giver of virtue, holiness, etc.: for virtue and holiness (as all our opponents in these controversies allow and maintain) is the thing wherein virtue consists.

COMMON SENSE. ABUSE OF WORDS.² The word *irrefutable* is a relative term. It has reference to resistance made, or that might be made, yea, the utmost resistance, and that the thing resisted cannot be overcome. So the word IMPOSSIBLE has reference to power exerted in endeavors, yea, the utmost power we have, and yet that the thing endeavored cannot be accomplished.

Perhaps it would be best to write the last part, to obviate OBJECTIONS that may be made, dialogue-wise.

MORAL INABILITY. IMPOSSIBILITY. NECESSITY. DEFINITION. A wicked disposition may make it impossible for a man to do well. 'Tis acknowledged that a wicked disposition may make it exceeding difficult to do well, by reason of the evil inclination and habits being so strong. Therefore if more were added to the strength of the evil disposition to a certain de-

8. Beach, *An Attempt* (see above, p. 255, n. 7).

9. *Miscellaneous Observations* (p. 272) reads "money."

1. JE, Jr.'s insert.

2. JE drew a vertical line through the next two paragraphs.

gree, it would make the difficulty so great that it would be impossible, for this plain reason: because men's power to surmount difficulties is finite and limited, and so goes not beyond certain limits. And therefore if difficulty be increased beyond those limits, then difficulty goes beyond men's power and overcoming, and it is therefore impossible that he should overcome them.

STERN AND SUPERCILIOUS DOMINEERING AIRS.³

Borrow Stackhouse.⁴

They⁵ call the acts of free will, CONTINGENT things, in opposition to necessary. If they are contingent in this sense, they are without a CAUSE. If we suppose 'em caused by the will itself, still here is something without a cause, viz. that the will should happen to cause itself to act in such a manner, that it should, without being determined by any cause, happen to determine itself as it does. And here on this occasion show:

1. That whatsoever has a cause is NECESSARY with a necessity of connection and consequence. If the acts of the will be caused by the will itself, still those determined acts are necessary, they being necessarily connected with the antecedent determination or determining act. And if that determining act be from some cause, then that also is necessary. If it be from some cause, that it comes to pass that the will does determine such an act of itself as it does, then that event is necessary. And if nothing besides the first cause and what is necessarily existent is without a cause, then all things are necessary, and all things besides that which is self-existent necessary, with a necessity of connection and consequence.

2. Show the absurdity of supposing anything not necessarily existent should be without a cause.

See under the proper heads in "MISCELLANIES." See the Table.⁶

IRRESISTIBLE. 'Tis apparent the power of God overcomes resistance, and great resistance, of some sort, otherwise there would be no peculiar greatness of power as distinguishing it from the power of creatures man-

3. JE drew a vertical line through this entry.

4. Possibly Thomas Stackhouse, *A Complete Body of Divinity . . . Extracted from the Best Ancient and Modern Writers* (London, 1729).

5. JE drew a vertical line through the next four paragraphs.

6. *Works*, 13, 125–50.

ifested in bringing men to be willing; which it is apparent there is, by Matt. 19:26.

Their scheme naturally and by necessary consequence leads men to take all the GLORY of all spiritual good (which is immensely the chief, most important and excellent thing in the whole creation) to ourselves, as much as if we, with regard to these effects, were the supreme, the first cause, self-existent and independent and absolutely sovereign disposers. We have the glory only of the meaner part of the creation of God, and take all the glory of that which is properly the life, beauty and glory of the creation, without which it is all worse than nothing.

SELF-DETERMINING.⁷ It being before in the order of nature, and the cause of it, proves as much that it must be distinct from it and independent of it, as if it were before in the order of time. Thus, that which is the cause of the direction of the motion of a natural body, must be something entirely distinct from that motion, and independent of it, in no sense from that motion, though perhaps the effect and cause may not have any distance as to time.

So that which is the cause of the preponderation of one of two scales must be entirely distinct from that preponderation, and can't be dependent on it, or determined, or in any respect caused by it. It must be as distinct from it and as independent on it as that which gives existence to anything else, as much as a carpenter is to a house or a father to a son.

TITLE of one of the SECTIONS: "Arminians' Notion of Assistance Unscriptural, Unreasonable and Inconsistent."

See two sheets concerning free will and efficacious grace in the drawer.⁸

7. With the exception of the very last memorandum, which is written on the inside of the back cover, the remaining entries all have JE's vertical line through them.

8. Referring to the MS notebook, "Of Free Will."

“CONTROVERSIES” NOTEBOOK: EFFICACIOUS GRACE

FROM the initial entry in this section of the “Controversies” notebook,¹ we know that its contents were written after the three notebooks on “Moral Agency,” later entitled “Efficacious Grace” by Edwards after he had used the notebooks to compose *Freedom of the Will*. In addition, Edwards makes an internal reference to William Warburton’s *Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, published in 1753. It is safe, therefore, to assign this portion of the “Controversies” to the period after the spring of 1753, when Edwards completed his treatise on the will.² Much of it is sketchy and is interspersed with Edwards’ directions to himself (“Here to show,” “Observe here,” and the like) for writing out his ideas in a more complete form. But it contains significant discussions of the role of habit in saving virtue and also lays out Edwards’ differences with Arminians (primarily Daniel Whitby and George Turnbull, though Warburton and Joseph Butler are cited as well) on the doctrine of efficacious grace. This section in the “Controversies” supplements the work on efficacious grace he had stored in the three notebooks on the subject. The entries are written in pp. 170–79 and 127–28 of the manuscript. The first group of entries (up to MS p. 175d) is written in a gray ink dating from the early 1750s; the remaining entries are in a dark brown ink that Edwards used in the last years of his life.

Edwards’ central argument is that true grace, or “saving virtue,” is obtained through a supernatural, determinative act of God. True grace is different “in degree and kind from common grace” and is not acquired by “contracted habits, “custom,” or “gradual contraction,” that is, simply by studied application to a godly life and sheer accumulation of good works. Sinners, Edwards contends, cannot be “the determining causes of their own virtue.” Those who claim that “habits of virtue” are the result of “gradual culture” only contribute to human “presumption,” even “despair.”

1. For a description of this MS, see “Note to the Reader,” p. xi.

2. *Works*, 1, 7.

A brief, almost negligible reference under the heading "Method," leading the reader back to an earlier page and a different section (on original sin) in the "Controversies," provides some clues to Edwards' intentions for publishing these new materials. In the passage, he envisions a treatise in three parts, beginning with true virtue and the end for which God created the world, then original sin, then "infused habits" and the difference of saving and common grace (perhaps incorporating materials from here and from the "Treatise on Grace"), and finally returning to moral taste and its relation to true virtue. Under this original plan, then, discussions of true virtue were to have framed this massive work, which indicates the importance the topic had assumed in Edwards' mind.

Edwards moves on to delineate the differences between "us" (Calvinists) and Arminians on efficacious grace. The grace of God is "determining and decisive" in giving saving virtue, and saving virtue is "given by a supernatural and sovereign operation of the Spirit of God" above and beyond common assistance and natural law. In four succinct questions, Edwards summarizes what for him are the central issues of saving versus common virtue, the nature of "a holy disposition of heart," the instantaneous or gradual nature of conversion, and whether God gives assistance arbitrarily or according to "stated rules."

Following a lengthy paraphrase of a passage from Thomas Goodwin's *Exposition on the Epistle to the Ephesians* on the power of God in conversion, the section concludes with an excursus on "sincerity of endeavors" and its role in obtaining saving grace. Edwards contends that there is "but one sort of sincerity in religion, and that is a truly pious or holy sincerity," a "true and saving piety of heart." Any other sincerity, he states, is an "undetermined condition" to which God cannot promise grace. What is crucial is the *reality* of will and not the mere goodness of will. Edwards then asks, If we allow the Arminians' premise, how great a degree of sincerity is necessary for a person to be entitled to the promise? All come short of the perfect degree, all suffer from a "continual defect of sincerity," and so are unworthy. The title to the benefit, Edwards points out, is not to be calculated mathematically but is dependent on the *nature* of the sincerity. He finishes up the essay by employing the force of his logic to bring his opponents to an *argumentum ad absurdum* and affirming that "the sovereign grace and will of God must determine the existence of the condition of the promises."

Some of these entries were published in *Remarks on Important Theological Controversies* (Edinburgh, 1796) as §§ 1–14 in pp. 176–96, and reprinted in the Worcester rev. ed., 2, §§ 1–16, pp. 547–57. Edwards never

assigned section numbers. In the notebook, Edwards, Jr., circled for deletion or omission his father's cross-references to other entries in the book or to other manuscripts, rewrote passages that he thought were unclear, and bracketed and labeled various sections as "No. 1" up through "No. 5." The significance of this numbering system bears no obvious correlation to what is published in *Remarks*, so its meaning remains unclear.

“CONTROVERSIES” NOTEBOOK:
EFFICACIOUS GRACE

SEE the remainder of the Papers on Free Will, what was written there on efficacious grace.³

’Tis manifest that the Scripture supposes that if ever men are turned from sin, God must undertake it and he must be the doer of it, and that his doing that must determine the matter; that all that others can do will [be] nothing without, and never will determine the point. Jer. 31:18–19, “turn thou me, and I shall be turned; thou art the Lord my God. Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh,” etc. Lam. 5:21, “Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned.” Ps. 80:3, “Turn us again, O God, and cause thy face to shine; and we shall be saved.” The same in vv. 7 and 19. Jer. 17:14, “Heal me, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved: for thou art my praise.”

According to Dr. Whitby’s notion of the assistance of the Spirit, the Spirit of God does nothing in the hearts or minds of men beyond the power of the DEVIL, nothing but what the devil can [do] and nothing showing any greater power in any respect than the devil shows and exercises in his temptations. For he supposes that all the Spirit of God does is to bring moral maxims and inducements to mind, and to set ’em before the understanding, etc.⁴

EFFICACIOUS GRACE. See back, pp. 92–93, under the head of Original Sin.⁵

3. JE refers to the three MS notebooks on “Moral Agency” and possibly to the MS entitled “Of Free Will.”

4. Whitby, *Discourse* [on the Five Points], III, ch. 1, “Of Sufficient and Effectual, Common and Special Grace.” See esp. pp. 225–27 (in 2nd corr. ed.), in which Whitby argues that in the assistance of the Holy Spirit “the Action is truly *Physical*,” the individual is “wholly passive,” and the “Operations are irresistible in their Production.”

5. The passage, from a previous section of the “Controversies,” reads:

After [I] have proved that true grace differs not only in degree but nature and kind

Turnbull's explanation [of] Phil. 2:12–13, "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his own good pleasure," is this (*Christian Philosophy*, pp. 96–97): "Give all diligence to work out your salvation, for it is God, the Creator of all things, who by giving you of his good pleasure the power of willing and do[ing], with a sense of right and wrong, and reason to guide and direct you, hath visibly made it your end so to do. Your frame shows, that to prepare yourselves for great moral happiness, arising from a well-cultivated and improved mind suitably placed, is your end appointed to you by your Creator. Consider therefore that by neglecting this your duty, this your interest, you condemn and oppose the good will of God towards you, and his design in creating you."⁶

from common grace, and that it is infused and men are made saints in an instant, then by way of COROLLARY observe that that virtue which has been obtained only by contracted habits, by custom, is not saving virtue. Here acknowledge a certain virtue may be obtained this way. Observe particularly after what manner. But then show wherein this differs from saving virtue. Also here allow that 'tis possible that God infuses grace at some instant into the minds of such persons as are striving to obtain it in the other way, and they may not observe it, and may not know that it is not obtained by gradual contraction. But if a man has indeed sought it only in that way, and with as much dependence on himself and with as much neglect of God in his endeavors and prayers, as such a doctrine naturally leads [to], 'tis not very likely that he should obtain saving grace by the efficacious mighty power of God. Observe in what way it is most likely that God should bestow this gift, {viz.} in a way of earnest seeking of it by prayer to him together with the use of the means of grace, with reflection on one's own sinfulness and in a way of being more and more convinced of sinfulness and total corruption, and need of the divine power to restore the heart, to infuse goodness, and in becoming more and more sensible of his own impotence and helplessness and inability to obtain goodness by his own strength. And if he has obtained no other virtue than what seems to have been wholly in that gradual way, to have been by little and little advanced in that insensible way that might be expected from use and custom in the exercise of his own strength, he has reason to think, however bright his attainments may seem to be, that he has no saving virtue.

Observe how great a part of the gospel is denied by them who deny such efficacious grace. They deny that wherein actual salvation and the application of redemption mainly consists, and how little likely such are to be succeeded in their endeavors after actual salvation.

JE then deletes: "After having shown that there is NO TRUE VIRTUE in natural men, then observe how many ways virtue is resembled in them and sure [sic] of the ways of working of natural CONSCIENCE. Show the great difference between the dictates of conscience and divine taste. Here observe what that is which is commonly called MORAL TASTE and supposed to be natural to all men."

6. George Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy; or, the Christian Doctrine of God, Providence, Virtue, and a Future State, Proved to be Agreeable to True Philosophy* (London, 1740), pp. 96–97. Anita Johnson, Librarian of the Clifford E. Barbour Library at Pittsburgh Theological Library, kindly verified JE's references to this work and provided photocopies of relevant pages.

If we look through all the EXAMPLES we have of conversion in Scripture, the conversion of the apostle Paul and of the Corinthians—"And such were some of you: but ye are washed," etc. [I Cor. 6:11]—and all others that the apostles wrote [to]: how far were they from this gradual way {of conversion} by contracted habits by Greek culture, as Turnbull speaks of.

Here it is to be noted that Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, p. 470c, seems to think that the sudden conversions that were in the apostles' days were instances of their miraculous power, in these words: "they appealed to the works they wrought, to the samples they gave of their power to foretell future events; their power to cure instantaneously all diseases of the body; their power to cure in the same extraordinary manner all diseases of the mind, or to convert bad into good dispositions." See again, to the like purpose, 472c. See, to the like purpose, Warburton's *Sermons*, pp. 234–35.⁷

Now I would inquire whether those who had the diseases of their mind [cured], and their bad converted into good dispositions, had any virtue, or whether these good dispositions of theirs were virtues or anything praiseworthy; and whether, when they were thus converted, they became

7. Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, p. 470. On p. 472, Turnbull states that the evidence which Christ gave for the truth of his doctrine concerning the Governor and government of the world, must be a full and proper evidence of its truth; or it must be said, either that he did not give sufficient samples of his benevolence to mankind, his regard to truth, honesty, and sincerity, which was never asserted, such an uninterrupted series of generosity, benevolence, and sincerity was his life: or that the many works he wrought of the kinds above mentioned, were not samples of a very large insight into, and power in nature; which will be to affirm that samples of power to see into men's minds, and foretell their future actions; power to change men[']s minds; power to deliver from evils of all sorts, corporeal and mental; power to confer gifts of all sorts, bodily and spiritual; power to raise the dead; power to transfer to others this same extensive power he himself was possessed of, did not shew a very large and extensive knowledge of nature, and power in nature.

William Warburton, *Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, Occasionally Opened & Explained; in a course of sermons* (2 vols. London, 1753), 1, 234–35. The passage JE refers to is in Sermon VI, "The Office and Operation of the Holy Spirit." The pages in question begin a section considering the Holy Spirit "as the COMFORTER, who rectifies and supports the will."

And here again his divine power manifests itself in as miraculous an operation. Sacred antiquity is very large and full in its accounts of the sudden and entire change the Holy Spirit made in the dispositions and manners of those it enlightened; instantaneously effacing all their evil habits, and familiarizing their practice to the performances of every good and virtuous action.

To this illustrious and triumphant Truth, the very enemies and persecutors of our holy faith have been forced to subscribe: not only in the serious accounts which some of them give of the virtue and innocence of PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY; but even in the ironical declamations of others concerning the boasted virtue of water-baptism."

good men and such as were the heirs of salvation. As Turnbull himself allows, all that are not good men were called the children of the devil in Scripture; and he asserts that nothing is virtue but what is obtained by our own culture: no habit is virtuous but a contracted one, one that is owing to our own selves, our own diligence, etc. Yet [he] also holds that none are good men but the virtuous, none other the heirs of future happiness.⁸

What God [wrought] for the apostle Paul and other primitive Christians was intended for a pattern to all future ages, for their instruction and excitement (Eph. 2:7, I Tim. 1:16). 'Tis natural to expect that the first fruits of the church, especially recorded in history [in] that Book which is the standing rule of the church in all things pertaining to their salvation, should be a pattern to after-ages in those things, those privileges, which equally concern all.

Or if it be said that, as soon as men take up a strong resolution, they are accepted and looked upon by God as penitents and converts: but if [so], is there a good man without good habits, or principles of virtue and goodness, in his heart? Turnbull speaks of good men as "born again," i.e. changed by culture (*Christian Philosophy*, p. 282).⁹ Is there a good man without such principles as love to God and man, or charity, humility, etc.? How comes that resolution to be so good, if no principle of virtue be exercised in it? If it be said, Paul was a good man before {he was converted}: but he did not believe in Christ, and therefore was in a state of condemnation; besides, he speaks of himself as being then a wicked man.

Consider the supposition advanced by Bp. Butler, and Turnbull in his *Christian Philosophy*, that all that God does, and even miracles themselves, is according to "general laws," such as are called the laws of nature, to us, "though unknown to us" (p. 183, and before and after; see the contents

8. Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, p. 282:

If we reflect, in the first place, that, though some few may, through the good influence of virtuous example, and of a wise and happy education, be said to be *sanctified from the womb*, so liberal, so generous, so virtuous, so truly noble is their cast of mind; yet generally speaking, men are so corrupt, the whole world always hath, and still *lieth in such wickedness*, that with respect to the far greater part of mankind the study of virtue is beginning to reform, and is a severe struggle against bad habits early contracted, and deeply rooted. It is therefore putting off an old inveterate corrupt nature, and putting on a new form and temper: it is moulding ourselves anew: it is being *born again*, and becoming as *children*, to be formed into a right shape; becoming docile, tractable, and pliable, as little children, in order to be instructed in, and formed to the temper which becomes rational creatures . . .

9. Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, p. 282 (see preceding note).

at the end of that volume).¹ Turnbull supposes it may be done by angels acting by general laws. Here to show how unreasonable that is. If they work those works acting only by general laws, then they must do them without any immediate special interposition at all, even so much as to give any intimations at all of the divine Mind what to do, or upon what occasion God would have the thing to be done. And what will this doctrine bring inspiration to, which is one kind of miracle? According to this, all signification of the divine Mind, even to the prophets and apostles, must be according to general laws without any special interposition at all of the divine agency.

Acts 12:23. God was so angry with Herod for not giving God the glory of his eloquence, that the angel of the Lord smote him immediately, and he died a miserable death; "he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." But if it be very sinful for a man to take to himself the glory of such a qualification as eloquence, how much more man's taking to himself the glory of divine grace, Gods own image, and that which is infinitely God's most excellent, gracious and glorious gift, and man's highest honor, excellency and happiness, whereby he is partaker of the divine nature and becomes

1. Joseph Butler, *The analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature* (London, 1736), esp. pp. 144–48, in which he considers Christianity as "a Republication of natural Religion."

Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, pp. 183–84:

[T]hat miraculous powers should be exerted at such times, upon such occasions, in such degrees and manners, and with regard to such persons rather than others; that the affairs of the world, being permitted to go on in their natural course so far, should just at such a point have a new direction given them by miraculous interpositions; that these interpositions should be exactly in such degrees and respects only; all this may have been by general laws. These laws are indeed unknown to us: but no more unknown than several other laws from whence certain effects proceed are, though it is taken for granted, they are as much reducible to general ones as gravitation. . . . This reasoning from analogy is certainly very just. But it is not from analogy merely, that we have reason to conclude, that the whole of the divine government must be by general laws; and consequently, that even miraculous interpositions must be all along carried on by general laws, tho' unknown to us. . . . It cannot therefore be a scheme which frequently requires interpositions, at certain points, till then never thought of by the ruler of the world, and maker of all things. . . . But if miraculous interpositions cannot mean such extemporary, unpremeditated or casual interpositions, *pro re nata*; 'tis plain, miraculous interpositions can be in no other sense miraculous to us, than any other effects are really such, whose laws are unknown to us, tho' we do not call all such miraculous.

The larger section of Turnbull's discourse to which JE is referring, as described in the table of contents, is section II, "The Scripture doctrine concerning providence more fully explained, etc.," proposition III (pp. 173–92), "The divine, infinitely wise, just, faithful, good providence governs the whole universe by general laws; nor is what is said in Scripture of special, miraculous interpositions of providence inconsistent with such government."

a godlike creature? If God was so jealous for the glory of so small a gift, how much more for so high an endowment, this being that, above all other things, by which man becomes like God? If man takes the glory of it to himself, he thereby will be in greatest danger of taking the glory to himself that is due to God, and setting up himself a standing in competition with God, as vying with the Most High, and making himself a god and not a man. If not giving God the glory of that which is less honorable provokes God's jealousy, much more not giving God the glory of that which is infinitely the most honorable. 'Tis allowed, the Apostle insists upon it that the primitive Christians should be sensible that the glory of their gifts belonged to God, and that they made not themselves to differ [I Cor. 4:7]. But how small a matter is this, if they make themselves to differ in that which the Apostle says is so much more excellent than all gifts?

How much more careful has God shown himself that men should not be proud of their virtue than [of] any other gift? See Deut. 9:4 and innumerable other places; Luke 18:9. And the Apostle plainly teaches us to ascribe the glory not only of our redemption to God but of our wisdom, righteousness and sanctification, and that no flesh should glory in themselves in these things (I Cor. 1:29–31). Again, the Apostle plainly directs that all that glory in their virtue should glory in the Lord, in II Cor. 10:17. 'Tis glorying in virtue and virtuous deeds he is there speaking of, and 'tis plain that the Apostle uses the expression of "glorying in the Lord" in such a sense as to imply ascribing the glory of our virtue to God.

This doctrine of men's being the determining causes of their own virtue teaches 'em not to do so much as even the proud Pharisee, who thanked God for making him to differ from other men in virtue (Luke 18).

See Gen. 41:15–16, Job 11:12, Dan. 2:25, etc., II Cor. 3:5–6, II Cor. 4:7, II Cor. 10:17.

Prov. 20:12, "The hearing ear, and the seeing eye, the Lord hath made even both of them," compared with many parallel places that speak about God's giving eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand, etc.²

The Arminian doctrine and the doctrine of our new philosophers concerning habits of virtue being only by custom, discipline and gradual culture, joined with the other doctrine, that the obtaining these habits in those that have time for it is in every man's powers, according to their doc-

2. E.g. Deut. 29:4, Is. 6:10, Jer. 5:21, Ezek. 12:2, Matt. 13:15.

trine of the freedom of will, tends exceedingly to cherish PRESUMPTION in sinners while in health and vigor, and to their utter DESPAIR in sensible approaches of death by sickness or old age.

METHOD. See under the head of Original Sin, p. 102.³

Observe that the question with some is whether the Spirit of God doth anything at all in these days since the Scriptures have been completed. With those that allow that it is not so, the question can't be whether his influence be immediate, for if he does anything at all, his influence must be immediate; nor can the question be whether his influence, with regard to what he intends to do, be efficacious.

See what is left of Papers on Free Will, no. 8, p. 13.⁴ The questions relating to efficacious grace controverted between us and the Arminians are two:

I. Whether the grace of God, in giving us saving virtue, be determining and decisive.

II. Whether saving virtue be decisively given by a supernatural and sovereign operation of the Spirit of God, or whether it be only by such divine influence or assistance as is imparted in the course of common providence, either according to established laws of nature or established laws of God's universal providence towards mankind. I.e. either, 1. assistance which is given in all natural actions, wherein men do merely exercise and improve the principles of nature and laws of nature, and come to such attainments as are connected with such natural exercises by the mere laws of nature. For there is an assistance in all such natural actions, because 'tis by a divine influence that the laws of nature are upheld, and a constant concurrence of divine power is necessary in order [to] our living, moving or having a being. (This we may call a natural assistance.). Or 2. that as-

3. The entry, from an earlier section in the "Controversies," which is also referred to in the section on The Nature of True Virtue, proposes the construction of multi-part work: "Perhaps in more volumes than one, a treatise, the first part concerning the nature of true virtue, and in this treat of God's end in creating the world; and in the next part concerning original sin, an inquiry into the truth of the doctrine, both as to corruption of nature and imputation, and in the next place concerning the manner in which man's nature came to be corrupt and its total corruption; and then concerning infused habits, and concerning saving grace's differing from common grace in nature and kind, and concerning that moral taste that natural men [have], to show that there is nothing of true virtue in it."

4. A reference to a missing notebook, one of the series on "Moral Agency" and later retitled "Efficacious Grace," of which only the first three (included above) are extant.

sistance, which though it be something besides the upholding the laws of nature which take place in other affairs of life, is yet by a divine universal constitution in this particular affair of religion so connected with these voluntarily exercises that are by this natural assistance, that by this constitution it indiscriminately extends to all mankind, is certainly connected with such exercises and improvements as were just mentioned, by a certain established known rule, as much as any of the laws of nature. This kind of assistance, though many Arminians call it a supernatural assistance, differs little or nothing from that natural assistance that is established by a law of nature. The law so established is only a particular law of nature; as some of the laws of nature are more general, others are more particular. But this establishment, which they suppose to be by divine promise, differs nothing at all from many other particular laws of nature, but only in that circumstance of the established constitution's being revealed in the Word of God, and others are left to be discovered only by experience.

The Calvinists suppose otherwise. They suppose that divine influence and operation, by which saving virtue is attained, is entirely different from and above common assistance, or that which is given in a course of ordinary providence, according to universally established laws of nature. They suppose a principle of saving virtue is immediately imparted and implanted by that operation which is sovereign and efficacious in that respect, that its effect is not from any established laws of nature.

I mention this as an entirely different [question] from the other, viz. whether the grace of God, by which we obtain saving virtue, is determining and decisive; for that it may be, if it be given wholly in a course of nature, or by such an operation as is limited and regulated perfectly according to established invariable laws. For none will dispute that many things are brought to pass by God in this manner that are decisively ordered by him, and are brought to pass by his determining providence.

The controversy, as it relates to efficacious grace in this sense, includes in it these four questions:

1. Whether saving virtue differs from common virtue, or such virtue as they [have] that are not in a state of salvation, in nature and kind or only in degree and circumstances?
2. Whether a holy disposition of heart, as an internal governing principle of life and practice, be immediately implanted or infused in the soul, or only be contracted by repeated acts and obtained by human culture and improvements?

3. Whether conversion, or the change of a person from being a vicious or wicked man to a truly virtuous character, be instantaneous or gradual?

4. Whether the divine assistance or influence by which men obtain true and saving virtue be sovereign and arbitrary, or whether God, in giving this assistance and its effects, limits himself to certain exact and stated rules revealed in his Word and established by his promises?

Eph. 1:19–20, "what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward, according to the working of his mighty power," or "the effectual working," as the word signifies. These words, "according to the effectual working of his power," we shall find applied to conversion, to growth in grace, and to raising us up at last. You have it applied to conversion. Eph. 3:7, "Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given to me by the effectual working of his power." So likewise for growth in grace. Eph. 4:16, "the whole body" increaseth with the increase of God by "the *effectual working* in the measure of every part." And to the resurrection to glory at the last day. Phil. 3:21, he will change our vile bodies "according to the *effectual working*" of his mighty power, "whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself."

And that the power of God in conversion, or in giving faith, and the spiritual blessings that attend it, is partly meant, may be argued from the Apostle's change of phrase; that whereas in the foregoing verse he speaks of "the riches of the glory" of Christ's inheritance in the saints, he don't go on to say, "And what is the exceeding greatness of his power towards *them*" (i.e. the saints), which surely would have been most natural, if he still had respect only to the power of God in bestowing the inheritance of future glory. But instead of that, we see he changes the phrase, "And what is the exceeding greatness of his power *to us-ward who believe*," plainly intimating some kind of change of the subject or a respect to the subject of salvation with regard to something diverse; that whereas before he spoke only of saints in their future [state only],⁵ now he speaks of something that the saints—we that dwell in this world that believe—are the subjects of. And as the Apostle includes himself, so 'tis the more likely he should have the mighty power of God in conversion in his thought, his conversion having been so visible and remarkable an instance of God's marvelous power. Again, the Apostle in praying that they know⁶ "the exceeding greatness of God's power," etc., he prays for such a knowledge and

5. JE, Jr.'s insert.

6. MS: "knowing."

conviction of the power of God to bring them to life and glory, which was a most special remedy against such doubts as the church in their then present state were most exposed to; which was of their being preserved to glory and salvation through all their trials, persecutions and the great opposition that was made by the enemies of Christ and their souls. Therefore, after mentioning the glory of their inheritance, he, for their comfort and establishment, mentions the power of God to bring 'em to the possession of their inheritance, as the apostle Peter does, I Pet. 1:4–5, "To an inheritance incorruptible . . . who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." He speaks to their hearts, for here was their difficulty and temptation to doubting. But if the keeping them in faith showed such great power, much more the first bringing them from heathenism and the power of sin, darkness and spiritual death and ruin into a state of faith and salvation, quickening them when "dead in trespasses and sins" [Eph. 2:1]. As 'tis a greater instance of divine power to raise the dead than to maintain life that is exposed, a greater work to reconcile us, being enemies, than to keep us friends, being reconciled. It was natural for the Apostle to put them in mind of the power of God manifested in their conversion, as he would strengthen their faith in his power to raise 'em at the last day and glorify 'em to eternity. Dr. Goodwin says he finds most of the Greek Fathers ran this way in interpreting the place. He mentions Theophylact and Chrysostom,⁷ and cites these words of Chrysostom: "'The Apostle's scope is to demonstrate by what already was manifested in them, viz. the power of God in working faith; to raise up their hearts to believe what was not manifested, viz. the raising of them from death to life: it being' (saith he) 'a far more wonderful work to persuade a soul to believe in Christ, than to raise up a dead man, a far more admirable work of the two.'" Besides, what the Apostle says in the continuation of his discourse explains his meaning, and puts the matter of his intending to include the power of God manifested in their conversion out of all doubt, as in very next sentence: "And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins" [Eph. 2:1]. And every word that follows, to the end of the second chapter, confirms the same thing. I shall mention a few of them. V. 2, "Wherein in time past ye walked . . . according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh effectually in the children of disobedience." This shows the exceeding greatness of power in their being delivered from such a state, wherein they were held

7. Theophylact, late 11th-century Abp. of Achrida; John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), Bp. of Constantinople.

by the great power of so strong an enemy. Vv. 5–6, "Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, [. . .] and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." These things are to show how the power of God in their conversion, and happy, honorable, glorious change of their state by it, was according to the power that wrought in Christ when he was quickened, raised up and made to sit in heavenly places, as ch. 1:19–21.

Now to back this with a parallel place. As here in this place the Apostle speaks of the greatness of God's power in working faith, and parallels it with the power that raised up Christ from the dead, so we find he says the very same thing in Col. 2:12–13. "Ye are buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." In that text in Ephesians, the Apostle speaks of faith, "the power that works in us that believe"; so in this text in Colossians, "ye are risen through faith." Again, secondly, in Ephesians, together with what there followeth, ch. 2, he compareth believing to a rising from the dead; so here in Colossians, "ye are risen with him through faith." Thirdly, as in Ephesians the Apostle speaks of the work of God in giving faith as parallel with his work in raising Christ, so he does here in Colossians: "ye are risen with him through faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." Fourth, as we in Ephesians are said to believe according to the efficacious working of God, the word *energeia* is also used here in Colossians: it is called "faith of the operation," or effectual working of God. And as there God is said to be the author, the same that raised up Christ did work faith in them, so here it is "the faith of the operation of God, who raised Christ from the dead." So that every way, one place is parallel with the other.

Some pretend that in that expression, "through the faith of the operation of God," here is no respect to God's operation as the efficient cause of faith, but [to] the operation of God that raised Christ as the object of faith which believes that power and operation, as it was manifested in raising Christ, and which is believed to be sufficient to raise us up also. That the Apostle means the operation of God in giving faith appears by v. 11, which introduces these [words],⁸ where the Apostle says, "In whom ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ." This phrase, "made without hands," in Scripture always notes God's immediate power and [its being] above the course of nature, above second causes. Thus

8. JE, Jr.'s insert.

when he speaks of heaven, II Cor. 5:1, he call it "an house not made with hands"; and in Heb. 9:11, the human nature of Christ, which was formed by so wonderful and supernatural a power of the Holy Ghost, is said to a tabernacle made without hands.

Note: the things above concerning those texts in Eph. 1:19–20 and in Col. 2:11–13 are taken chiefly from Dr. Goodwin's *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 298, etc.⁹

See concerning GOD'S NATURAL AND ARBITRARY OPERATIONS, "Miscellanies" no. 1263.¹

'Tis a doctrine mightily in vogue, that God has PROMISED his SAVING GRACE to man's SINCERE ENDEAVORS in praying for it and using proper means to obtain it, and so that 'tis not God's mere will that determines the matter whether we shall have saving grace or not, but that matter is left with us to be determined by the sincerity of our endeavors.

But there is vast confusion in all talk of this kind, for want of its being well explained what is meant by SINCERITY OF ENDEAVORS, and through men's deceiving themselves by using words without a meaning. I think the Scripture knows of but one sort of sincerity in religion, and that is a truly pious or holy sincerity. The Bible suggests no notion of any other sort of sincere obedience, or any other sincerity of endeavors, or any doings whatsoever in religion, than doing from love to God and true love to our duty. As to those that endeavor and take pains (let 'em do never so much), that yet do nothing freely, or from any true love to or delight in God, or free inclination to virtue, but wholly for by-ends and from sinister or mercenary views, as being driven and forced against their inclination, or induced by a regard to things foreign: I say, as to such as these, I find nothing in Scripture that should lead us to call them honest and sincere in their endeavors.

I doubt not but that the Scripture promises supernatural, truly divine and saving blessings to such a sincerity of endeavors as this. But then, as I apprehend, this is only to promise more saving grace to him that seeks it in the exercise of saving grace, agreeable to that repeated saying of our

9. Thomas Goodwin, *Works* (5 vols. London, 1681–1704), 1, Pt. 1, 298–304. JE paraphrases from *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, with the exception of the quote from Chrysostom, which appears on p. 301.

1. See "Miscellanies," no. 1263, "God's Immediate and Arbitrary Operation," in which JE presents arguments for God's "continuing immediate operation" in creation and against limiting God to "invariable laws fixed from the beginning of the creation."

Savior, "To him that hath, shall be given, and he shall have more abundance" [Matt. 13:12]. Persons in seeking grace with this sincerity, ask in faith; they seek these blessing in the exercise of a saving faith, the great condition of the covenant of grace. And I suppose promises are made to no sincerity but what implies this. And whoever supposes that divine promises are made to any sincerity than this, I imagine they never will be able to make out their scheme, and that for two reasons:

I. On such a supposition, the promises must be supposed to be made to an undetermined condition; and,

II. Even on this supposition that the promises are made to some other sincerity than a truly pious sincerity, the sovereign grace and will of God must determine the existence of condition of the promises, and so still the whole must depend on God's determining grace.

I. On the supposition [that] the promises of saving grace are made to some other sincerity of endeavors than that which implies true and saving piety of heart, they must be made to an undetermined condition, and so be in effect no promises at all.²

If there be anything else worthy to be called sincerity in endeavors after holiness but a free, pious inclination or true regard and love to holiness, nothing else can be mentioned better than this, viz. endeavors after holiness from a real willingness of heart to be of those endeavors for its own sake, yet for such ends as are innocent, and such as prudence would propose—such as our own eternal interest, salvation from everlasting misery, etc.

So that by sincerity here is not meant any holy freedom or virtuous disposition of desire, but it signifies no more than reality of disposition and will to endeavor for some end, only provided the end be innocent. But the thing that truly in this case denominates the endeavor sincere, is the reality of the will or disposition of heart-endeavor, and not the goodness of the will or disposition.

Now if this be the sincerity of endeavors which is meant when men talk of its being the condition of peremptory and decisive promises of saving grace, then it never has (as I know of) yet been told, and I suppose never will or can be told, what the condition of the promise is.

The thing that needs to be determined in order to know the condition, is how great a degree of this sort of sincerity or real willingness of heart to

2. JE deletes: "But whether it be so or no, if we should suppose there is some other sort of sincerity that may, agreeably to Scripture and reason, be called a sincere and honest [course] in religious endeavors, yet I imagine it will not help this notion of divine promises of saving grace to the sincere endeavors of ungodly men. If I should suppose there be any [such] thing."

endeavor a man must have in order to be entitled to the promise. For there can be no question but that multitudes that live in gross wickedness, and are men of a very debauched flagitious behavior, have some degree of it; and there are none, even those that are the most strict and painful in religion, but what have it in a very imperfect degree and in many things fail of this sincerity of endeavor: for it must be kept in mind that all the sincerity of heart we are speaking of attending religious duties, is only a reality of willingness to use endeavors. And every man whatsoever that uses any endeavors at all in the least for his salvation, or even performs any religious duty to that end, that he may go to heaven and not to hell, has this sincerity: for whatever men do voluntarily for this end, they do from a real willingness and disposition of heart to do it; for if they were not willing to do it, they would not do it. There surely are no voluntary actions performed without men's being willing to perform 'em. And is there anybody that will assert that God has absolutely or peremptorily promised his saving grace to every man that ever stirs hand or foot, or thinks one thought, in order to his salvation?

And on the other hand, as to those that go furthest in their endeavors, yet they fail in innumerable things of exercising this kind of sincerity consisting in reality of will: for such are guilty of innumerable [sins], and every man that commits sin, therein instead of being sincerely willing to do his duty, he sincerely wills the contrary; for so far as any actions of his are his sin, so far his will is in what he does. No action is imputed to us any further than it is voluntary and has the real disposition of the heart on his side. And this painful endeavorer also fails of his duty, or (which is the same thing) of perfect obedience, continually; and so far as he does so, he fails of sincerity of endeavors. No man is any further defective in his obedience than he is defective in sincerity, for there the defect lies, viz. in his will and the disposition of his heart. If men were perfect in these, that would be the same thing as to be perfect in obedience, or complete in holiness. Nothing either of omission or commission is sin any further than it has the real disposition and will on its side. And therefore, no men are any further sinful than they are sincere in sinning; and so far as they are sincere in sinning, so far they are deficient of sincerely endeavoring their duty.

Now, therefore, where is the bounds to which men must come in order to be entitled to the promise? Some have some sincerity of endeavor, that none do suppose are entitled; and those that have most sincerity of endeavor, do greatly fail of that degree of sincerity of endeavor that they ought to have, [fall] short of that which God requires—and there are in-

finite degrees between these two sorts. And if every degree of sincerity of endeavor is [not] sufficient, and yet some certain degree of it, greatly short of that which God requires, is sufficient, then let it be determined what that degree is.

Some have determined thus, that if men sincerely endeavor to do what they can, God has promised to help 'em to do more, etc. But this question remains to be resolved: Whether the condition of the promise be, that he shall sincerely endeavor to do what he can constantly, or only sometimes. For there is no man that sincerely endeavors to [do] his duty to the utmost constantly, with this sort of sincerity consisting in reality of will so to do: for if he did, he would perfectly do his duty at all times; for as was observed before, nothing else is required but the will, and [men] never fail of their duty, or commit sin, but their real will is to sin. But if the condition of the promise be sincerely doing what they can sometimes, then it should be declared how often or how great a part of the time of man's life he must exercise this sincerity. It is manifest that men fail of their duty every day, yea, continually; and therefore that there is a continual defect of sincerity of endeavors in the practice of duty.

If it should be said that the condition of the promise of saving grace is that, take one time with another and one duty with another, the sincerity of their will should be chiefly in favor of their duty; or in other words, that they should be sincere in endeavors to do more than half their duty, though they sincerely neglect the rest: I would inquire where they find such promises as these in the Bible. I think it can be demonstrated that there is not a man on earth that ever comes up half-way to what the law of God requires of him, and consequently that there is in all more want of sincerity than there is of sincerity. But whether it be so or no, how does it appear that if men are sincere in endeavors with respect to³ more than half their duty, God has promised them saving mercy and grace, though through a defect of their sincerity the rest be neglected?

If we suppose the sincerity to which divine promises are made to consist in freedom of the heart in religious endeavors and performances, consisting in love to God and holiness, inclining our heart to our duty for its own sake, here is something determinate and precise—though a title to the benefit promised [is] not depending on any particular degree of sincerity to be found on the difficult and unteachable rules of mathematical calculation, but on the nature of it, this sincerity being a thing of an entirely distinct nature and kind from anything that is to be found in others

3. MS: "the." JE, Jr., deleted the word and inserted "to."

that have no interest in the promises. If men know they have this sincerity, they may know the promises are theirs, though they may be sensible they have very much of a contrary principle in their hearts, the⁴ operations of which are [as] real as of this. This is the only sincerity in religion that the Scripture makes any account of. According to the Word of God, then, and then only, is there a sincere universal obedience, when persons love all God's commands and love all those things wherein holiness consists, and endeavor after obedience to every divine precept from love and of free choice. Otherwise, in Scripture account, there is nothing but sincere disobedience and rebellion without any sincerity of the contrary: for their disobedience is of free choice, from sincere love to sin and delight in wickedness, but their refraining from some sins and doing some external duties is without the least degree of free choice or sincere love.⁵

If here it should be said that men that have no piety of heart in a saving degree yet may have some degree of love to virtue, and should insist that all mankind are born with moral [sense] which implies a natural approbation of and love to virtue; and therefore men that have not the principles of love to God and virtue established to that degree as to be truly pious men and entitled to heaven, yet they may have such degrees of them as to engage 'em with a degree in ingenuous sincerity and free inclination, to seek after further degrees of virtue and so with a sincerity above that which has been mentioned, viz. a real willingness to use endeavors from fear and self-interest:

But here it may be replied, If this be allowed, it will not at all help the matter, for still the same question returns, viz. What degree of this sincerity is it that is the precise condition of the promise? It is supposed that all mankind have this moral sense. But yet it is not supposed that all mankind are entitled to promises of saving mercy. Therefore the promises depend, as before, on the degree of sincerity under the same difficulties, and with the same intricacies and all the forementioned unfixed-

4. MS: "whose." In this sentence, which JE emended incompletely, JE, Jr., changed the word to "the" in order to make this part of the sentence agree with JE's insertion of "of which," and also inserted "as," indicated here in brackets.

5. JE deletes the following passage with a vertical line through the middle of the page: "When any talk of men's sincerely endeavoring after anything in religion as pertaining to that virtue or holiness required in Scripture with any other sort of sincerity than this, they talk of they know not what. With regard to the sincerity consisting in true love to God and holiness, men may have such a principle in their hearts and yet have much of the contrary opposing it, occasioning a constant inward warfare in their souls, the flesh boasting against the spirit; and yet the flesh, the inclination to sin, may in many instances prevail. But if by sincerity be meant reality of will, it is absurd to talk of any sincerity of endeavors for any degree of virtuous practice, or of the exercise of holiness."

ness and uncertainty. And other things concerning this sincerity, besides the degree of it, are undetermined, viz. how constant this degree of sincerity of endeavors must be, how long it must be continued, and how early it must be begun.

Thus it appears that, on the supposition of God's having made any promises of saving grace to the sincere endeavors of ungodly men, it will follow that these promises are made to an undetermined condition.⁶ But a supposed promise to an undetermined condition is truly no promise at all. It is absurd to talk of positive determinate promises made to something not determined, or to a condition that is not fixed in the promise. If the condition ben't decided, there is nothing decisive in the affair. If the master of a family should give forth such a pretended promise as this to his servants, "I promise that if any of you will do something, though I tell you not what, that I will surely give him an inheritance among my children," would this be truly any promise at all? I proceed now to observe,

II. On the supposition that the promises of saving grace are made to some other sincerity of endeavors than that which implies truly pious sincerity: the sovereign grace and will of God must determine the existence of the condition of the promises, and so still the whole must depend on God's determining grace. And that of whatever kind this sincerity, short of truly pious and saving sincerity, is supposed to be: whether it consists only in a reality of will arising from foreign motives for a certain degree of endeavors or use of means; or whether it [be] a certain sincerity or reality of willingness to use endeavors arising from a natural love of virtue. For all suppose the sincerity to which the promises are made, is that in which some are distinguished from others; none supposing that all mankind, without exception, have that sincerity which [is] the condition of the promises. Therefore this sincerity must be a distinguishing attainment: and how is it that some attain to it, and not others? It must be thus, one of these two ways: either the sovereign gift of God's will, or by their endeavors. To say the former is to give up the point and to own that the sovereign grace and will of God determines the existence of the condition of the promises. But if it be said that that distinguishing sincerity of endeavor is obtained by man's own endeavors, then I ask, What sort of endeavors is it attained by, sincere endeavors or insincere? None will be so absurd as to say that this great condition of saving promises is attained to by insincere endeavors: for what tendency, either natural or moral, can the exercise of insincerity have to produce or attain to sincerity? But if it

6. MS p. 179 ends at this point; the text continues, at JE's direction, on p. 127.

be said that distinguishing sincerity of endeavors is attained by distinguishing sincere endeavors, this is [to] run round in a ridiculous circle. And still the difficulty remains, and the question returns, How the distinguishing sincerity that first of all took place in the affair came to have existence otherwise than by the determining grace of God?

And if it be said that there is no need of supposing any such thing as any previous habitual sincerity, or any such sincerity going before as shall be an established principle, but that 'tis sufficient that the free will does sincerely determine itself to endeavors after holiness:

Whether we suppose the sincerity that first entitles to the promises to be a settled habit or established principle or not, it don't in the least remove the difficulty, as long as it is something in which some men are distinguished from others, that precedes the distinguishing endeavors that entitle to the promises, and is the source and spring of those endeavors. This first distinguishing sincerity, that is the spring of the whole affair, must have existence by some means or other: and it must be either from some sincere endeavor of the man's own foregoing, which is a contradiction; or it must be from God, which is the point required; or it must be from chance, which is to be from nothing.

If we suppose that distinguishing sincerity of endeavors, by which some men are interested in the promises of saving grace, and not others, be some certain degree of love to virtue, or anything else in the disposition or exercise of the heart; yet it must be owned that all men either are alike by nature as to love to virtue, or they are not. If they are not, but some have naturally a greater love to virtue than others, and this determines some rather than others to the requisite sincerity of endeavors after saving grace, then God determines the affair by his sovereign will: for 'tis he, and not men themselves, that determines all distinguishing qualifications or advantages that men are born with. Or if there be no difference naturally, but one man is born with the same love to virtue as another, then how do some men first attain to more of this love to virtue than others, and so to have that distinguishing sincerity of endeavors that consist in it? To say it is from a previous distinguishing sincerity of endeavors, attempts, desires or will, is a contradiction. Therefore it must be from the determining grace of God, which, if it be allowed, the grand point in dispute is allowed.

“CONTROVERSIES” NOTEBOOK: THE NATURE OF TRUE VIRTUE

ALONG with “Miscellanies” no. 1208, this section in the “Controversies” notebook on True Virtue provided essential materials for the dissertation *The Nature of True Virtue*. The section appears on pages 180–89 of the notebook. All of the entries, with the exception of the last four paragraphs, are written in a gray ink that matches that which Edwards used to write “Miscellanies” no. 1208, which dates from late 1753 or early 1754.¹ The concluding paragraphs are in the same dark brown ink as the later entries in the section on “Justification” dating from the period after 1754.

After some preliminary notes and references (to other writings by himself, and to works by Joseph Butler and George Turnbull), Edwards enters into a short sequence of entries dealing with moral taste. Moral taste as found in natural men, he argues, is not true virtue. He then incorporates his views on moral taste into a longer excursus on two sorts of beauty. The first is spiritual; the second, subsuming moral taste, external. Spiritual beauty he further divides according to two objects of benevolence. The first object is “*Being*, simply considered,” the second benevolence itself. Edwards concludes with five corollaries on this secondary ground of benevolence that assert that natural conscience is not true virtue; that God’s “infinite virtue” is thereby proved; that the infinitely holy God “must have an infinitely greater regard to himself than to all other beings, because he has infinitely more being than others”; that it is fitting that God “make himself his supreme end”; and that the true virtue of created beings consists in making God their “highest end.”

After entries on anger and pity, Edwards appends a short piece refuting “the opinion that places the excellency of virtue in its tendency to happiness.” If virtue consists in happiness, Edwards responds, then “natural good must be a higher good than moral good,” and “happiness or plea-

1. *Works*, 8, 8, n. 8. We know that JE had completed the first of the two dissertations, *The End for Which God Created the World*, by Feb. 1755, because he read it to Samuel Hopkins and Joseph Bellamy at that time (*Works*, 16, 656).

sure must be a good superior to virtue.” For Edwards, this is a circular argument that leads to the conclusion that “virtue is only a subordinate good, and pleasure the ultimate good.” Finally, the last four paragraphs take up, at least in part, the distinction between love of benevolence and love of complacency.

“CONTROVERSIES” NOTEBOOK: THE NATURE OF TRUE VIRTUE

UNDER this head, show who may be called truly virtuous men, viz. those who are universally virtuous; that such only are under the government of virtue and can be denominated from it, etc.

No true virtue without SUPREME LOVE TO GOD and making God our supreme end, see “Miscellanies” [no.] 1208.²

Observe how what our modern philosophers call natural MORAL TASTE is a different thing from virtue or the love of virtue. Treat of this either here or in the discourse on original sin, according as which is published first. See on Original Sin, p. 97a.³

How NATURAL MEN perceive BEAUTY. Men may be delighted with a sensation that is the result of the similitude or resemblance of love, and yet not be delighted with love itself simply considered; as the ear may be delighted with music, which is a sensation that is the result of the proportions and mutual respects of vibrations of the air, that are as it were a resemblance of love between the different notes or the different vibrations. They together resemble a society composed of different persons of various orders, degrees and capacities and stations, sweetly united by love. But men are delighted with the idea that is the result of this proportion of the vibrations, that know nothing what the proportion [is], or that there is any proportion at all. The reason is, God has been pleased so to frame and constitute our nature. The same account is to be given of men’s perceiving pleasure from the colors of the rainbow, where is a sensation which arises from a proportion like that which is in the notes of music. The same account is also to be given of men’s perceiving any beauty by the eye—the

2. See “Miscellanies” no. 1208, “End of the Creation, Glory of God, Nature of Redemption . . .,” in *Works*, “*Miscellanies*,” 1153–1360.

3. A cross-reference to an earlier entry in the “Controversies” notebook, which reads: “Perhaps under the head of Original Sin treat of MORAL TASTE.” JE then refers ahead to this entry in the section on True Virtue, MS p. 180b.

beauty of the shape of a flower, the beauty of the features of a face. They perceive beauty that don't perceive nor know the proportion and the mutual respect of the different features, any more than a man that hears music knows the proportion of the vibrations of the air.

That moral good is essentially and entirely different from INTEREST or NATURAL GOOD, see Bp. Butler's *Analogy* and in various parts of Turnbull's *Moral* and *Christian Philosophy*; to find the places, look over the contents at the end of each volume.⁴

Concerning the unreasonableness of supposing that we should not be obliged to be virtuous were it not for the promise of a REWARD, see Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, p. 289, etc.⁵

4. Butler, *The analogy of religion*, esp. ch. IV, "Of a State of Probation, as intended for moral Discipline and Improvement," pp. 79–103, and "Of the Nature of Virtue," pp. 309–20; Turnbull, *Principles of Moral Philosophy: An Enquiry Into the wise and good Government of the Moral World* (London, 1740), Pt. I, ch. 5, "[Laws] relative to interest, or private and publick good" (see following note); and *Christian Philosophy*, Sec. III, Prop. II (pp. 258–77): "According to revelation, we are made and placed in our present state chiefly to endeavour to attain to the love of the pleasures arising from rational, virtuous exercise; and to the contempt of mere sensual pleasure, in comparison of them: And this reason itself plainly proves to be the chief end of our being, from the very nature of our frame, and from our present situation, which are admirably well adapted one to another." According to the description in the table of contents, on p. 263 Turnbull argues that "The natural happiness of a being must be similar to, of a kind with, and result from its frame and composition. We are therefore made for rational exercises, and virtuous happiness"; and on p. 269, that "acting agreeably to reason is always our best interest, or greatest happiness . . . This is the language of reason, as well as of revelation, That virtue by its sufferings shall be fitted for a peculiarly glorious share of after-happiness."

5. Turnbull, *Christian Philosophy*, pp. 289–91:

And therefore it is, that virtue is justly said to be its own reward, or in other words, that the glory prepared for the virtuous, in a future state, is called grace, or virtue made perfect, and placed in circumstances for exercises adequate to its perfection. . . . And those who assert, that there is no obligation to virtue independently of the consideration of future rewards and punishments, do absurdly assert (in whatever sense they take obligation) that there is a happiness hereafter for the virtuous, not of the virtuous or rational kind, which makes the only good reason for the study of virtue here: or, in other words, that it is wise and prudent to be virtuous here, merely because in another life the virtuous may be as unvirtuous as they please; because they shall then be released from their obligations to troublesome, virtuous exercises, and shall have their belly full of other delights far superior to all that virtue can by its noblest exercises afford to a rational mind. . . . There is indeed none, nor can there, in the nature of things, be any argument to prove a future state, which does not suppose rational exercises to be the best, the noblest, and pleasantest exercises of reasonable beings, and which for that reason does not suppose, that, if there be a state of rewards for virtue, it must be a state in which virtue shall reap happiness, proportioned to its perfection from exercises and objects suited to it.

SPIRITUAL TASTE and natural men's MORAL TASTE. See additions to my book,⁶ pp. 11–13, vol. 1.

METHOD. See under the head of Original Sin, p. 102.⁷

That MORAL TASTE that is naturally in men is not of the nature of true virtue and essentially differs from [it],⁸

1. Because therein lies a capacity of being wicked. Without natural conscience men could not be moral agents, could neither be virtuous nor vicious, could not be the subjects of judicial proceeding; but 'tis unreasonable to call that by the name of virtue which is only a capacity of wickedness.

2. That which is consistent with the highest possible degrees of wickedness, and may be in a great height and in lively exercise at a time when wickedness will be in the height of its exercise, is not of the nature of true virtue. But this seems evidently to be the case with natural conscience, as in the wicked and devils at the day of judgment and in hell.

3. All taste of beauty is not virtuous. Though all beauty be in some respects of the same kind or of a similar nature—even external beauty is similar to moral beauty; that proportion and harmony there is, is the image of it—but yet a taste of external beauty may be without virtue, for the very beasts, at least many of them, have a degree of this, as the birds have a taste of music and some serpents will be charmed by music. God has implanted in mankind, and in some of the brutes in some degree, that in-

6. JE wrote "to my book" in shorthand, possibly to keep secret its existence from any students of his who may have been reading his manuscripts. The reference may be to a now-missing draft of this treatise, or to a former one that JE retained, or to a set of notes. It was JE's habit, when writing a lengthy work, to construct a temporary series of small books in which he wrote notes, reminders, and references (see, for example, "Sacrament Bk. 1" and "Religious Affections, Bk. 7"). He would then use these, along with entries from his regular notebooks, to write a full draft in bound volumes (as in the two quarto volumes in which he wrote the draft of *Misrepresentations Corrected*).

7. The entry in "Controversies," MS p. 102, entitled "Method" (also cited in the section on Efficacious Grace), reads: "Perhaps in more volumes than one, a treatise, the first part concerning the nature of true virtue, and in this treat of God's end in creating the world; and in the next part concerning original sin, an inquiry into the truth of the doctrine, both as to corruption of nature and imputation, and in the next place concerning the manner in which man's nature came to be corrupt and its total corruption; and then concerning infused habits, and concerning saving grace's differing from common grace in nature and kind, and concerning that moral taste that natural men [have], to show that there is nothing of true virtue in it." Quoted in *Works*, 8, 10.

8. See *Works*, 8, 598, and n. 2, for a parallel between the following series of subpoints and the final version.

instinct that they shall be delighted with those external things which have the appearance and image of moral beauty: and yet this is no virtue. And if so, why may there not be an instinct in man that may extend further, even to some kind of relish of moral beauty, and yet it be only the same kind of instinct, not of the nature of true virtue?

4. As there appears in brute creatures some taste of that external beauty that is an image of moral beauty, so there appears some degree even of that natural sense itself which our new philosophers call moral taste in men and assert to be a virtuous principle. These philosophers insist that the natural principles of *ANGER* (see p. 323) and *GRATITUDE*, which are in all mankind, are evidences of a moral taste; they say they can't arise merely from self-love, but suppose a moral sense or sense of desert that in the exercise of those affections is prior to self-love. For instance, when a man is angry at another because he injures him, before anger is excited there is not only this consideration, that he suffers or is hurt by means of another, or he may suffer from a [being] perfectly distracted, void of all reason and judgment; but there is the consideration of the nature of the act by which he suffers, that is immoral. 'Tis voluntary, designed and deliberate, without provocations, etc., and so hateful and deserving revenge. But allowing this, such a moral sense, if it be proper to call it by that name, is in some degree in many of the beasts, as they have such a thing as anger. They are much otherwise moved when they suffer from an agent that has will, than when they suffer by the wind or water or hail. And nothing appears but that the same instinct, joined with that reason and that vastly more extensive knowledge that is in man, may cause all the anger that appears in natural men, and without anything nearer akin to virtue. So there are appearances of gratitude in some of the brute creatures.

5. The approbation of conscience is a different thing from the approbation of the heart, or relish, or love. If there were no difference, it would be so, that whatever the conscience fully justified and approved of, the heart would fully relish and love. But it is not so, as appears in the devils: their consciences fully approve of the act of God in their punishment, yet their hearts don't fully relish that act as lovely; if it did, God would be more lovely in their eyes for it. But it would be unreasonable to think any such thing. And so if the approbation of the conscience were the same as the like or love of the heart, then also the condemnation of conscience would be the same as the disrelish, dislike and hatred of the heart. But this is not [so]. The devils know their hatred of God is unreasonable: they have a full condemnation of it in their conscience; but yet their hearts don't disrelish it and loath it: if they did, it would have no place in their hearts.

6. If the approbation of conscience was the same thing as the heart's relish of, love to and delight in virtue, then the bringing the conviction of conscience to perfection would be the same thing as bringing the heart to a perfect holiness: for a perfect relish of holiness, and love to and delight in it, is the same thing as a perfect holiness of heart, for by heart we mean nothing else but inclination, relish, love, etc. But it is not [so] at the day of judgment. Conviction of conscience will be brought to perfection in the wicked, but they will not be brought to perfect holiness of heart, nor nearer to it; on the contrary, their wickedness will be perfected. It would be unreasonable to suppose any other than that it is God's design to punish sinners in such a manner as to make 'em know that he does it, and what he does it for, and his justice in it; otherwise he might make 'em miserable and at the same time blot out the memory of their sins, and not let 'em know what it is done for.

'Tis said, "I will reward him, and he shall know it."⁹ But if conviction is the same thing as raising the love of virtue in his heart, then he must bring him to repentance in order to punish him. "I will reprove thee," says God, "and set thy sins in order before thee" [Ps. 50:21]. That implies great conviction of conscience.¹ The Arminians generally hold that the greatness and fullness of the conviction and condemnation of conscience will be a great part of future punishment. See another argument, *Corol.* 1.²

There are two sorts of BEAUTY that minds are delighted with. There is, 1. a spiritual beauty, which consists wholly in benevolence most strictly so-called, or, in other words, absolute benevolence, and the various exercises and expressions of it in all the various kinds of the exercise of the faculties of the mind. 2. There is another inferior sort, which is but the shadow of this, which may be called harmony, consisting in the mutual agreement of different things in the manner of their existence. This is that wherein all external beauty that is perceived by men in general consists, unless it be that which arises from self-love and an association of ideas. This is that wherein consists the beauty of visible objects, as to their shape, proportions, situations, etc. This is that wherein the harmony of sounds consists. And probably the beauty of colors arises from an harmonious motion excited in the fluids of the nerves, or brain, or animal spirits, and all the pleasures of the sense of the taste, and smell, and feeling. And this beauty also

9. Apparently not a direct scriptural quote, though JE intended it as such; possibly an allusion to Eccles. 9:5.

1. JE drew a short dash in the MS.

2. See below, p. 322.

is discernible among spiritual things. There is in this what we call justice, which is what the minds of men in general approve of; but what they perceive is only this lower kind of beauty. Natural men's moral taste, so far as it is disinterested and not founded in an association of ideas, is to be referred to this.³ To this is to be referred their sense of desert. Men naturally, through the instinct implanted in all created minds, relish harmony and mutual agreement; there is a peculiar agreement between willing ill to another and doing him hurt from his will and receiving ill in his will. There is an agreement between the thing sought and the thing received, for both in [it are] evil;⁴ and therein agreement in the seeking and suffering as to the seat of each. For 'tis the will that seeks, and the will suffers: for the will is truly that faculty which suffers pleasure and pain. Men naturally see this agreement and approve of it; they see the beauty of it. But a relishing or approving this because of the proportion and agreement that is seen [in] it, and delighting in it from pure benevolence, are different things.

The *first* object of absolute BENEVOLENCE is being simply considered: not being related to one particular part of the whole of existence, not being that has done me good, or that I expect something from, or that does good to another part of the universality of existence, but being simply considered. And if being simply considered be its object, then all being must be its object—unless some being is conceived of as standing in the way of other being that is more, and so of greater importance, or it be looked upon as opposite to other being, then an adherence to being simply considered will naturally call him that has absolute benevolence to forsake that and⁵ oppose it.⁶ And if being simply considered be the first object of absolute benevolence, then it will follow that that which shares most of being or existence, other things being equal, so far as such a being is perceived or known, must have proportionably the greatest share of benevolence. I⁷ say "other things being equal," because there is a secondary object of pure benevolence, which I shall mention presently, that is one thing which must be considered as the ground or motive to pure

3. See *Works*, 8, 596, and n. 5, for a parallel between this sentence and the final version of *The Nature of True Virtue*.

4. MS: "both in [illeg. deletion] Evil."

5. MS: "& in oppose."

6. See *Works*, 8, 545, and n. 8, for parallel between the foregoing part of this paragraph and the final version of *The Nature of True Virtue*.

7. See *Works*, 8, 546, and n. 6, and p. 547, n. 5, for parallels between the remainder of this paragraph, the entirety of the next and the subsequent set of six subpoints, and the final version of the dissertation.

benevolence. Pure benevolence in its first exercise is nothing else but being's consent to being, appearing to be true and pure, that it extends to being in general and that in proportion as the degree of existence is perceived, other things being equal.

The *second*, and a secondary, object of benevolence, is benevolence, or rather is a secondary ground of benevolence; and a being that has benevolence is a secondary object of benevolence. When a benevolent being sees another being having benevolence, this draws forth the greater benevolence towards him than merely his having existence; because so far as he has benevolence to other being, he does as it were comprehend other being. So far as benevolence to being in general prevails in him, so far his being extends to and as it were comprehends being in general; and he that loves being in general must therefore of necessity have a greater love to him.

Several things may be noted concerning this secondary ground of benevolence:

(1) That a loving a being on this ground necessarily arises from loving being as having being, or having pure benevolence to being in general, and comes to the same thing. For he that has disinterested love and good will to being in general must necessarily love benevolence to being in general. Benevolence must love that which agrees and conspires with itself. A spirit of consent to being must consent to consent to being. That which seeks the good of another must like that which joins with him in seeking the good of another.

(2) This that has been now mentioned as a secondary ground of benevolence, viz. benevolence itself, is not only a ground of love of benevolence but of a love of complacence, or delight, and it is the primary ground of the latter. That is, when the complacence is a virtuous complacence, love to us and kindness received may be a secondary ground, but this is the primary ground.

(3) This which has now been mentioned as the secondary ground of absolute benevolence, and the primary ground of a virtuous complacence, is the thing wherein spiritual beauty primarily consists. And spiritual beauty consists wholly in this benevolence and the various qualities and exercises of the mind which proceed from it, and the external actions which proceed from these internal qualities and exercises.

(4) It must be noted that the degree of the loveliness or valuableness of a spirit of benevolence in the eyes of one that is influenced by such a spirit, is not in the precise proportion of the degree of benevolence seen, but in a proportion compounded of the degree of the being or degree of

existence that the being has that is benevolent, and the degree of benevolence that he has. A benevolent being will necessarily value benevolence, or good will to being in general, wherever he sees; but if he sees the same benevolence in two beings, he will value that more than in one, because 'tis a greater thing, more favorable to being in general, to have two beings to favor it than to have one, because there is more of being that favors being. Both together have more of being than one alone. So if one being be as great as both, or has as much existence as both together, and has the same degree of benevolence, 'tis more favorable to being in general to have so much existence favor it, and therefore will be so much the more valued by a benevolent being. As a large quantity of gold, with the same degree of preciousness, with the same qualities (without any increase in those qualities) that a small quantity of gold has, is more precious and will be more valued than a small quantity.

(5) 'Tis impossible anybody should truly relish this beauty which consists in mere benevolence that has not such a spirit himself. I have observed how, if any being has such a spirit, he will unavoidably delight in such a spirit. That appears very plain. And it may in like manner be demonstrated that 'tis such a spirit and nothing else that will relish such a spirit. For if a being without benevolence had loved benevolence to being in general, it would seek what it did not seek, for to love an inclination to the good of being in general would imply a prizing the good of being in general: for how should [we] love that which tends to promote that which we don't prize, or don't desire to have promoted, and love it also for that very reason, because it tends to promote it? How should we love and value that which values and favors a thing, and for that very reason, because it favors that⁸ which at the same time we don't favor?

(6) Men may have some kind of love to some virtues from other grounds than from a relish of and delight in the pure benevolence there [is] in them, or that they arise from. There is a harmonious proportion in many virtues, whereby they have the same sort of beauty as that wherein the beauty of external things consists; and this, to one that relishes this sort of beauty which all mankind do, may appear more important in intelligent beings because they are of greater importance, for the same reason as proportion in the parts of the body and features of the face of an human being affects the heart more and is valued more than the beauty of a flower or the beauty of a picture or statue. Thus it is with commutative and distributive justice, and gratitude, which is but a kind of justice,

8. MS: "it."

and with all other virtues so far as they partake of the nature of justice; which is the case with most, if not all, [of] the virtues that are required of us. And many virtues may be valued as they have a natural tendency to the good of mankind, in such a manner that this tendency may be visible and sensible to all mankind, as sensible and as directly suggested to our minds as the tendency of water or other liquor to quench thirst, or of bread and other kinds of food that we know of to satisfy hunger; and therefore may be approved of on this account, though we never expect to receive any good from it ourselves. Or there⁹ may be a kind of love from the association of ideas, persons having been led by their education, or prevailing fashion, or the common voice which they have heard all their days, to compare such virtues to such and such things which they naturally love, and so brought habitually to connect them with lovely ideas.

Corol. 1. Hence natural conscience, or that moral sense that all intelligent creatures, good and bad, [possess,] is not the same with a love of true virtue as such: for if it were, it would be a love to true and pure benevolence to being in general, for therein consists true virtue; and this love to benevolence must, as I have just now observed, be no other than benevolence itself. Therefore, if the moral sense natural to all men, or natural conscience, were the same with relish of virtue, then it would be the same with a principle of benevolence, or pure love and good will to being in general. But that it is not; for if it were, so then men would have the exercise of a spirit of universal love and kindness, and particularly love to God and love to all good and virtuous men, in proportion as their consciences are awakened and convinced. But who will assert this? How evident is the contrary from the state of many awakened persons in this world, and from the state of the damned.¹

Corol. 2. How easy and plain is the proof of God's moral, perfect and infinite virtue on these principles. For if that be the nature of true virtue, or the thing wherein the essence of it primarily lies, that it is benevolence to being in general, how evident it is that God must have such a benevolence. For he possesses being in general; he is an all-comprehending Being. His name is "Jehovah," "I Am," or existence itself, absolute, universal, infinite existence. And all other existence is but a communication from him. Therefore, as he has benevolence to himself, he has benevolence to being in general; and as the creatures are rays of existence from the infinite fountain of light, they must partake of his benevolence.

9. MS: "they."

1. See *Works*, 8, 596, and n. 8, for the parallel between the foregoing paragraph and the final version of the dissertation.

Corol. 3. Hence we learn that it must follow from God's infinite holiness that he must have an infinitely greater regard to himself than to all other beings, because he has infinitely more being than all others. And therefore a principle of love to being simply considered, and love to being in general, must necessarily extend to being in proportion to the degree of being and the degree of virtue jointly considered, as has been shown. But being infinitely the greatest and best of beings, comprehending within himself infinitely the most being and the most virtue, it would appear that he had not that principle of absolute benevolence to being in general and love to true virtue if he did not love himself infinitely more than all other beings.

Corol. 4. Hence it appears how it becomes God to have a supreme regard to himself in things which he does, or in the great scheme he is prosecuting, taken in the whole of it, or in the general course and series of his actions and operations. It becomes him, as an infinitely holy God, to make himself his supreme end.

Corol. 5. Hence it appears how essential it is to the true virtue of created beings that they should herein² act from a supreme respect to God and make him their highest end. Seeing true virtue essentially consists in love, primarily in a love of benevolence to being in general, and that in proportion to its degree of being and excellency, and secondarily in a love of complacency in virtue; such a principle must necessarily go forth firstly, and in every respect supremely and ultimately to that Being that has infinitely more being and more virtue than all other beings, and is indeed the sum and comprehension of all being and virtue, and the fountain and end of all being and virtues.

(See p. 317.) There is something else still in that desire of revenge that there is in *ANGER*, besides a natural sense of the evil and deformity of injustice, or their injuriousness to us, and a natural sense of a kind of beauty in that agreement there is between their suffering ill and their doing ill. There is a desire of self-vindication, of aggrandizing self, after another has sought to depress us and thrust us low. Thus it would [not] answer the desire of anger if we should know that the injurer suffered very greatly, but at the same time the suffering was not brought upon him by our power or for our sakes, and we supposed that the sufferer did not know that we knew of his suffering, nor any others that knew of his injury to us that might compare them and refer them one to another. 'Tis one of the simple laws of our nature, that we delight in being loved and valued by other

2. MS: "here on."

beings, and hate their dislike, hatred, opposition and contempt; and a desire to remove contempt is one thing sought by revenge.³

Again, there is also this in ANGER and GRATITUDE: as 'tis an original law of our nature to desire that others should love and esteem us, and to abhor others' hatred and contempt, so it seems also to be original law to cleave to and favor those that love and esteem us, if we consider only their hatred and contempt of us, and there ben't other considerations to countervail this disposition; and also to hate and oppose those that contemn and hate us, if there be no other considerations to be an overbalance for this. But these are quite different grounds of love and hatred from benevolence to being simply considered, or to being in general.

That that natural PITY that is [in] the hearts of mankind is a different thing from a love of benevolence, appears from this: that such is the nature of true benevolence, that it desires and rejoices in the prosperity and pleasure of the object of it, and that in the same proportion as it prevails. But persons may greatly pity those that are in great pain and distress, whose positive pleasure they are very indifferent about, are not any way considerably moved by an apprehension that he enjoys great pleasure. Thus a man that sees a brute in extreme distress may have a very sensible and painful pity, but if he apprehends the same to enjoy great pleasure, he is in no wise answerably affected with joy, yea, if he supposes the pleasure to be as great. If it were properly benevolence, the delight or joy in its pleasure, if the pleasure be equal, would be proportioned to the pain felt on occasion of its misery.⁴

According to the opinion that places the excellency of virtue in its tendency to happiness, it will follow that the highest good or happiness lies in sensitive good, or at least those pleasures which don't consist in the exercise or enjoyment of virtue, unless we go round in a circle. For the nature of virtue, they suppose, is to seek or tend or incline to happiness. The nature of moral good is to seek happiness. "Nothing" (says Mr. Grove in his discourse on *Wisdom the First Spring of Action in the Deity*, p. 3) "whatsoever is of value but happiness, either the agent's own, or the happiness of other beings; or that which hath some relation to happiness."⁵ Therefore

3. See *Works*, 8, 606–07, and n. 7, for parallel between the foregoing paragraph and the final version of the dissertation.

4. See *Works*, 8, 606, and n. 6, for parallel between the foregoing paragraph and the final version of the dissertation.

5. Henry Grove, *Wisdom the First Spring of Action in the Deity* (London, 1734), 3.

happiness or natural good must be the highest good, for that good alone which is valuable itself, and which gives other goods all their value, or [in relation to] which other goods have no value at all but what is derived from it, or arises from its relation to it, that surely is the highest good. So that NATURAL GOOD must be a higher good than moral good. HAPPINESS or PLEASURE must be a good superior to VIRTUE. For virtue is nothing but such a disposition and behavior as has a tendency to happiness. Happiness therefore is its highest end, and therein, by the supposition, lies all its good or value, viz. its relation and tendency to this end. Therefore this happiness which virtue seeks, and is its highest and ultimate aim, must be something distinct from that virtue itself arising out of it and consisting most essentially in it: for that would be absurd. They say the nature of virtue is to love or delight in the general happiness or pleasure; and when they come to explain wherein chiefly lies this general happiness or pleasure, they say it lies chiefly in delight in virtue, that this only is true happiness, that sensitive enjoyments are vastly inferior. So that it comes to this: that virtue consists in loving and seeking that pleasure which consists in virtue; or, in other words, that virtue consists in seeking and delighting in that general pleasure that arises from or consists in seeking and delighting in the general pleasure: and is not this absurdly going in a circle, building a castle in the air, or making the superstructure the foundation of the superstructure? Let us suppose that there were but two sensible beings in the world, and they be both sensible and intelligent: then, according to the scheme of these gentlemen, the highest good, and that wherein all that is valuable on its own account, would be the sum of pleasure that these two should enjoy; and then the essence of their virtue would consist in the inclination of their hearts to this their common stock of pleasure, and their virtue would be valuable or excellent no other way, and on no other account, but only on account of its tendency to their pleasure. Here, it is evident, virtue is only a subordinate good, and pleasure the ultimate good. But now it is inquired what that pleasure is that their virtue desires, wherein it most essentially lies. The answer must be that it lies in the pleasure which there is in their virtue, and their virtue being nothing but their desiring their common pleasure. Therefore the answer must be that the pleasure in the desire of which their virtue consists, lies in the pleasure there is in desiring their pleasure. Now is not this very absurd, as it is making a thing the foundation of itself! If all virtue consists in a love and desire of happiness, and in a desire of that happiness that consists in virtue, then it must be so in the very first act of true virtue: which is impossible. 'Tis impossible that the first virtuous desire of happiness should be of that

happiness which consists in desiring happiness. For a person can have no notion of that pleasure that there is [in] virtue till he has exercised it, and so had experience of it, and therefore can't desire [it]. So that the exercise and experience of virtue, and the happiness that consists in it, must go before any such thing as desiring that happiness which consists in virtue for myself or others; which shows plainly that the essence of virtue don't lie most essentially in desiring the virtuous pleasure of the system, because there must be true virtue before there can be any conception of any such thing.

METHOD. First show the falseness and absurdity of all the late fashionable schemes, and then proceed to lay down and establish the true scheme.⁶

That all love don't come from self-love, or from love to our own happiness or pleasure, appears from this, that we love some things for their beauty: and that is not the same thing as loving them for the pleasure they give us, because things which appear beautiful to us, and that we love as beautiful, tend to give us pleasure. Although it be so that things which appear beautiful to us, and that we love as such, tend to give us pleasure; yet that tendency to give us pleasure is not the ground and reason why they appear and are loved as beautiful, but on the contrary, their appearing and being loved as beautiful is the ground and reason why they tend to give us pleasure.

For a created being to love himself with that love which is merely having a faculty of will is no virtue, because such SELF-LOVE is no argument or evidence of a principle of love to being in general. Men that are enemies to God may have it as well as those that have a supreme love to him.

That disposition wherein true virtue originally consists is not exactly and fully expressed by the word BENEVOLENCE, which signifies a desire of the good welfare or happiness of others. It is better ex[pressed] by the words "love" or "charity," or the Greek word *αγαπη*. 'Tis a being's being dear to us, which includes a desire of union with the object as well [as] a desire of the welfare of the object. Or rather, it is an union with the object; it is in the creature a kind of enlargement of the heart, whereby self

6. JE deletes the following entry: "METHOD. Show how all the virtues are derived from pure benevolence."

takes in existence in general. And these desires of sensible union and intercourse with the object, and desires of its good, may be considered as consequences and fruits of it.

As to love of COMPLACENCE, it is twofold. There is a complacence only in this enlargement and union. One that is united has a kind of delight in the object, which is a more primary exercise of virtue; but complacence in it as beautiful or virtuous is more secondary.

MORAL SENSE. SENSE OF JUSTICE. CONSCIENCE. That the sense men naturally have of justice, in repairing and punishing injuries, etc., is from a consciousness of what we should expect if [we] were in another's place, may be the more easily admitted if we consider that this consciousness is naturally and necessarily suggested, and does habitually and instantaneously, though insensibly and without a purposed set reflection, arise in the mind, for this reason, viz. that we have not, nor ever had from our infancy, any other way to conceive of anything that other persons act or suffer, or anything about intelligent and moral agents, but by recalling or exciting the ideas of what we ourselves have been conscious of in the acts, passions, sensations, volitions, etc. which we have found in our own minds, and by putting the ideas we obtain by this means in the place of another; which is a kind of substituting ourselves in their place. Thus we have no conception, in any degree, what understanding, perception, love, pleasure, pain or desire are in others, in any other way than this, but by joining the ideas we have obtained of such things by consciousness in our minds, in another's place. So in all moral things we conceive of concerning others, which are all mental and not corporeal things; all that we conceive of belonging to others, more than the shape, complexion and motion of their bodies.

“CONTROVERSIES” NOTEBOOK: JUSTIFICATION

As a central tenet of Reformed theology, the doctrine of justification concerned Edwards from his earliest years as a writer. His first public effort as a scholar was his Master’s *Quæstio* of 1723, in which he defended the thesis that sinners are justified only through faith in Christ’s righteousness. In 1734, at the beginning of an awakening, he delivered a discourse that was later published under the title *Justification by Faith Alone*. This discourse, really Edwards’ first published treatise, is assumed to be his greatest and definitive statement on the topic. Important as it is, though, it is not the last. He later wrote extensively on the subject in his “Miscellanies” as well as in his “Controversies” notebook, a collection of writings from various periods assembled by Edwards that addressed major theological issues of the day, mainly pertaining to the Deist controversy.¹ The series of compositions grouped under the heading “Justification” dates from the late 1740s to the late 1750s.

The section on “Justification” contains no less than three significant and virtually complete essays as well as supplementary materials at the beginning and end. Together with other pieces on the subject (such as the “Book of Minutes on the Arminian Controversy [Gazetteer Notebook]” and various “Miscellanies” entries), they apparently were to form a more extensive treatment of the doctrine that expanded upon the earlier discourse *Justification by Faith Alone*. Near the beginning of this section of the “Controversies” notebook, after some preliminary forecasting of themes to be explored more fully in the three essays (especially the first), Edwards set down a sequence of entries describing a “method” for the anticipated treatise and several chapter topics. However, outlining the work in this preliminary fashion was as far as he got. The discrete essays he drafted have a certain sense of progression to them in the order in which they appear. Yet we cannot assume that Edwards would have necessarily kept things in the way they are presented in this section of the “Controversies” if he had had the opportunity to publish.

1. For the *Quæstio*, see *Works*, 14, 47–66; for *Justification by Faith Alone*, see *Works*, 19, 143–242; and for an important later “Miscellanies” entry on justification, see no. 1354, in “*Miscellanies*,” nos. 1153–1360.

Edwards begins by naming one of his chief nemeses, John Taylor, whom he would later take on in *Original Sin*. Taylor, for Edwards, represents his Arminian opponents, who argue that "final justification is of works and not only of grace." Edwards responds, as we might expect, that "final salvation is not of our own righteousness." Taylor and writers of his ilk have mistaken the use of the word "righteousness" in the Scriptures to mean something meriting salvation. Edwards counters that "righteousness" and "works" mean the same thing. He then proceeds to amass instances from the New Testament to prove his point. Then, in a parenthetical aside, he directs himself to consult concordances and to look at the Hebrew and Greek words for "righteous." With this begins a *précis* for a longer consideration several pages on—the first of the three nearly complete essays—but not before he sketches out some methodological concepts (such as linking his treatise on justification with one on faith, as projected in the notebook on "Faith") and distinct chapter topics.

The first essay is entitled "Of the Meaning of the Words 'Righteous,' 'Righteousness,' Etc. in the Old Testament." Edwards states at the outset that the word "righteous" and its derivatives "is manifestly most properly a forensic term used primarily to express things belonging to judgment or a judicial proceeding." As in the preceding section on the New Testament, Edwards (apparently making good use of his newly acquired concordances) marshals text upon text to show that the word refers to "a judgment" that bears out the moral rectitude of the person judged or to a judge who protects and vindicates the innocent and oppressed. When used in reference to God, the word "righteousness" "often signifies the holy, right and excellent qualifications and acts" of the supreme Judge, and God's saving or preserving his people from their enemies. In a concluding series of five corollaries, Edwards reiterates the mistake made by Taylor and others of equating personal righteousness with salvation.

The next essay is composed of two parts, or so Jonathan Edwards, Jr., surmised, for he assigned the number "1361" (to make it consecutive with the "Miscellanies," which end at no. 1360) to the first part but did not assign a separate number to the next. The first part, by far the longer, seeks to show how the covenants of works and grace "agree as to the method of justification, and the appointed qualification for it," and the sequel considers how they differ. The fundamental way in which the two covenants set forth the same terms for justification is by requiring "holiness and sincere and universal compliance and actual conformity to God's nature and will." Compliance with holiness, in particular, is necessary to both. They differ, however, in that the covenant of works requires moral goodness of

the self as the condition of justification, while the covenant of grace establishes the rectitude of another, namely Christ. Throughout these two exercises, Edwards is laying the ground for acceptance of Christ as the source of righteousness (just as in the notebook on "Faith" he identifies Christ as the chief object of faith). In the next essay, he goes on to argue that Old Testament believers knew Christ, but by different names.

One of the lengthiest, and perhaps one of the most intellectually cohesive, of the compositions in the "Controversies" notebook is the essay entitled, "Question: In What Sense Did the Saints Under the Old Testament Believe in Christ to Justification?" (Edwards used and referred to it frequently in composing "Miscellanies" no. 1354, and Edwards, Jr., thought highly enough of it to append it to the "Miscellanies" as no. 1362.) In the manner of Augustine and Peter Lombard in his *Sentences*, Edwards makes heavy use of typology to argue that Christ was known to the ancient Jews as a being distinct from God the Father; and they knew of him as the being that went before them in the wilderness and that dwelt in the Holy of Holies (as the *shechinah*, or "presence of God"). He was called, among other appellations, "the angel of the Lord,"² "the angel of God's face," "the messenger of the covenant," God's "name," and "the glory of the Lord." Demonstrating his familiarity with the Christian Hebraist tradition, Edwards also draws upon the Evangelists and postbiblical Jewish writings as collected in Richard Kidder's *Demonstration of the Messiah*, Charles Leslie's *A Short and Easy Method with the Jews*, and Peter van Mastricht's *Theoretica-Practica Theologia*. Finally, references to "Miscellanies" no. 1068, "Prophecies of the Messiah," reveal Edwards' reliance on a prophetic-typological exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures, and suggest links between this essay and his voluminous earlier works on prophecy and fulfillment in the "Miscellanies" from the mid- to late 1740s.

The remainder of the entries, shorter and more notelike, illustrate Edwards' customary method of assembling materials for a treatise. After gathering his thoughts in a final or penultimate form, he would search for supporting evidence among his favorite authors. Here he invokes John Owen, Matthew Poole, John Brine, Philip Doddridge, and Johan Stapfer. He also identifies his opponents, in this case Jonathan Mayhew. We can date these later entries shortly after 1755 because of Edwards' reference to Mayhew's *Sermons Upon the Following Subjects*. In all likelihood,

2. See Linda Munk, *The Devil's Mousetrap: Redemption and Colonial American Literature* (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), ch. 2, for an exploration of JE's "angel-christology."

Edwards would have been able to procure a copy of this work soon after its publication in Boston in 1755.

As a whole, the section on “Justification” is written on pp. 143–55, 200–239, and 244 of the “Controversies” notebook. Inks on these pages vary from dark brown to gray to black, and, at the end, back to the dark brown characteristic of the post-1755 entries. To help himself find the various parts, and to preserve their order, Edwards utilized cue marks and page references. The hand of Edwards, Jr., is evident throughout, though fairly restrained. In preparing the entries for transcription, Edwards, Jr., made corrections (including changing and supplying words and providing transitions), wrote directions (such as “transcribe no further”), and circled his father’s cross-references as a signal to leave them out when transcribing.

“CONTROVERSIES” NOTEBOOK: JUSTIFICATION

TAYLOR insists upon it, that our full and final justification is of works and not only of grace, and yet he allows that this final justification is spoken of in Scripture as being of grace, II Tim. 1:18 and Jude 21 (Taylor’s *Key*, p. 176).³ But how does this consist with what the Apostle says, Rom. 4:4, “Now to him that worketh the reward is not reckoned of grace, but of debt”; and ch. 11:6, “And if by grace, then it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work”?

That final salvation is not of our own righteousness in the same manner as Taylor supposes our first justification, appears by what the Apostle says, Phil. 3:9, “And may be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God through faith.” Here faith and works of the law—or our own righteousness, which is of the law—are opposed just in the same manner by the same Apostle, as in those places which Taylor supposes to refer to our first justification; that by the righteousness of the law he don’t mean the salvation which is of the law, as Taylor, but a moral righteousness consisting in blamelessness, as appears by his use of the like expression three verses before, where he is most evidently speaking of the same thing: “touching the righteousness which is of the law, blameless.” This righteousness of the law, consisting in a blamelessness or conformity of his works to the law, is the thing which he speaks of in the two next verses, which were gain to him and which he esteemed loss for Christ, and which therefore he says in the ninth verse he would not “be found in.” By “righteousness” and “works” the Apostle means the same thing, when speaking of the affair of justification and salvation, as is evident, Tit. 3:5–7, “Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us . . .

3. Taylor, *Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 176, on Rom. 17: “It cannot be full and final Justification, or that Justification which gives an unalterable Right to eternal Life; because, in order to that, the Scripture *always*, and *positively* and *clearly* insists upon WORKS, doing the Will of God, or Obedience. . . . True indeed, our full and final Justification is of *Grace*, 2 Tim. i. 18. Jude 21. . . . But yet so of Grace, that it will be given only to them *that overcome* the Temptations of the World, and *by patient Continuance* in WELL-DOING seek for Glory, Honour and Immortality.”

being justified by faith." And if by "works" and "righteousness" in this affair he means the same thing, then doubtless by "works of the law" and the "righteousness of the law" he also means the same thing. See Taylor's *Key*, p. 176.⁴

By the word "righteousness" in the New Testament is not meant salvation and deliverance. Matt. 3:15, "thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness." 21:32, "John came in the way of righteousness." 5:6, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." V. 20, "except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." Acts 10:35, "he that feareth God and worketh righteousness." 24:25, "Paul reasoned of temperance, righteousness." Rom. 2:26, "if the uncircumcised keep the righteousness of the law." 3:5, "Now if our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God." 4:6, "to whom God imputeth righteousness without works." V. 11, "That righteousness might be imputed to them." V. 18, "as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men to justification of life." Rom. 6:18, "Being made free from sin, ye become the servants of righteousness." V. 13, "instruments of righteousness unto holiness." V. 19, "yield your members servants to righteousness." V. 20, "ye were free from righteousness." 8:4, "That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us." V. 10, "the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness." 14:17, "the kingdom of God is righteousness, peace." I Cor. 1:30, "who of God is made to us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." 15:34, "Awake to righteousness." II Cor. 6:7, "armor of righteousness." V. 14, "what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" 9:10, "increase the fruits of your righteousness." 11:15, "as the ministers of righteousness." Eph. 6:14, "having on the breastplate of righteousness." Phil. 3:6, "touching the righteousness of the law, blameless." I Tim. 6:11, "follow after righteousness." II Tim. 2:22, "follow righteousness." Tit. 3:5, "Not by works of righteousness." Heb. 11:33, "through faith wrought righteousness." Jas. 1:20, "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." Jas. 3:18, "the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace." II Pet. 2:5, "Noah, a preacher of righteousness." I John 2:29, "every one that doth righteousness is born of God." 3:7, "every one that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous." V. 10, "doth not righteousness is not of God." Rev. 19:8, "The fine linen is the righteousness of saints."

4. See preceding note.

Matt. 5:10, "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake." I Pet. 3:14, "if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye."

Luke 1:74-75, "serve him in righteousness and holiness." Acts 17:31, "he will judge the world in righteousness." Eph. 4:24, "After God created in righteousness and true holiness." Eph. 5:9, "the fruit of the Spirit is in all righteousness." II Tim. 3:16, "profitable for instruction in righteousness." Rev. 19:11, "in righteousness doth he judge and make war."

Matt. 13:43, "Then shall the righteous shine." Matt. 9:13, "I am not come to call the righteous." So Mark 2:17, Luke 5:23. Matt. 23:28, "ye outwardly appear righteous." V. 29, "garnish the sepulchers of the righteous." V. 35, "on you may come all the righteous blood . . . the blood of righteous Abel." 25:37, "Then shall the righteous answer." V. 46, "but the righteous into life eternal." Luke 1:6, "they were both righteous before God." 18:9, "trusted that they were righteous." John 7:24, "Judge righteous judgment." Rom. 2:5, "revelation of the righteous judgment of God." 3:10, "none righteous, no, not one." 5:19, "By the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." II Tim. 4:8, "the Lord, the righteous judge." II Thess. 1:5, "manifest token of the righteous judgment of God." V. 6, "a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation." Heb. 11:4, "Abel by faith obtained witness that he was righteous." II Pet. 2:8, "vexed his righteous soul." I Pet. 3:12, "the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous." 4:18, "if the righteous are scarcely saved." I John 2:1, "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." 3:12, "his works were evil, and his brother's righteous." Rev. 16:5, "the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous." V. 7, "righteous are thy judgments." So 19:2. 22:11, "he that is righteous, let him be righteous still."

Matt. 10:41, "that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward." Matt. 13:17, "many righteous men have desired to see those things." Luke 23:47, "Certainly this was a righteous man." Rom. 5:7, "scarcely for a righteous man will one die." I Tim. 1:9, "the law was not made for a righteous man." II Pet. 2:8, "for that righteous man dwelling among them." Jas. 5:16, "The effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much."

Tit. 2:12, "live soberly, righteously." I Pet. 2:23, "committeth himself to him that judgeth righteously."

Texts where, in the original, the word is the same:

Acts 4:19, "whether it be right in the sight of God." Matt. 20:4, "whatsoever is right, I will give thee." V. 7, "what is right, ye shall receive." Luke 12:57, "why even of your own selves judge ye not what is right." [Eph. 6:1,] "children, obey your parents for this is right."

Luke 2:25, "Simeon, a just man." Luke 23:50, "Joseph, a counselor, a just man." Matt. 13:41, "shall sever the wicked from among the just." [Mark 6:20,] "knowing that he was a just man and a holy." Matt. 27:19, "Have nothing to do with that just man." V. 24, "I am free from the blood of this just person." Luke 1:17, "the disobedient to the wisdom of the just." Luke 14:14, "at the resurrection of the just." Luke 15:7, "than over ninety and nine just persons." Luke 20:20, "that should feign themselves just persons." John 5:30, "yet my judgment is just." Acts 10:22, "Cornelius was a just man." Acts 24:15, "there shall be a resurrection, both of the just and the unjust." Rom. 2:13, "not the hearers of the law are just, but the doers of the law shall be justified." Rom. 7:12, "the commandment is holy, and just." Col. 4:1, "Masters, give your⁵ servants that which is just." Tit. 1:7-8, "a bishop must be just." Heb. 12:23, "the spirits of just men made perfect." Jas. 5:6, "Ye have condemned and killed the just." I Pet. 3:18, "the just for the unjust." [II Pet. 2:7,] "And delivered just Lot." Rev. 15:3, "just and true are thy ways." Acts 3:14, "ye denied the Holy One and the Just." Acts 7:52, "showed before the coming of the Just One." Acts 22:14, "know his will, and see that Just One."

In an answerable manner, the words "unjust" and "unrighteous" are used in the New Testament, where the word in the Greek is from the same root.

(Note these things above were observed before I received my Greek Concordance. Remember, and when leisure allows, examine the Greek Testament more fully by that Concordance.

Look also in Trommius' Concordance of the Septuagint.⁶

Look also [at] the word *Tzaddik* and other words from the same root in the Hebrew Concordance. Also the word Δικη, and all its derivations, in my Greek Concordance.)

'Tis⁷ apparent, without looking in any concordance, that the words "righteous," "righteousness," etc. ordinarily signify virtue or moral rectitude; and perhaps is never used otherwise but as signifying moral rectitude, or with reference to it. 'Tis true, the mercy God exercises towards people is often in Scripture called his righteousness, on several accounts. 1. Very commonly, when God's mercy to his people is called his righteousness, that mercy of his is spoken of that is exercised in pleading their

5. MS: "their."

6. Abraham Trommius, whose "Greek Concordance to the Old Testament in the Septuagint Version" JE lists in his "Catalogue of Reading," p. 14.

7. The following section is a précis for the essay below, "Of the Meaning of the Words 'Righteous,' 'Righteousness,' Etc. in the Old Testament."

cause with their enemies, persecutors and unjust judges, as judging between them and the parties in contest with them, with respect to whom their cause is good and just, and 'tis the part of a righteous judge to vindicate them and condemn their enemies. 2. In other places where God's mercy is called his righteousness, there is plainly a reference to God's covenant, and his acting a just and faithful part in fulfilling his covenant obligations and gracious promises.⁸ 'Tis a part of justice or righteousness in two parties in covenant to be faithful to their covenant, and if either party is deceived by the treachery of the other, and so fails of that which he had a right to by covenant, he is unrighteously dealt with. 3. In God's mercy to his people being called his righteousness, there is doubtless reference to the righteousness of Christ as the ground of his mercy; for when his righteousness is imparted to a person, 'tis a part of justice to favor and reward him according to that righteousness. And sometimes the benefit received is called righteousness figuratively, putting the effect for the cause, or for the ground.⁹ 4. Besides these things, it may be further observed that the word righteousness in Scripture is used not only to signify justice, as we understand the word in the strict sense, but for all moral perfection or virtue whatsoever—and so the righteousness of God is the same with the moral perfection of his virtue, wherein the glory and beauty of the divine nature does most properly consist—and to glorify, which is the special end of all God's works towards his church. But God's mercy and grace is a part of the moral perfection of God's nature; and indeed, the chief manifestation of God's moral perfection that he has made to angels and men is that great work of grace wrought out for his people, the work of redemption. This grace of God manifested to his church is beheld, admired and delighted in by true saints, not merely from self-love or as it concerns their interest, but primarily as glorious in itself and as that wherein does marvelously appear the beauty and glory of the divine nature: and as such it is celebrated by them in their praises in Scripture from time to time by the names of righteousness and Holiness. (Show those things more particularly at leisure.)¹

But however the words righteousness, etc. are used in the Old Testament, 'tis most apparent the Apostle don't use them in the sense that Taylor supposes. It is not so used in other cases, where the Apostle is not speak-

8. See the last paragraph in Corol. 4, below, p. 353.

9. See Corol. 2, below, p. 352.

1. JE apparently did, in the essay below entitled, "Of the Meaning of the Words 'Righteousness,' 'Righteous,' Etc. in the Old Testament." See parallels in the five corollaries (nn. 7–9, above).

ing of justification. But, above all, it would [be] unreasonable to suppose 'tis so used when the Apostle is speaking of righteousness with regard to a judicial or forensic proceeding; as Taylor confesses that, when the Apostle speaks of justification, he uses it as a forensic term, and alludes to the proceedings of courts of judicature. It would, I say, be especially unreasonable to suppose the Apostle uses the term thus in this case any other way than in its most proper sense, or to signify proper righteousness, or a standing morally right: for that is known to be the very end and design of judgment and trials in courts of judicature, to try who is righteous and who wicked, and so who is to be justified and who condemned. However the words justification and condemnation may be used in other cases, yet, to be sure, with regard to judicatories they are used for approving and accepting as righteous, or morally right, and disapproving and sentencing as wicked or criminal. And no people in the world would be so likely to understand those terms in this sense as the Romans (in his Epistle to whom he especially used these terms), who were a people most famous for their judicial laws, their courts of judicature, and the regularity of their judicial proceedings; and the city of Rome, above all places in the world the fountain and seat of those proceedings, which probably may be one reason of the Apostle's so much using these forensic terms in his Epistle to that people.

There are many things make it exceeding plain that the Apostle don't, by the terms righteousness and justification, intend merely God's mercy and grant of favor and deliverance from a great calamity, and bringing into a state of great privilege. The Apostle in these places sets righteousness expressly in opposition to condemnation, sin, disobedience. He speaks of the justification of *sinner*s, and with regard to works of righteousness. How plain is the meaning of the expression in that place, Rom. 2:13, "not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified," where it plainly appears that to be justified is to be reputed and accepted as just before God. So Is. 53:11, "by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many." *Jatzik Tzaddik*: the union and relation of these two terms plainly show their meaning. Rom. 5:19, "by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous." Rom. 8:4, "That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." I John 2:1, "if any man sin, we have an advocate with Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Rom. 5:18, "by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men to justification of life."

The Apostle speaks of imputing righteousness without works [Rom. 4:6]—how absurd is the expression "imputeth salvation," "reckoneth de-

liverance"—and Rom. 4:11, "that righteousness might be imputed to him also."

I allow the distinction between the first and second justification, but then the second justification is no repetition of the first. Men are justified in the sense wherein they are at first, viz. a being accepted as righteous, but once and forever; the second justification is declarative only.

Concerning the grand DIFFERENCE between Calvinists and Arminians in this point, see the little long book in one of my drawers, pp. 1, etc.

See *ibid.*, pp. 3–5, concerning the law, works, righteousness, first and second covenant. Also pp. 8–9.²

2. MS Notebook, "The Doctrines of the [Word of God] Especially [Pertaining to the] Justice and Grace [of God] Explained and Defended" (also called the "Gazetteer Notebook"), pp. 1–2, in which JE considers several differences between evangelical and legal notions of justification and merit:

FAITH, JUSTIFICATION. Show wherein [lies] the grand and important difference between the orthodox faith concerning justification, and the opinion of Arminians and all neonomians and all opinions holding any legal way of justification: not that something that our being justified depends on—something that is in us, or something that we do, and so, in Scripture language, some work of ours (for faith is so); not that something that we do, or some act or work of ours, properly interests us or is the proper condition of an interest in Christ; but it is the manner of its interesting us, it is whether faith, or any other acts or works of ours, interests us, as our good works, or by virtue of the goodness and amiableness of the act or work—but whether it be only by virtue of the relation it bears to Christ as a proper receiving of him. He that is orthodox holds that our holy practice interests us only this way, viz. as it is an expression of our receiving Christ. The others hold that faith justifies only by virtue of its loveliness.

One hold that our holy works justify only as expressions of faith, the other holds that faith justifies only as an holy work.

Pp. 3–5:

Remember to borrow Mr. Locke's works, his *Reasonableness of Christianity* and *Annotations*, to see his notion of justification by faith and not by the works of the law, and particularly consider and confute it.

To confute Dr. Watts' notion in the Berry Street Sermons [*Faith and Practice* (2 vols. London, 1735)], serm. 13, that by "the law that could not give life" that the Apostle speaks of in Romans and Galatians is the Sinai covenant, or temporal covenant made with the Jewish [people], whose precepts were the Ten Commandments, with the ceremonial and political law, and promises only temporal blessing of Canaan; which, being considered apart from the gospel, was a covenant of works. It were to be wished that persons that light on new notions of this nature, before they vent 'em and publish em to the world, would consider 'em more fully in their length and breadth, and make things out more fully and clearly in their own minds and not trust to a little, obscure, faint but pleasing plausibility on a new invented scheme.

'Tis strange how the words of this Apostle have been twisted, wrested and wreaked to avoid the true, proper, plain and only possible meaning of them. Answer the objection from Heb. 8:6, "a better covenant, established on better promises," a better dispensation. That dispensation chiefly dwelt on externals; multitudes of external carnal

NATURAL FITNESS is not so properly a fitness of the subject to be in Christ as the fitness of God's act in looking on such an one as being in Christ. Faith is such a state or qualification of the subject that, things being ordered as they are in the redemption of Christ, gives opportunity for the Most High fitly to look on that subject as belonging to Christ, or being in him. The moral fitness in this case is not in the act of faith but in the act of God with respect to the believer. We are to distinguish between

ordinances and other externals of religion, and the external rewards and punishments, were chiefly insisted on in that revelation. And these things insisted on were in a legal manner. But now chiefly the internals and spirituals in this revelation, spiritual and eternal promises. External things, or carnal things and legal things, were mostly exhibited and most visible under that dispensation. Those things by which the child was treated as a servant were most exhibited and most visible and most used. Moses, a temporal and typical mediator, was most visible. Now we have a better Mediatour, made chiefly visible; better conditions or terms; better promises; a better sanctuary; a better priest, better sacrifices, better Holy of Holies; a better tabernacle and temple; a better Jerusalem; a better mountain, not Sinai but Sion; better tables of the law, not stone but the heart.

To show that by the works of the law, which the Apostle says we are not justified by, is not meant only the outward obedience to the law. Answer that objection, that that place seems to favor it, as "touching the righteousness which is of the law, blameless" [Phil. 3:6]; i.e. as the Pharisees and the Jews in general from [old] understood the law. As in the foregoing verse, the Apostle says that, "touching the law, a Pharisee"; i.e. he interpreted the law in the manner that the Pharisees did. And now he adds that, according to that interpretation, he was blameless touching the righteousness of the law. He can't mean otherwise, for elsewhere [he] observes that the law, rightly understood, condemns all as it is says, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them" [Gal. 3:10]; and that by it is "the knowledge of sin" [Rom. 3:20]; and that he was "alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died" [Rom. 7:9]; and that "the law worketh wrath" [Rom. 4:15], and many other things of the like nature.

Induced by legal motives and principles and a regard to the temporal promises and threatenings.

That by works is not meant merely the merit of good works, if they mean by "merit" that merit that can be a foundation of a demand.

In pp. 8–9 JE proposes to describe a more comprehensive view of justification that includes a "spiritual meaning" of obedience to the law. The references to Philip Doddridge are from his *Family Expositor*:

[By] JUSTIFICATION by their own righteousness, Dr. Doddridge supposes, is meant a compound of morality, consisting in abstaining from the grosser violations of the moral precepts, together with sacrifices and ceremonial observances, to atone for lesser breaches, in note on Mark 10:20. To show that this is not all that the Apostle means by our own righteousness, when he asserts that we are not justified by our own righteousness, but "the righteousness which is of God by faith" [Phil. 3:9], that more thorough obedience to the law in its spiritual meaning, exceeding the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees; which faith is the principle of, as Dr. Doddridge seems to suppose in the same place, speaking of the righteousness which the young man in the gospel trusted to.

the merit of the object of God’s favor, or a moral qualification of the object attracting that favor and recommending to it, and the natural fitness of such a determination of the act of God’s goodness to an object with certain qualifications to answer some wise design of his own.

CHAPTER.³ Whether in this way of justification the freeness and riches of divine grace is not most manifested⁴ and exalted, and the obligation of the person justified most enhanced.

CHAPTER. Which way tends most to promote holiness of life and is most contrary to the interest of sin and wickedness in the world.

METHOD. Perhaps treat of the doctrine of Christ’s satisfaction and righteousness, and the doctrine of justification, in one book.

“As justification is either an accounting or declaring a person righteous, it looks to me a sort of contradiction in terms, to talk of being justified without a justifying righteousness.” Rawlin, p. 19.⁵

CHAPTER concerning the unchangeableness of a law requiring perfect obedience: Here insist on its being inconsistent with itself to suppose that there should be any law not requiring perfect obedience; the great inconsistencies they run into that suppose the contrary; and the inconsistency of it with the divine perfections, to suppose that God should not command perfect obedience, or, which is the same thing, that he should allow any moral evil. A perfectly holy God can give no other than a perfectly holy law. But if God’s law allows of some moral evil, it would not be a perfectly holy law. The law is a revelation of God’s will; but if it be so, it must forbid all sin: for God’s will is against all sin, otherwise God is not perfectly holy. The Scripture speaks of the law that fallen man is under as perfectly pure and holy (Ps. 119 in many parts, and Ps. 19, and many other places in the Psalms).

The gospel revelation and dispensation is so far from abating or destroying the perfection of the law, and bringing in an imperfect law instead of it, that it vastly increases our obligation to perfect obedience, and

3. The following entries entitled “Chapter” and “Method” are part of JE’s effort to outline a treatise on the subject of justification.

4. Archaic for “made man-like”; see also below, p. 365, n. 3, for a similar use of the word.

5. Richard Rawlin, *Christ the righteousness of his people; or, the doctrine of justification by faith in him* (London, 1741; Edinburgh, 1797), p. 28.

that a great many ways: [it] reveals more of God's worthiness to be obeyed; reveals more of God's infinite purity, his infinite hatred of sin, more of the hateful dreadful nature and consequences of sin; sets before us the brightest example of most perfect obedience, and that under the most affecting circumstances and the most obliging circumstances, circumstances most strongly obliging to imitation; sets forth the law far more than ever in its honorableness and worthiness of regard; lays us under infinitely greater obligations by God's goodness; reveals with abundantly greater clearness the spirituality of the law: it is a revelation of the spiritual world, 'tis all over spiritual, taking us off, above all foregoing revelation, from looking at things external to look at things spiritual. Therein in an especial manner is it required that man should serve in spirit and in truth. No scheme of divinity can be devised or imagined more contrary to the nature, genius and design of the gospel of Christ, than such a scheme as supposes that the strictness of the law is abated, and a law requiring less perfection introduced by Christ, in order to our being justified by our own virtue and obedience. Also, [insist on] the unreasonableness of supposing that God, because of man's sinfulness, has altered his law to make it better to agree with man's sinfulness.

CHAPTER: THE REASONABLENESS OF THE DOCTRINE, OR ITS AGREEABLENESS TO THE NATURE [OF THINGS]. 1. The reasonableness of the doctrine of our being accepted not on the account of our own righteousness but the righteousness of Christ. 2. The reasonableness of our being looked on as interested in that righteousness of Christ by such a faith in him as has been described, or that this should be the only way of coming to an interest in that righteousness, or the only that should render it proper in God's sight that we should be supposed to belong to Christ.

(Conclude thus:) Thus if we consider this great doctrine of Christianity most exactly, and trace the things appertaining to it in all their various connections and dependencies, even to the end, it will be found a doctrine most agreeable to and greatly confirmed by the highest principles of reason and nature. This is a scheme of things worthy of the Divine Being, greatly manifesting his wisdom and other perfections.

I would inquire whether the law of nature, i.e. the nature and fitness of things, requires perfect virtue. If not, then what is virtue? The very definition of it, the nature of [it], even according to the most noted and, for ought I know, all Arminian divines, is overthrown, viz. that [virtue] is an agreeableness to the nature, truth, reason and fitness of things. If so, then the law of nature must require everything that the nature, truth, reason

and fitness of things requires: for to say that the fitness of things don't require all that is agreeable to the fitness of thing, is a plain contradiction. But if so—that is, it requires all that is agreeable to fitness in every point—then it requires perfect virtue and holiness. Now I would inquire whether or no all mankind ben't under the obligations of the law of nature If any says no, Christians who are under the gospel are released from that law and are under a milder law; then I would inquire whether the heathen that never heard of the gospel, and the heathen that lived before Christ and the apostles preached the gospel abroad in the world, were not under the law of nature. I trust this will not be denied. The Apostle plainly teaches it, Rom. 2:14–15, and Arminian writers generally allow and assert [it]. And then, lastly, I would ask whether Christians that are under the gospel have less of duty, less holiness, required of 'em than those that live in the grossest heathenish darkness, are not obliged to such perfection from high degrees of virtue as they.

IMPUTATION. “God mercifully and graciously imputes and reckons [Christ's]⁶ righteousness to the soul in believing, and so we come, according to the tenor and constitution of the new covenant, to have a real and pleadable interest in it. Not that he reckons we have wrought it out in our own persons, so that the individual obedience and sufferings of Christ are judged to be our obedience and sufferings; this destroys the imputation of that which is done by another for us, and is not according to the judgment of truth: nor that he takes it from Christ, and transposes it into us, so that we become the seat and subject of it by way of inherency, and this righteousness an inherent quality in us; that is impossible in the nature of things. But the meaning is, that he graciously accepts it for our pardon and justification, as if we had personally wrought it out ourselves; and as it was performed in our room and stead, by a proper substitution of Christ to bear the guilt and punishment of our sins, as such he considers it in his law, and deals with us accordingly, and all the benefit and advantage of it, by the constitution of the new covenant, redound to us. This is what we mean by imputation.” Rawlin on Justification.⁷

METHOD. First explain the nature of JUSTIFICATION, the Scripture notion of it, and then SECONDLY the nature of FAITH. Explain this from the Scripture, then how 'tis BY FAITH.

6. JE's insertion where the original reads “it.”

7. Rawlin, *Christ the righteousness of his people*, pp. 72–73.

CONCLUSION. REASONABLENESS of the doctrine. 'Tis with inquiring into this doctrine of justification very much as it is in searching into the anatomy of the human body: the more critically, exactly and minutely men search into it, the more is to be seen of the manifold and wonderful wisdom of God in it; and yet we seem not to have come to the end, we seem to be but entering upon a view of the wise and marvelous disposition and contrivances of divine wisdom appertaining to it.

Note MR. CHUBB supposes that JUSTIFICATION lies wholly in an act of acquirement;⁸ and though he owns it is a law term, and is the act of a judge and has respect to a law or rule, yet he holds that Christian justification is wholly of grace and merciful goodness freely pardoning the guilty.

OBJECTIONS which Mr. Rawlin mentions and answers against this doctrine are: that then we must be exempted from any obligation of performing any obedience; that then we are as righteous as Christ is; that then there will be no room for the pardon of sin; that then our righteousness being perfect, there must be no need of Christ's intercession; that our imputed obedience being perfect, there would have been no need of an atonement for sin; that the righteousness being performed by another must be his and can't be ours; and that in the second chapter of James.⁹

Matt. 25:35–36. But as Mr. Rawlin says, the saints' answer, vv. 37–39, shows plainly they were not what they had depended on for justification and acceptance with God.¹

CHUBB OBJECTS that if we are justified by the imputed righteousness of Christ, then our justification is not of free grace.

RECONCILIATION of the apostles JAMES AND PAUL:

"Jas. 2:21, "Was not Abraham our father justified by works?" "His works did not justify his person, but his faith; and so evidence his justification.

8. Chubb, *A Collection of Tracts on Various Subjects*, p. 111.

9. Here JE summarizes a series of objections that Rawlin, in *Christ the righteousness of his people*, poses to the doctrine of justification by Christ's righteousness, pp. 239–52.

1. Rawlin, *Christ the righteousness of his people*, p. 249: "Another objection to this truth has been drawn from the manner, in which the good works of the saints are mentioned in that sentence of absolution which passes upon them in the process of the last day, Matth. xxv. 35, 36. But can any thing be more evident, than that the good works of the saints are not mentioned there as the causes of their justification and acceptance to eternal life? Nor do they themselves depend upon them for this purpose, as is plain from their reply, ver. 37, 38, 39. They speak as though themselves hardly knew that they had performed such good works."

And the Apostle himself gives us a plain key to this as his meaning, when he observes, v. 23, that ‘the scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness.’” As in Turretin, *de Concordia Pauli and Jacobi*: “Nisi Apostolus intelligeret justificationem istam Abrahami ex operibus *declarative* quorsum diceret v. 23, ‘scripturam impletam fuisse,’ quum obtulit filium, ‘quæ dicit Abrahamum credidisse Deo, et illi imputatum fuisse ad justitiam.’ Sane hoc absurdissime diceretur si de proprie dicta justificatione intelligendum esset, quomodo enim impleta dicitur scriptura quæ loquitur de justificatione fidei, cum justificatus est ex operibus; sed commodissime exponitur de declaratione, quia fides seipsum probavit per opera, et tunc aparuit vere, et non hypocritice, Abrahamum Deo credidisse, eamque fidem ut vivam et efficacem illi non abs re imputatum fuisse ad justitiam.” “And agreeable hereto is what the Apostle says, v. 22, that ‘by works was faith made perfect.’ Not that works add anything to the perfection of faith, but only evidence the soundness and sincerity of it; as the fruit adds nothing to the perfection of the root, but only shows the strength and vigor of it. And in this sense the word $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\delta\eta^2$ is used, II Cor. 12:9, ‘my power is perfected in weakness’; that is, as Grotius remarks, is illustrated and shown to be perfect. And I John 2:5, ‘whoso keepeth his word, in him is the love of God perfected’; i.e. fully evidenced and demonstrated to be in him. ‘Non potest quis validius ostendere Dei amore se teneri.’ Grotius in loc. So I John 4:12, ‘God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us’; ‘vere e re ipsa comprobatus.’ Beza in loc.”³

RIGHTEOUSNESS. Why God’s mercy to his people is so often called by that name. See note on Eccles. 8:5–6.⁴

2. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$.

3. This entire entry is taken from Rawlin, *Christ the righteousness of his people*, pp. 246, 247n, and 248n. The work by Francis Turretin from which Rawlin quotes is *F. Turretini . . . de satisfactione Christi disputationes . . . Adjunctæ sunt ejusdem duæ disputationes; I. De Circulo Pontifico II. De concordia Jacobi & Pauli in articulo justificationis* (3 vols. Geneva, 1680); the work by Hugo Grotius is *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*; and by Theodore Beza, *Jesus Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum* (Geneva, 1656 and sub. eds.).

4. In the “Blank Bible” note on Eccles. 8:5–6, JE states that, just as judgments are rendered according to the “providential disposals” of God, “so God’s mercy to his people is often called by the name of righteousness. Both mercies to God’s chosen and executions of wrath on reprobates are acts of supreme Rector of the universe as moral governor . . . and all God’s exercises of mercy to his covenant people are exercises of righteousness and truth, as they are in fulfillment of God’s covenants, either made with Christ, or his people, or both.”

OBJECTION from Deut. 6:25, "And it shall BE OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." See note on the place.⁵

OF THE MEANING OF THE WORDS "RIGHTEOUS,"
"RIGHTEOUSNESS," ETC. IN THE OLD
TESTAMENT

Having with great care and exactness examined the Old Testament with respect to the use of the word קִדְּשָׁה and other words derived from that root, observing every place referred to in the Hebrew Concordance where any of those words are used, it manifestly appears that words of this sort are properly judicial or forensic terms, are evidently so in their original and most common signification.

The word RIGHTEOUS, קִדְּשָׁה קִדְּשָׁה, is manifestly most properly a forensic term used primarily to express things belonging to judgment or a judicial proceeding.

'Tis abundantly used with a plain reference to a judgment. So in Lev. 19:15; Deut. 1:16 and 16:18–20; II Sam. 8:15; I Kgs. 10:9; I Chron. 18:14; II Chron. 9:8; Job 8:3, and 31:6, and 35:8–9, and 36:6; Ps. 7:8, and 9:4, 8, and 17:1–2, and 35:24, 27–28, and 50:6, and 58:1, [and] 72:1–3, and 89:14, and 96:13, and 97:6, and 98:9, and 99:4, and 103:6, and 119:40 compared with texts referred to in the margin;⁶ vv. 62, 106, 160, 164; Prov. 8:15–16, and 16:12, and 25:5, and 31:9; Eccles. 3:16 and 5:8; Is. 1:27, and 5:7, 23, and 9:7, and 11:4, and 22:3, 15, and 23:5, and 33:15, and 60:17; Jer. 11:20 and 33:15; Ezek. 45:9–10; Dan. 9:7; Amos 5:7 and 6:12; Mic. 7:9.

And because these words are, in their original and proper signification, forensic and have reference [to a judgment], hence we find them so abundantly joined with the word "judgment" in the Old Testament, as in these places following: Gen. 18:18; Lev. 19:35–36; Deut. 33:21; II Sam. 8:15; I Kgs. 10:9; I Chron. 18:14; II Chron. 9:8; Job 8:3, and 29:14, and 37:23;

5. The "Blank Bible" note on Deut. 6:25 is a lengthy entry for which JE initially filled nearly all of MS p. 147 but then struck it through with a vertical line and began a revised entry. The portion of the note that JE refers to here begins at the bottom of the second column of p. 147 and continues on pp. 142 and 141. Doing God's commands, he states, shall be "righteousness unto us" insofar as "God will remember it." "'Tis not meant they shall be esteemed as the thing which properly merits or recommends to God's favor and a title to happiness, but that thing God shall as it were remember and set before his eyes in his providence as an evidence of our being righteous."

6. I.e. in the margin of the KJV.

Ps. 33:5, and 36:6, and 37:6, and 72:1–3, [and] 89:14, and 94:15, and 99:4, and 103:6, and 106:3, and 119:7, 39–40 compared with texts referred to in the margin, v. 75, and 143:11–12; Prov. 1:3, and 2:9, and 8:20, and 21:3; Is. 1:21, 27, and 5:7, 16, and 9:7, and 16:5, and 26:9, and 28:17, and 32:1, 16, and 33:5, 15, and 56:1, and 59:14; Jer. 4:2, and 9:24, and 22:3, 15, and 23:5, and 33:15; Ezek. 18:5, 19, 21, 27, and 33:14, 16, 19, and 45:9; Hos. 2:19; Amos 5:7, 24, and 6:12; Mic. 7:9; Zeph. 2:13.

And so it [is] manifest the adjective צַדִּיק, "just" or "righteous," is, in its original and most proper signification, a forensic [term] and has reference to a judgment. Sometimes 'tis used to express the rectitude or proper moral qualification of a judge, or one that defends the oppressed. Ex. 9:27 and 23. 8; Deut. 16:19; II Sam. 23:3; II Chron. 12:6; Ezra 9:15; Neh. 9:33; Ps. 7:9 and 116:5 with context, and 119:137, and 125:3, and 129:4; Prov. 21:15 and 29:2; Jer. 12:1; Lam. 3:18; Ezek. 23:45; Dan. 9:14; Zeph. 3:5; Zech. 9:9.

And 'tis abundantly used with a plain reference to a judgment, to signify the rectitude or good and right and approvable qualification of a person judged, or to be judged, or that others have a contest and controversy with, as in Gen. 18:25; Ex. 23:7 and 25:1; I Kgs. 2:32 and 8:32; II Kgs. 10:9; II Chron. 6:23; Job 22:19 with context, and 27:17 with context, and 36:6–7; Ps. 1:5–6, and 5:12 with the foregoing verses, and 7:9, 11, and 11:3, 5, 7, and 31:18, and 37:17, 28–29, 39–40, and 52:6 with context, and 55:22, and 58:10–11, and 64:10, and 69:28, and 75:10 with context, and 92:12 with context, and 94:21, and 97:11–12 with context, and 140:14 with context, and 146:7–8; Prov. 11:21, and 17:15, 26, and 18:5, 17, and 24:24, and 25:26, and 29:7; Eccles. 3:17 [and] 8:14; Is. 5:23, [and] 29:21, and 41:26 with context, and 49:24; Jer. 20:12 and 23:5; Lam. 4:13; Amos 2:6 and 5:12; Hab. 1:13.

And where those words *Tzaddik* and *Tzedhek*, etc. seem to be used only to signify moral good in general, yet, if we attend diligently to the manner in which the words are used, at least in many places they mean such a moral rectitude or goodness as will bear a trial in judgment. See Gen. 15:6 and 30:33; I Sam. 26:23; II Sam. 22:25; I Kgs. 3:6 [and] 8:32; II Chron. 6:23; Job 8:6, and 12:4, and 17:9, and 32:1, and 33:26; Ps. 7:9, 11, and 11:5, 7, and 32:11, and 35:24; Is. 26:7, and 48:1, and 58:8; Ezek. 14:14, 20 [and] 18:5, 9; and many other places.⁷

7. JE deletes: "That which is a very great confirmation that the word *Tzedhek* and others of a like derivation are, as used among the Hebrews, most primarily and properly judicial terms, or words that relate to judgment or some judicial proceeding, is that the Hebrew words that signify judgment, such as *Mishpat* and *Dhin*, are used just in the same manner and to signify very much

These words are used to signify any[thing] that is good relating to a judgment. They often signify the goodness or rectitude of the judge. It signifies the right or good qualification of the subject of judgment. It is used to signify the goodness of the law or rule of judgment, and sometimes the law itself is called righteousness, as Ps. 5:8. It is used to signify the rectitude or goodness of the judgment itself, or sentence. 'Tis used to signify a good cause, and sometimes a man's right, or what he can rightfully demand in judgment, as II Sam. 19:28; Neh. 2:20; Job 33:26; Ps. 4:1, and 18:20, 24, and 35:27; Prov. 16:8; and Is. 5:23.

And sometimes it is put for that reward which the good judge assigns to the good. So Deut. 6:25 and 24:13 compared with v. 15; Ps. 24:5 [and] 112:9; Prov. 8:18 and 21:1, 21; Is. 48:19 and 54:17 and 59:9; Hos. 10:12–13. Sometimes it is put for that in the person judged, to which the judge annexes the reward of righteousness, as Gen. 15:6, Ps. 106:31. See note on Deut. 6:25.⁸

These words seem oftentimes to be putting much of the same signification as mercy and goodness, favor, etc., as in Judg. 5:11; I Sam. 12:7; Ps. 22:31, and 36:5–6, 10, and 40:10–11, and 51:14, and 71:15, 19, and 88:12, and 103:17, and 111:3, [and] 145:7; Is. 51:5; Dan. 9:16; Mic. 6:5; and other places. But then, if we carefully observe the places, the words have respect to such mercy or goodness as is exercised in protecting the innocent and righteous, and appearing to defend and save them from those that unjustly accused, condemned and oppressed them; in vindicating their rights against their injurious enemies that were stronger than they, and pleading of the cause of innocency and righteousness against such as opposed these things with a high hand. Because the moral rectitude and goodness of a judge in those days was supposed to consist very much in these things, as is very manifest all over the Old Testament, and by these texts following in particular, among innumerable others that might be mentioned: Deut. 10:18; Ps. 68:5–6, [and] 72:2, and 82:2–4, and 140:12; Prov. 31:8–9; Is. 1:17, 23; Jer. 5:28, and 21:12, and 22:3, 15–16; Zech. 7:9.

Hence when a judge pleaded the cause of [the] widow and fatherless in the gate, and vindicated the poor and weak and defenseless from their oppressors, it was called their righteousness. Hence acts of mercy and compassion to the poor and afflicted came to be called his righteousness.

the same things as the words *Tzedhek*, *Tzedhakah* and *Tzidhkoth*, and that abundantly in the Hebrew Bible."

8. See above, n. 5.

Now the church and people of God, in the Psalms and in the Prophets, is abundantly spoken of as in an afflicted persecuted state, oppressed by their unrighteous enemies, by those that were stronger than they. Partly upon this account it probably is that "the poor" or "the afflicted" is an appellation or name by which the righteous are often called in the Old Testament. Therefore God's mercy and kindness towards his people is abundantly spoken [of] with regard to those exercises of it towards them, viz. his appearing as a righteous judge to plead the cause of his poor afflicted people, to vindicate them, to protect and deliver them. And 'tis with regard to these exercises of God's mercy towards them that [it] is called his righteousness: not with regard to any proper merit of theirs—far from it—but as it was in God the part of a holy, righteous and good judge thus to vindicate his people from their oppressors. And so God's acts of mercy and salvation towards his people under or after affliction and oppression are called by the name of his righteousness.⁹

Thus the word righteousness, when applied to God, often signifies the holy, right and excellent qualifications and acts of him who is the supreme Judge of men, appearing in vindicating his people from their oppressors. So when it is applied to men, or to God's people themselves, who are the objects of these acts of the judge, it often signifies the effect of these acts of the judge, even their vindication, deliverance, salvation and reward.

Hence it comes to pass that we find the words righteousness, righteous, etc. are joined with salvation, redemption, deliverance, etc. as signifying the moral perfection of God manifested in saving his people from their oppressors and enemies, or the act of saving, or the liberty, victory, rest and happiness that is the fruit of it. As Ps. 24:5, and 31:1, and 40:10, and 56:1, and 65:5, and 71:2, 15, 23–24, and 85:9–11, and 98:2, and 119:123, and 143:11–12; Is. 1:27, and 5:16, and 45:8, 17–19, and 46:13, and 51:6, 8, and 56:1, and 54:14, and 59:16–17, and 61:10, and 62:1, and 63:1; Zech 9:9.

With respect to the verb צדק, 'tis used in its various conjugations in a forensic sense, and very frequently with a plain reference to a judgment, agreeable to the use of the nouns of the same family.

Thus in the following places, where it signifies to be righteous, 'tis with

9. JE deletes: "Hence it comes to pass that we so often find the words 'righteous' or 'righteousness' joined with such words as 'salvation,' 'redemption,' 'deliverance,' etc., as Judg. 5:11, Ps. 31:1.

"Thus the word 'righteousness,' when applied to God, often signifies his qualification or act as the Judge between his people and him, as delivering them, etc."

a plain reference to a judgment: Job 9:15, and 10:14-15, and 34:5; and Ezek. 15:52.

In Ps. 51:4, 'tis used for appearing just in the judgment, with respect to the judge.

'Tis sometimes used for doing justice to one in judgment (II Sam. 15:4 and Ps. 82:3).

Sometimes 'tis used for justifying, acquitting, vindicating or approving in judgment. Ex. 23:6-8; Deut. 25:1; I Kgs. 8:32; II Chron. 6:23; Job 4:17, and 9:2-3, and 11:3 with the following verses, and ch. 13:18-19, and 25:4, and 40:8; Ps. 143:2; Prov. 17:15; Is. 43:9, 26, and 50:8.

Sometimes 'tis put for pleading, standing up for, or exhibiting evidence in favor of one in judgment, as Gen. 44:16, Ezek. 16:51-52.

In Job 9:19-20, 'tis used to signify the act of the person to be judged declaring himself righteous.

What has been observed concerning the words *Tzedhek*, *Tzedhakah*, *Tzaddik* and *Tzadhak*, their being originally judicial or forensic, relating to a judgment or judicial proceeding, and even there where they seem to signify God's goodness, favor and saving mercy, and their salvation and reward, is greatly confirmed by this, that we find the words which signify judgment itself are abundantly used in the same manner as the words *Tzedhek*, etc. and to signify the same things. They seemed to [be] used as terms very synonymous.

Thus the word מִשְׁפָּט, the word most commonly used to signify judgment in Scripture, is used as synonymous with *Tzedhek* to signify justice, righteousness and other things that *Tzedhek* is used to express, all over the Hebrew Bible, as appears in the places following: Gen. 18:19; Deut. 17:9 [and] 32:4, 41; II Sam. 15:4; I Kgs. 3:11, 28 and 10:9; I Chron. 18:14; II Chron. 9:8; Job 19:17, and 29:14, and 34:4, 17, and 35:2, and 40:8; Ps. 25:9, [and] Ps. 33:5, and 37:28, 30, and 72:1, and 89:15, and 97:2, and 99:4, and 106:3, and 111:7, [and] 112:5, and 119:121, and 146:7; Prov. 1:3, and 2:8-9, and 8:20, and 12:5, and 13:23, and 16:8, and 19:28, and 21:3, 7, 15, and 28:5, and 29:4; Is. 1:17, 21, and 4:4, and 5:7, 16, and 9:7, and 16:5, and 26:8, and 30:18, and 32:1, 16, and 33:5, and 42:1, 3-4, and 56:1, and 59:8-9, 14-15, and 61:8; Jer. 4:2, and 5:1, and 7:5, and 9:24, and 17:11, and 21:12, and 22:3, 13, 15, and 23:5, and 33:15; Ezek. 18:5, 8, 19, 21, 27, and 22:29, and 33:14, 16, 19, and 45:9; Amos 5:15, 24, and 6:12; Mic. 3:8-9 and 6:8; Hab. 1:4; Zeph. 2:3 and 3:5; and Mal. 2:15.

So the word *Mishpat* is sometimes used to signify one's right or due or desert, just in the same manner as *Tzedhek*. Deut. 18:3, and 19:6, and

21:17, 22; Job 27:2 and 34:5–6; Ps. 9:4 and 17:2; Is. 10:2 and 40:27; Jer. 26:11, 16 [and] 32:7–8; Lam. 3:35.

So the word דין, which properly signifies judgment, is in like manner used to signify one's right (Prov. 31:5 and Is. 10:2).

And inasmuch as a great part of the work of a judge was esteemed to be vindicating the injured, saving and delivering the poor, afflicted and oppressed, and this was esteemed to be that wherein the righteousness or goodness of a judge did very much consist: there, "to judge" was a word often used to signify to save or vindicate from oppressors and enemies; and the word judgment used to signify vindication, protection, salvation, just in the same manner, as has been already observed of the words *Tzedhek* and *Tzedhakah*.

Thus we find in particular with respect to the verb שפט. I Sam. 24:15; II Sam. 18:19, 31; Ps. 7–8, 10–11, and 10:18, and 26:1, and 35:24, and 43:1, and 72:4, and 82:3; Prov. 29:14; Is. 1:17 and 51:5; Jer. 5:28; and Lam. 3:59.

So it is with respect to the noun *Mishpat*. 'Tis often used to signify mercy, vindication, protection, redemption, etc., as the noun *Tzedhek*. Deut. 10:18; Job 36:6; Ps. 7:6, [and] 35:2–3, and 36:6, [and] 37:6, and 48:11, and 72:2, and 101:1, and 103:6, and 119:39, 51–52, 62, 149, 175, and 140:12; Is. 1:27, and 30:18, and 59:11; Jer. 9:24, and 10:24, and 21:12, and 22:3, 15–16, and 30:11, and 46:28; Hos. 2:19.

And, which is remarkable, 'tis thus not only with *Shaphat* and *Mishpat*, but 'tis just in the same manner with words of another family that signify judging and judge, as with the word דין and others derived from it. They are used to signify protection and vindication and salvation in the same manner as the words *Tzedhek*, etc., which primarily signify righteousness.

Thus the word *Dhun* (which properly signifies to judge) is often used to signify deliver, or vindicate, or show mercy to, or with a special respect to the deliverance or vindication or protection of the exposed or oppressed. So Gen. 30:6; Deut. 32:36; I Sam. 24:15; Job 36:31; Ps. 7:8, and 54:1, and 72:2, and 135:14; Prov. 31:9; Is. 4:13; Jer. 5:28, and 21:12, and 22:16, and 30:13.

The word דין (judgment) is used frequently to mean mercy, protection and deliverance, or has a special respect to these. Job 35:14; Ps. 68:6; Jer. 30:13; Ps. 76:8 and 140:12; Is. 10:2; Jer. 5:28 and 22:16.

And the word דיין (a judge) is used to signify a protector or deliverer (Ps. 68:5).

THE REASON of such an use of terms of old in the days of the old testament, especially those ancient times whence the Hebrew language took its rise or received its perfection: The principal business of kings and

rulers in those days (unless it was in the case of war) used to be judging their subjects, judicially determining complaints and controversies which arose between one and another. Their business was not to make laws. The world in general in those days had no other laws but the laws of nature and those rules of right and wrong that were either handed down by tradition from the first fathers of mankind or taught by eminent men that [had] extraordinary intercourse with heaven. As to the particular degrees and kinds of punishment that were to be inflicted for crimes, some of the greater crimes, such as murder, blasphemy and others, by common consent of all from the beginning, they were punished with death. As to others, they were led also by the common voice of reason and tradition to appoint stroke for stroke, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, etc. And as to others, they were left to the discretion of the judge, especially the supreme judge, who was the king, who in these things acted very arbitrarily and not by law. Hence judging came to be put for ruling in general in the Old Testament, as in II Kgs. 15:5; II Chron. 1:11 and 26:21; Ps. 75:7; Dan. 9:12; and many other places.

Mankind being naturally led to form their language from those things that were most visible and remarkable among them, and to be governed in their use of words by these things, hence words by which they expressed moral matters were, many of them, formed especially for the life of their courts of judicature, where such matters had their most remarkable and visible consideration and determination, and they borrowed most of their moral terms from those courts. Thus the words *Tzedhek*, *Mishpat*, etc. were originally forensic terms, but by degrees they at length expressed everything that was good and right by those terms, the words still retaining their forensic sense as their principal signification.

And as the evil that mainly constrained all the families of the earth to appoint princes, magistrates and judges over 'em was the evil of oppression, the stronger oppressing the weaker, hence this was esteemed the main business of judges, and the doing of it thoroughly the main excellency of a judge; so this obtained the name of "righteousness," and those very words that signified judging were often used to signify protecting or saving the oppressed.

Corol. 1. Hence the falseness of the opinion of those that deny the words justification and righteousness to be used as forensic terms by the apostles, but that some real change or inherent qualification was intended by these terms. As it is reasonable to suppose the apostles used the terms in the same manner in which they were commonly used amongst the Jews, among whom they were born and educated, and especially as may we sup-

pose that they, when speaking of divine matters, would use language in the same manner in which God had used it in teaching the Jews the true religion, who were therein so vastly distinguished from all other nations.

Corol. 2. Hence we learn how far Mr. Taylor is from having any reason to suppose that salvation, or saving mercy in general, is the principal meaning of the terms justification and righteousness in the apostolic writings, quite departing from that which is most manifestly the original import and design and the main sense of the words among the people of God from the beginning: that they were used as forensic terms, in the very sense in which Calvinistic divines have generally supposed, and that when they are used to signify salvation, 'tis only metonymically putting the effect for the cause, viz. a right judgment between the oppressed and the oppressor.

We have no more reason to suppose that the principal meaning of the words "justify" and "righteousness" is "save" and "salvation" in the apostles' writing, from the use of those words in the Old Testament, than we have to suppose that this is the chief meaning of the words "judge" and "judgment" as used by the apostles. For these words, as used in the Old Testament, do as often, yea, much more frequently signify "save" and "salvation" than the other.

Corol. 3. Nothing can be argued against the doctrine of justification by Christ's righteousness alone received by faith, that when we read in the Old Testament of God's judging and saving his people mention is made of their righteousness, as such words of the Psalmist's, "judge me according to my righteousness" [Ps. 7:8]: for by righteousness in these places is only meant the goodness of their cause in the controversy they have with their enemies, and not the righteousness that primarily recommends to the approbation of him that judges between God and them. Their cause may be good in the controversy between them and their oppressors, and such as requires their acquittance and approbation by the strictest judge; and yet the case may be far otherwise as to their cause when God and they are the parties between whom the judgment is to be.

And besides, where their sincere religion and morality is called their righteousness, and spoken of as such with regard to God's judgment, all that can be supposed to be meant by it, is that it is that religion and virtue that is of the right sort, and will appear to be so by the omniscient Judge that searches the heart in order to determine whether they are sincere and upright or no, or have virtue of the right sort according to the divine constitution God's people are now under. This is perfectly agreeable both [to] the language of Scripture and also to the Calvinists'¹ doc-

1. MS: "Calvinistick." JE, Jr.'s emendation is followed.

trine of justification, who suppose, as much as any other denomination of Christians, that there is such a thing as a religion and virtue which is of the right sort according to the particular and subordinate constitution we are under, which will be tried and approved as such by the great and omniscient Judge of the world. But it cannot at all be inferred from hence that anything inherent in them can be their justifying righteousness or that virtue which God accepts as that which primarily recommends 'em to his acceptance as the judge of the original, supreme, universal and everlasting rule of right and wrong, and great maintainer of rectitude and fitness and decorum in the universe, and of its highest and most general rule.

Corol. 4. Neither can anything be inferred from God's appearing to favor and help his people, its being called God's righteousness, as though his favoring and saving them was in such a sense a mere act of righteousness or justice, that their virtue deserves it of him and that on this account it can't in justice be denied them. For as appears by what has been observed, all that is meant by it, is that these are acts which show God's moral excellency as a judge between them and their injurious enemies, judging rightly between them, in vindicating them from their injuriousness: which may be, and yet they not deserve the least favor from God by any of their virtue, though they deserve better treatment from those that injure them than that which they receive from them, or at least have never deserved so ill treatment from them.

Whether the saints by their virtue deserve any favor from God or no, yet when God does the part of a judge, 'tis part of his justice as a judge to judge between them according to truth; and if he does so, he must condemn that party that is to blame in that controversy and vindicate and clear the party that suffers wrongfully. The judgment must imply in it that the suffering is wrongful or unjust, and so, in executing judgment according to truth, the sufferer must be delivered and vindicated and injurious party depressed and punished, and he that has the right of the cause repaired by being exalted and having the ascendant given him over his oppressor. 'Tis a confirmation that 'tis on this account that God's vindicating and saving his people is called his righteousness, viz. that his judgment herein is according to truth, inasmuch as we often find this righteousness of judgment joined with truth called by the name of truth, or true judgment, or judgment of truth. Is. 42:2 and 59:14–15; Ps. 19:9 and 111:7; Jer. 5:1; Ezek. 18:8; Zech. 7:9 and 8:16; Ps. 54:5; Is. 16:5 [and] 59:14–15.

And this further may be taken notice of here, viz. that, as was observed before, though the word righteousness be in its original and principal signification a forensic term, yet as moral terms in general were taken from

courts of judgment, so the word righteousness came to express moral good in general; and particularly, God's faithfulness is often called his righteousness. And it is often found that when the Scripture speaks of God's mercy and favor and saving goodness by the name of God's righteousness, his covenant faithfulness is what is intended, as in Neh. 9:8; Ps. 40:10, and 88:11–12, [and] 103:17, and 111:3, and 119:40 compared with vv. 25, 107, and 143:1; Is. 11:5. Truth is called righteousness (Ps. 52:3, Is. 45:23 and 48:1).

Corol. 5. The things which have been observed, explain in what sense 'tis promised in the end of Deut. 6 that the obedience of Israel should be their righteousness [v. 25], consistent with the Calvinistic doctrine of justification; righteousness being there and in many other places intended to signify the reward which the good judge is to assign to them² that are truly virtuous (see back, p. 347),³ so that it no more clashes with the doctrine of justification by Christ's righteousness than any other promise of reward.

NATURAL AND MORAL FITNESS. Observe particularly what seems to be the reasons why some Calvinists oppose this notion of being justified by faith as a natural fitness; what are things they seem to be afraid of as the inconvenience or hurtful consequences of such a doctrine; and how groundless their apprehensions are.

QUESTION: WHEREIN DO THE TWO COVENANTS AGREE
AS TO THE METHOD OF JUSTIFICATION, AND THE
APPOINTED QUALIFICATION FOR IT?⁴

Here the following things may be observed (see "Miscellanies" no. 1030):⁵

I. Both covenants or constitutions are so ordered that holiness and a sincere and universal compliance and active conformity to God's nature and will, and that moral excellency that in itself is agreeable to God, amiable and beautiful in his eyes, are absolutely necessary to

2. MS: "which is [-] the Good Judge assign to them."

3. I.e. the paragraph beginning "And sometimes it is put for that reward which the good judge assigns to the good."

4. JE's marginal cue, "see back p. 155," refers to the preceding section on justification in the notebook (MS pp. 143–55). JE, Jr., numbered the present essay, which begins at the top of MS p. 202, "1361," so that it would be contiguous with the last entry of the "Miscellanies." Above the title, a copyist wrote, "This is copied as far as end of N VI but no farther in sheets 15–17."

5. "Miscellanies" no. 1030, "Covenants. Justification By Faith," discusses the similarities and differences between the covenants of works and faith (*Works*, 20, 367–69).

God's acceptance of a man to eternal life: and that not only necessary to be reckoned to his account, but necessary to be inherent in the subject of justification, or to be in the person that shall be the subject of God's acceptance and favor; so necessary that 'tis utterly impossible for any to be in such a state of acceptance without such a qualification. And so [holiness] has properly a place in those conditional propositions, declarations or promises that connect holiness with God's acceptance, favor and salvation. And holiness of heart and practice is often mentioned as the proper evidence of God's favor, and the way to obtain the fruits of that favor.

II. Not only is holiness and an active conformity to God's moral nature and will absolutely necessary in order to justification in the new constitution by Jesus Christ, as well as in the old; but such compliance or active conformity is as directly necessary. Sincere and universal holiness is as directly and effectually secured in the latter constitution as in the former, not only as it is so ordered in infinite wisdom that holiness shall always follow faith, and God will not give one without the other—the same spirit that works faith in Christ will also at the same time implant principles of holiness; and God has promised concerning all that truly believe in Christ that he will enable and incline 'em to be universally holy and will uphold them in a way of holiness to the end; and holiness is the natural consequence and fruit of faith—but also as the compliance of the whole soul with God's authority and his holy nature and will in all things is implied in the very nature, spirit and act of a true justifying faith, and that as properly and directly as in obedience, which was the condition of the first covenant though in another manner.

It will appear to be thus whether we consider justifying faith as a receiving Christ in all his offices—and so in the office of a king—or only a cordial receiving him in the office of his priesthood and as our atonement and righteousness. A hearty receiving Christ thus does directly imply a consenting to, complying with and embracing God's holy nature, authority and will, and that a great many ways.

First. In that assent there is in justifying faith is implied a holiness of taste and nature, a conformity of the heart and consent of the inclination to the holiness of God and Christ, and to⁶ God's revealed will. For that true saving assent arises from a view of relish of the supreme beauty and amiableness there is in the holiness of these things.

6. MS: "of." JE, Jr., deleted the word and inserted "to."

Second. In order to an accepting a Savior from that misery that God has threatened to the wicked, there must be willingness with the whole heart to be delivered from that misery and to have such a deliverance from that misery as is offered. But a cordial willingness for this implies hatred of sin. For the misery sinners are exposed to consists very much in an unrestrained wickedness of disposition and with an unrestrained pride, self-exaltation, enmity against God, and the like. Therefore whoever is cordially willing to be delivered from this misery must be cordially willing to have such a disposition and will destroyed; and that implies an hatred of such a disposition and will: for they that entirely love and approve of such a disposition and will can't be entirely and with all their hearts willing that it should be destroyed. If sinners were cordially willing such an inclination should be destroyed, then their inclination would be entirely against their inclination; which would be a contradiction and directly against the thing supposed, which is that men are under the reigning power of such an inclination.

Therefore, though no creature loves misery as such, yet the damned in hell can't properly be said to be willing to be delivered from their misery, at least with such a deliverance as is offered. They would be glad to be delivered by being turned to nothing, or to have a partial deliverance by being made blind and stupid, which is a partial annihilation. But these are not a proper deliverance. Deliverance implies the being of a subject delivered, and this subject's being brought out of the state delivered from into an opposite state. Now the damned in hell have no cordial willingness for this; their whole hearts don't and can't consent to be brought out of a state of pride and enmity (which is as an internal fire to torment them) into a state of humility and divine love, but as they love their wicked dispositions, so they love death.

Third. In order to a cordial acceptance of God's offer of a Savior to deliver from so dreadful a punishment as he has sentenced sinners to, by his mediation and atonement, there must be a cordial submission to a sentence to such a punishment. There must be a conviction of the justice of the condemnation, otherwise the very offer of pretended grace in delivering from it must be looked upon as implying an injury and abuse. And there must also be a cordial submission to it. And that implies not merely a conviction of the justice of the punishment such as the damned will have, but a seeing the hatefulness of sin and an entire hatred and detestation of it. For though men may be convinced of the justice of the punishment without this, yet there will be no calm submission; there will not

be what the Scripture calls an accepting "the punishment of their iniquity" without it [Lev. 26:41]. And without this, there cannot be with the whole heart an acceptance of offered grace in a deliverance from the punishment. If the heart opposes and fights with God, and hates him for condemning to such a punishment, as the devils and damned do, the heart can't entirely accept the grace of God in a deliverance.

Fourth. In order to a cordial accepting and embracing Jesus Christ as our priest, Mediator and surety, or Savior, in any sense, we must cordially accept and embrace the person of Christ. They cannot cordially receive Christ as he on whom they shall have their whole dependence in things that do above all others concern them, who don't entirely like, approve and accept Christ himself. But this men can't do if they don't see Christ's beauty and amiableness. But the amiableness of Christ consists in his moral excellency. But the seeing Christ's moral excellency, and liking and accepting him with the whole soul on this account, implies the whole soul's compliance with the holiness and moral excellency of God: for that is the same with Christ's moral excellency.

Fifth. A person cannot fully and with all his heart approve of the atonement of Christ—at least as seeing the beauty of such a constitution—unless he has a true hatred of sin. For he can have no sense of any amiable suitableness in so great a thing's being done as Christ's offering up himself a sacrifice to God, so great and divinely excellent a person's coming into the world, in so mean a condition and so infinitely abasing himself under such ignominy and suffering, to make expiation for ours sins, unless he has a sense as it were of the infinite odiousness of sin as to require such an atonement.

Sixth. A seeing the sufficiency of Christ as our high priest, the sufficiency of the sacrifice he offered us, and the sufficiency and acceptableness of his mediation and intercession, implies a seeing his divine beauty consisting in his moral excellency. And therefore a cordially approving of, accepting and adhering to Christ as a sufficient Mediator implies a renunciation of sin and a cordial adhering to and complying with God's moral excellency and holiness. Without a sense of the divine moral excellency of Christ and an entire embracing of it, the soul can't see [the] value of Christ's mediation, the value of his offering, the preciousness of his blood or merit of his obedience, and therefore no entire confidence in Christ's sacrifice. There can be no sense of the sweetness of that sweet savor of the offering Christ offered to God, without a spiritual sense to perceive the sweetness of such a savor.

Seventh. In particular does a believing or trusting in the righteousness

of Christ [imply a seeing of his divine excellency].⁷ The excellency of his righteousness is the same thing as moral excellency, and none that see [not] the amiableness of holiness and righteousness can see it. And none, therefore, can with all their hearts embrace that righteousness as wrought out for them without loving righteousness and embracing righteousness as the qualification of their own hearts and practice.

Eighth. A cordial acceptance of the happiness Christ procured, as well as salvation from such misery as he redeems us from, implies an embracing of holiness. For Christ procured a holy happiness, a happiness consisting in beholding the moral beauty and excellency of the Divine Being, and in being united to him and conformed to him, and serving and glorifying and pleasing him; so that embracing this happiness is renouncing sin and embracing holiness.

Ninth. A cordial approbation of such a way of procuring salvation for [us], by doing things so vastly great, and being at such infinite expense to secure the sacredness of God's law and authority, and honor the majesty and preserve inviolable the rights of the lawgiver. The doing and suffering so much from a regard to holiness, lest the interests of that should be hurt in the least degree, and so much to bear testimony against sin and to discountenance, disgrace and destroy it, implies a cordial approbation and an exceeding esteem of those things which so much was done to preserve, honor and magnify, as altogether worthy to be thus regarded and magnified and treated as so infinitely precious.

Tenth. Even a cordial acceptance of that rich and transcendent grace and love of God and Christ exercised and manifested in the salvation of Christ, implies a sight of the transcendent beauty of holiness and cordially embracing it. For he that truly and with all his heart embraces that glorious grace and love, sees the divine beauty of it as a moral perfection of God, or as that in which his moral excellency gloriously shines forth, and so approves and embraces it, and not merely as 'tis something that promotes his private interest. He that accepts God's grace appearing in the salvation of Christ only as related to his interest, don't sincerely and really accept anything that is divine. What he does comes to no more than accepting himself and approving of his own private interest, which is quite a different thing from cordially embracing that glorious attribute of God. But he that with all his heart embraces that divine grace and love which is manifested in Christ's salvation, must of necessity therein embrace all holiness: for he must entirely delight in such a thing, viz. love, and must

7. Here JE, Jr.'s insert to complete the sentence is used.

desire to imitate that divine love manifested in Christ, to have it in his heart and to imitate it in his practice, to make returns of love for love, and so to love God and Christ and imitate his love to men. But such a love to God and man is the sum of all holiness in man.

Eleventh. If we particularly consider what is the nature of trusting in Christ, or the thing principally intended by the phrase of "trusting in any person or thing," it will appear that it most directly implies a compliance with Christian practice. For the main thing signified by trusting any person or thing, is a person's venturing some interest in something that he does or puts in practice in an expectation of some benefit to be received from that person or thing. So the phrase, "trusting in Christ," in its main import, signifies a person's being brought fully to consent and determine to run the venture of complying with all the labor and difficulty of that adherence to Christ, and following him, which Christ calls us to in expectation of that benefit offered and exhibited in Christ, which shall countervail the damage. And "trusting in Christ for salvation" is a yielding to venture our whole interest, in forsaking all to cleave to and follow [Christ], in expectation that he will save [us], or that our interest and welfare shall not be lost but shall be advanced in our eternal salvation. This is the same thing as in the fullest manner to forsake all sin and renounce all the objects of lusts, and everything in the whole world that can tempt us to sin, in order to Christian holy practice.

Corol. Though the receiving and submitting to Christ in his kingly office directly as such, or as this has a direct respect to the kingly office, is not that which justifies; yet this, as 'tis the proper exercise and expression of trusting in Christ for the benefits of his priesthood, does properly belong to that faith which is the most proper condition or qualification for justification.

Twelfth. Even persevering holiness of life is implied in justifying faith, as the faith *by* which we are justified is PERSEVERING faith; and that, although believers are fully justified on the first act of faith. As has been observed elsewhere,⁸ the special concern which faith has in our justification, signified by the particle "BY," is the influence this qualification has in the dispensations of God's wisdom towards mankind to look upon them as in Christ, who have this qualification through the NATURAL FITNESS of such an estimation or act of God arising from such a qualification. But this fitness lies in perseverance in faith. If it could be so that a man should cease to believe in Christ, and so should not continue to receive him and to be

8. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 152 ff.

united in his heart to him, it would not be fit that he should continue to be looked upon as one with him; and that, although persons are fully justified and accepted as one with Christ on the first act of faith without waiting till a persevering faith has actually had existence. For it may influence before it has actual existence, because it has existence already implicitly and virtually. The first act of faith virtually implies a perseverance in faith, by virtue of its own nature and God's constitution considered jointly. In its own nature it implies a full consent to and compliance with a persevering adherence to Christ, and particularly in that act of trust, in that adventuring of all on Christ, mentioned under the last particular; and it not only consents to it, but it trusts in Christ to grant it. And such is the divine constitution in the covenant of grace, that they who thus by one act sincerely consent to a persevering faith and holiness, and trust in Christ for it, have it made sure to 'em.

Thus a thorough virtue or compliance with God's holy nature and will is implied in everything that belongs to a true justifying faith, and that, whether we consider the things which appertain to the object of faith or to the principle and act of faith. There is nothing belonging to the object of faith that can be received cordially and with the whole heart without [this] thing:⁹ neither the person of the Savior, nor the happiness he has procured, nor salvation from that misery which he has procured our deliverance from, nor the method and means of his procuring this salvation; neither his atonement nor righteousness, nor his grace and love manifested in procuring our salvation by those means. And there is nothing which belongs to the act of a cordial reception of these things but what implies an hearty and thorough consent to and compliance with holiness: so does the assent that there [is] in it to the truth of the gospel; so does the consent of the inclination and will to Christ and his salvation; so does that encouragement, boldness, hope and expectation that there is in a true faith in Christ as a sufficient Savior; so does a seeking salvation of Christ and applying to him for it; so does that act of trust in Christ for salvation and happiness, in which we venture ourselves and our whole interest for the sake of the good we expect to enjoy in and by Christ.

Now if we consider the things which have been mentioned, it will appear that there is implied in justifying faith as real, proper and direct a compliance of the man with holiness as in the terms of justification by the law; and that therefore such a compliance is as well secured in the covenant of grace as in the covenant of works. He that cordially accepts the

9. JE, Jr., deleted "thing" and inserted "holiness of heart."

gospel salvation complies with holiness and renounces sin as directly as he that yields to the law of God. All the difference is, in the one [he] complies with holiness in what he gives to God, in the other he complies with holiness in what he receives and accepts from God. In the one, holiness must be extant as an offering of ours to please and gratify God; in the other, holiness must also be extant as what we receive and accept of from God as the fruit of his free kindness and favor, to save and please us, and make us happy. In the one case, it must be extant as it is a giving ourselves an offering to God for God's sake. In the other case, it must be extant as our receiving God as offering himself to us for our sakes.

Though it be true something is consequentially given to God, as pleasing to him, in our receiving God offering himself to us for our help and happiness, yet 'tis not under that notion or view that our receiving God is justifying in the constitution of grace; not as our giving ourselves to God in love to him as something precious to him, but our receiving him offering himself in love to us as something infinitely needful, valuable and sufficient for us. But now an embracing and adhering to [God], or seeking, receiving, accepting, and trusting in and depending upon God as offered in his moral excellency, goodness and sufficiency as our great good and our all in all, a supply of our infinite necessity [and] emptiness, and as our help and salvation from infinite misery, and our fullness for our only all-sufficient and infinite happiness, does as directly imply compliance with and conformity of heart to this divine moral good, as our offering ourselves to God in our moral excellency as an offering or gift grateful and valuable to him. It shows no more conformity of heart to God's moral excellency for us to give ourselves holy to God as the price of his favor and in order to procure our happiness, than with all our hearts to receive God offering himself in his holiness to us as the fruit of his free favor to us, and both as the price of our happiness and our happiness itself.

It no more directly shows opposition of our hearts to sin, to avoid it, that we may avoid what is displeasing and hateful to God, and offer up ourselves a pure offering to God that may be pleasing to him and purchase the fruits of his love, than in cordially submitting to the hatred and infinite displeasure of God, and the fruits and testimonies of it in his infinitely dreadful condemnation; and so in cordially accepting salvation from that misery that consists in sin, and with all the heart accepting an infinitely great atonement for sin in a divine Mediator's suffering the infinitely terrible effects of God's displeasure for our sins.

It as much shows the consent of our heart to righteousness, cordially to embrace the perfect and infinitely excellent righteousness of God

wrought out for [us] as the price of God's favor, as to be willing to offer a perfect but infinitely inferior righteousness of our own as the price of that favor.

It shows as true a compliance of the heart with God's glorious moral excellency, when we cordially embrace that moral excellency as exercised in infinite mercy and grace to us, bestowing himself on us, infinitely unworthy by reason of sin, as it does to yield to that moral excellency as appearing in the exercises of God's authority, demanding that we should give ourselves to him as infinitely worthy of us, by reason of his moral glory.

A relinquishing all things and wholly denying ourselves to be holy as trusting in God as a Savior, does as effectually secure our holiness as our reserving ourselves only for God and holiness, to be devoted to him [as] a lawgiver.

In proposing a cordial acceptance of and trusting in the gospel Savior and salvation as the terms of life, as effectual care is taken to promote and secure the interests of holiness, as in proposing the offering to God the work of righteousness as the term of it. For he that accepts the gospel Savior and salvation, accepts that which is more friendly to holiness and more opposite to sin than the mere legal constitution, as there is in it a far greater manifestation of the malignant dreadful nature and tendency of sin as manifested in the murder of the Son of God; and a greater evidence of the dreadful guilt of sin and God's great displeasure for it, in God's inflicting all the punishment of it on his dear Son; a greater manifestation of the sacredness of God's law and of the authority and majesty of the lawgiver in the regard Christ paid to these; and a greater manifestation of the value and excellency of holiness in the infinite self-denial Christ underwent rather than in the least degree to depart from perfect holiness; and [in] the testimony God the Father has given of his delight in holiness in the evidence of his great delight in his Son's virtue. And besides, divine holiness is exhibited to us in the gospel salvation in a far more endearing light than in the law; God's moral excellency therein so much appears in the riches of his grace towards us. That righteousness which is set forth as our great example, which is infinitely more transcendent, wonderful and amiable than would have been the righteousness of the law performed by us in our own names, is the righteousness by which we are saved.

The method of justification in the constitution of grace in Christ tends more to promote holiness than the mere legal constitution, as it tends more to promote humility and self-diffidence, which lays the best foundation for a stable holiness; and it tends to prevent pride and self-suffi-

ciency, which greatly exposes to all sin. These two ways of showing respect to God are represented in the different conduct of Mary and Martha, which we have an account of in the tenth chapter of Luke, v. 38 to the end. Martha was concerned to make a feast for Christ, to give to him liberally. Mary sat at his feet to hear his word, and showed her respect by receiving from [Christ]; her method was most approved as most becoming the gospel.

III. A consent to or compliance with God's moral perfection in both these kinds or ways—both that which is the condition of justification by mere law and that which is the term of the covenant of grace—I say, holiness in both these is in compliance with God's Word, or God's mind and will made known by his voice; and therefore both are in Scripture called obedience. Both are an obeying or yielding to the voice of the Lord. The former is an obeying or yielding to the voice of mere authority demanding a due and just offering to be made from us to God. The latter is obeying the voice of God's grace in making an offer of a great benefit to us, calling and inviting of us to accept of it. The former is an obeying the voice of a supreme Lord and absolute sovereign and creditor demanding that we give ourselves to him as what is his due. The latter is yielding to the voice [of] a friend and benefactor, an heavenly Father and Savior, offering supplies, provision, subsistence, life and salvation to a poor beggar, one maimed, halt and blind, wretched¹ and miserable; [to] the voice of one that offers himself as a spiritual husband, wooing and inviting us to accept him with his infinite love and all that he is and has for our relief and immense happiness, instead of demanding that we should give ourselves to him as our absolute Lord.

Here see what I have written concerning the Ten Commandments containing the covenant of grace, "Miscellanies" no. 1353.²

IV. The expressions of that holiness which is implied in the conditions of both covenants or qualifications for justification, according to each constitution, in the acts, exercises and practice of the person to be justified, are materially and substantially the same, though they differ in form: the one being as receiving from God, the other in rendering to him; and are also circumstantially different, by reason of the different manner in which God now exhibits himself, the different relation and different acts

1. Archaic for "twisted, contorted."

2. The reference is to a section of "Miscellanies" no. 1353, "The Two Dispensations Compared, That Under Moses and That Under Christ," entitled "The Ten Commandments Contained Not Only the Covenant of Works but the Covenant of Grace," which extends from MS p. 900, col. 2, to p. 903, col. 1.

and effects of his perfections, etc. in which he now appears. Yet the holiness being substantially the same, hence the word or voice of God that directs them and is their rule is substantially the same. The precepts, calls or directions that direct them are the same in matter and substance. They are the same commands delivered in a different manner: as the terms of the legal covenant, they were delivered with thunder and lightning; as the terms of the new covenant, 'tis with the sweet voice of the love of God.

V. That God hath so ordered the covenant of grace that it should agree with a mere covenant of works [in] that respect, that in the latter, justification is always connected with holiness in the person justified, and that so strictly, and should be so implied in the special qualification for justification, arises from the holiness of God and from his love to holiness and hatred of sin; or, in other words, from his delight in the beauty of holiness and his abhorrence of the deformity of sin. It arises from this, that God has so ordered that a holy qualification should be the condition of justification in the way of justification by Christ as well as in the way of justification by mere law. Because God was holy, and delighted in holiness and hated sin, therefore he would appoint no way of justification but such as tended to promote holiness. It was from God's love to holiness and hatred of sin that God would appoint no savior but a holy Savior, no salvation but a holy salvation, and no way of salvation but a holy way, and would order everything pertaining to the salvation he bestows so as to manifest³ and encourage and promote holiness, and discountenance and discourage sin. And therefore, God's hatred of sin and love to holiness is a good evidence that unholy persons can't be interested in this salvation, and that none but those that are sincerely holy can be God's favorites: for if it were [so], that would show that the way of salvation was an unholy way, and that would not consist with the infinite holiness of him that appointed this way, and his infinite delight in holiness and hatred of sin. And therefore 'tis no wonder that these things should be implied in many parts of the Scripture—viz. that God, being holy and delighting in holiness and hating iniquity, none but the truly and sincerely holy can be interested in his pardon, favor and salvation—and yet this not be in the least inconsistent with the great doctrine of free justification by faith without works of the law, and not as by our righteousness, as I have explained: viz. God's esteeming faith in Christ, or our cordial receiving him and his salvation as a fit qualification, in such as he shall look upon as interested in that Savior and salvation, not at all on the account of the moral value of the believer con-

3. Archaic for "make man-like."

sidered as in himself, but only on the account of the natural fitness of such a thing as active union and willing acceptance in rational volitive agents, in order to their being accounted united and interested.⁴

We must distinguish between the moral fitness of God's own act in justifying and the moral fitness of the subject of justification for that privilege, or any kind [of] merit or moral value recommending to it. God may insist on things being so ordered that no unholy person be interested in Christ and his salvation, or that none be admitted that have not sincere holiness, because his own act in doing otherwise would be morally unfit—it would not be a holy act, as such an act would be to countenance and encourage sin—and because his holiness makes him delight in doing holy acts; and his insisting on holiness may be a morally fit and holy act, and what he may delight in on that account, and this be very consistent with his not justifying the believer or admitting him to an interest in Christ on account of the value of his moral excellency recommending to it.

God's having respect to holiness and moral beauty as what he seeks and as an effect he intends to accomplish and aims at as his end in contriving of the method for the justification of the sinner, is a quite different thing from his having respect to it as already effected by another and already extant in the subject of justification, as the ground of his act in bestowing the benefit, as the purchase of the benefit. God's making holiness his end in justifying a sinner, or in contriving a method of justification, is no manner of evidence of his justifying him for the value of his holiness, or the value of his person consisting in his holiness, recommending him to such a benefit, any more than his creating a being out of nothing in order to such an end. In which case, the merit or moral value of the subject of creation can't be the ground or price of the benefit of creation, because the subject has as yet no being and therefore can have [no] moral value to purchase such a benefit.

VI. Men are rewarded for the loveliness of their righteousness now, as under the first covenant, only with this difference: that then they should have been rewarded as in themselves, now as in Christ. Though it be entirely without any regard to a moral fitness or value of the believer that he is admitted to an interest in Christ and his righteousness, yet after [he] is interested in these, then consequentially on such a relation and interest,

4. JE deletes: "God's delight in holiness and hatred of sin may be a reason why he insists upon it that no moral fitness be against a person's redemption as interested in Christ, and yet not admit a person for the sake of a positive moral fitness for that state. If sinners were wicked and without sincere holiness, moral fitness would be against their redemption, because it would be a direct encouraging sin, which is a morally unfit thing."

the believer's holiness, taken with his freedom from guilt which he already has, and also with his relation to Christ, who has in himself so great a moral value: I say, the believer's holiness, viewed in these circumstances, is looked upon as a beauty and excellency having in it a great moral value in the sight of God, recommending to great favor and complacency and infinite rewards, and is a secondary recommendation to and worthiness of that eternal life and happiness which Christ has promised to bestow on believers in heaven. Christ's own righteousness is the primary and fundamental absolute worthiness and recommendation; the believer's inherent holiness is a secondary, dependent and derivative worthiness.

VII. It is true now, under the new covenant, that every virtue and grace of God's Spirit, and all true obedience and holy practice, does, by virtue of God's promise, give a right or title to pardon and God's favor, and all the happy consequences and fruits of it, and all the blessings dependent on it. For God very often, both in the Old Testament and New, promises those things not only to faith but to the fruits and concomitants of faith, which are the distinguishing signs and marks of it; and therefore, the having these fruits and marks gives a title by virtue of God's promise, as well as faith: for what God promises, he obliges himself to fulfill. Those who have God's promises, have a title to the thing promised. If a divine promise be annexed to a qualification that is the fruit or mark of faith, then a title to the thing promised is annexed to it; and the [faith that]⁵ produced that fruit or mark mentioned in the promise, is a sufficient ground for a claim of the promised benefit, let what will have been the motives and inducements on which it pleased God to make such promises. He may annex promises to those things, and yet they not be the things that in his eyes are the primary inducement to him to bestow such benefits, nor be regarded as the price of the benefits. The things whose value recommends them, and whose value induces him to receive them to such favor, may be entirely diverse. And not only [so], but those things may not be the qualifications wherein the proper capacity and natural fitness for the benefit consists. But it may be because God knows they always attend that qualification wherein the proper capacity consists, so that evermore where one is, the other is, and where one is not, the other is not, they being the fruits and sure and distinguishing marks of it. If the case be [so], no damage or inconvenience can arise in connecting those things and the benefit together by promise, any more than in thus connecting the benefit to the qualification, which is the proper price of the benefit, or that

5. JE, Jr.'s insert.

wherein the proper capacity and natural fitness for it does primarily consist.

VIII. Though now, under the constitution of grace, Christ's righteousness alone is the primary and fundamental absolute worthiness and moral recommendation of fallen man to God's favor and eternal salvation, and faith alone be the qualification by which they are admitted to an interest in Christ and his righteousness—and that not as a moral value recommending to it but only as a natural fitness that renders God's act wise in esteeming them in Christ—yet under all constitutions, that which condemns and exposes to eternal destruction is sin, and that as a moral unfitness for life and happiness, and a moral fitness, worthiness and most proper desert of misery, as having a deformity and demerit of which eternal destruction is the proper compensation.

THE THINGS WHEREIN THE WAY OF JUSTIFICATION
BY MERE LAW AND THAT BY GRACE THROUGH
CHRIST DIFFER AS TO THE QUALIFICATION OF THE
SUBJECT THAT PRIMARILY ENTITLES HIM TO
JUSTIFICATION⁶

I. The primary qualification in the former is the righteousness or moral goodness itself on the account of the value of which, in God's sight, the person is justified. The qualification in the latter way gives a person a title to justification not at all on the account of its moral value in the sight of God, but only on the account of the relation it has to a righteousness wrought out by another, wherein that value consists, on the account of which God bestows such a privilege. In the former, the qualification prevails because it is itself the value or price for which God justifies. In the latter, it prevails only because it has such a relation to the value or price for which God justifies.

II. In the former way, the qualification in the person to be justified gives an interest in the benefit of justification more directly and immediately than in the latter. The very next benefit which the qualification gives the person in the former way is justification, or acceptance as a person directly recommended and immediately entitled to God's everlasting favor and eternal life. In the latter way, the next benefit which the inherent qualification brings the person to is not justification or acceptance to eternal life itself, but an interest in Christ, a being looked upon as in him, united and

6. A later copyist wrote above the title: "This is copied in sheets 17–18."

belonging to him who has a valuable righteousness; and consequentially on this, and in the second step, that benefit is obtained of being interested in that acceptance to eternal favor and life, which is the reward of his⁷ righteousness. The next or immediate benefit in the former case is justification itself. The next benefit in the latter case is an interest in him by whom justification comes.

III. The way in which the two diverse inherent qualifications interest the subject in their respective next and immediate benefits is not the same. The way in which the qualification appointed in the former way (*viz.* man's own righteousness) interests in the next benefit, which is justification itself, is by recommending to it through its own intrinsic moral value. The way in which the qualification appointed in the latter way, even faith in Christ, interests in its next immediate benefit, even an interest in Christ, is not on account of any moral value of faith in the sight of God, but only on account of a proper capacity which it implies for such a benefit. God don't want a price or value to purchase, or beauty to recommend to the benefit, as things are established in the constitution of free grace in Christ; but he insists on a proper capacity to receive, so that there should be a natural agreement between the qualification and capacity of the subject and the benefit that he is to be the subject of, that they may well consist together, and not be in nature repugnant one to another.

IV. The ways in which the different qualifications in the two ways of justification interest the subject in their respective next and immediate benefits, are not only diverse but opposite: that is, that relation or respect, which the qualification appointed in the way of gospel grace (even faith in Christ) has to the benefit—which relation is the thing that renders it a proper qualification for that benefit—is in some respect opposite to that relation or respect which the qualification appointed in the mere legal constitution (*viz.* our own righteousness) has to the benefit to be received, which renders that a proper qualification for the benefit. That which renders men's own perfect righteousness the qualification in the legal way a proper qualification for the benefit, is that, by that, men offer a proper value to God for it. But the relation that faith bears to the benefit is not respected in the affair as giving anything to God, but only as receiving from God. The former is as it were offering a price for the benefit. The latter is as it were offering the prayer of a beggar, or exhibiting to

7. JE, Jr., deleted this word and inserted "Christ's" to clarify the reference.

God that in the heart of which prayer is the expression. The one is coming with money, as one that has an estate and fullness of his own to answer God's righteous demands; the other is to come as a poor man, empty and needy, seeking, depending and receiving from God, as answering the free offer and invitation of infinite grace.

Dr. Goodwin's *Works*, vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 287: "As the whole of salvation is a mere free gift of grace, so is faith a mere receiver. For if there be anything given by grace, and grace be acknowledged [by] the giver, you must have something that must receive, and in receiving must give all back again to grace, and that is nothing else but faith . . . It was a speech of the ancients, that faith only is the apprehending and receiving principle, takes all in . . . God would not that grace should save us by that which should return something to him, but by that which should be only a receiver."⁸

V. From these things which have been already mentioned, there arises this other difference: that although the inherent qualification for justification implies real sincere holiness in the way of gospel grace as well as in the legal way, yet the qualification now may be without perfect holiness. If the use and influence of the inherent qualification were the same in our justification, perfect holiness must be requisite still. The use of the inherent qualification in justification, in the first way, is directly to recommend the person in whom it [is], as thereby being a person of moral value, properly recommending him to acceptance as the subject of eternal life. 'Tis plain, in order to this, the holiness must be perfect, because if there be any sin, this is an infinite evil, brings an infinite odiousness and demerit on the person, that all the holiness he can have can in no measure be any balance for; so but that still the person, on the whole, must be looked upon as without any moral value or amiableness, yea, on the contrary, as being infinitely odious. But in the way of gospel grace, the use and influence of the inherent qualification is quite diverse. It is not at all to recommend to any benefit as a moral value of the subject in the sight of God, but only a natural fitness or proper and suitable capacity for it, which may be as [God] has constituted things in Christ without any moral value or preciousness of the subject; and although the person, taken as he is, all things in him being estimated together, is wholly odious and ill-deserving, ungodly and guilty in the sight of God. And thus God justifies the ungodly (Rom. 4:5). And though God in his wisdom

8. *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (5 vols. London, 1681–1704), 1, Pt. 2, p. 287. The quote appears in the second part of *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, Sermon XXI, on Eph. 2:8–10.

and holiness would by no means appoint any method of justification but such as tends to promote holiness, yet this may be done if the condition of justification implies only sincere holiness, that aims and earnestly desires and seeks increase of holiness to perfection as much as is possible, and in the best manner that can be, under man's present circumstances; and indeed, in the end, tends to bring man to a far higher degree of holiness than the legal way of justification by the value of his own perfect righteousness.

VI. The method of justification by gospel grace differs from the other with regard to the imperfection of holiness implied in the condition, in another respect: and that is, that a person is justified on one act of faith, and so on the first holy act. In the legal way, justification is not obtained till a man has actually persevered in holiness through an appointed time of probation, and so his holiness is finished and perfect in that respect. But in the way of the gospel, a person is justified before holiness is thus finished, yea, he is justified in the very beginnings of the person's holiness, or as soon as ever his holiness is begun, in the very first point or first step of his holy course; and that, however perseverance in holiness is taken into the account, or he be justified in some sense by persevering holiness in the manner that was before observed. Though it be so, yet God don't wait till the perseverance of faith has actually existed, the same being made sure in the very first act of faith as though it had existed. But it is not thus in the legal method of justification.

VII. Yea, there is this further great difference: that in the method of justification by the gospel, a person is justified before he has any habitual holiness, or any holiness as an established principle of action—not before there has been one act of sincere holiness, an act from the bottom of the heart and with the whole soul—yet the establishing holiness as an abiding principle of spiritual life and action is consequent on justification, as has been shown elsewhere.⁹ And in this sense, again, God justifies the ungodly as he justifies persons without any habitual holiness.

VIII. Justification is so far from being consequent on habitual holiness and actual perseverance in it now, as in the way by the law, that both actual perseverance and habitual holiness are benefits that are the fruits of that act of faith by which persons are first justified. They are some of the benefits received, and that God is trusted in for, by that act of faith.

9. *Justification by Faith Alone*, in *Works*, 19, 167–68.

QUESTION: IN WHAT SENSE DID THE SAINTS UNDER
THE OLD TESTAMENT BELIEVE IN CHRIST TO
JUSTIFICATION?¹

I answer, especially with respect to the church of God under the Mosaic dispensation, in the following positions:

I. The person that in Jer. 2:2 and in many other places is spoken of as espousing that people Israel to himself, and that went before them in the wilderness, and brought 'em into Canaan, and dwelt amongst them in the Holy of Holies in the tabernacle and temple, was the Son of God, as is most manifest by that, that he is often called the "angel of the Lord," "the angel of God's presence," "the messenger of the covenant," etc.

II. It was plainly and fully revealed to the church of Israel that this person was a different person from him in heaven that sustained the dignity and maintained the rights of the Godhead, and acted as first and head and chief in the affairs of God's kingdom; and that this person, that had espoused the church of Israel to himself and dwelt amongst them as their spiritual husband, acted under him as a messenger from him. And as this was sufficiently revealed to that people, so the church of Israel all along understood it.

These things are very apparent throughout the Old Testament.

It was very plainly and expressly [revealed]² in Ex. 23:20–24, "Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, and provoke him not; for my name is in him. But if thou wilt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries. For mine Angel shall go before thee, to bring thee unto the Amorites," etc. Here God reveals that he would commit the care of that congregation to a person that he calls his "angel" or "messenger," in whom was his name or nature; his name, JEHOVAH, by which name God had a little before so solemnly revealed himself to that people by. And he signifies to 'em that this person should have the charge of the people, and should go before 'em as their captain, and bring 'em into the land of the Amorites, etc. (see notes on the place).³

1. JE, Jr., numbered this essay "1362," to make it contiguous with the "Miscellanies." A later copyist wrote above the title, "this is copied in sheets 3–8."

2. JE, Jr.'s insert.

3. "Blank Bible" note on Ex. 23:20–23 begins with a reference to "Notes on Scripture" no. 63 and then reads: "God says of this Angel, 'My name is in him.'" JE writes that God had revealed to Israel his name, "I AM THAT I AM." From this sequence JE concludes that when God "says

And Moses and the people seem to have understood the matter. And therefore afterwards, when this angel appeared to Joshua with a sword drawn in his hand, Josh. 5:13, though at first he did [not] know who he was, yet when once he told him that he was the captain of the Lord's host, Joshua seems to have understood him to be this Angel, and therefore fell on his face. And the Angel teaches Joshua to pay him divine respect by taking off his shoes, because the ground was holy, as Moses was commanded when Jehovah appeared to him at the bush. And this person, that thus had the charge of that church and had so united himself to them, was all along spoken of as a distinct person from him in heaven that acted as first in matters pertaining to the divine government, and was so understood. It is very plain in Eccles. 5, at the beginning: "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God . . . neither say before the angel, it was an error." The same is manifest, because it is plain that that person that went before 'em in a cloud of glory in the wilderness, and took up his abode among them in a cloud of glory in the temple, was known among them by such names as the "angel of God's presence" (Is. 63:9), and the angel of the covenant (Mal. 3:1), who dwelt over the ark that is called the ark of the covenant, that contained the tables that were called the tables of the covenant. What was written on those tables is called the covenant and the book of the law; laid up beside the ark was the book of the covenant. As the ark was the repository for the keeping of the covenant, so the angel that always dwelled upon it in a cloud of glory was the angel of the covenant, or the angel that had the charge and keeping of the covenant.

He that went before the children of Israel in the wilderness is called the angel of the Lord (Ex. 14:19), and was so called all along by the nation of the Jews, even till Stephen's time (Acts 7:38). By which the children of Israel must most naturally understand a distinct person from him that was first in the order of acting in the God[head]. And they must no less naturally under[stand] that it was the same person dwelt in the cloud of glory in the tabernacle, that before had gone before 'em in a cloud of glory; for indeed, 'tis represented as being the same cloud. For when the tabernacle was built, the very same pillar of cloud and fire, that had before gone before 'em, came and rested on the tabernacle and took up its abode there, the same glory of the Lord that used to appear in the cloudy pillar

'My name is in him,' they could naturally understand no other than that name that he had lately revealed himself by." Thus Israel understood that "God's nature was in him." See also *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 15, *Notes on Scripture*, ed. Stephen J. Stein (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1998), 68.

(Ex. 40:34 to the end). And though this cloud, and the glory of the Lord in it, afterwards did not cover or fill the whole tabernacle, but only abode in the Holy of Holies, yet it would be unreasonable to imagine that the children of Israel did not esteem it the same glory of the Lord, or a symbol of the presence of the same divine person, that ordinarily dwelt in the Holy of Holies, which had at first filled the whole tabernacle. The same things might be observed concerning the temple, when that was built. See I Kgs. 8:10–12, II Chron. 5:13–14, and ch. 7:1–3.

It probably was constantly the notion of the Jewish nation that the person that dwelt in the temple and sometimes shone in a visible glory there was a distinct person from the first in the Godhead. And the evangelist John seems to speak the commonest sense of the people when he, referring to the vision Isaiah had of the glory of the Lord filling the temple (Is. 6:1, etc.), speaks of the person whose glory he saw as the person of the Son of God and the Messiah (John 12:41).

This same person by whom God appeared to the people in the wilderness and in the temple, manifesting himself *to their view*, is called "the angel of the Lord in Zech. 12:8. "The house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them"; *Liphnehem*, "before their face" or "in their view." By this angel of the Lord, though he is called "God," must needs to [be] understood a distinct person from him that acts as first in order. See the manifest distinction made between Jehovah sending, and Jehovah sent and dwelling in the midst of the people, Zech. 2:8–9, 11 and 4:9.

These, with many other things in the Old Testament, do sufficiently evince that the Jewish nation had a notion of a distinction of persons in the Godhead, which they probably derived from the ancient patriarchs, the first fathers of mankind, from whom many among the heathen in various parts of the world derived their notion of a triplicity in the Godhead. And there are so frequent and so plain intimations of a distinction of persons in the written revelation which the Jews had, that it could not be otherwise than that they must have such a notion. Many of these intimations are much plainer in the Hebrew language than in the translation. Here—to omit the expressions in some of the first chapters of Genesis, and others in other places like them, and the name *Elohim*, which is plural, which when applied to the true God is often joined with plural verbs and adjectives—there are some places where the Son of God is spoken in particular as distinct from the Father, as the Lord on earth, or the God of Israel, distinct from Jehovah acting as first and most original in heaven. So Gen. 19:24, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven." And Hos. 1:7, "But I will [have]

mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and I will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses nor by horsemen." Ps. 45:6-7, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever: the scepter of thy kingdom is a right scepter. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Dan. 9:17, "Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake." Ps. 110:1, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand," etc. The Seventy Interpreters, in translating "the Holy One of Israel," sometimes use the plural number (see "Miscellanies" no. 1249).⁴

'Tis evident also by the Targums, and other ancient writings of the Jews, that the Jews of old had a notion of a distinction of persons in the Godhead. However, the modern Jews, out of opposition and enmity to Christianity, do strenuously deny it. Here see Bp. Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. III, pp. 81-83, and 94-97, and so on to p. 116. See concerning the authors of the Targums, *ibid.*, p. 107.⁵

This second person, who went before the people in the wilderness and conversed with them and their fathers, and afterwards dwelt on the mercy seat and often appeared to eminent men, was called by various names of old. Sometimes he was called "the angel of the Lord," "the angel of God's

4. "Miscellanies" no. 1249, "Trinity," cites the cry of the cherubim in Is. 6:3, "Holy, holy, holy," to show "that the Jews of old understood that there were several persons in the Godhead"; the entry also includes the reference here to the Septuagint.

5. Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias. In Which the Truth of the Christian Religion is Proved, against all the Enemies thereof; but especially against the Jews* (2nd corr. ed., London, 1726). JE refers first to Pt. III, ch. IV, "That the Christian's doctrine of the Holy Trinity is no sufficient bar to the Jew's embracing the Christian religion." In pp. 81-83, Kidder maintains that "though this doctrine [the Trinity] is not plainly revealed in the *old Testament*; yet there are even there fair intimations of it," citing places which "intimate some kind of *plurality*" (e. g. Gen. 1:26) and others which "intimate a *trinity*" (e. g. Num. 6:24-26). Pp. 94-97 appear in ch. V, "The testimony of Philo the Jew, concerning the Holy Trinity, and the *λογος*." In these pages Kidder considers where Philo provides a mystical interpretation of the cherubims and flaming sword of Gen. 3:24: "That to the truly one God there were two supreme and primary powers belonging, Goodness and Power. And by Goodness all things were made, and were governed by Power. That there was still a third as a conciliator in the midst of the two former, viz. the Word. That by this Word, God is both a governor and good, and that the cherubims are symbols of these two powers of government and goodness, and the flaming sword of the Word." From pp. 94 to 106, Kidder continues his discussion of Philo's understanding of the Logos or Word, and on pp. 106-09 considers the "Chaldee Paraphrasts, who are authors of great esteem among the Jews" in order to show that they also represent the Logos as "a divine person, or God himself." At p. 110 begins ch. VI, "Some objections against what hath been said before," such as that Philo derived his information chiefly from a Plato, heathen writer, and therefore is suspect (pp. 111-13); and that intimations of the Trinity in Jewish writings may be a "novel doctrine."

face" or "presence," "the messenger of the covenant"; sometimes "the face of the Lord" or "the presence of the Lord," as when God says, "My presence" (or "my face") "shall go with you" (Ex. 33:[14]). He is called "the word of God." II Sam. 7:21, "For thy word's sake, and according to thine own heart, hast thou done all these great things, to make thy servant know them." See the opinion of the ancient Jews concerning the "word of God" as a divine person, Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, pp. 93–116. See "Miscellanies," no. 1256.⁶

This person was often called the "name of the Lord" (wherein possibly there is some reference to that place where God says, "my name is in him" [Ex. 23:21]). Thus we often read of the place that God chose to place his name there, i.e. to place there the *shechinah*, which was the symbol of the presence of this angel of the Lord, that had God's name in him. Where we read in our translation, "I will put" (or "place") "my name there," in the original it is, "I will cause my name to inhabit there," plainly speaking of God's name as a person; and sometimes it is so rendered by our translators, as Deut. 12:11. "Then there shall be a place that the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there." So the temple is spoken of as an house built for God's name, I Chron. 22:8 and 28:3, and II Chron. 6:8–9 and 20:9; Jer. 48:17; Ps. 5:11 and 91:14; Is. 52:6; I Kgs. 8:43; II Chron. 6:3. And in Ps. 74:7, the temple is called "the dwelling place" of God's name. This name of God, that dwelt in the Holy of Holies, is many ways spoken of as a person. It is spoken of as the object of worship; of knowledge (Mic. 6:9, "[the] man of wisdom shall know⁷ thy name"); of fear (Mal. 4:2); of love; of desire (Is. 26:8, Ps. 5:11); of seeking or prayer (Ps. 83:6); and of sanctifying (Is. 29:3);⁸ of trust and waiting (Ps. 52:9, and many other places). So we read of blaspheming God's name. 'Tis spoken of as hearing and answering prayer, accepting offerings, remembering with mercy, sending help from the sanctuary, and defending and sav-

6. On Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. III, pp. 93–116, see preceding note. In pp. 93–94 Kidder considers Philo's opinion that man is made not in "the image of the supreme God and Father of all things, but of his Word or *logos*, who is the second God." "For first, he doth distinguish between the person of the *Father*, and the *λογος*, whom he elsewhere calls the *Son*: And secondly, he doth expressly affirm this *λογος* or *Son* to be God."

JE cites "B. 9, pp. 7, 8," or "Miscellanies" no. 1256, "Trinity," which was written nearly contemporaneously with the Justification materials and concerns "intimations of the Trinity in the Old Testament, and the opinion of the ancient Jews." In the entry, JE cites Ramsay's *Principles*, vol. 2, p. 116, for Old Testament references to God in the plural number.

7. KJV: "see."

8. JE's reference here is uncertain. Following the reference to Is. 29:3, he interlineated the phrase, "giving glory to," but did not complete the thought.

ing his people. Ps. 20:1–3, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; and send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifice." Ps. 54:1, "Save me by thy name." 'Tis spoken of as approaching or drawing near to his people. Ps. 75:1, "that thy name is near thy wondrous works declare"; i.e. near to his people, dwelling with them and not forsaking them, as appears by the words with which they are introduced and by what follows in the Psalm. Divine attributes are ascribed to this name: as power (Jer. 10:6, "For there is none like thee, O Lord; thou art great, and thy name is great in might"); anger (Is. 30:27, "Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from afar, burning with his anger, and the burden thereof is heavy: his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire"). In which place, God's name is evidently spoken of as a person; it has not only the personal attribute of anger, but makes progress, comes and as it were travels from afar, having his lips "full of indignation and his tongue a devouring fire." Van Mastricht speaks of it as a common saying among the Hebrews concerning God's name, הוא שמו ושמו הוא, "He himself is his name, and his name is himself."⁹ Philo the Jew speaks of the Messiah under the appellation of "the name of God." "In his allegories," he speaks of him as "the WORD, the NAME of God, the maker of the world, the great instrument of God whereby he made the world." See Leslie to the Jews, p. 93. See also Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, [Pt. II], p. 103c.¹

God, to prevent the Jews having any notion of two Gods, and to lead 'em to conceive of the infinitely near relation between that person that more immediately dwelt among them and the first person in the God-

9. The van Mastricht reference is to *Theoretico-practica Theologia* (Utrecht, 1699), II, iv, "De Nominibus Dei," p. 89, col. 1: "Quantum ad locum Psal. xlv. verba ejus immediate præcedentia, victoria, istas, ad ipsum Jehovaham referunt: *per te hostes nostros feriemus*. Nec Judæos latet, πολυδρῦλον σου, הוא שמו ושמו הוא, *ipse homin suum, & nomen suum ipse*."

1. [Charles Leslie], *A Short and Easie Method with the Jews. Wherein the Certainty of the Christian Religion is Demonstrated with Infallible Proof from the Four Rules made use of against the Deists . . .* (2nd ed. London, 1709), p. 93. The passage reads: "In his *Allegories*, he calls the *Word*, the *Name of God*, and the *Maker of the World*, or the great *Instrument of God*, whereby He *made the World*, the same as our *Gospel* Joh. I. 3." Leslie goes on to cite Jewish writers who make distinctions between persons in the Godhead.

Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 103c, quotes Philo: "If it be so, that as yet a man may not be worthy to be called the Son of God, however do they endeavour to be adorned like unto his first-begotten Word, the most ancient angel, and archangel, that hath several appellations or names, viz. the beginning, the name of *God*, the *Word*, and the man according to his image, and the seeing *Israel*; for thus is he called."

head, as being in him and as having one nature and substance, called him his "name," as properly according to the infant capacity of the church in that day, signifying the relation that there is between him and his idea.

When the Scripture speaks of God's name as placed in the temple, there is an allusion rather to a written abiding name than a name pronounced by a vanishing sound. For a written name only is capable of being properly placed or fixed to remain in a place. And therefore, this fixing of God's name is expressed by recording his name (Ex. 20:24). A written name stands as a representation of him whose name it is, and therein is like an image. So Christ is the Father's representation and express image and character, as the expression is in the original of Heb. 1:3. "The brightness of his glory, and the character² of his person." In the temple there was as it were the image and character of God, which was also called his name. This same person, that is so called, appeared in the *shechinah* in the temple, and is called the "brightness of God's glory." As now 'tis frequently the manner of representing of God on paper and in books not by a picture, as other things are represented, but by the characters of God's name, and particularly the Hebrew characters of the name יהוה, with beams of an effulgent glory about it.³

It may be further observed that the word "name" is sometimes put for posterity, by which a person was represented and kept in remembrance. See Deut. 25:7, Ruth 4:5, and Is. 66:22. Which may show another reason why this divine person is called the NAME of the Lord, he being his own and only natural Son.

Another name by which this person was called in the Old Testament, not much unlike that which was last insisted on, was the GLORY OF THE LORD. Ex. 29:43, "And there will I meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by my glory." So we often read of the Lord descending on Mt. Sinai and filling the tabernacle and temple. The mercy seat where this person dwelt is called the throne of his glory. Jer. 14:21, "Do not abhor us, for thy *name's* sake, do not disgrace the throne of thy glory." There God's "NAME" and his "GLORY" are the same. So again, Is. 59:19, "They shall fear the name of the Lord from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun." I Sam. 2:8, "Thou shalt make them inherit the throne of glory," which is equivalent to that promise of Christ, Rev. 3:21, he shall "sit with me in my throne." I Sam. 4:21, "The glory is

2. KJV: "express image."

3. See the frontispiece to *Works*, 11, reproducing a plate from Francis Quarles' *Emblems* (1693), which illustrates JE's description.

departed from Israel: for the ark of God is taken." Ps. 78:61, "And delivered his strength into captivity, and his glory into the enemy's hand." Ps. 85:9, "Surely his salvation is nigh unto them that fear him; that glory may dwell in our land." God's glory passed by Moses in the Mount (Ex. 33:22). The temple where the person dwelt that we are speaking of is called the house of God's glory (Is. 60:7). The temple was the dwelling place of the glory of the Lord, as of the name of the Lord (Ezek. 3:12). In Is. 3:8, the people are said to have provoked the EYES of God's GLORY, plainly speaking of the glory of the Lord as a person.⁴ In the book of Ezekiel, [we] read of the glory of the Lord ascending from and descending into the temple (Ezek. 8:4, and 9:3, and 10:18–19, and 11:22, and 43:2). God the Father dwelt in heaven, but his glory dwelt on earth. Ps. 57:5, "Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; and thy glory above all the earth." We have the same again in Ps. 108:5. So this person is called God's "honor." Ps. 26:8, "Lord I have loved the habitation of thine house and the place where thine honor dwells." In the original it is, "in the place of the tabernacle of thine honor."⁵

It will not seem so strange that the divine Logos or Mind should be called his "name" and his "glory" and "honor," if we duly consider the nature of the language of the Jews, and of the phraseology in use among them. Sometimes even the mind or soul of man seems to be called his name and his honor. Gen. 49:6, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united," where "honor" seems to be the same as "soul." Eccles. 6:4, "For he cometh in with vanity, and departeth in darkness, and his name shall be covered with darkness," where "name" seems to be put for the departed soul. (See note on the place.)⁶

'Tis true those phrases, "the name of the Lord" and "the glory of the Lord" and "God's honor," as used in the Old Testament, are not to be taken only in a personal sense. By the glory and honor of God was sometimes meant the *shechinah*, or the person that manifested himself in it; and sometimes thereby was meant a great and honorable fame. The same may be observed also of God's name. But these two meanings of these phrases are near akin; as one's name or glory is that by which one's excellency is

4. The preceding sentence is a later interlineation by JE.

5. The preceding sentence is a later interlineation by JE.

6. "Blank Bible" note on Eccles. 6:4, in part: "As that *Logos* and Wisdom of God and divine Mind that dwelt in the temple was called God's name, so the mind of man is called his name." JE then refers to his notes on Eccles. 7:1 and Gen. 23:4.

manifested, shines abroad and is made known, so Christ, who is the essential glory of God and is that word, idea or essential character by which he is known to himself and his glory shines in his own eyes.

Another name by which this person was called was the "strength of the Lord." GLORY and STRENGTH were sometimes used as synonymous phrases. Thus "the sun's going forth in his strength" [Judg. 5:31] is the same as the sun's going forth in his glory or brightness. Bright beams are in Scripture used as a symbol of strength, as horns were. Therefore horns and bright beams are the same word in the Hebrew. Hab. 3:4, "And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power." Thus Moses, because his face shone, is painted with horns. The same person is called both God's glory and his strength, as dwelling on the ark. Ps. 78:61, "And delivered his strength into captivity, and his glory into the enemy's hand," speaking of the captivity of the ark when taken by the Philistines. The ark is called the ark of God's strength (II Chron. 6:41 and Ps. 132:8). The same person that is called God's name is also called his strength in Ps. 54:1. "Save me by thy name, and judge me by thy strength." And as God's name and glory dwelt in that which was called the cloud of glory in the Holy of Holies, so in Ps. 68:34–35, "His excellency is over Israel, and his strength is in the clouds. O God, thou art terrible out of thy holy places." (It must be remembered that this Psalm was penned on occasion of carrying the ark into Zion.) The same person is called God's strength. Is. 27:5, "Let him take hold of my strength," and Ps. 105:4, "Seek the Lord, and his strength: seek his face evermore." So I Chron. 16:11. In Dan. 11:31, the temple is called "the sanctuary of strength." So in the New Testament, Christ is called "the power of God" [I Cor. 1:24].

The same is sometimes called the "arm of the Lord." Is. 51:9, "Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O arm of the Lord." Ch. 53:1, "To whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" Ch. 40:10, "His arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him." Is. 62:8, "The Lord hath sworn by his right hand, by the arm of his strength."

So he is called "the rock," "the rock of ages," etc. (Is. 26:4).

So he is called "the excellency of the Lord" and "the beauty of the Lord," as in that, Ps. 68, which was on occasion of placing the ark in the Holy of Holies in Zion. V. 34, "His strength is over Israel, and his excellency in the clouds."⁷ This excellency and strength here mentioned are the same with strength and beauty, mentioned, Ps. 96:6, "Strength and beauty are in his

7. KJV: "his excellency is over Israel, and his strength is in the clouds."

sanctuary." Ps. 90:17, "Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us." Is. 4:2, "The branch of the Lord shall be beauty and glory." This person in Daniel is called "Michael" (Dan. 10:13, 21 and 12:1).

III. One of the names by which that divine person, that was with the Jews in the wilderness and that dwelt with them in the land of Canaan, was known among them, was "the son of God."

There was a divine person that was known among them by that name, as appears by Prov. 30:4, "what is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou canst tell?" This person, it was evident, was not the first person in the deity, or he that acted as first in the affairs of God's kingdom. And seeing it so plainly appears from what has been already observed, that there was another person noted among the Jews as the messenger or angel of that first person, the angel of his presence, one that had his name, form or nature in him and was called his glory, excellency and beauty, without doubt he was the person that was called "the son of God."

This angel of God's presence, in whom was his nature, form and glory, had been wont from time to time to appear in a glorious visible form, in the form of a man beautiful and very illustrious. He did so amongst the Jews, to Ezekiel, Isaiah, Manoah, Joshua, Moses, the seventy elders and others. So he did to the ancient patriarchs, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. And so probably he had done to Noah and other holy men that [were]⁸ the first fathers of the world of mankind, in those days when there was no written revelation. This person that thus appeared in the form of a man with ineffable beauty, was so known among the Jews and the ancient patriarchs and progenitors of nations, that it was famed among the heathen nations from those; so that they had a tradition of the Son of God appearing in a glorious form of man, as they had many other things about God—his attributes, and works, and persons of the Trinity—from the Israelites and ancient patriarchs. And therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar saw a person with Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the burning fiery furnace in such a visible form, he at once supposed it to be this person that he had heard of, that used thus to appear; and therefore he says the form of the fourth is like to [the] Son of God [Dan. 3:25].

Though the Jews had not so clear a revelation of the eternal generation of the angel of the covenant as we now have, yet they being taught that he had the nature, form and glory of God, and that he proceeded from God, and looking on that bright glory in which he was wont to appear in the cloud as the image and representation of God—not that which was most

8. JE, Jr.'s insert.

original in the deity, which they conceived of as dwelling in heaven, but as coming from him as an emanation of his glory, which no man could see and live—and an image of it to dwell on earth for mortals to behold: they, according to the manner in which they used the word "son" in their language, were naturally led to call it "the son of God." They and other oriental nations, it seems, called whatsoever person appeared on earth having divine glory and representing the majesty and beauty of the Divine Being, and being an image of him, "the son of God."

The Jews called a very wicked man "the son of wickedness" and "the son of Belial"; a valiant man (II Chron. 28:6), "the son of valor"; a very afflicted person, "the son of affliction" (Prov. 31:5). Anointed ones are called "sons of oil" (Zech. 4:15). The apostles, who were powerful in their preaching, are called "sons of thunder." And they that were remarkably fitted to administer comfort were called "sons of consolation." And earthly rulers in Israel are called "gods" and "sons of the Most High." And created angels, who sometimes appeared in great brightness and majesty, are called "sons of God." How, then, can we suppose any other than [that] they should call that angel of God's presence, that divine person who had the name, glory and beauty of Jehovah in him, and has his image and nature, and was in the most eminent manner set by God as his king in the holy hill of Zion, and was truly vested with divine authority: I say, how could it be otherwise than that they should call this person (which, as has been proved, they conceived as a distinct person from the first person in the Godhead), the Son of God. 'Tis evident by Philo that the Jews esteemed that angel that God appointed over them as the image and Son of God. See Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, pp. 102c, 103c, d, 104b, 105c, d.⁹

9. Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 102c, quotes Philo: "'Setling over them the right Word, the first begotten Son, who takes upon him the care of his holy flock, as the vicegerent of this great king, as 'tis written (Exod. xxiii. 23) I will send mine angel before thee, &c.'" P. 103c continues from Philo: "'For if we are not fit to be esteemed the children of God; yet we may be of him, who is his ETERNAL Image, and most holy WORD. For the most ancient WORD is the image of GOD.'" On p. 104b Kidder paraphrases Philo's discussion of the high priest's breastplate, which "was a type of the divine λογος, or divine Word," implying "the necessity of a more perfect advocate with the Father than the *Jewish* high-priest could be, viz. The Son of God himself, the great anti-type of that breast-plate." And on p. 105c–d Philo again is quoted, this time on Zech. 6:12. The Greek word for "Branch" "imports the rise of the sun," and Philo's "word's are to this purpose. . . . This would be a new sort of appellation, if the words were to be understood of a man consisting of body and soul. But if we understand it of that incorporeal being, who bears the image of God, that appellation doth fitly belong to him: For the Father of beings was for the rising of this his most ancient Son, whom he otherwise calls his first-born: And he being born, imitating his father's ways, he formed such species as were agreeable to the archetypal exemplars of his father's, which he had seen."

'Tis evident that it was a received opinion among the Jews unto Christ's time that the person that was the Son of God was a divine [person], was God, or had the nature and authority of God. John 5:17-18, "But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." And ch. 10:33-36, "For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God. Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" And ch. 19:7, "The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God."

IV. The church of Israel understood that this person which has been spoken of had united himself to them in the strictest union, and had espoused them and become their spiritual head and husband, and had most nearly interested himself in their affairs. That solemn covenant transaction, which was between this person and the congregation, is represented as their espousals. And how often and abundantly is the relation and union which was between them and that divine person that dwelt among them, compared to that which is between husband and wife. And there is, or should be, a peculiar mutual delight between husband and wife. So it was understood to be between the angel of the covenant that dwelt in the temple and the church of God. Mal. 3:1, "and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord God." And [as]¹ persons in a marriage relation were each other's desire, the desire of their eyes, so this divine person was called the "desire" of his church; as in that, Mal. 3:1, "The Lord *whom ye seek*" (or "desire," as it might have been rendered). And when it is foretold that not only the nation of the Jews should be espoused to Christ, but all nations of the world without distinction, 'tis expressed by this, that he should be "the desire of all nations" (Hag. 2:7). This person's setting his heart on the children of men, choosing them before the foundation of the world to a spouse for himself, is expressed by his "delights" being "with the sons of men." Prov. 8:30-31, "Then was I by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him; rejoicing in the habitable part of

1. JE, Jr.'s insert.

his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men." And his receiving Israel again to be his espoused people after they had been cast off, is expressed, that she should be called Hephzibah, i.e. "my delight is in her." Is. 62:4, "Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land be any more termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called Hephzibah, and thy land Beulah: for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married."

This person's strictly uniting himself with that people, setting his affection upon them and interesting himself peculiarly in their welfare, is elegantly set forth in Is. 63:8. "For he said, Surely they are my people, children that will not lie: so he was their Savior. In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; he bare them, and carried them all the days of old."

V. The church of Israel had it plainly signified to 'em that God, the first person in the deity, had committed them to the care and charge of this angel of his presence, that he had set him over them to be in a peculiar manner their protector, guide and Savior, and head of their communication and supplies, and God's people trusted in him as such. That God thus set him over them was signified with sufficient plainness in that, Ex. 23:20, "Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee unto the place which I have prepared." He is called "the Strength of Israel" (I Sam. 15:29), and "the Rock of Israel." II Sam. 23:3, "The Rock of Israel spake by me." Is. 30:29, "as when one goeth with a pipe to come unto the mountain of the Lord, to the Rock² of Israel." So he is called a Rock absolutely (Deut. 32:4), their Rock (vv. 18, 30), "our Rock" ([v.] 31), the Rock of their salvation [v. 15]. By such names we see that he is called abundantly in the book of Psalms and elsewhere. So he is often called their Redeemer and their Savior, their fortress, their habitation, their shield. And so he [is] called "the Shepherd of Israel." Ps. 80:1, "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth."

Every nation had their gods to their protectors and saviors, their tutelar deities; and therefore the heathen nations were reproached with [that], that their gods could not save them. They are very often compared with the true God in that respect, viz. their insufficiency for that end for which they were chosen and trusted in, viz. to be a defense, a rock, to be saviors of those that worshipped them. Deut. 32:31, "their rock is not as

2. KJV: "mighty One."

our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges." See I Sam. 12:20–21; Is. 43:1, 3, 10–15, and 44:5–6, 17, 21–24, and 45:15–17, 20–25, and 46:1–4, 7, 13; Hos. 13:4; Is. 49:26, and 60:16, and 63:8; Ps. 106:21; Deut. 20:4; Jer. 2:28 and 3:23; Ps. 3:8; Jonah 2:8–9; Is. 25:9; II Sam. 7:21–24; I Chron. 17:19–22; Ps. 78:35; Is. 41:14, and 54:5, and 47:4, and 48:17. The writers of the Jewish Targums speak of that divine person, whom they called "the Word of the Lord," as the strength, the Redeemer, of God's people. Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 107.³

The several tutelar deities of the nations were called "princes" of those nations. Thus we read of the "prince of Persia" and the "prince of Grecia." But Michael was the prince of Israel. Dan. 10:13, "But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: and lo, Michael, *the first of the chief princes*" (so it might be rendered) "came to help me." Vv. 20–21, "Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I am come unto thee? and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia will come. But I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but MICHAEL YOUR PRINCE." And ch 12:1, "And at that time shall MICHAEL stand up, the great prince that STANDETH FOR THE CHILDREN OF THY PEOPLE." Philo calls the Word "the Son of God," "the first begotten Word," "the most ancient angel," "the archangel," "the eternal Image," "the most holy Word." Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 103c, d.⁴

VI. The people of Israel could not but understand that this person was transcendently dear to God, i.e. to the first person in the deity. It that has been observed already [as] sufficiently manifest that he was, in a peculiar and in the most eminent and transcendent manner, the Son of God; and if they looked upon him so, they must suppose [him] to be answerably beloved of him. His being called the angel of God's presence, or face, led them naturally to conceive that he was, above all others, near to God and as it were in the bosom of his Father. And his being called the glory, honor, excellency and beauty of God would naturally lead them to that thought that he was the object of God's highest delight and complacency. Besides that, he is spoken of as one that was known to be peculiarly beloved of God. Ps. 47:4, "He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of

3. In pp. 106–07 of *Demonstration*, Pt. III, Kidder considers the Chaldee Paraphrasts, including Onkelos, who rendered Gen. 15:1, "I am thy shield," as "My word is thy strength," and v. 6, "He believed in the Lord," as "He believed in the word of the Lord." "The other *Paraphrasts*," Kidder continues on p. 107, "speak agreeably to *Onkelos* in this matter."

4. For Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 103c–d, see above, p. 377, n. 1, and p. 382, n. 9.

Jacob whom he loved." 'Tis doubtless the same person, who here is called the excellency of Jacob, who is elsewhere called the excellency and beauty and glory of the Lord, and the glory of Israel, as when it was said "the glory is departed from Israel." The gods and saviors and tutelar deities of the several nations are represented as the portion and inheritance which God has given the nations. Deut. 4:19, "and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven"; i.e. God had given each one their particular gods as their portion or inheritance. But as for Israel, God had not divided to them any such kind of tutelar deity for their portion. Deut. 29:26, "For they went and served other gods, and worshipped them, whom they knew not, and whom he had not *divided*⁵ unto them." So it is in the original. God [had] chosen a better inheritance for them, even the excellency of Jacob, whom he loved. The temple was sometimes called, it seems, "the excellency of Jacob" (Amos 6:8). But it seems to be only derivatively, as it is also sometimes called "the beauty of holiness" and, as the ark was called, "the glory." But that which was eminently the glory and excellency of Israel, was that divine person who dwelt in the temple over the ark.

VII. The saints in Israel looked on this person as their Mediator, through whom they had acceptance with God in heaven and the forgiveness of their sins, and trusted in him as such. Here see what Rabbi Menachem says of coming to God through the *shechinah*, in *Synopsis*, on Ps. 17:15.⁶

This was a natural consequence of those things which have been already mentioned. Seeing they looked upon [it] that he had so espoused them and united himself to them, and so interested himself in their affairs, that he esteemed their affairs his own, and was appointed of God to be their tutelar deity, their head, husband, captain and Redeemer, and had with a most peculiar affection undertaken this, and was also God's own Son, above all others near to him, a person transcendently dear to him, whom he took the most peculiar delight and complacency in as his glory and beauty: it was natural for them to place their confidence in him and trust in him as the Mediator by which such poor, weak, worthless, sinful, miserable and helpless creatures might have access to God, who had his throne in the heavens and acted and held the supreme place in the

5. KJV: "given."

6. See Matthew Poole, *Synopsis criticorum* (4 pts. in 5 vols. London, 1669–76), II, col. 637, esp. ll. 5–8: "R. Menachem ad Levit. 10. hæc habet, *Nemo venire potest coram celsissimo & benedicto Rege sine Shecinah*, (quod est Divina Majestas Dei in Christo;) *ideoque dicitur*, [nempe hoc loco,] *In justitia videbo faciem tuam*."

government of the world, and by whom they were recommended to his acceptance and favor; and so when their minds were oppressed with a sense of guilt, and under all their straits and difficulties,⁷ to have the refuge of their souls in him.

As this Michael was thus their prince, appointed to be their protector and Savior, and that had so espoused them, and as he was that great prince that stood for them, agreeable to Dan. 12:1, it was natural for them to look upon it that he was one that stood for them with God as well as with men.

The nations in general had that notion concerning their respective tutelar deities, that they were their mediators with the supreme God. "The necessity of a mediator between God and man was a general notion" that all mankind went into from the beginning, and all nations worshipped their particular national deities and images that dwelt among them as mediators. See Prideaux's *Connection*, vol. 1, pp. 249–51.⁸ The children of Israel had no images, but they had the name of the Lord in the *shechinah*. This they supposed to be the image and character of the invisible God, the brightness of his glory.

The people were led to conceive that it was for the sake of him that was called God's name, that he⁹ caused to dwell in his temple, in the place that he chose, that he accepted and blessed them, from many things which God had said to 'em; particularly by that, Ex. 20:24, "in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." And when God did more expressly reveal his appointment of this angel of his presence to be their head, guide and protector, it was intimated as though their acceptance with God depended on their adherence to this person. Ex. 23:20–22, "Behold, I send an Angel before thee . . . If thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries." That implies that they should be his peculiar favorites.

And that the saints trusted in this person that was called the Lord, and the name of the Lord, the word of the law, the strength of the Lord, etc. appears by their prayers, in which they desire to be heard and accepted and pardoned for his sake. Thus Daniel, after the most humble and penitent confession of his sins, says, Dan. 9:17, "Now therefore, O our God,

7. JE, Jr., inserts: "it was natural for them."

8. Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations* (2 vols. London, 1716–18; 9th ed., 4 vols. London, 1725), 1, 249–51, Pt. I, Bk. III, where Prideaux has a discussion of two sects in the ancient world, the Sabians and the Magians, and of the development of the notion of a need for a mediator between God and humans.

9. I.e. God the Father.

hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE." So David, Ps. 31:3, "for thy NAME'S SAKE lead me, and guide me." Ps. 25:11, "For thy NAME'S SAKE, pardon mine iniquity; for it is great." And 79:9, "Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name: and deliver us, and purge away our sins, for thy NAME'S SAKE." Ps. 109:21, "But do thou for me O God the Lord for thy NAME'S SAKE." And 143:11, "Quicken me, O Lord, for thy NAME'S SAKE." Jer. 14:7-8, "O Lord, though our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name's sake: for our backslidings are many; we have sinned against thee. O the hope of Israel, and the savior thereof in time of trouble, why shouldst thou be as a stranger that turneth aside to tarry for a night?" And v. 21, "Do not abhor us, for thy NAME'S SAKE, do not disgrace the throne of thy GLORY"; i.e. God's mercy seat in the temple, where God's name or glory dwelt.

And agreeable to the prayers of God's people were their prophecies,¹ and what they declared from time to time. II Sam. 7:21, "For thy WORD'S SAKE, and according to thine own heart, hast thou done all these great things." Ps. 23:3, "He restoreth my soul: he leadeth in the paths of righteousness for his NAME'S SAKE." Ps. 106:8, "Nevertheless he saved them for his NAME'S SAKE." Agreeable to this also are what God declares from time to time. Is. 48:9,² "For my name's sake will I defer mine anger." I Sam. 12:22, "For the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake." Because God saved his people by this person, and for his sake, therefore he says, Hos. 1:7, "I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and I will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen."

That it was for the sake of that angel of God's presence that loved, pitied and redeemed them out of Egypt, that God forgave the sins of his people, and in remembrance of him and from respect to him showed them mercy notwithstanding their great sins, seems to be plainly signified in Is. 63:9-12. "The angel of his presence saved them: in his love and his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and fought against them. Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, and his people, saying, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? where is he that put his holy

1. JE, Jr., changed the word to "professions."

2. JE cites Is. 43:25 but quotes Is. 48:9. The former passage, which he may also have meant to quote as a proof text, reads, "I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins."

Spirit upon them? That led them by the right hand of Moses with his glorious arm, dividing the water before them," etc. Here God is represented as though, after his wrath, he recollected the great love and pity of that divine person that was their redeemer, and so began to relent. Philo speaks of the Word, the Son of God, and that Angel, spoken of, Ex. 23:23, as the most perfect advocate, by whom was obtained an amnesty of sins and supply of grace and good things, and the true high priest. See Bp. Kidder, [*Demonstration*], Pt. III, pp. 102c, 104b, and 105.³

This person, agreeable to his office of mediator, thus did as it were cover the nakedness and deformity of the people, and recommended them by his excellency and beauty. He is called "the excellency of Jacob" in the place forementioned, Ps. 47:4; and Amos 8:7, "The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob." Philo speaks of the Logos, or Word of God, as a middle person standing between God and the creatures, "a supplicant intercessor for mortals with the immortal." Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 106a. The authors of the Jewish Targums speak of the Word of God as that which God looks upon, and for the sake of which he has respect to, the people and will not abhor them. See Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 107a, b, c.⁴

The people of God trusted in this person to save them from all things that they feared, both from the wrath of God and the wrath of man. Ps. 54:1, "Save me by thy NAME, judge me by thy STRENGTH." Prov. 18:10, "The NAME of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe."

And trusting in this person was directed to as the way for sinners to obtain peace and reconciliation with God. Is. 27:5, "Or let him take hold of MY STRENGTH, that he may make peace with me; and he shall make peace with me."

3. For Kidder, *Demonstration*, pp. 102c, 104b, see above, p. 382, n. 9. P. 105a-b quotes Philo calling the Logos "divine," "the light, the high-priest, the image of GOD, whom we ought to imitate." In commenting on Lev. 4:3, Philo states, "The true high-priest, and he who is not falsely so called, is free from sins. Such an high-priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, &c." On p. 105c-d, see *ibid*.

4. In Pt. III, p. 106a of his *Demonstration*, Kidder considers Philo's comments on the mediatorship and intercession of the Logos: "And what we shall find, that even here he speaks very comfortably to the style of the *new Testament*. He tells us that the λογος, or Word, had this granted him by his father, that he should stand . . . in the midst, between GOD and his creatures: That is, A supplicant intercessor for mortals with the immortal, a *legate* of the ruler to his subjects." On p. 107, speaking of the Jewish Targums, Kidder cites Onkelos who interprets Lev. 26:9, "I will have respect unto you," as "I will look upon you in my Word"; and for v. 11, "I will set my tabernacle amongst you, and my soul shall not abhor you," Onkelos turns "my soul" into "my Word, which must be understood of the . . . divine Word." On p. 107a-c, also see above, p. 385, n. 3.

VIII. The saints in Israel were led to that apprehension, that their prayers and all the sacrifices which were offered in the temple were accepted, and that God was reconciled to those [that]⁵ worshipped and made their offerings there, as though atonement were made and a sweet savor offered. Not on account of the value of their offerings as in themselves, but through that person called God's name who dwelt there as their Mediator, and through his worthiness.

'Tis manifest that God did not expect that his people should bring their sacrifices there with any apprehension that they were acceptable to him [on their]⁶ own account, or could make any atonement for their sins through their own virtue or value. For they that had such notions are often reprov'd in the Old Testament, and it is from time to time spoken of by God as unreasonable and very absurd; as Ps. 50:7, etc., Is. 1:11, etc., Ps. 51:16–17, Hos. 6:6, Mic. 6:6–8, Ps. 40:6, Jer. 7:22–23, Is. 66:1–3, Jer. 6:20, I Sam. 15:22, Eccles. 5:1, Deut 10:12–14 compared with Ps. 50:7, etc.

As, therefore, they that were truly wise among the people did not trust in their sacrifices as though they could recommend them or make atonement for them through any virtue or value at all in them, yet they must conceive from the institution, and what is so abundantly said in the law of Moses of the design of their institution, that some way or other atonement, reconciliation and forgiveness, and acceptance to favor were [to] be obtained in that way of offering sacrifices. And they were evidently led to conceive that it was some way through the love, worthiness and mediation of the angel of the covenant that had espoused them and was appointed to be their head and Redeemer, and as such dwelt in the temple, and was called the name of the Lord. There are many things that show this:

First. In its being often expressly required and insisted on that all their sacrifices and offerings should be brought to the place that God should choose to cause his name to dwell there, in order to their being accepted. Deut. 12:5–7, 11, 14; 14:23–24, 26; 15:19–20; 16:2, 6–7.

Second. It was revealed that God would be ready to accept their sacrifices and offerings in that place, and that his eyes and his heart should be towards that place because God had placed his name there. Ex. 20:24, "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee."

5. JE, Jr.'s insert.

6. JE, Jr.'s insert.

I Kgs. 8:29, "That thine eyes and thine heart may be open towards this house night and day, even toward the place of which thou hast said, *My name shall be there*: that thou mayst hearken to the prayer which thy servant shall make towards this place." And ch. 9:3, "And the Lord said unto him, I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication, that thou hast made before me: I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to put *my name* there forever; and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually." II Chron. 7:12, "I have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice." Vv. 15–16, "Now mine eyes shall be open, and mine ears attent unto the prayer that is made in this place. For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there forever: and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually."

Third. It was revealed that when God's people had sinned against him and brought on themselves the divine displeasure, and sought mercy, that in order to their obtaining forgiveness of their sins and favor with God, it was requisite that they should have respect to that place where God's name dwelt, and should come before the Lord that dwelt there. I Kgs. 8:30, "when they shall pray towards this place: and hear in heaven thy dwelling place: and when thou hearest, forgive." Vv. 33–34, "When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee, and shall turn again unto thee, and confess thy name, and pray, and make supplication unto thee in this house: then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel," etc. Vv. 35–36, "When heaven is shut up . . . because they have sinned against thee; if they pray towards this place," etc., "then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel," etc. So vv. 38–39, "and spread forth his hands towards this house: then hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and forgive," etc. Vv. 44–45, "If thy people pray towards the house that I have built for thy name: then hear thou in heaven," etc. So vv. 48–49. Thus to obtain forgiveness of sin and favor with God, their hearts must be to the place where God's name dwelt; which shows that it was through God's name that reconciliation and acceptance was obtained.⁷ And the grand reason given for these things, is that God's name was in that house. This was understood by the people and is very expressly signified in Jehosaphat's prayer. II Chron. 20:8–9, "and have built thee a sanctuary therein for thy name, saying, If, when evil cometh upon us, as the sword, judgment, or pestilence, or famine, we stand before this house, and in thy presence (for thy NAME is in this house), then thou wilt hear and help."

7. The remainder of the paragraph is a later addition by JE.

Fourth. What does abundantly confirm what was last observed is this: that when they prayed towards the place where God's name dwelt, it is signified that in order to their obtaining reconciliation, they must have the respect of their hearts to God's name that was there, and acknowledge their dependence on that, and the sufficiency and glory of that; which is manifest by vv. 33–34 of that chapter [I Kgs. 8]: "... shall turn again to thee, and *confess thy name*, and pray, and make supplication unto thee in this house: then hear thou in heaven, and forgive." So vv. 35–36, "if they pray towards this place, and confess thy name . . . then hear thou in heaven, and forgive." Confessing God's name doubtless signifies as much as acknowledging and being sensible of dependence on God's name, and its glory and sufficiency, and trusting in it; as 'tis said, "The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe" [Prov. 18:10]. This is confirmed by many places, where the same original word is used. Ps. 122:4, I Chron. 16:8, Ps. 105:1, Is. 12:4, Gen. 49:8, Dan. 9:4, Job 40:14.

Fifth. What led the people to conceive that the prevalence of their sacrifice, in order to atonement or propitiation, was entirely through the worthiness and mediation of that divine person that appeared above the mercy seat in the Holy of Holies, was the name which God gave the mercy seat and by which he always called it, viz. כַּפֶּרֶת, of which English "mercy seat" is no proper translation. It properly signifies "a propitiary," or "the instrument of atonement," or place where atonement is made, as does the Greek word by which it is called in the Septuagint, and by the Apostle in his Epistle to the Hebrews, ἱλαστήριον [Heb. 9:5]. We find that Christ himself is called ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25. This signified that whatever was done with the sacrifices at the altar in the court of the temple, and whatever was done in the holy place at the altar of incense, it was by virtue of what was there in the Holy of Holies, over the covering of the ark, that the sacrifices were of any avail, and that atonement was truly made. And our translation of it, "a mercy seat," suggests a wrong idea to us, as though God was represented as having his seat there in the temple over the ark, as accepting the sacrifices and forgiving sins. Whereas this is not agreeable to Scripture representations. The propitiatory is rather represented as the place where atonement was made, and the sacrifice effectually offered, than the place where it was accepted and favor granted. Heaven is constantly represented as being [the] throne of God, and⁸ where he sat to hear the prayers and accept the offerings that were made. Thus how of-

8. Conjecture for a word heavily struck through by JE, Jr.

ten is this repeated by Solomon in I Kgs. 8, when he prays that God would hear, accept and forgive those that should pray towards the temple where God had placed his name: "then hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling place," says he (I Kgs. 8:30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 45, 49). He don't say, "hear thou on the propitiatory," or "hear thou between the cherubims."

Though it be true Jehovah is represented as dwelling in the Holy of Holies over the propitiatory, yet 'tis not so common in Scripture to represent that as his throne, but rather as his footstool (I Chron. 28:2; Ps. 99:1, 5 and 132:7; Is. 66:1). And if it be considered as a seat, it was looked on rather as a chariot of the Mediator, a moveable seat, a vehicle to carry to heaven, the fixed everlasting throne of the supreme Judge, than as the throne of the Judge himself. Thus it is called "the chariot of the cherubims" (I Chron. 28:18). It is agreeable to Scripture to look on the propitiatory not only as a throne, but also as an altar, and much more in the latter view than in the former. It is not a throne that is a propitiatory, or a place or instrument of atonement, but an altar. The blood of the sacrifices was sprinkled on the propitiatory, and not only before it (Lev. 16:14–16). That is an altar on which the blood of the sacrifice is offered in order to atonement. Though it be true that the propitiatory was represented as the special place of God's residence and abode, yet God's altar was the place of his abode. God will abide on no other seat in this world among sinful men than on an altar, that is, a propitiatory where atonement is made for sin. So an altar is represented from time to time as the place of God's presence in the Psalms (Ps. 43:4 and 84:1–3). And perhaps the propitiatory where dwelt God's name in the Holy of Holies, is meant by Solomon, God's altar, in I Kgs. 8:31–32, "If the oath come before thine altar in this house: then hear thou in heaven." Because the place of God's residence is an altar, therefore when he appeared in [a] vision to the prophet Amos, he appeared as standing on the altar (Amos 9:1). Not sitting on it: for the place of God's abode in the temple was rather his footstool than his throne, as was observed before. Formerly, before Moses, God's people had no other external dwelling places for God but altars. The patriarchs, where they went, built altars to the Lord, that God might dwell with them. Jacob called the place where he slept, and had his vision of the Lord, "Beth-el," the house of God, though God did not appear to him as having the place of his abode there, but in heaven. But there was the foot of the ladder of communication from him, and ascent to him in heaven; which ladder, on which angels ascended and descended, was a thing of like signification with the chariot of the cherubims. Jacob there built an altar to God. He set up the stone on which he slept for an altar,

and poured oil thereon and vowed that that stone should be God's house, that he [would] repair to it and make use of it as the place of God's special residence. And accordingly, afterwards we find he made use of this stone as an altar, poured a drink offering thereon, and poured oil thereon, and called the name of the place "Beth-el," or the house of God (Gen. 35:13-15).

If it were so that the children of Israel looked on the propitiatory as an altar, they must look upon it as such by far in the highest and most eminent manner of any of the altars, it being the very propitiatory, the place where all their sacrifices became an atonement, and where reconciliation was made through him that dwelt there in the cloud of glory, without whom all their sacrifices were nothing. And so they must naturally look on the angel of the covenant that abode there as their most eminent high priest, through whom their sacrifices came up for a sweet savor to God in heaven, and on whom they [were] entirely dependent for a real atonement and peace with God.⁹ Philo the Jew speaks of the Logos or Word as he [of] whom the high priest made use as the most perfect advocate, the Son of God, to procure an amnesty of sins and a supply of grace or good things. (See Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, p. 104.)¹ Philo often calls him high priest,² and the true high priest, and him who is not falsely so called, being free from sins; that the true high priest is not a man but the divine Word.

IX. God's people of old must needs understand that that divine person that had espoused that people, and that formerly went before 'em in the wilderness and dwelt among them as their Lord, protector, Mediator and Redeemer, was he that was in future time come into the world in the human nature, who was the Messiah so often promised.

They must understand that the Messiah was to be God, or a divine person. In Is. 9:6, which is one of the plainest prophecies of the Messiah, and which undoubtedly was universally understood as pointing at him, 'tis very plainly and expressly revealed that he was to be God: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be on his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." And the Messiah's coming, in very many prophecies of it, is foretold as Jehovah's coming. (But see very many things in the prophecies of the Messiah that plainly signified that he was Jehovah, or a divine person, in "Fulfillment of the

9. The remainder of the paragraph is a later addition by JE.

1. See above, p. 382, n. 9.

2. JE deletes: "Ibid p. 105," meaning Kidder, *Demonstration*. See above, p. 382, n. 9.

Prophecies of the Messiah,"³ §14.)⁴ But if he was to be God, they must conceive of him not as the first person in the Godhead, which is inconsistent with almost everything in the predictions of the Messiah. Therefore, they must look upon him as that other divine person, the messenger or angel of the covenant, that used of old to appear in a human shape under the name of the Angel of the Lord, and that went before 'em in the wilderness and dwelt with them in the tabernacle and temple, appearing in the cloud of glory. And that it was that very person, seems signified in the prophecies by many things. There is the sameness of office: he is abundantly foretold as the protector, guide, captain, redeemer, savior, mediator and husband of his people (see "Fulfillment of Prophecies of the Messiah");⁵ and as that Angel of the Lord that appeared of old, told Manoah that his name was secret or "wonderful." So 'tis foretold of the Messiah that this should be his name (Is. 9:6). It was foretold that the name of the Messiah should be "Immanuel," or GOD WITH US, which very plainly points out the person to be the same that was God with the Jews, espousing them, dwelling with them on earth, strictly united to them as their Savior, and head of communication to them, and their Mediator with God in heaven. And so does that other name given to Messiah in another very plain prophecy of him, viz. JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. Whether we understand the word "righteousness" to be a righteousness for their justification, or to signify their vindication and defense from their enemies, pleading their cause as their king, judge and captain of salvation, it plainly points forth what divine person it was, viz. the same that dwelt in the temple over the mercy seat in the cloud of glory. And this again is plainly to be understood by the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. When the people were lamenting the absence of the *shechinah*, the "glory of Jehovah," in the second temple, Zechariah comforts 'em, that the man whose name is "the Branch" should come and build the temple of JEHOVAH, and should bear the GLORY, and should sit upon his throne (Zech. 6:12–13). Here 'tis foretold that the Messiah should bear the glory of Jehovah and sit on the mercy seat, where that glory used to abide; which, with great evidence, points out what divine person the Messiah should be.

The prophet Malachi [3:1] comforts them, that the Lord whom they sought, whose absence from the temple they were lamenting, should soon come into his temple, even the messenger, or angel, of the covenant

3. JE, Jr.'s footnote: "A ms. of the author designed to be published hereafter."

4. "Miscellanies" no. 1068, "Fulfillment of the Prophecies of the Messiah," § 14 (JE cites "p. 11, etc."), provides prophetic evidence from the Old Testament that the Messiah "was to be God."

5. Ibid.

whom they delighted in, or who was as their spiritual husband. And the prophet Haggai [2:7] comforts them, that God will fill that house with GLORY by the coming of the desire of all nations, i.e. of that divine person who used to appear in the glory above the mercy seat. He shall come not only as the desire and delight and spiritual husband of the Jews, but of all nations. When God says here, "I will fill this house with glory," there is without doubt reference to those things mentioned, Ex. 40:34, "Then a cloud covered the tabernacle,⁶ and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle"; I Kgs. 8:10–11, "The cloud filled the house of the Lord," and "the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord." Thus it was when the tabernacle was built: and so when the first temple was built, the cloud of glory filled the temple as a token of the presence of the angel of the covenant. But now when the second temple was built, no such thing appeared; but here 'tis promised that God would fill this house with glory by the coming of the Messiah, as the desire not of the Jews only but all nations. How naturally and necessarily do these things lead them to conceive that that divine person who was to come as the Messiah was that Angel whom they knew by the name of their desire, delight, etc., who used to appear in the tabernacle and temple in the cloud of glory.

Another thing that led them to think that that person who was to come into the world with the name and character of Jehovah was the same with the angel of God's presence, was [that] the Messiah was spoken of as in the most eminent manner the beloved of God, in whom his soul delighted (Is. 42:1).

But we have not only such things as these to argue from, which show how natural and as it were necessary it was for the Jews to suppose the Messiah to be this person, but we have something more certain: we have accounts of facts, recorded in the writings of the Evangelists and the ancient Jewish writers. Thus 'tis manifest by the history of the Evangelists, that it was the received opinion among the Jews that the Messiah was a divine person, and that he was that divine person that was of old called "the son of God." 'Tis manifest that "the son of God" was a common appellation among them for the Messiah, or Christ. Matt. 26:63, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." Luke 4:41, "Thou art Christ the Son of God." Matt. 16:16, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." John 6:69, "we believe and are sure that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." John 11:27, "I believe that thou art Christ, the Son of God, that should come into the world." John 20:31,

6. KJV: "the tent of the congregation."

"That ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." See also Matt. 4:3, 6, and 27:40, and 14:33, and 27:54; Mark 1:1 and 3:11; John 1:34, 43, and many other places. The Son of God they looked upon to be God, or a divine person, as is evident by Matt. 26:63–65; more clearly in Luke 22:70–71, John 10:36 and 19:7.

The same thing, viz. that the Messiah was understood by the Jews to be that person that dwelt in the temple by the name of the "word" and "name" of God, is evident by their own ancient writers, and particularly from Philo and the Talmuds. Philo speaks abundantly of the Word of God as a divine person (see Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt. III, pp. 93, etc.). He speaks of this Logos or Word as the first begotten Son of God, and as the very same person that God spoke of when he said, Ex. 23:23, "I will send mine Angel before thee," etc. (Bp. Kidder, Pt. III, p. 102). He calls the same the NAME OF GOD, the first begotten WORD, the Archangel, the eternal Image of God, the man of God (ibid., p. 103),⁷ the Advocate, the Son that procures an amnesty of sins and a supply of grace and good things.

That Philo understood that the person whom he calls the Son of God, the first begotten Son, the Image of God, etc., was the same person with the Messiah, is evident because he applies to him that plain prophecy of the Messiah, Zech. 6:12, "Behold, the man whose name is the Branch," etc.

See Leslie to the Jews, pp. 93, etc.⁸

That this divine person, when he should come as the Messiah, should be incarnate, or become man: for the Messiah is the seed of the woman,⁹ the Prophet which God should raise up to his people from the midst of them, of their brethren (Deut. 18:15, 18); was to be of the seed of David, of his house or family, a rod out of the stem of Jesse, a Branch growing out of his root; was to be the son of a virgin (Is. 7:14); was to be a child born, a son given (Is. 9:6–7). In Dan. 7:13, he is represented in [a] vision as one appearing as the Son of man, and [in] Zech. 6:12 he is called "the man whose name is the Branch." In Dan. 9:26 it is expressly said, the Messiah shall be "cut off." See also Is. 53.

X. God's saints in Israel supposed that the Messiah, when he came, or the angel of the covenant, when he should come to dwell amongst men in the human nature, would make an end of their sins and wholly abolish the guilt of them by an atonement which he should make; and that the

7. On Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. III, pp. 93–103, where Philo is quoted at length to the effect that the Word is a divine person, see above, p. 382, n. 9, and p. 389, nn. 3–4.

8. See above, p. 377, n. 1.

9. MS: "word." JE, Jr., changed it to "woman."

guilt of their sins, though removed from them and as it were laid upon that divine person who dwelt on the propitiatory in the temple, and was by him taken on himself, yet would not properly [be] abolished and made an end [of] till he should come.¹

That the sins of God's people were not truly atoned for and made an end of by their legal sacrifices, but that this was to be done by the Messiah when he came, is expressed in such a manner in the writings of the Old Testament as naturally lead us to suppose that this was the notion of God's people in those times. The prophecies were very plain that the King Messiah, when he came, should be a priest. Ps. 110:4, "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." Zech. 6:11–13, "Take silver and gold, and make crowns, and set them upon the head of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest; and speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, Behold my servant whose name is The BRANCH; and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord; even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne." It was plainly taught 'em that their legal sacrifices did not make a true atonement for sin. Is. 40:16, "And Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof for a burnt offering." Mic. 6:6–7, "shall I come before the Lord with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Ps. 40:6, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire." Ps. 50:8–12, "I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices or thy burnt offerings. I will take no bullock out of thine house, nor he goats out of thy stalls. I know all the fowls of the mountains. If I were hungry, I would not tell thee: for the world is mine, with the fullness thereof." Ps. 51:16, "Thou desirest not sacrifices; thou delightest not in burnt offerings." Together with many other places.² Therefore they must conceive that the guilt of their sins remained as yet without a true atonement, though they were as it were left with the angel over the propitiatory. But it was foretold that [when] the Messiah should come, then a true, complete and final atonement should be made. Dan. 9:24, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring

1. JE deletes: "and that their sacrifices which they offered were of avail no otherwise than as they had reference to him and that great sacrifice of the Messiah, which at last should make an end of sin."

2. JE deletes a reference to the texts listed in the second paragraph of pt. VIII, above.

in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy"; implying that making reconciliation for iniquity was a thing future and had not yet been, and that an end had not been made of sin as yet, notwithstanding all the sacrifices that had been offered. The word which is translated "make reconciliation for iniquity," is the same that is used in the law for making atonement by sacrifice. So that the words imply that the Messiah should offer such an atonement for sin as should make an end of, or "consume the transgression," as the word is, i.e. quite complete the business of reconciliation, so that the sacrifice and oblation should cease and there should be no further atonement or sacrifice to bring sin any more into remembrance as a thing to be atoned for; as 'tis expressly said, v. 27, that at that very time, in the last half of the last of the seventy weeks, he should "cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease."

The same thing seems pretty evidently implied in that, Zech. 3:8–9, "for, behold, I will bring forth my servant the BRANCH. For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone shall be seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day." A thus removing the iniquity of God's people is here spoken of as a new and extraordinary thing, some great thing whereby that should be brought to pass, that is very diverse from what used to be. As much as to say, removing iniquity shall not be a thing continually doing by a long and perpetual series of sacrifices, by which there is continually fresh remembrance made of sin, signifying that a proper atonement was not yet made. But the business shall then be finished in one day, and shall not remain to be done over again; but the work of making reconciliation or atoning for sin shall be from that day forward forever completed. See also Zech. 13:1, "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and uncleanness." And therefore 'tis often represented in the prophecies, that forgiveness of sin should be a blessing that should in an eminent manner [be] a consequence of the Messiah's coming. Jer. 23:5–7, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord that I will raise up unto David a righteous Branch . . . this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness. Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt." Compare this with ch. 31:31–34, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took 'em by the hand to bring 'em out of the land of Egypt . . . but this shall be the covenant . . . for I will

forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." Which implies there shall no more be a constant renovation of the remembrance of sin by repeated sacrifices, agreeable to the Apostle's understanding of this place (Heb. 8:8–13 and ch. 10:10–18). So Jer. 33:8, "And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity, whereby they have sinned against me; and I will pardon all their iniquities, whereby they have sinned, and whereby they have transgressed against me." V. 15, "And I will cause the Branch of righteousness," etc.

It was signified that the Messiah should thus procure the pardon of sin by a bloody sacrifice which he should offer. Zech. 9:9–11, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem . . . and he shall speak peace unto the heathen . . . As for thee also, by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein there is no water."

Not only do these things make it reasonable to suppose that the Jews understood that the Messiah was to be their high priest, who was to take away the guilt of sin and make a true complete atonement; but it appears to be so in fact, by what was observed before out of Philo, of his being the Mediator, the advocate and true high priest that procures an amnesty or act of oblivion for sins (pp. 382, 385, 389). And Grotius observes (*De Veritate*, Bk. 5, § 15) that it is "a common thing among the Jews to call the Messiah, *Ish Copher*, i.e. The Appeaser." To that purpose he cites the Chaldee Paraphrast on Cant. 1:14.³

XI. The saints in Israel understood that the way that the Messiah was to make a proper and true atonement for sin, and make an end of it, was by his own suffering and by offering up himself a sacrifice for sin. The following things determine me to suppose this:

First. It is not credible that there should be so much revealed to the church of God from the beginning of the world about the Messiah for the comfort of the church, so that he seems to have been all along the main subject of divine promises and promises given to his people, which predictions it is evident raised great expectations and desires in God's people: I say, that it is not credible that it should be thus, and yet God's people all along be totally ignorant of⁴ the main errand of the Messiah into

3. Hugo Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* (Paris, 1622). JE apparently used a translation, possibly John Clarke's *The Truth of the Christian Religion* (3rd ed., London, 1729). Bk. 5, § 15, is entitled "With an answer to what is alleged, that [the Messiah's] coming was deferred upon the account of the sins of the people." Grotius' reference reads: "See the Chaldee paraphrase on Cant. 1:14. R. Judas in Chasidim, and r. Simeon in Bereschith Rabba, say, that the Messiah should bear our sins."

4. MS: "that." The editorial change follows JE, Jr.'s insertion.

the world and of⁵ the main thing that he should do for their benefit. Their expectations, it is manifest, were greatly raised; their dependence on these promises were the main comfort of the church in all these preceding ages. This was the object of the earnest and joyful expectation of Abraham, for he rejoiced to see Christ's day; "he saw it, and was glad" [John 8:56]. It was earnestly desired and waited for by Jacob. Gen. 49:18, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." The same was the language of the hearts of God's church in all times of the old testament. Ps. 14:7, "Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! when the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad." We have the same words, Ps. 53:6. (See "Prophecies of Messiah," §51.)⁶ This was that which was the object of David's greatest and most earnest desire and expectation, and the main spring of his comfort and joy; as he declares, it was all his salvation and all his desire. Christ tells his disciples, Matt. 13:17, that many prophets and kings and righteous men had desired to see those things which they saw, and had not seen them, and to hear those things which they heard, and had not heard them; Luke 10:24. This is represented as the great object of the desires of the church under the old testament. Cant. 8:1, "O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother!" etc. Adam seems to have taken great notice of the first prophecy made of the salvation of the Messiah as the seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head, and to have laid fast hold of it, by his changing his wife's name upon it and calling of it "Eve," or "Life," because she is the mother of all living [Gen. 3:20]. The saints that were in Israel at the time of Christ's coming are characterized by this, that they were those that waited "for the consolation of Israel," and "looked for redemption in Jerusalem," and "waited for the kingdom of God" (Mark 15:43, Luke 2:25, 38).

Second. Especially is this incredible, when there was so much said, and so plainly said, in the ancient prophecies concerning the sufferings and death of the Messiah, and his suffering as a sacrifice and atonement for the sins of his people. The first prophecy of Christ that ever was, under the name of the seed of the woman, spoke plainly of his sufferings. And seeing Adam took so much notice of that prophecy, there is all reason to think he took notice of the prediction of these sufferings. How plainly is it foretold. Dan. 9:26, "And after threescore and two weeks shall the Messiah be cut off." It is impossible this prophecy of the Messiah should be

5. MS: "that." The editorial change follows JE, Jr.'s insertion.

6. "Miscellanies" no. 1068, "Prophecies of the Messiah," §51, discusses Ps. 14 and 53 as prophecies of the Messiah's time.

overlooked by the saints in Israel, or be so misunderstood by them as not to understand that the Messiah should die. Again, the prophecy is plain in Zech. 13:7, "Awake, O sword, against the man that is my fellow: smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered: and I will turn my hand upon the little ones." But above [all] is the prophecy of the sufferings and death of the Messiah plain and full and impossible not to be observed in Is. 52:13 to the end of ch. 53.

And it was plainly foretold that these sufferings should be as an atonement for the sins of his people. This was intimated with such a plainness in those words in the ninth [chapter] of Daniel—"the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself" [v. 26]—that the design of 'em could not easily be mistaken. But 'tis declared with abundant fullness and plainness in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, v. 4: "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows." V. 5, "he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and by his stripes we are healed." V. 6, "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." V. 10, "when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin." Vv. 11–12, "by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities . . . he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors."

Third. If the prophecies of the sufferings and atonement of the Messiah had been less plain than they were, yet it would have been no wonder if the saints, who delighted in God's word and made it their meditation day and night, had understood that he was to suffer, and in that way make atonement for sin; and therefore 'tis no strange supposition if we suppose they understood thus much before the prophecies were so plain, considering what we are told of the engagedness of the minds of the prophets and righteous men of old diligently to search into these prophecies and to endeavor to understand them. 'Tis not so much to be wondered at if they had some understanding of those predictions of these things that were clothed with dark figures or symbolical representations, and delivered in enigmatical speeches, seeing it was a great part of the wisdom that was in vogue in those day among the Jews and other nations, to be able to interpret hieroglyphics and parables and to understand enigmas and dark speeches. And there were many of Israel that excelled in that wisdom, especially of the righteous, who had their minds enlightened by the Spirit of God, and who had prophets and priests and the wisest of their nation to instruct them and teach 'em the meaning of God's word.

Fourth. There were ancient traditions found amongst many heathen nations (joined with their traditions concerning a Trinity) concerning the sufferings of the second divine person, [the] son of the first, which it is highly probable were derived from the Jews or came by tradition from the ancient patriarchs, the first fathers of nations, being derived from their doctrine concerning the sufferings of the Messiah, the Son of God: such as the traditions of the Persians concerning the combats of Mithras, the second god of the Persians, the first person that proceeded from the great god Azomazes; the murder of the Orus or second Osiris of the Egyptians, and the second deity of the Egyptians; the banishment of the Apollo of the Greeks, the son of Jupiter; the death of the Adonis of the Phoenicians; the labors of Hercules, the son of Jupiter, who came down to exterminate monsters; and the conflict of the Kiun-Tse of the Chinese (see "Miscellanies" no. 1351, p. 872, [col. 2], c, d, e, and 876, [col. 1], e.)⁷ And 'tis probable that from hence, at least in part, came the custom among the heathen of offering human sacrifices.

Fifth. What is a more direct evidence of the fact I would establish, is that it appears by the writings of the ancient Jews them[selves] that they did suppose the Messiah should suffer death, and so make atonement for sin. They interpreted the fifty-third [chapter] of Isaiah of the Messiah (see Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration*, Pt I, p. 69b). And Grotius, in his treatise *De Veritate*, etc., Bk. 5, § 15, cites Rabbi Judas in *Chasidim* and Rabbi Simeon in *Bereschith Rabba* saying "that the Messiah should bear our sins." And the latter Jews are [so] sensible of the plainness of the prophecies of the Messiah's sufferings that they have invented two messiahs: one suffering, and another a triumphing messiah (see Kidder, Pt. I, pp. 69e and 70a).⁸

Sixth. We can't suppose that our Lord would ever have so severely re-

7. The reference is to two passages in "Miscellanies" no. 1351, "Extracts of the Travels of Cyrus," that replicate the information provided in the paragraph up to this point. In this portion of the entry, JE gives examples from "the traditions of all nations foretell[ing] the coming of a hero who is to descend from heaven to bring back Astrea to the Earth."

8. Kidder, *Demonstration*, Pt. I, p. 69b, on Is. 53: "In that chapter the sufferings of the MESSIAS are graphically described: And there never was any people or person, to whom all those particulars recited in that chapter could belong, but to our blessed SAVIOUR, who is the MESSIAS there foretold. The *Jews* (I mean the more ancient among them) understood that place of the MESSIAS; and whereas among the later *Jews* we shall find some interpret them in another sense . . . yet it is manifest, and hath been made so, that these words must be understood of the MESSIAS."

For Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, Bk. 5, § 15, see above, p. 400, n. 3.

Kidder, *Demonstration*, pp. 69e–70a, writes that the "later Jews" devised "a suffering MESSIAS, the son of *Joseph* of the tribe of *Ephraim*: And now they speak of a two-fold MESSIAS, one, the son of *Joseph*, to suffer death, and (if need be) another, the son of *David*, to save and to deliver them."

buked Peter for his objecting against what he had told [of] his own ignominious and cruel death, if the revelation of the death and atonement of Christ were so dark that it was not supposed or expected of the saints under the old testament that they should have any understanding of them, or any expectation or notion of this great and wonderful event.

Seventh. Though it be apparent from many passages of the New Testament that the way of men’s salvation by the death and atonement of Jesus Christ was a mystery in a great measure kept hid from God’s people through all the ages of the old testament, and this be evident also by the universal surprise of the true disciples of Christ on his crucifixion, these things prove no more than [that] their knowledge of these things was very imperfect in comparison of what it was after Christ’s ascension—like a dim moonlight in comparison with daylight.

They had doubtless very imperfect notions of the manner of the death and sufferings of Christ. Perhaps their notion was that the devil was to kill him, taken from the first prophecy of the serpent’s bruising the heel of the Messiah [Gen. 3:15], from whence probably came the Egyptian fables of Orus’ conflict with the serpent Python and Hercules’ conflict with monsters. Or they might suppose that he would be slain in war with the heathen nations, who worshipped devils and would be some way headed by the devil in their conflicts with the Messiah, and so in that sense be slain by the devil; but afterwards should come to life again and then carry on the war to a glorious victory over all the heathen nations. Possibly some might think his enemies would take him captive and imprison, judge, condemn and execute him, and so in that the prophecy of Isaiah be fulfilled, “he was taken from prison and from judgment” [Is. 53:8].

Eighth. If it should be objected that the Jews in Christ’s time—at least the great part of ’em—seemed to be without any notion of a suffering Messiah, and it was very contrary to the apprehensions that were deeply rooted in their minds: I answer that it is very apparent that the nation at that time was exceeding corrupt in principle and practice, and had greatly degenerated and departed in many respects from the purity of the faith of their forefathers, were become more stupid, ignorant and carnal in their notions of things, and had in many respects perverted and made void the doctrine of Moses and the prophets, and had conformed their notions of religion, and so their notions of the Messiah and his salvation and kingdom, to their own carnal, vain and proud disposition of heart.

XII. God’s people brought and offered their sacrifices, depending upon them for reconciliation to God and acceptance to his favor, no oth-

erwise than as representations of that great sacrifice and atonement of the Messiah, or as having reference and respect to that.

This must almost necessarily follow from things which have already [been] observed, viz. that they were sensible those sacrifices were of no avail on their own account, that God did not require 'em because he valued them at all for themselves. Therefore they must suppose it was with a view to something else. It has already been observed that they depended on the Angel that dwelt in the Holy of Holies as their Mediator and advocate to procure for 'em peace and acceptance with God, and that therefore they supposed it requisite their prayers and sacrifices should be directed to the place where he dwelt, and offered with respect to him and a dependence on him to make them acceptable and prevalent, and that they were sensible that on this account the blood of their sacrifices was to be brought into that Holy of Holies and then sprinkled on the seat of this Angel, which God taught 'em to be the propitiatory, to be as it were most eminently the altar of atonement, the grand instrument of propitiation, because their Mediator and divine high priest dwelt there; and that that divine person was the Messiah, who was afterwards to come into the world and make an end of sin by offering a sacrifice that should be truly propitiatory, and that this sacrifice was that of his own blood. Those things, put together, led 'em directly and as it were necessarily to suppose their legal sacrifices were only representations of that great future sacrifice; the sufferings of the beasts they offered, and their consumption in the fire, an image of the future sufferings of the Messiah; and that the sacrifices were of value only as they were related to the Messiah's sacrifice.

This was the more natural, considering how common and known a thing it was for God to exhibit spiritual things in symbolical representations, and how common it was in the world in general to represent divine matters by hieroglyphics, allegories and symbolical actions. And 'tis very probable that the truly wise and righteous persons of a good spiritual sense perceived those things as such, were much⁹ more apt than others to understand the meaning of those types. Hence Christ delivered spiritual things in parables that they might be hid from the wicked, and hence he blames his disciples that they did not understand them. Mark 4:13, "Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all parables?" Matt. 15:15–16, "Then answered Peter and said unto him, Declare unto us this parable. And Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding?" So Mark

9. MS: "must." JE, Jr. deleted the word and inserted "much."

7:17–18. 'Tis spoken of as the part of true piety, "to understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings" (Prov. 1:6). The Apostle blames the Christian Hebrews that they were no more apt to understand the types and mysteries of the Old Testament. Heb. 5:11–14, "Of whom" (i.e. of Melchizedek) "we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing. For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk is unskillful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."

And another thing that confirms the probability of the Jewish saints' trusting in the sacrifice of Christ, as represented by their legal sacrifices, is what we read of Abraham. The Apostle, speaking of the example of the faith of old testament saints, mentions that as one instance, that Abraham, when he offered up his son Isaac, received Christ "in a figure," or *εὐ παρὰβολῇ*, as it is in the original [Heb. 11:19]; i.e. he received the anti-type of Christ slain and risen in that type of his son Isaac. That was the time, in all probability (above all others), when Abraham rejoiced to see Christ's day, "and saw it, and was glad" [John 8:56]. If Abraham by faith received Christ and his sacrifice in that type, 'tis likely that the saints received him in the type of the legal sacrifices, concerning which there were much more to lead 'em to understand the sacrifice of Christ as signified thereby.

XIII. Such a dependence on the divine Mediator as has been spoken [of] was the revealed and known condition of peace and acceptance with God.

It is evident from what has been already said that divine institutions plainly directed to this and were so ordered, as had that language very plain, that looking to this Mediator, confessing him, having respect to him and dependence on him, was required in order to the forgiveness of their sins and the hearing of their prayers, acceptance of their persons and receiving the tokens of God's favor. What was said and done at the dedication of the temple, that has been taken notice of already,¹ very fully declares this.

They that walked in darkness were directed to trust in the name of the Lord. The name of the Lord is spoken of as the "strong tower" of the righ-

1. See pp. 374–77.

teous, in which he put his confidence and by which he had safety [Prov. 18:10]. Sinners, in order to make peace with God, are directed, Is. 27:5, to lay hold on God's strength, and it is promised that if they did so they should make peace with God. And 'tis evident it was the way of the saints to trust in this Mediator for acceptance, by their asking for mercy for God's name's sake, etc., as has been before observed.²

There are also some other things in the Old Testament that would naturally lead wise and considerate and pious persons to suppose that the way to be saved was to look to Christ and trust in him, as particularly that, Is. 45:22, "Look to me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth"; and vv. 24–25, "Surely, shall one say, in the Lord have I righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come. . . . In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory." Is. 55:1–3, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. . . . Harken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David." Is. 56:4–5, "For thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that . . . take hold of my covenant; even to them will I give in mine house a place and a name." And vv. 6–7, "Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves to the Lord . . . and take hold of my covenant." Is. 51:5, "My righteousness is near; my salvation is gone forth, and mine arms shall judge the people; the isles shall wait upon me, and on my arm shall they trust." Is. 26:1–4, "In that day shall this song be sung; We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and for bulwarks. Open ye the gates, that the righteous people that keepeth the truth may enter in. Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee. Trust in the Lord forever: for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength"; or, "the Rock of Ages," as it is in the Hebrew.³ Hos. 14:1–3, "Israel, return unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn to the Lord: say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously. . . . Ashur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses: neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy."

And if any [think]⁴ that the revelations of the way of justification in the Old Testament are too obscure to lead the people to seek and depend

2. See pp. 386–89.

3. צור צולקים.

4. JE, Jr.'s insert.

upon justification in this way, it may be considered that 'tis certain and beyond dispute that there were many things of an evangelical nature that the church of God under the old testament were fully established in the belief of, and express and plain in their profession of, that the Old Testament itself was no more express and full in than in this way of justification. Thus they were full in the belief of the immortality of the soul, as the heathen philosophers were, and so in their belief of the resurrection of the dead, as is evident by the New Testament and by the ancient Jewish writings. By these it is plain those doctrines were esteemed as great and main articles of their faith.

And thus I suppose the saints under the old testament trusted in Christ and were justified by faith in him.

FAITH,⁵ wherein its NATURAL FITNESS, etc. consists. The great office that Christ sustains and executes in order to his being the means of our justification, reconciliation and acceptance with God is that of a Mediator. But now, in order to our having an interest in Christ as our Mediator, or his being a mediator for us, and our having the benefit of his mediation, 'tis fit, as Dr. Owen observes (*Exposition on Heb. 8:6*, p. 215e), "That he who is Mediator be accepted, trusted and rested in on both sides or parties."⁶ On God's part he is chosen, appointed, accepted and entirely trusted in. He is the mediator in whom he is well pleased his elect in whom his soul delighteth. And therefore how fit that he should also on our part be in like manner chosen, trusted and acquiesced in [in] order to his being a mediator for us as we are also intelligent beings capable of act and choice.

JUSTIFICATION, a forensic term. See Poole's *Synopsis* on Is. 53:11, the place marked in the margin thus |.⁷

BY FAITH, NATURAL FITNESS. If we consider Christ as a sacrifice offered to atone for sin and obtain the favor of God, how can it be expected that this sacrifice should be looked upon as our sacrifice, or that we should be respected as interested in the sacrifice, unless we are active in the affair, coming to the sacrifice in our hearts, choosing, appointing and constituting it as our sacrifice, looking for pardon and acceptance by it, and

5. The remaining materials on justification are shorter entries (apparently written contemporaneously with, or very shortly after, the previous essays) on MS pp. 237–39, 241, and 244.

6. John Owen, *Exercitationes on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (4 vols. London, 1668–80), 3, 215.

7. JE's copy of Poole's *Synopsis criticorum* has not been located. However, the reference is in all likelihood to *Synopsis* III, col. 524: "*Justificatio in hoc argumento condemnationi opponitur, ac proinde vox est forensis, judicialem actum notat, non solum extra doctrinam justificationis.*"

trusting in it for these?⁸ The sacrifices of old were offered for them who were the comers thereunto, and who worshipped God in the [sacrifice]⁹ offered, looking and hoping for the benefit of it. See Heb. 10:1–2. See Papers on Faith.¹

The offerer, in some cases, laid his hands on the head of the sacrifice, thereby² expressing his consent, choice and appointment of that as his sacrifice to bear and take away his sins, and his expectations of the benefit of atonement by means of that.

If we consider Christ in the character of an advocate, how fit is it that, in order to our having him for our advocate to undertake and plead our cause for us, we should commit our cause to him.

OBJECTION. One SECTION on this inquiry, viz. whether this doctrine depreciates virtue and holiness in general as to its value, excellency and importance.

To show that this doctrine is not made out by unreasonable and unmeaning terms and distinctions. To show particularly how the terms are reasonable and intelligible, and that nothing is requisite but candor in order to an understanding of them. To show how that the distinction our adversaries are obliged to make use of are nice and as unintelligible as justified by works of the law of Moses, or Moses' law, or by works of law considered with respect to the perfection it requires: not by works, i.e. not as meritorious, i.e. by a merit of condignity or by merit of equality, etc., etc.; that by works [they] don't mean good works in general but Jewish works; that by righteousness is not meant righteousness in the ordinary use of that phrase but Pharisaic righteousness, not saved by works merely on the footing of law. See Mayhew, p. 201e.³ To show particularly how these are the unmeaning, unintelligible distinctions.

Remember when writing, consult Dr. Mayhew on the subject.⁴

8. JE, Jr., heavily overwrote "these."

9. JE, Jr.'s insert.

1. See "Faith" no. [142], below, p. 464.

2. MS: "therefore."

3. See Mayhew, *Sermons*, pp. 201–02: "There is a wide difference betwixt saying, that we are justified and saved by works, merely upon the footing of law; (which is what the Apostle denies) and saying, that we are justified and saved, by believing in, and submitting to Him that was *the End of the law for righteousness*; and who has redeemed us from the curse thereof: (Which is what he denies not.)" This is toward the end of Mayhew's sermon "Of Justification by Faith," based on Jas. 1: 21–22.

4. Ibid.

CONCLUSION. Why should any be disposed to oppose this doctrine? What is got by it? There is evidently no advantage to the cause of virtue, no increase of obligation or incitement to it; it derogates nothing from the necessity or benefit of it, and surely it more naturally leads to exalt God's grace.

To express what I would say of our faith and obedience not justifying by a MORAL FITNESS, thus: that it don't justify or give an interest in Christ by any moral value in it.

CONCLUSION. The Scripture is no more wrested from its more obvious and natural sense on our side than on theirs, nor in any measure so much. There are requisite no more, and no more subtle, distinctions and far-fetched criticisms to bring the Scripture to speak our meaning than theirs; no, nor need of any subtle far-fetched distinctions in any measure [in] so many cases. All the advantage they have on their side in the manner of arguing, and means made use of to support their scheme, above what we have (if that be any advantage): they clothe themselves with more of the air of haughtiness and contempt.

It may probably tend to remove the prejudice from some divines against what I have said of a NATURAL FITNESS in faith if, instead of this, I use the phrase "natural suitableness," and so suppose a moral fitness recommending to a natural suitableness in this qualification, to be looked upon as that which makes the believer one, and so on that account is suitable to bring to an interest in Christ or a communion in his benefits, and to show that this is what is meant by the particle BY when we read of being justified by faith; i.e. this is the qualification wherein lies the immediate suitableness, according as infinite grace and wisdom has constituted things, of our coming to an union and interest in Christ and BY which we have that union and interest.

Concerning DISTINCTIONS made use of by the Calvinists in what they say of justification, see back, concerning Mysteries, pp. 197e, etc.⁵

5. In the preceding section of the "Controversies" notebook, on "Mysteries of Religion," pp. 197–98 (printed in *Miscellaneous Observations*, pp. 395–96). JE quotes Locke (*Essay on Human Understanding*, Bk. II, ch. 11, § 2) and Turnbull (*Moral Philosophy*, Pt. I, ch. 3, p. 94) on the importance of making distinctions in making judgments, thereby implying that maintaining "distinctions in religion" is also necessary and reasonable.

"We cannot be justified by any law, according to which we are rightly deemed transgressors. . . . If on account of a partial obedience only to the law, we really are, and must be reputed offenders; we cannot be accounted by or according to that law. . . . The Lawgiver cannot account us righteous, without that righteousness which the law he gives requires us to practice. . . . This is perfectly agreeable to the reasoning of the Apostle on this subject. He concludes upon the impossibility of the justification of any man by the works of a law, from hence, viz. every man being a sinner, and to be proved such by the law: if therefore, there be any force in his reasoning, we must conclude, that no man can be justified by any law; according to which every man, by reason of his defective obedience to it, is rightly denominated a transgressor. . . . If by this law, supposed to be accommodated to the present state of human imperfection and weakness, men may be justified, on account of their own works, in obedience to it; then it demands or requires not perfect holiness; so far from it, that no unfit action, which hinders not our justification, can truly be accounted criminal. . . . The absurdity of this distinction of works, is very great, plain and evident; and as it has no foundation in revelation, it hath not in reason; it is no other than a figment, a dream, or foolish invention of men, to evade the force of the Apostle's clear and nervous reasoning on this important subject.

"If men are justified in the sight of God by the works of a law, then Christ died in vain. . . . For if we are justified by our own obedience to a law, then we cannot be accounted sinners by that law; and if we are not transgressors, or reputed such, no atoning sacrifice is required, in order to peace and reconciliation; God hath nothing against us as our Lawgiver, and Judge; his law charges us with no offense, pronounces no threatening against us, nor is the justice of God displeased with us, and, consequently, no propitiatory sacrifice was needful to be offered for us.

"God justifies men who work not, and therefore works performed by them, cannot be the cause of their justification. Crellius says, that they work not, or obey not perfectly: this is not to explain, but to contradict the Apostle. . . . The distinction of working perfectly and imperfectly, is not to be found throughout the Apostle's discourse on this subject." The Apostle says, the justified person *worketh not*, i.e. in order to his justification. Crellius contradicts this and says, he *does work* to that end, and his works justify him.

These things taken from Mr. John Brine in Answer to Mr. Foster.⁶

6. John Brine, *A Vindication of some truths of natural and revealed religion; in answer to the false reasoning of Mr. James Foster, on various subjects* (London, 1746), pp. 223–28. JE copied excerpts from this work into "Miscellanies" no. 1357.

That BY WORKS the Apostle means any *good works* whatsoever, and not only works of the ceremonial law, nor perfect obedience only, appears by Rom. 9:11. “For the children not being yet born, NEITHER HAVING DONE ANY GOOD OR EVIL, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, NOT OF WORKS, but of him that calleth.”

Rom. 3:20, “Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight.” “The learned Vitrina hath with propriety observed that this word is borrowed from Ps. 143:2, and must therefore signify ‘to receive the testimony of being righteous from a judge,’ and cannot merely signify ‘to obtain mercy.’ ‘To be justified’ also sometimes signifies ‘to overcome in judgment’ (Ps. 51:4), and the expression of being ‘just before God’ implies the same. And that this is the sense of the word in this Epistle, appears from several passages; particularly Rom. 2:3. So that on the whole, as he argues, justification is not a phrase parallel to forgiveness, but refers to a judicial process, and carries in it the idea of acquittal, praise and reward. And indeed it seems to me always ultimately to refer to the being pronounced and treated as righteous in the great day of God’s universal judgment. See Rom. 2:13, 16.” Doddridge in loc.⁷

Rom. 4:9, “we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness.” “I think nothing can be easier than to understand how this may be said in full consistence with our being justified by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, that is, our being treated by God as righteous for the sake of what he has done and suffered: for though this be the meritorious cause of our acceptance with God, yet faith may be said to be imputed to us, εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ‘in order to our being justified’ or becoming righteous; that is, . . . as we are charged as debtors in the book of God’s account, what Christ has done in fulfilling righteousness for us is charged as the grand balance of the account; but that it may appear that we are, according to the tenor of the gospel, entitled to the benefit of this, it is also entered in the book of God’s remembrance ‘that we are believers’; and this appearing, we are graciously discharged, yea and rewarded, as if we ourselves had been perfectly innocent and obedient.”⁸

7. The Doddridge quotation may be found in Philip Doddridge, *The Family Expositor; or, A Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament* (London, 1739–56; Amherst, Mass., 1836), p. 506, n. a.

8. Doddridge, *Family Expositor* (1836 ed.), “A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle to the Romans,” § 8, p. 508, n. c.

Stapferus, *Theologiæ Pemicæ*, Tome IV, p. 24, speaking of the Latitudinarians in England concerning justification, says, “Si vero non justificari operibus, Rom. 3 et 4 alibique, id intelligendum esse dicunt, de operibus legis cæremonialis in ritibus et observantiis externis consistentis; nec non de operibus absolute perfectis, sine ullo defectu; ut et de operibus quæ sunt caussa meritoria justificationis coram Deo.”⁹

Objection from Rev. 22:14, “Blessed are they that keep his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life.” Dr. Doddridge translates it, “that they may have the privilege to eat of the tree of life.”¹

9. Johan Stapfer, *Institutiones Theologicæ Pemicæ*, Bk. IV, ch. XIII, p. 24. The passage reads in English: “If truly one is not justified by works, as stated in Rom. 3 and 4 and elsewhere, which are to be understood as saying, that the works are defined as the legal ceremonies in the rites and they consist of the external observation of these ceremonies, assuredly and certainly concerning the works that are absolutely perfect, without that defect; in order that the works might be the meritorious cause of justification before God.”

1. Doddridge, *Family Expositor* (1836 ed.), “A Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation of St. John,” § 27, p. 947.

FAITH

THE notebook on “Faith” is surely one of the most challenging of Edwards’ manuscripts, not only for intellectual considerations because of its shifting and highly nuanced definitions and discussions but also from an editorial point of view because of Edwards’ close writing in the first few pages and his many revisions, additions, and relocation of passages. Compounding the latter difficulty is the later editing of Jonathan Edwards, Jr., which often obscures the original reading.

“Faith,” with entries spanning nearly Edwards’ entire career, is a fascinating example of how he approached a project and reflects, writ small, the development of his theological method over the course of his life, as seen in larger series such as the “Miscellanies.” His method can be described as organic in the way he begins by seeking to define a concept in his own words, then moves on to complicate and extend the concept, and then looks outward to other authors for points of similarity and difference.

In this notebook we see a laborious, intricate struggle for definition that takes up nearly half the entries. From entry to entry, Edwards slightly modifies the definition of faith, adding and subtracting words and phrases, then exploring the implications of the changes. The common thread throughout this effort at definition is “uniting with,” “cleaving to,” “receiving,” or “closing with” Christ, or some synonymous term, and along with this, “acquiescing” to the idea of Christ’s sufficiency as a mediator. At the center of Edwards’ definition of faith is Christ. Along the way, he assembles and discusses Scripture proof-texts and explores the theological and faith implications of his evolving view (e.g. Nos. 49 and 57). He also gives negative definitions of faith (trusting in one’s own righteousness, No. 58) as well as positive—from “seeking God” to “hoping in mercy” to “committing ourselves to God” (Nos. 110–20). Many of the later entries consist of excerpts from or references to trusted authors, such as Thomas Manton (Nos. 122, 125), Philip Doddridge (No. 130), Thomas Goodwin (No. 141), John MacLaurin (No. 143), and Thomas Sherlock (No. 148). Edwards intersperses these with an entry outlining a dissertation on faith (No. 128), indicating that sometime during the mid-

1740s he was happy enough with the materials he had amassed in this notebook and elsewhere to synthesize his thoughts into a cohesive whole. However, the opportunity to do so never presented itself.

The manuscript is composed of quarto sheets bound in a coarse brown paper cover inscribed “Faith” several times by Edwards. The flyleaf is a portion of a printed elegy for William Seward, George Whitefield’s publicist, who died in October 1740 (the other part is glued to the inside back cover of Edwards’ Hebrew and Greek Bible, in Princeton University’s collection). The imprint does not date the beginning of the notebook but rather from the earliest point at which Edwards stitched it together. The watermarks also suggest that Edwards bound whatever sheets he had on the subject at a date somewhat later than when he started the notes. The first two leaves (pp. 1–4, which were most likely a signature at one time) bear an Amsterdam/MvL watermark and the following signature (pp. 5–8) is a London/PvL paper. Thomas A. Schafer has shown that Edwards was using these papers together in early 1728, which is when Schafer supposes Edwards to have begun the “Faith” notebook. The remainder of the notebook, however, is made up of English/GR^{wr} paper. Pages 9–16 consist of two double leaves, while pages 17–20 form the wrappers for two in-folded quires. The first quire includes four double leaves (pp. 21–36) and the second eight double leaves (pp. 37–68). The final two leaves (pp. 69–72) are part of the sheets that form pp. 17–20. Edwards filled up to and including p. 51; p. 52 and the succeeding leaves are all blank.

Using watermark, handwriting, and ink comparisons, Schafer has closely dated the first sixty entries in the period from 1728 to mid-1731. Thereafter, dating landmarks are based on references to dated sermons and secondary sources. The following provides a chronology for entries in the “Faith” series:

<i>Entries</i>	<i>Date</i>
1–20	January–February 1728
21–28	February–March 1728
29–35	April–June 1728
36–58	August 1728–February 1729
78	probably 1734 or after
92	probably 1739 or after
109	probably after 1748
143	after 1755
148	after 1756

Because of the unusually complex nature of Edwards’ additions and passage shifts (signaled through a system of cue marks), this edition pre-

serves his original order and cross-references. Edwards occasionally numbered entries, but not consecutively, and only those that he added to later in the book. He did number the first twenty-two entries consecutively; thereafter, entry numbers are supplied in brackets.

Edwards heavily overwrote the entries at the beginning of the notebook, especially those on pp. 1–12. The text is presented with Edwards' emendations, with occasional annotations to bring significant changes in hand and ink, among other things, to the reader's attention. The transcription of the notebook by Edwards, Jr., was published as "Observations Concerning Faith" in *Miscellaneous Observations on Important Theological Controversies* (Edinburgh, 1793), pp. 393–452. The Edinburgh edition roughly follows the manuscript, though there are significant language changes and omitted cross-references and excerpts, as well as disregard for Edwards' entry divisions (the section numbers in *Miscellaneous Observations* are not Edwards' own). The "Observations" were reprinted in the Worcester rev. ed., 2, 601–26.

FAITH

1. Faith¹ is a belief of a testimony (II Thess. 1:10), an assent to truth, as appears by the eleventh [chapter] of Hebrews; and it is saving faith is there spoken of, as appears by the last verse of the foregoing chapter. Mark 1:15; John 20:31; II Thess. 2:13; Heb. 11:6; I John 5:1, 4–5; Matt. 16:16; John 1:49–50; John 3:33; John 8:24; John 17:8; I John 5:10; Tit. 1:1; Col. 1:4; I John 4:2, 15; John 16:27; Rom. 10:9.

2. 'Tis the proper act of the soul towards God as faithful (Rom. 3:3–4).

3. 'Tis a belief of² truth from a sense of glory and excellency, or at least with such a sense (John 20:28–29; Matt. 9:21; I Cor. 12:3). See [no. 36]. See [no. 26]. From a spiritual taste and relish of what is excellent and divine (Luke 12:57). Believers receive the truth in the love of it, and speak the truth in love (Eph. 4:15). No. 20.³

4. The object of faith is the gospel as well as Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:23; Mark 1:15; John 17:8; Rom. 10:16–17).

5. Faith includes a knowledge of God and Christ (John 17:3; John 4:10–30; II Cor 4:4; II Pet. 1:2–3).

6. A belief of promises is faith, or a great part of faith (Heb. 11; II Chron. 20:20). A depending on promises is an act of faith (Gal. 5:5); waiting for the hope of righteousness by faith. See note on Heb. 6:19, no. 284.⁴

1. The MS is heavily overwritten and punctuated by JE, Jr. His punctuation is not reproduced, but an attempt has been made to indicate his deletions and additions. On the first page, JE, Jr., crossed-out the entry numbers.

2. MS: "believe (of)."

3. JE deletes: "The faith of miracles, as to substance, is the same with saving faith (Heb. 11:33–34, compared with the last verse of the foregoing chapter); or, at least, saving faith is sometimes the faith of miracles."

4. See "Notes on Scripture" no. 284, in *Works*, 15, 240–42. The reference is a later addition, since the entry dates from 1737.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

First page of the manuscript of "Faith," showing emendations by Edwards, Sr., and Edwards, Jr.
Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

7. Faith is a receiving of Christ (John 1:12; Heb. 11:19; Col. 2:5–7). See no. [100].

8. It is a receiving Christ into the heart (Rom. 10:6–10).

9. 'Tis accepting of the gospel (I Tim. 1:14–15; II Cor. 11:4). A true faith includes more than a mere belief of it; it includes all acceptance (I Tim. 1:15).

10. 'Tis something more than merely the assent of the understanding, because 'tis called an "obeying the gospel" (Rom. 10:16; see no. [104]; I Pet. 4:17; Rom. 15:18; I Pet. 2:7–8; I Pet. 3:1. 'Tis obeying the form of doctrine from the heart (Rom. 6:17). This expression of obeying the gospel seems to denote the heart's yielding to the gospel in what it proposes to us in its calls.

11. 'Tis something more than only what may be called a believing the truth of the gospel (John 12:42), because Philip asked the eunuch whether he believed with all his heart. 'Tis a fully believing, or a being fully persuaded. That place evidences that 'tis so much at least. See no. [95].

12. There are different sorts of faith that⁵ is not true, as is evident by what the apostle James says: "Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works" [Jas. 2:18]. Where it is supposed that there may be a faith without works, which is not the right faith. When he says, "I will show thee my faith by my works," nothing else can be meant than that "I will show thee that my faith is right"; and the rest that he there says. See no. [99].

13. 'Tis a trusting in Christ (Ps. 2:12; Eph. 1:12–13; II Tim. 1:12). Many places in the Old Testament⁶ speak of trusting in God as the condition of his favor and salvation, especially Ps. 78:21–22. See no. [103]. It implies submission.⁷ Rom. 15:12, "In him shall the Gentiles trust" (see notes on those verses [vv. 12–13]).⁸ Rom 8:21; I Tim. 4:10; II Tim. 1:12, Matt. 8:28;

5. MS: "that that." Worcester rev. ed. (2, 603) reads: "sorts of faith that are not true and saving."

6. MS: "testament that."

7. The cross reference and the statement "It implies submission" are later additions in black ink.

8. "Blank Bible" note on Rom. 15:12–13: "These two verses confirm that by 'hope' is meant faith in Jesus Christ, for when it is said, 'in him shall the Gentiles trust,' in the original it is 'in

Matt. 16:8. I John 5:13–14—believing in Christ in one verse, is called “confidence” in the next. No. [97]. No. [107]. No. [130].

14. ’Tis gladly receiving Christ. ’Tis a committing ourselves to Christ (II Tim. 1:12). This is, in a Scripture sense of the word, “believe,” as is evident by John 2:24, “Jesus did not commit himself to them.” In the original it is, *οὐκ ἐπίστευεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς*.

15. ’Tis a gladly receiving the gospel (Acts 2:41).

16. ’Tis approving of the gospel (Luke 7:30, 35). Obeying the doctrine (Rom. 6:17).

17. ’Tis what may be well understood by those expressions of “coming to Christ,” of “looking to him,” of opening the door to let him in. This is very evident by Scripture. ’Tis a coming and taking the waters of life, by eating and drinking his flesh and blood, by hearing Christ’s voice and following of him (John 10:26–27; John 8:12; Is. 45:22). See no. [133]. See no. [134]. No. [142].

18. ’Tis a believing the truth of God’s promises (II Chron. 20:20). Faith consists in two things, viz. in being persuaded of and embracing the promises (Heb. 11:13).

19. By Matt 23:37, it seems to be a being willing. It seems more evident by the original, “I would but ye would not,” where the same word is used, whereby seems to be signified that nothing is required but only both parties consenting.

20. I Cor. 13:7, charity “believeth all things, hopeth all things.” If that faith, hope and charity spoken of in this verse be the same with those that are compared together in the last verse, then faith arises from a charitable disposition of heart, or from a principle of divine love. See also John

him shall the Gentiles hope’; and then it follows, ‘the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing,’ referring to the joy of the Gentiles in trusting in Christ, spoken of, vv. 10–11. (See note on Heb. 6:19, no. 284 [see above, n. 4].) So where the word in our translation is ‘trust,’ it is ‘hope’ in the original, in the following places: I Tim. 4:10, I Tim. 6:17; John 5:45, Eph. 1:12, I Tim. 5:5, I Pet. 3:5. This confirms that the Old Testament ‘trust’ is the same with the New Testament ‘faith,’ for ’tis evident trusting in God and hoping in God are often used in the Old Testament, as faith and hope are in the New.”

5:42, with context, and Deut. 13:3; I John 5:1. See also John 14:21; and John 16:27, with notes;⁹ and I Tim 1:14; notes on Jas. 2:26.¹ No. [108]. No. [105]. No. [140].

21. It is a being reconciled unto God revealing himself by Christ in the gospel, or our minds being reconciled (II Cor. 5:18–21; Col. 1:21).

'Tis the according of the whole soul, and not only of the understanding. Matt. 11:6, "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me."

22. There is contained in the nature of faith a sense of our own unworthiness. Matt. 15:26–28, "Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table. Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith." See also Luke 7:6–9, concerning the centurion; Luke 15, about the prodigal son. See Luke 7:37–50, especially v. 50; Luke 23:41. Hab. 2:4, "Behold, his soul that is lifted up is not upright in him; but the just shall live by his faith." See Prov. 28:25.

[23.] 'Tis a being drawn to Christ. "None can come unto me, but whom the Father draws" [John 6:44].

[24.] The freeness of the covenant of grace is represented thus: that the condition of finding is only seeking; and the condition of receiving, asking; and the condition of having the door opened, is knocking. From whence I infer that faith is a hearty applying unto God by Christ for salvation, or the heart's seeking of it of God through him. See no. [96]. See also John 4:10, "If thou hadst known the gift of [God], and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given unto thee living water." And Luke 23:42, calling on him.

[25.] 'Tis the opposite unto disallowing and rejecting Christ Jesus (John 12:46–48). I Pet. 2:7, "Unto you which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner."

9. "Blank Bible" note on John 16:27, in part: "This verse argues that love is a thing included in justifying faith. For the love here spoken of is not electing love, for God don't love us with that love because we love Christ, but it must be that love of favor and acceptance that is consequent on believing."

1. "Blank Bible" note on Jas. 2:26, in part: "The working acting nature of anything is the life of it; that which makes men call anything alive is because they observe it has an active nature in it. This working or acting nature in man is the spirit that he has in him. Therefore 'as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without' a working nature 'is dead also.'"

[26.] No. 3. Love either is what faith arises from, or is included in faith, by John 3:18–19, “He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that men loved darkness rather than light.” II *Thess.* 2:10, 12.

[27.] The being athirst for the water of life is faith (*Rev* 21:6).

[28.] 'Tis a true cordial seeking salvation by Christ. See no. [137].²

[29.] Believing in Christ is heartily joining themselves to Christ and to his party, as is said of the followers of Thesidas (*Acts* 5:36); and we are justified freely through faith, i.e. we are saved by Christ, only on joining ourselves to him. It is a being persuaded to join ourselves to him and to be of his party. *John* 8:12, “I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.”

[30.] To believe in Christ is to hearken to him as a prophet, to yield ourselves subjects to him as a king, and to depend upon him as a priest.

[31.] Desiring Christ is an act of faith in Christ, because he is called “the desire of all nations” (*Hag.* 2:7); that is, he that is to be the desire of all nations, when all nations shall believe in him and subject themselves to him, according to the frequent promises and prophecies of God’s Word. Though there are other things included in the sense, yet this seems to be principally intended.

[32.] There belongs to faith a sense of the ability and sufficiency of Christ to save: his fitness for the work of salvation (*Matt.* 9:2, and 28–29, and 21; *Rom.* 4:21); his fidelity (*Matt.* 14:30–31); of his readiness to save (*Matt.* 15:22–28; II *Tim.* 1:5, 12); his ability (*Matt.* 8:2; *Matt.* 8:8; *Matt.* 8:26; *Matt.* 9:18, 28; *Matt.* 16:8).

[33.] 'Tis a submitting to the righteousness of God (*Rom.* 10:3).³

[34.] 'Tis what may be well represented by flying for refuge, by the type of flying to the city of refuge (*Heb.* 6:18).

2. This entry is in the hand and black ink characteristic of 1739–42.

3. *Ibid.*

[35.] 'Tis a sense of the sufficiency, the reality, of Christ's righteousness, and of his power and grace to save. John 16:8, "He shall convince the world of righteousness, and of judgment." See no. [101]. No. [123].

[36.] No. 3. 'Tis a receiving the truth with a love to it. 'Tis a receiving the love of the truth (II Thess. 2:10), obeying the truth from the heart (Rom. 6:17). See no. [135].

[37.] The heart must close with the new covenant by dependence upon it, and by love and desire. II Sam. 23:5, "This is all my salvation, and all my desire." Vid. no. [89]. See Erskine's Sermons, pp. 147, etc.⁴

[38.] Upon the whole, the best and clearest and most perfect definition of justifying faith, and most according to the Scriptures that I can think of, is this:

Faith is the soul's entirely embracing the revelation of Jesus Christ as our Savior.

The word "embrace" is a metaphysical expression, but I think it much clearer than any proper expression whatsoever.

[39.] 'Tis called "believing," because believing is the first act of the soul in embracing a narration or revelation; and embracing, when conversant about a revelation or thing declared, is more properly called by that name than loving or choosing. See no. [53].

[40.]⁵ If it were conversant about a person only, 'twould be more properly called "loving"; if it were only about a gift, an inheritance, or reward, 'twould be more properly called "receiving," or "accepting," etc.

[41.] The definition might have been expressed in these words: "Faith is the soul's entirely adhering to and acquiescing in the revelation of Jesus Christ as our Savior."

[42.] Or thus: "Faith is the soul's entirely embracing that truth of God that reveals Jesus Christ as our Savior."

[43.] Or thus: "Faith is the soul's entirely acquiescing in and depending upon the truth of God, revealing Christ [as] our Savior."

4. This reference, a later addition, is to John Erskine, *The People of God Considered as All Righteous: in three Sermons preach'd at Glasgow, April 1745* (Edinburgh, 1745).

5. Here begins MS p. 4; JE numbered the entries 1–10.

[44.] 'Tis the whole soul according and assenting to the truth and embracing it. There is an entire yielding of the mind and heart to the revelation, and a closing with it and adhering to it with the belief and with the inclination and affection. 'Tis admitting and receiving of it with entire credit and respect; the soul receives it as true, as worthy and excellent. It may be more perfectly described than defined by a short definition. By reason of the penury of words, a great many words expresses better than one or two. I here use some metaphorical expressions, but 'tis because they are much clearer than any proper expressions that I know of.

[45.] 'Tis the soul's entirely acquiescing in this revelation from a sense of the dignity and glory and excellency of the revealer of the revelation.

[46.] Faith is the whole soul's active agreeing, according and sympathizing with this truth, all opposition in judgment and inclination, so far as he believes, being taken away. 'Tis called "believing," because fully believing this revelation is the first and principal exercise and manifestation of this accordance and agreement of soul.

[47.] The adhering to it and acquiescing in it with the judgment is from a sense of the glory of the revealer and the sufficiency and excellency of the performer. The adhering to it and acquiescing in it with the inclination and affection is from the goodness and excellency of the thing revealed and of the performer.

[48.]⁶ Thus if a person be pursued by an enemy and commits himself to a king or a captain to defend, it implies his quitting other endeavors, and applying to him for defense and putting himself under him, and hoping that he will defend him. If we consider it as a mere act of the mind, a transaction between spiritual beings, considered as abstracted from any external action, then it is the mind's quitting all other endeavors and seeking and applying itself to the savior for salvation, fully choosing salvation by him and delivering himself to him, or a being willing to be his with a hope that he will save him. Therefore for a person to commit himself to Christ as a Savior is quitting all other endeavors and hopes, and heartily applying himself to the Savior for salvation, fully choosing salvation by

6. JE deletes the beginning of the entry: "For one person to commit himself to another to be defended or saved, is to quit all hopes or endeavors of salvation any other way, and applying himself to him to do it, and so disposing himself that he may be under advantages to do it with hopes that he will do it."

him and acquiescing in his way of salvation, and a hearty consent of the soul to be his entirely, hoping in his sufficiency and willingness to save.

[49.] The first act can't be with hoping in a promise, that is, as belonging to the essence of the act: for there must be the essence of the act performed before there is any promise belongs to him. But the essence of the act, as it is exercised in justifying faith, is a quitting other hopes and applying to him for salvation, choosing and with the inclination closing with salvation by him in his way, with a sense of his absolute glorious sufficiency and mercy. Hope in the promises may immediately follow in a moment, but it is impossible there [should] be a foundation for it before the essence of faith be performed, though it is the same disposition that leads the soul to lay hold on the promise afterwards.

'Tis impossible that a man should be encouraged by a conditional promise to trust in Christ—if you mean by trusting in Christ a depending upon the promises to men—for that is to suppose a dependence upon the promise before the first dependence upon the promise, and that the first time a man depends upon the promise, he is encouraged to do it by a dependence upon the promises.

The conditional promise is this: that if you will trust in Christ, you shall [be saved];⁷ and you suppose the essence of this trust is depending upon this promise, and yet that the soul is encouraged to trust in Christ by a dependence upon this promise. Which is to say that the first time the soul depends upon Christ's promises, it is encouraged to do it by a dependence upon Christ's promises. See no. [81].

[50.] Faith is the soul's entirely adhering to and acquiescing in the revelation of Jesus Christ as our Savior, from a sense of the excellent dignity and sufficiency of the revealer of the doctrine and of the Savior.

God is the revealer, and Christ is also the revealer. Christ's excellency and sufficiency includes the excellency of his person and the excellency of the salvation he revealed, and his adequateness to that performance, etc. and the excellency of his manner of salvation, etc.

From the excellency and sufficiency of the revealer and performer, we believe what is said is true, fully believe it; and from the glorious excellency of the Savior and his salvation, all our inclination closes with the revelation.

7. JE, Jr.'s insert.

[51.] Faith is the soul's entirely and only adhering to and depending upon the Word of God revealing Christ as our Savior.

To depend upon the word of another person imports two things: first, to be sensible how greatly it concerns us, and that our interest and happiness really, wholly depend upon the truth of it; and secondly, to depend upon the word of another is so to believe it as to dare to act upon it as if it were really true.

I don't say that I think these words are the only true definition. I have used words that the most naturally expressed it, of any I could think of. There might have been other words used that are much of the same sense, such as these following:⁸

[52]. The hope don't enter into the essential nature of faith, yet 'tis essential to it thus: that it is the natural and necessary and next immediate fruit of true faith. In the first act of faith, the soul is enlightened with a sense of the merciful nature of God and of Christ, and believes the declarations that are made in God's Word of it; and it humbly and heartily applies and seeks to Christ; and it sees such a congruity between the declared mercy of God and the disposition he then feels towards him, that he can't but hope that that declared mercy will be exercised towards him. Yea, he sees that it would be incongruent for God to give him such inclination and motion of heart towards Christ as a Savior, if he were not to be saved by him. Vid. ["Miscellanies"] no. 375, "Spirit's Witness."⁹ No. [81].

[53.] Anything that may be called a receiving that revelation is not faith, but such a sort of receiving it as is suitable to the nature of the gospel and the respect it has to us. The act of reception suitable to truth is believing of it. The suitable reception of that which is excellent is choosing it, loving it. The proper act of reception of a revelation of deliverance from evil, and the conferring of happiness, is acquiescing in it and depending upon it. The proper reception of a Savior is committing ourselves to him and trusting in him. The proper act of reception of the favor of God is believing and esteeming of it and rejoicing in it. He that suitably receives for-

8. JE deletes the following entry: "The foundation of hope that there is in the first act of faith, is the promise of the gospel: for we have shown that that is impossible but, [by] the absolute declarations of God's and Christ's sufficiency, the soul is enlightened with a sense of the merciful nature of God, or the loving nature of Jesus Christ, etc., and, believing these declarations of it in God's Word, the soul sees such a congruity between such a merciful nature and deliverance."

9. See *Works*, 13, 447-48.

givenness of his faults, does [so] with a humble sense of his fault rejoicing in the pardon.

Thus for instance, he that reads a truth that no way concerns his interest, if he believes it, 'tis proper to say he receives it; but [if] there be a declaration of some glorious and excellent truth that does nearly concern him, he that only believes it, can't be said to receive it. And if a captain offers to deliver a distressed people, they that only believe what he says without committing themselves to him and putting themselves under him, can't be said to receive him. So if a prince offers one his favor, he that don't esteem his favor cannot be said heartily to accept the offer. So if one offended offers his pardon to another, he can't be said to receive it if he ben't sensible of his fault, nor don't care for the displeasure of the offended.

The whole act of reception suitable to the nature of the gospel and its relation to us, and our circumstances with respect to it, is best expressed (if it be expressed in one word) by the word $\phi\iota\delta\iota\varsigma$, or *fides*. And that for these reasons: this revelation is of things spiritual, unseen, strange and wonderful, exceeding remote from all the objects of sense and those things which we commonly converse with in this world, and also exceeding alien from our fallen nature; so that 'tis the first and the principal manifestation of the symphony between the soul and these divine things, that it believes 'em and acquiesces in 'em as true. And secondly, the Lord Jesus Christ in the gospel appears principally under the character of a Savior, not so much as of a person absolutely excellent; and therefore the proper act of reception of him consists principally in the exercise of a sense of our need of him and of his sufficiency, his ability, his mercy and love, his faithfulness, the sufficiency of his method of salvation, the sufficiency and completeness of the salvation itself, of the deliverance and of the happiness, and an answerable application of the soul to him for salvation; which can be expressed by no other word but "faith," or "affiance," or "confidence," or "trust" and others of the same signification, of which $\phi\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, or faith, is much the best, the most significant, because the rest in their common signification take in something that is not of the absolute essence of faith. Thirdly,¹ we have these things exhibited to us, to be received by us only by a divine testimony; we have nothing else to hold them forth to us. No. [8g] and no. [92].

1. The third reason is in a different ink from the rest of the entry, and is squeezed in at the end.

He that offers any of those things mentioned, and offers them only for those proper acts of reception, may be said to offer them freely, perfectly freely. Vid. ["Miscellanies" no.] 417.²

[54.] FAITH. For a man to trust in his own righteousness, is to hope that God's anger will be appeased or abated, or that he will be inclined to accept him into favor upon the sight of some excellency that belongs to him; or to have such a view of things, that it should appear no other than a suitable and right thing for God's anger to be abated, and for him to be inclined to take them into favor upon the sight of, or out respect to, some excellency belonging to them.³

[55.] Justifying faith is the soul's sense and conviction of the reality, the excellency and sufficiency of Jesus Christ as a Savior, with the soul's answerable entire inclination, entirely an answerable inclining of the heart towards him, and application of itself to him, entirely inclining and moving the heart to him. Vid. John 16:8, as explained by me.⁴

[56.] Faith is the soul's hearty conviction and acknowledgment of God's power in the difficult things, his mercy in the wonderful things,⁵ his truth in the mysterious and unseen things, [and] the excellency of other holy things of the salvation of Christ Jesus.

[57.] Faith is that which removes guilt of conscience.

Guilt of conscience, is the sense of the connection between sin and punishment, first, by God's law; and second, by God's nature and the propriety of the thing. The mind is under the weight of guilt as long [as] it has a sense of its being bound to punishment, according to the reason and nature of things.

Faith is what removes this. Therefore there must be in faith, first, a belief that the law is answered and satisfied by Jesus Christ; and second, such a sense of the way of salvation by Christ, that it shall appear proper and

2. "Miscellanies" no. 417, "Free Grace," in *Works*, 13, 476–77.

3. JE deletes the following, which is an aborted draft of the next entry: "Faith may be defined: An hearty sense and conviction of the necessity, reality, sufficiency and excellency of Jesus Christ as a Savior, with an answerable entire inclination of the heart, with the soul's answerable entire inclination and application of itself, to him."

4. "Notes on Scripture" no. 134, *Works*, 15, 87–88.

5. MS: "things and."

beautiful and according to the reason of things that sin may not be punished in us, but that we nevertheless should be accepted through Christ. When the mind sees a way that it can be done, and that there is nothing in the law, nor in the divine nature, nor nature of things to hinder it, that of itself lightens the burthen and creates hope. It eases the mind to see that it is not forever bound by the reason of things to suffer, though the mind don't know that it has performed the condition. This is to have a sense of the sufficiency of this way of salvation.

When a man commits sin, his soul has a natural sense of the propriety of punishment in such a case; that punishment, according to the reason of things, belongs to him, for the same reason as all nations have this sense of the propriety of punishing men for faults.

The blood of bulls and goats and calves could never make them that offered them perfect as to the conscience, because the mind never could have a sense of the propriety and beauty and fitness in reason of being delivered from punishment upon their account.

This kind of sense of the sufficiency of Christ's mediation depends upon a sense of the gloriousness and excellency of gospel things in general, as the greatness of God's mercy, the greatness of Christ's excellency and dignity and dearness to the Father, the greatness of Christ's love to sinners, etc.

That easiness of mind which persons often have before they have comfort from a sense of their being converted, arises from a sense they have of God's sovereignty. They see that it is not that [that is] in the nature of God nor nature of things that will necessarily bind them to punishment, but that God may damn them if he pleases, and may save them if he pleases.

When persons are brought to that, then they are fit to be comforted; then their comfort is like to have a true and immovable foundation, when their dependence is no way upon themselves but wholly upon God.

In order to such a sense of the sufficiency of this way of salvation, it must be seen that God has no disposition and no need to punish us. The sinner, when he considers how he has affronted and provoked [God], he looks upon it that the case is such, and the affront such, that there is need in order to majesty and honor and authority's being vindicated, that he

should be punished; and that God's nature is such that he must be disposed to punish him.

Corol. Hence we learn that our experience of the sufficiency of the doctrine of the gospel to give peace of conscience, is a rational inward witness to the truth of the gospel. When the mind sees such a fitness in this way of salvation, that it takes off the burthen that arises from the sense of its being necessarily bound to punishment through proper desert and from the demands of reason and nature, it is a strong argument that it is not a thing of mere human imagination, when we experience its fitness to answer its end.

This is the third of the Three that bear witness on earth: the Spirit bears witness by discovering the divine glory and stamps of divinity that are in the gospel; the water bears witness, that is, the experience of the power of the gospel to purify and sanctify the heart witnesses the truth of it; and the blood bears witness by delivering the conscience from guilt.

Any other sort of faith than this sense of the sufficiency of Christ's salvation, don't give such immediate glory and honor to Christ, and don't so necessarily and immediately infer the necessity of Christ's being known. None other so makes all Christianity to hang upon an actual respect to Christ, and center in him. Surely the more the sinner has an immediate and sole and explicit dependence upon Christ, the more Christ has the glory of his salvation from him.

In order to this sort of sense of the congruity of any sin's being forgiven, of punishment's being removed, by the satisfaction of Christ, there must of necessity be a sense of our guiltiness: for it is impossible any congruity should be seen without comparison of the satisfaction with the guilt, and they can't be compared except there be a sense of them both. There must not only be such a sense of God's being very angry, and his anger being very dreadful, without any sense of the reasonableness of that anger; but there must be a proper sense of the desert of wrath, such as there is in repentance. Indeed, it is possible there may be such a sense of the glory of the Savior and his salvation, that if we have more of a sense of guilt than we have, we should see a congruity.

Sinners under conviction of their guilt are generally afraid that God is so angry with them, that he never will give them faith in Christ; they think the majesty and jealousy of God will not allow of it. There therefore goes with a sense of the sufficiency of Christ, a sense of God's sovereignty with

respect to mercy and judgment, that he will and may have mercy in Christ on whom he will have mercy, and leave to hardness whom he will. This eases of that burthen.

[58.] For a man to trust in his own righteousness is to conceive hopes of some favor of God, or some freedom from his displeasure, from a false notion of his own goodness or excellency and the proportion it bears to that favor, and of their own badness and the relation it bears to his displeasure.⁶

'Tis to conceive hopes of some favor of God from a false notion of the relation our own goodness or excellency bears to that favor, whether this mistaken relation be obligation in natural justice or propriety and decency, or obligation in point of wisdom and honor, or if he thinks that without it God won't do excellently or according to any of his declared attributes, or whether it be any obligation by virtue of his promise; whether this favorable respect be the pardon of sin, or bestowment of heaven, or abating of punishment, or answering prayers, or mitigation of punishment, or converting grace, or God's delighting in us prizing of us, or the bestowing of any temporal or spiritual blessing.

This excellency we speak of is either real or supposed, either negative in not being so bad as others and the like, or positive.

Whether it be natural or moral excellency, whether the sinner himself looks upon it as an excellency, or supposes God looks upon it so: see my sermon on Tit. 3:5.⁷

For men to trust in their own righteousness, is to entertain hopes of escaping any displeasure or obtaining any positive favor from God from too high a notion of our own moral excellency or too light a notion of our badness, as compared with or related to that favor or displeasure.

6. JE deletes: "For a man to trust in his own righteousness, is for him, from a false apprehension of his own negative or positive excellency, to suppose that God should either negatively or positively deal with him in things wherein indeed he is sovereign, or that it is suitable and proper for him so to do.

"'Tis from a false opinion of the moral relation there is between our real or supposed negative or positive excellency, and God's favorable respect, to conceive hopes of God's favorable respect in some instance or other."

7. Printed in *Works*, 14, 329–56.

This is to be observed about the Scriptures that I have brought about faith, that they sometimes affix Christ's salvation to the natural and immediate effects of faith, as well as to faith itself; such as asking, knocking, etc. Rom. 10:12–14—in the fourteenth verse, faith is distinguished from calling upon him.

All trusting to our own righteousness indeed is expecting justification for our own excellency, but they that expect that God will convert them for their excellency, or do anything else towards their salvation upon that account, do trust in their own righteousness; because the supposing that God will be the more inclined to convert a man, or enable him to come to Christ for his excellency, is to suppose that he is justified already at least in part. It supposes that God's anger is at least partly appeased, and that God is more favorably inclined to him for his excellence's sake, in that he is disposed to give him converting grace or do something else towards his conversion upon that account. [For the] reasons why men are so apt to trust in their own righteousness, vid. sermon on Gen. 3:24, second use.⁸

[59.] FAITH is a sense and conviction of the reality and goodness of Christ as a Savior, as the gospel reveals him, entirely inclining and uniting the heart to him as my Savior. The heart could not be so united to him as its own Savior, the heart would not be so drawn and moved by the idea, it would not be so united and wedded to the idea of Christ as a Savior, however good the idea might be, if it were not conceived [to be] real. [No. 62.]

The difficulty in giving a definition of faith, is that we have no word that clearly and adequately expresses the whole act of acceptance or closing of the soul or heart. "Inclination" expresses it but partially. "Convic-

8. This sermon of early 1731, printed under the title *East of Eden in Works*, 17, 329–48, has two doctrines: "When man fell, God drove him away from all his former blessedness," and "When we fell, we so procured the displeasure of God, that there was no hope, by anything that we could do, of ever attaining that life and eternal blessedness which otherwise we should [have] attained." In the second Use under the Application (pp. 347–48), JE states, "How vain and dangerous are their attempts that are attempting to get eternal life themselves." Men are apt to seek eternal life through own righteousness for the following reasons: "1. They are exceeding loath to perish. . . . 2. The light of nature seems to suggest that the favor of God and his reward must be obtained by righteousness. . . . 3. A being saved by another's righteousness is a thing that men naturally can't have no conception of the propriety of. . . . 4. They have that proud conceit of their own goodness, that they are ready to think it sufficient."

tion” expresses it also but in part. “The sense of the soul” don’t do it fully. And if we use metaphorical expressions, such as “embrace,” “adhere to,” etc. they are obscure, and won’t carry the same idea with them to the minds of all.

All words that are used to express such acts of the mind, are of a very indeterminate signification. It is a difficult thing to find words to exhibit our own ideas.

Another difficulty is to find a word that shall clearly express the whole goodness or rightness of the Savior and gospel: to be true is one part of its goodness; for the savior to be sufficient is another part of his goodness; to be suitable is another part; to be beautiful and glorious is another part; to be necessary is another part.

[60.] How that there is an understanding of the way of salvation in faith, and a particular application to ourselves: vid. sermon on Job 36:22.⁹

[61.] Of the nature of faith: see how in faith the soul understands the way of salvation and believes the reality of [it], sermon [on] Deut. 32:39, in that part where it is explained how wounded consciences are healed.¹

[62.] [No. 59]. The idea of a real good or lovely object, that is conceived to be real, possesses the heart after another manner than a very lovely idea that is only imaginary; so that there is need of both a sense of goodness and reality to unite the heart.

[63.] Faith is the soul’s sense of an acquiescence in the goodness and reality of Christ as our Savior.²

[64.] Faith is soul’s embracing the revelation the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ, in a sense and conviction of his goodness and reality as our Savior.

9. The MS sermon on Job 36:22 (143), from early 1730, has the doctrine, “There is none that teaches like God.” JE refers to MS pp. 7–8, where he writes: “God only can impart to men an understanding of the way of salvation . . . ’Tis the work of God to teach men the way of life, and it is done by a divine light shining into the soul.”

1. The sermon is not extant.

2. JE deleted the following two entries with large X marks: “Faith is the soul’s conviction and sense of the goodness and reality of Christ as a Savior, and so embracing him.

“Faith is the soul’s embracing the revelation of Jesus Christ in a conviction and sense of his goodness and reality as a Savior.”

[65.] Faith is the soul's embracing and acquiescing in the revelation³ the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ as our Savior, in a sense and conviction of his goodness and reality as such.

I don't speak of this goodness and reality of Christ as a Savior as a distinct thing from the embracing, but only explain the nature of the embracing by it; but it is implied in it, it is the first and principal thing in it. And indeed, all that belongs to embracing the revelation—an approbation of it, a love to it, adherence to it, acquiescence in it—is in a manner implied, in a sense of its goodness and reality and relation to us, or our concern in him.

I say, "as our Savior," for there is implied in believing in Christ not only and merely that exercise of mind which arises from a sense of his excellency and reality as a Savior, but also with that, what arises from the consideration of his relation to us and our concern in him, his being a Savior for such as we, for sinful men, and a Savior that is offered with his benefits to us. The angels, they have a sense of the reality and goodness of Christ as a Savior, and may be said with joy to embrace the discovery of it; but they can't be said to believe in Christ. The Spirit that they receive the notice that they have of Christ the Savior is the same, but there is a difference in the act by reason of the different relation that Christ as a Savior stands in to us from what he doth to them.

Obj. It may be objected, that this seems to make the revelation more the object of the essential act of faith than Christ. I answer, No, for the revelation is no otherwise the object by this definition than as it brings and exhibits Christ to us. It is embracing the revelation in a sense and conviction of the goodness and reality of the Savior it exhibits. We don't embrace Christ by faith any other way than as brought to us in a revelation. When we come to embrace him as exhibited otherwise, that won't be faith.

[66.] Faith is the soul's embracing and acquiescing in the revelation the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ as our Savior, in a sense and conviction of his reality and goodness as such.

[67.] Faith is the soul's entirely embracing and acquiescing in the revelation the Word of God gives us of Jesus Christ as a Savior for us, in a sense of his reality and goodness as such.

3. MS: "Revelation of."

[68.] A man is saved by that faith which is a reception of Christ in all his offices, but he is justified by his receiving Christ in his priestly office.

[69.]⁴ Faith is the entire acquiescence of the soul in the idea of Christ as my Savior, in a sense and conviction of his reality and goodness as a Savior, as the gospel reveals him.

[70.] To believe is to have a sense and a realizing belief of what the gospel reveals of the mediation of Christ, and particularly as it concerns ourselves.

There is in faith a conviction that redemption by that mediation of Christ that the gospel reveals, is, and a sense how it is, and particularly how it may be with respect to us in particular. [No. 72.]

[71.] There is a trusting in Christ that belongs to the very essence of true faith. That quiet and ease of mind that arises from a sense of the sufficiency of Christ, may well be called a trusting to that sufficiency. It gives a quietness to a mind, to see that there is a way wherein it may be saved, to see a good and sufficient way wherein its salvation is very possible, and the attributes of God ben't opposite to it. This gives ease, though it be not yet certain that he shall be saved. But to believe Christ's sufficiency so as to be thus far easy may be called a trusting in Christ, though it ben't trusting in him that he will save us. To be easy in any degree, in a belief or persuasion of the sufficiency of anything for our good, is a degree of trusting. No. [81].⁵

[72.] [No. 70]. There is not only a belief of what the gospel declares—that Christ has satisfied for our sins and merited eternal life—but there is also a sense of it: a sense that Christ's sufferings do satisfy, and that he did merit, or was worthy that we should be accepted for his sake. There is a difference between being convinced that it is so, and having a sense that it is so.

[73.] Faith is a sense of the answerableness and conviction of the reality of that mediation of Christ which the gospel reveals.⁶

4. Entries [69] to [77], on MS p. 11, are numbered 1–10 by JE.

5. Cross-reference added later.

6. JE deleted the following entry with an X: "Faith is a conviction of the reality and sense of the answerableness of that mediation of Christ which the gospel reveals, and particularly its answerableness in our case."

[74.] Faith is the entire acquiescing of the soul in Christ in the gospel representation of him, as a real and excellent Savior and good for me.

[75.] Faith is the soul's entire uniting or closing with Christ for his Savior, in a sense and conviction of his reality and goodness as a Savior as the gospel reveals him.

[76.] There is in the essence of justifying faith included a receiving of Christ as a Savior from sin; for we embrace him as the author of life as well as Savior from misery. But the sum of that eternal life which Christ purchased is holiness; it is a holy happiness. And there is liberty, the happiness that Christ procured and offers in faith. The Jews despising the pleasant land is mentioned as part of their unbelief.

[77.] Faith is the soul's entire uniting or closing with and seeking to Christ for his Savior, acquiescing in his reality and goodness as a Savior as the gospel reveals him.⁷

[78.]⁸ In the treatise of faith, first bring the Scriptures, then examine the sense of some of the particulars; and first examine how far trusting in Christ is essential in faith, and what trusting not essential, before I come to definition; and then explain more particularly the nature of faith after the definition.

[79.] It must be as the gospel reveals Christ, or in the gospel notion of him that the soul must close with Christ: for whosoever is offended in Christ, in the view that the gospel gives us of him, can't be said to believe on him; for he is one that is excluded of blessedness, by that saying of Christ, Matt. 11:6, "Blessed is he, whosoever is not offended in me."

[80.]⁹ There is implied in faith not only a believing Christ to be a real and sufficient and excellent Savior for me, and an having a complacency in him as such, but to complete the act of faith, there is in it an act of the soul in this view of him and disposition towards him, seeking to him that

7. JE deleted the following entry with an X: "Faith is the according of the whole soul, and not only of the understanding."

8. Entries [78] to [83] on MS p. 12 are numbered 1-6 by JE.

9. With entry no. [80], there is a marked change in the hand, which becomes more slanted and angular, characteristic of the late 1730s.

he would be my Savior; as is evident, because the worse prayer would not be the expression of faith. But prayer¹ is only the voice of faith to God through Christ. And 'tis further evident, because faith is expressed by a coming to Christ and a looking to him to be saved.

[81.] There is hope implied in the essence of justifying faith. Thus there is hope that I may obtain justification by Christ, though there is not contained in its essence a hope that I have obtained it. And so there is a trust in Christ contained in the essence of faith. There is a trust implied in seeking to Christ to be my Savior in an apprehension that he is a sufficient Savior, though not a trust in him as one that has promised to save me, as having already performed the condition of the promise. If a city was besieged and distressed by a potent enemy and should hear of some great champion at a distance, and should be induced by what they hear of his valor and goodness to seek and send to him for² relief, believing what they have heard of his sufficiency and thence conceiving hope that they may be delivered, the people, in sending, may be said to trust in such a champion—as of old the children of Israel, when they sent into Egypt for help, were said to “trust in Egypt.” See no. [91]. No. [49]. No. [58, § 4]. No. [70].

[82.] Faith is the soul's entirely closing with and applying itself to Christ for his Savior, effectually acquiescing in his reality and goodness for him as a Savior as the gospel exhibits him. No. [124].

[83.] It has by many been said that the soul's immediately applying Christ to itself as his Savior was essential to faith, and so, that he should believe him to be his Savior, doubtless an immediate application is necessary. But that which is essential is not the soul's *immediately*³ applying Christ to itself, so properly as its applying itself to Christ.

[84.] FAITH. SCRIPTURES. Good works are in some sort implied in the very nature of faith, as is implied in I Tim. 5:8, where the Apostle, speaking of those that don't provide for their parents, says, “If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, [he] hath denied the faith.” See no. [94].

1. MS: “faith.” JE, Jr., deleted the word and replaced it with “prayer.”

2. MS: “to.”

3. Ed. italics.

[85.] (Vid. "Miscellanies" no. 494.)⁴ Faith is that inward sense and act of which prayer is the expression, as is evident,

1. Because in the same manner as the freedom of grace, according to the gospel covenant, is often set forth by that, that he that believes receives; so it also oftentimes is by that, that he that asks, or prays, or calls upon God receives. Matt. 7:7–11, Luke 11:9, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" Matt. 21:21–22, "Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, if ye have *faith*, and doubt not, ye shall not only do this which is done to the fig tree, but also if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; it shall be done. And all things, whatsoever ye shall *ask in prayer, believing*, ye shall receive." And Mark 11:23–24, to the same purpose with that last mentioned place in Matthew. John 15:7, "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what you will, and it shall be done unto you." Ps. 86:5, "Thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive; and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee." Ps. 145:18, "The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth." Joel 2:32, the Prophet, speaking there of gospel times, says, "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call." Rom. 10:12–13, "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him for whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." Quoting the forementioned place in Joel, I Cor. 1:2–3, "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours: grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ."

2. The same expressions that are used in Scripture for faith may be well used for prayer also, such as coming to God or Christ, and looking to him

4. This reference is interlineated at the beginning of the entry. See *Works*, 13, 538.

Eph. 3:12, "In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him."

3. Prayer is often plainly spoken of as the expression of faith, as it very evidently is in Rom. 10:11–14, "For the scripture saith, Whosoever *believeth* on him shall not be ashamed. For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that *call upon him*. For whosoever shall *call on the name of the Lord* shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not *believed*? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" And Christian prayer is called "the prayer of *faith*" (Jas. 5:15); and believing is often mentioned as the life and soul of true prayer, as in that forementioned place, Matt. 21:21–22. I Tim. 2:8, "I will that men every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting"; and Heb. 10:19, 22, "Draw near in full assurance of faith." Jas. 1:5–6, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering."

Faith in God is expressed in praying to God. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ is expressed in praying to Christ and praying in the name of Christ, and the promises are made to asking in Christ's name in the same manner as they are to believing in Christ. John 14:13–14, "And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it." Ch. 16:23–24, "Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name: ask, and receive, that your joy may be full." No. [129].

[86.] Trusting in Christ is implied in the nature of faith, as is evident by Rom. 9:33, "As it is written, Behold I lay in Sion a stumblingstone and rock of offense: and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed." The Apostle there in the context is speaking of justifying faith. And 'tis evident that trusting in Christ is implied in the import of the word "believeth": for being ashamed, as the word is used in Scripture, is the passion that arises upon the frustration of trust or confidence. No. [88].

[87.] There is implied in justifying faith a trusting to Christ's truth and faithfulness, or a believing what he declares and promises; as is evident, because it is called not only believing in Christ and believing on Christ,

but believing Christ. John 3:36, "He that believeth not the Son shall not see life." Vid. no. [90].

[88.] Trusting in Christ.⁵ Is. 27:5, "Or let him take hold of my strength, that he may make peace with me; and he shall make peace with me."

[89.] No. [54]. Why this reception or union of the soul is properly expressed by faith? *Ans.* Not so much merely from the nature of the act most abstractedly considered, which [is] union, or reception, or closing, but from the nature of that act conjunctly with the state of the agent and the object of the act; which qualifies and specifies the act and adds such qualifications to the abstract idea of union, closing or reception. Consider the state of the receiver: guilty, miserable, undone, impotent, helpless, unworthy; the nature and work of the received, he being a divine invisible Savior; the end for which he is received; the benefits, invisible; the ground on which he is received or closed with, the Word⁶ of God, invitations, promises; the circumstances of those things that are received, supernatural, incomprehensible, wonderful, difficult, unsearchable: the proper act of union or reception in such a case is most aptly expressed by the word faith. No. [92].

[90.] No. [87]. Fearfulness is opposite to faith. Mark 4:40, "Why are ye so fearful? how is it that ye have no faith?" And Rev. [21:8], "But the fearful, and the unbelieving."

[91.] Justifying faith is sometimes called "hope" in Scripture. See "Scriptures" no. 284.⁷ See no. [81].

[92.]⁸ See no. [89] and no. [54]. The condition both of the first and second covenant is a receiving compliance with or yielding to a signification or declaration from God, or to a revelation made from God. A re-

5. JE, Jr., inserts: "is often implied in faith according to the representation of Scripture."

6. This point marks the end of MS p. 14; JE concluded no. [89] in the middle of MS p. 15 (no. [96]) after deleting the following passage (no. [97]) at the top of MS p. 15: "Trusting in Christ, or to have hope or confidence that we shall receive of Christ the things we seek of him, is either of the nature of faith or immediately flows from its nature, is evident by that, I John 5:13-14, 'These things have I written unto you that believe in the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe in the name of the Son of God. And this is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.'"

7. See *Works*, 15, 240-42.

8. Entries [92] to [98] are in the ink characteristic of 1739-42.

ceiving or yielding to a signification of the will of God as our sovereign Lord and lawgiver is most properly called obedience. The receiving and yielding to a strange and mysterious revelation and offer which God makes of mercy to sinners, being a revelation of things spiritual, supernatural, invisible and mysterious, through an incredible power, wisdom and grace of God, is properly called faith. There is indeed obedience in the condition of both covenants, and there is faith or believing God in both; but the different name arises from the remarkably different natures of the revelation or manifestations made. The one is a law, the other a testimony and offer. The one is a signification of what God expects that we should do towards him and what he expects to receive from us, the other a revelation of what he has done for us and an offer of what we may receive from him. The one is an expression of God's great authority over us in order to a yielding to that authority, the other is a revelation of God's mysterious and wonderful mercy and wisdom and power for us, in order to a reception answerable to such a revelation.

It must most naturally be called faith,

1. Because the Word, that is, the object of it, is a revelation which most verily concerns our interest and good; and that a revelation, not of a work to be done by us, but an offer made to us only to be received by us. If it were a manifestation other than by testimony, a receiving it and yielding to it would not so naturally be called faith; and if it were a manifestation of something not nearly concerning us, it would not naturally be called faith: for idle stories that don't concern us, ben't the object of trust or dependence. And if it were a manifestation in order to something expected from us, some work to be done by us, a yielding to it would not so properly be called faith; for yielding then would imply something more than just receiving the testimony.

2. Because the person that is the object of it is revealed in the character of a wonderful Savior. A receiving a person in the character of a savior is a proper act of trust and affiance; and a receiving a divine invisible Savior that offers to save us by incredible power, wisdom and mercy, and by very mysterious supernatural works, is properly faith.

3. The benefits that are revealed that are the objects of faith are things spiritual, invisible, wonderful and future; and therefore embracing and depending on these is properly faith. See no. [102]. Here see "Miscellanies" no. 1156, p. 9.⁹

9. The final reference is a later addition. "Miscellanies" no. 1156 is entitled "Observations on the Agreeableness of the Christian Religion to Reason"; p. 9 of the entry discusses "The reasonableness of the doctrine of FAITH as the main condition of salvation."

[93.] The reason why this was not so fully insisted upon under the old testament, under the denomination of faith, was that the revelation itself of this great salvation was not this explicitly and fully made.

[94.] See no. [84]. Faith implies a cleaving to Christ, so as to be disposed to sell and suffer all for him. See John 12:42–43 compared with John 5:44. See concerning these scriptures, “Miscellanies” no. 855.¹

[95.] See no. [11]. [Faith]² is not all kind of assent to the Word of God as true and divine, for so the Jews in Christ’s time assented to the books of Moses; and therefore Christ tells ’em that they trusted in Moses. John 5:45, “There is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust.” And yet the very thing that Moses accuses ’em for was not believing in him, i.e. believing so as to yield to his sayings, and comply with him or obey him, as the phrase in the New Testament is concerning Christ. And therefore Christ says in the next, “For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.”

There may be a strong belief of divine things in the understanding, and yet no saving faith; as is manifest, I Cor. 13:2, “Though I have faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing.”

[96.] See no. [24]. Not only trusting in Christ as one that has undertaken to save us, and as believing that he is our Savior, is faith, but applying to him or seeking to him that he would become our Savior, with a sense of his reality and goodness as a Savior, is faith; as is evident by Rom. 15:12, “In him shall the Gentiles trust,” compared with the place whence it is cited, Is. 11:10, “To it shall the Gentiles seek,” together with Ps. 9:10, “And they that know thy name will put their trust in thee: for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee”: which agrees well with faith’s being called a looking to Christ, or coming to him for life, or flying for refuge to him, or flying to him for safety. And this is the first act of saving faith. And prayer’s being the expression of faith confirms this. This is further confirmed by Is. 31:1, “Woe to them that go down into Egypt for help; and *stay* on horses, and *trust* in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they *look* not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither *seek* the Lord!” When it is said, Ps. 69:6, “Let not

1. The reference to “Miscellanies” no. 855 is integral to the entry; no. 855 was written in 1740 or 1741. *Works*, 20, 82–83.

2. JE, Jr.’s insert.

them that wait on thee, O Lord, be ashamed for my sake: let not those that seek thee be confounded for my sake," it is equivalent to that in the scripture, "He that believeth shall never be confounded" [1 Pet. 2:6]; and when it is said, v. 32, "And your heart shall live that seek the Lord," 'tis equivalent to that in the scripture, "The just shall live by faith" [Rom. 1:17, Gal. 3:11]. So Ps. 22:26 and Ps. 70:4. And so Amos 5:4, "For thus saith the Lord unto the house of Israel, Seek ye me, and ye shall live"; and v. 6, "Seek the Lord, and ye shall live"; and v. 8, "Seek him that made the seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning." Cant. 4:8, "Look from the top of Amana." Is. 17:7-8, "At that day shall a man look to his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel. And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands, neither shall respect that which his fingers have made, either the groves, or the images." Is. 45:22, "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth." Jonah 2:4, "I will look again towards thine holy temple." Mic. 7:7, "Therefore I will look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me." Ps. 34:5, "They looked unto him, and were lightened: their faces were not ashamed."

[97.] No. 13. Faith is a taking hold of God's strength (Is. 27:5).

[98.] Faith is expressed by stretching out the hands to Christ. Ps. [68:31], "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God." So Christ said to the man that had the withered hand, "Stretch forth thine hand" [Matt. 12:13, Mark 3:5, Luke 6:10].

Promises of mercy and help are often in Scripture made to rolling our burden, rolling ourselves, or rolling our way on the Lord (Prov. 16:3, Ps. 22:8 and 37:5).

[99.] See no. 12. That there are different sorts of faith, and that all believing that Christ is the Son of God and Savior of the world, etc. is not true and saving faith, or that faith which most commonly has the name of faith appropriated to it in the New Testament, is exceeding evident by John 6:64, "But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him." Here all false disciples that had but a temporary faith, that thought him to be the Messiah but would fall away—as Judas and others—are said to be those that believed not; making an essential difference between their belief and that grace that has the name faith or believing

appropriated to it. See further of this in the paper concerning perseverance, no. 10.³

[100.] See no. 7. [Faith]⁴ is a receiving Christ into the heart, in such a sense as to believe that he is what he declares himself to be and to have such a high esteem of him as an excellent Lord and Savior, and so to prize him and so to depend upon him, as not to be ashamed nor afraid to profess him and openly and constantly to appear on his side. See Rom. 10:8–13.

[101.] See no. [35]. Trusting in riches, as Christ uses the expression concerning the rich young man and as the expression is used elsewhere, is an extensive expression comprehending many dispositions, affections and exercises of heart towards riches. So faith in Christ, or trusting in Christ, is extensive. No. [131].

[102.] See no. [92]. The soul's active closing or uniting with Christ is faith, but the act of the soul in its uniting or closing must be agreeable to the kind and nature of the union that is to be established between Christ and the saints, and that subsists between them, and is the foundation of the saints' communion with Christ. Such is the nature of it, that it is not merely like the various parts of a building that are cemented and cleave fast together, or as two marbles or precious stones may be joined so as to become one. If it were merely love, [it] might be a proper union between the saints and Christ. But it is such a kind of union as there [is] between a head and living members, between stock and branches, between which and the head, or stock, there is such a kind of union, that there is an entire, immediate, perpetual dependence for and derivation of nourishment, refreshment, beauty, fruitfulness and all supplies, yea, life and being. And the union is wholly for this purpose; this derivation is the end of it, and it is the most essential thing in the union. Now such an union as this, when turned into act (if I may so say), or an active union of an intelligent rational being that is agreeable to this kind of union, and is a recognition and expression and as it were the active band of it, is something else besides mere love: it is an act most properly expressed by the name

3. See MS notebook on "Controversies," p. 107, "Perseverance," § 10, which argues that "there is an essential difference between the faith and seeming grace of such professors as fall away, and such as persevere, even before any distinction appears," citing John 6:64–65, 70, and the example of Judas and his "type," Ahitophel.

4. JE, Jr.'s insert.

of faith, according to the proper meaning of that word so translated, as it was used in the days when the Scriptures were written. Vid. no. [106].

[103.] See no. 13. TRUSTING IN A PRINCE OR RULER, as the phrase was understood among the Jews, implied in it faithful adherence and entire subjection, submission and obedience. So much the phrase plainly implies, Judg. 9:15, "And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon." We have an account of the fulfillment of this parable in the sequel, how the men of Shechem did not prove faithful subjects to Abimelech, according to their covenant or agreement with him, but dealt treacherously with him (v. 23); and how accordingly Abimelech proved the occasion of their destruction. The like figure of speech is used to signify the nation's obedience to the king of Assyria. Ezek. 31:6, "All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations." So also the subjection of the nations to Nebuchadnezzar. Dan. 4:11-12, "The tree grew, and was strong . . . the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it."

The benefit that men that are the true subjects of Christ have by him, is expressed by the very same thing, Ezek. 17:23, "In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it: and it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar: and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing; in the shadow of the branches thereof shall they⁵ dwell."

Our trusting in God and Christ is often expressed by our trusting in his shadow, and under the shadow of his wings, and the like (Ps. 17:8 and 36:7 and 57:1 and 63:7 and 91:1; Cant. 2:3; Is. 4:6 and 25:4). Here see Ruth 2:12 compared with ch. 1:16. See no. [131]. See no. [138].⁶

[104.] No. 10. John 3:36, "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; he that believeth not the Son shall not see life." In the original it is, "He that obeyeth not the Son, ἀπειθων." The force of the word may be in some measure learned, Acts 5:36-37 and Acts 5:40, "And to him they *agreed*," or "*obeyed*"; the word is the same in the Greek. And Acts 23:21,

5. MS: "he."

6. The reference to Ruth and the remainder of the entry are in a later addition by JE.

“But do not thou *yield* unto them”; the word is the same in the Greek. Acts 26:19, “I was not disobedient” (απειθης) “to the heavenly vision.” Rom. 1:30, “Disobedient to parents, απειθεις.”

See also Acts 17:4, “Some of them believed” (in the Greek επειθοσαν), “and consorted with Paul and Silas.” Acts 14:2, “The unbelieving Jews, απειθοντες.” Eph. 2:2, “The spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience, απειθειας.”

We may judge something of the force of the word *πειθομαι* by the signification of the word whence it comes. Πειθομαι is the passive of *πειθω*, that signifies to counsel, to move or entice, draw or persuade unto.

[105.] No. 20. That a saving BELIEF OF TRUTH arises from love or a holy disposition and relish of heart, appears by Phil. 1:9–10, “And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve things that are excellent.” That this approving the things that are excellent is mentioned as an instance of the exercise of that knowledge and judgment that is spoken of as the fruit of love, appears more plainly in the original, as the connection is evident: εις το δοκιμαζειν, “unto the approving.”⁷ The same thing appears by II Thess. [2:12], “That they all might be damned who believeth not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.”

[106.] See no. [102]. It is fit that, seeing we depend so entirely and universally, visibly and remarkably on God in our fallen state for happiness, and the special design of God was to bring us into such a great and most evident dependence, that the act of the soul by which it is interested in this benefit, bestowed in this way, should be agreeable, viz. a looking and seeking to and depending on God for it; that the union of heart—that is the proper term—should imply such an application of the soul to God, and seeking the benefit thus only and entirely, and with full sense of dependence on him; that as the condition before was obedience or rendering to God, so now it should be seeking and looking to him, drawing and as it were seeking it⁸ from him and with the whole heart, depending on him, his power and free grace, etc.

Faith is the proper active UNION of the soul with Christ as our Savior, as revealed to us in the gospel. But the proper active union of the soul with Christ as our Savior, as revealed to us⁹ in the gospel, is the soul’s active

7. The remainder of the entry is a later addition by JE.

8. MS: “in.”

9. MS: “X.” JE, Jr.’s change is followed here.

agreeing and suiting or adopting itself in its act to the exhibition God gives us of Christ and his redemption, to the nature of the exhibition being pure revelation, and a revelation of things perfectly above our senses and reason; and to Christ himself in his person as revealed, and in the character under which he is revealed to us; and our states with regard to him in that character, and¹ our need of him and concern with him; and his relation to us, [the] benefits to us with which he is exhibited and offered to us in that revelation; and the great design of God in that method and divine contrivance of salvation revealed. But the most proper name for such an active union or union of the soul to Christ, as this, of any language, affords, is *faith*.

The revelation or exhibition that God first made of himself was of his authority, demanding and requiring of us that we should render something to him that nature and reason required. The act of the soul that is suitable to such an exhibition may be expressed by submitting, doing, obeying and rendering to God. The exhibition [which]² God makes of himself since our fall in the gospel, is not of his power and authority as demanding of us, but of his sufficiency for us as needy, empty [and] helpless, and his grace and mercy to us as unworthy and miserable. And the exhibition is by pure revelation of things quite above all our senses and reason, or the reach of any created faculties, being of the mere good pleasure of God. The act in us that is proper and suitable to and well according to such an exhibition as this, may be expressed by such names, as believing, seeking, looking, depending, acquiescing, or, in one word, *faith*.

[107.] No. 13. That *believing* in the New Testament is much the same with *trusting* in the Old, is confirmed by comparing Jer. 17:5, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, whose heart DEPARTETH FROM THE LORD," [and] v. 7, "Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, whose hope the Lord is," with Heb. 3:12, "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in DEPARTING FROM THE LIVING GOD."

It also is confirmed by this, that trusting in God and hoping in him are used in the Old Testament as expressions of the same import. So hope is often in the New Testament used to signify the same thing, that in other places is signified by faith. Rom. 15:12–13, "And again, Esaias saith, There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gen-

1. MS: "& the."

2. MS: "of." JE, Jr.'s change.

tiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust. Now the God of peace fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost."

Compare Dan. 3:28 with Dan. 6:23 and Heb. 11:33–34. 'Tis manifest that trusting in God is a phrase of the same import with believing in him, by comparing Is. 49:23, "They shall not be ashamed that wait for me," compared [. . .] See no. [132].

[108.] See no. 20. That saving faith implies in its nature divine love is manifest, by I John 5:1, "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him." The Apostle's design in this verse seems to be to show the connection there is between a true and sincere respect to God and a respect to and union with Christ.³ So that he who is united to the Son is to the Father, and vice versa; as he believes in Christ, and so loves him, 'tis an evidence that he is a child of God, and vice versa. He whose heart is united to the Father, is to the Son too. He who "loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him" (compare ch. 2:22–24 and ch. 4:15, and John 14:1 and John 15:23–24). The same is further manifest again, by the following verses of this chapter, [vv.] 3–5: "*This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous*"; i.e. this is a good evidence that we have true love to God, that we are enabled to triumph over the difficulties we meet with in this evil world, and not to esteem the yoke of denial of our worldly lusts a grievous and heavy yoke, and on that account be unwilling to take it upon us. "*For whosoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.*" This is explaining what he had said before, that our love to God enables us to overcome the difficulties that attend keeping God's commands; which shows that love is the main thing in saving faith, the life and power of it, by which it produces its great effects, agreeable to what the apostle Paul [says],⁴ when he calls saving faith, *faith effectual by love*.⁵

[109.] See "Miscellanies" no. 1120. See also book on "The Harmony of the Genius, etc. of the Old Testament and New," pp. 1–2.⁶ See no. [140].

3. MS: "Heart." JE, Jr.'s change.

4. JE, Jr.'s insert.

5. See I Cor. 16:9; II Cor. 1:6; Eph. 3:7, 4:16.

6. "Miscellanies" no. 1120, probably written no earlier than 1749, is entitled "Faith in Christ the Condition of Salvation." *Works*, 20, 493–94. The first two pages of the MS notebook, "The

[110.] SEEKING GOD is from time to time spoken of as the condition of God's favor and salvation in like manner as trusting in him. Ps. 24:5–6, "He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation. This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob." Ps. 69:6, "Let not those that seek thee be confounded for my sake, O God of Israel." Ps. 69:32, "The humble shall see this, and be glad: your heart shall live that seek God." Ps. 70:4, "Let all those that seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee: and let such as love thy salvation say continually, The Lord be magnified." Is. 11:10, "There shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious." Is. 45:19, "I said not unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me in vain." Amos 5:4, "Seek ye me, and ye shall live." V. 6, "Seek the Lord, and ye shall live." Lam. 3:25–26, "The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord." Matt. 7:7–8, "Seek, and ye shall find . . . every one that seeketh findeth." I Chron. 16:10, "Glory ye in his holy name: let the heart of them rejoice that seek the Lord." The same words in Ps. 105:3. Ps. 22:26, "The meek shall eat and be satisfied: they shall praise the Lord that seek him: your heart shall live for ever." Ps. 34:10, "The young lions do lack, and suffer hunger: but they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing."

[111.] They that seek God are spoken of as those that LOVE GOD'S SALVATION. Ps. 70:4, "Let all those that seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee: and let such as love thy salvation say continually, Let the Lord be magnified." We have the same words again, Ps. 40:16. The expression seems to be in some measure parallel with trusting in God's salvation—Ps. 78:22, "Because they believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation"—and hoping in Gods salvation—Ps. 119:166, "I have hoped for thy salvation"—and waiting for God's salvation. Gen. 49:18, "I have waited for thy salvation, O God." Lam. 3:25–26, "The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord." Mic. 7:7, "I will wait for the God of my salvation."

Agreeable to this, despising the pleasant land is spoken of as an exercise of the spirit of unbelief. Ps. 106:24, "Yea, they despised the pleasant land, they believed not his word."

Harmony of the Genius, Spirit, Doctrines and Rules of the Old Testament and the New" (Beinecke), collects scripture texts on the theme, "FAITH in God the Grand Condition of God's Salvation, Protection, Deliverance, Etc."

[112.] FLYING, RESORTING, or running to, as to a refuge, are terms used as being equivalent to trusting. Ps. 62:7–8, “My refuge is in God. Trust in him at all times: God is a refuge for us.” Ps. 91:2. Prov. 18:10, “The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe.” Ps. 71:1, “In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust.” [V.] 3, “Be thou my strong habitation, whereunto I may continually resort: thou hast given commandment to save me; for thou art my rock and my fortress.” Heb. 6:18, “Who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us.” Is. 60:8–9, “Who are those that fly . . . as doves to their windows? Surely the isles shall wait for me.” No. [126].

[113.] WAITING on the Lord, waiting for his salvation, and the like are terms used as being equivalent to trusting in God in the Scripture. Ps. 25:2–3, “O my God, I trust in thee: let me not be ashamed. Yea, let none that wait on thee be ashamed.” V. 5, “On thee do I wait all the day.” V. 21, “Let integrity and uprightness preserve me; for on thee do I wait.” Ps. 37:3, “Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.” [V.] 5, “Trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.” [V.] 7, “Rest in the Lord, and WAIT patiently for him.” V. 9, “Those that wait on the Lord, they shall inherit the earth.” V. 34, “Wait on the Lord, and keep his way, and he shall exalt thee to inherit the land.” Ps. 27:13–14, “I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. Wait on the Lord: be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart: wait, I say, on the Lord.” Prov. 20:22, “Wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee.” Ps. 39:7, “And now, O Lord, what wait I for? my hope is in thee.” Ps. 52:8–9, “I trust in the mercy of God for ever and ever . . . I will wait on thy name.” Ps. 59:9, “Because of his strength I will wait on thee.” Ps. 62:1–2, “Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from him cometh my salvation. He only is my rock and my salvation.” [Vv.] 5–8, “My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him. He only is my rock and my salvation: he is my defense; I shall not be moved. In God is my salvation and my glory: the rock of my strength, and my refuge, is in God. Trust in him at all times, ye people.” Ps. 130:5–8, “I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope. My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning: I say, more than they that watch for the morning. Let Israel hope in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.” Mic. 7:7, “Therefore I will look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me.” Is. 30:18, “Blessed are all they that wait for him.” Is. 40:31,

"They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint." Is. 49:23, "They shall not be ashamed that wait for me." [Ch.] 51:5, "The isles shall wait upon me, and on mine arm shall they trust." [Ch.] 60:8, "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows?" Lam. 3:24-26, "The Lord is my portion, saith my soul; therefore will I hope in him. The Lord is good to them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord." Hab. 2:3-4, "Though it tarry, wait for it . . . the just shall live by his faith." Gen. 49:18, "I have waited for thy salvation, O God." Ps. 33:18-20, "Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine. Our soul waiteth for the Lord: he is their help and their shield." Ps. 40:1, "In waiting, I waited for the Lord; and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry." Vv. 3-4, "Many shall see it, and fear, and trust in the Lord. Blessed is the man that maketh the Lord his trust." Is. 33:2, "O Lord, be gracious unto us; we have waited for thee: be thou their arm every morning, our salvation in the time of trouble." Is. 64:4, "Neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him." Zech. 11:11, "So the poor of the flock that waited upon me."

[114.] HOPING in God, hoping in his mercy, etc. are used as terms equivalent to trusting in God.

Ps. 78:7, "That they might set their hope in God."

Ps. 146:5, "Happy is the man that hath the God of Jacob for his aid, whose hope is in the Lord his God."

Jer. 14:8, "O the hope of Israel, and the savior thereof in time of trouble."

Jer. 17:7, "Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, whose hope the Lord is." V. 13, "O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed." V. 17, "Thou art my hope in the day of evil."

Jer. 50:7, "The Lord, the hope of their fathers."

Joel 3:16, "The heavens and the earth shall shake: but the Lord will be the hope of his people, the strength of the children of Israel."

Ps. 39:7, "And now, O Lord, what wait I for? my hope is in thee."

Ps. 71:5, "Thou art my hope, O Lord God: thou art my trust from my youth."

Ps. 22:8-9, "He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him. But thou art he that took me out

of the womb: thou didst make me to hope when I was upon my mother's breasts."

Ps. 38:14–15, "Thus I was as a man that heareth not, in whose mouth are no reproofs. For in thee, O Lord, do I hope: thou wilt hear, O Lord my God."

Ps. 33:18–22, "Behold, the eye of the Lord is on them that fear him, on them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine. Our soul waiteth for the Lord: he is our help and our shield. For our heart shall rejoice in him, because we have trusted in his holy name. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, according as we hope in thee."

Ps. 147:10–11, "He delighteth not in the strength of the horse: he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, and in them that hope in his mercy."

Ps. 119:49, "Remember thy word unto thy servant, on which thou hast caused me to hope." V. 114, "Thou art my hiding place and my shield: I hope in thy word."

Ps. 130:3 to the end, "If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayst be feared. I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope. My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning: I say, more than they that watch for the morning. Let Israel hope in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities."

Lam. 3:21, "This I recall to my mind, therefore have I hope." [Vv.] 23–26, "Great is thy faithfulness. The Lord is my portion, saith my soul; therefore will I hope in him. The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord."

Ps. 119:74, "They that fear thee will be glad when they see me; because I have hoped in thy word."

Ps. 119:166, "Lord, I have hoped for thy salvation, and done thy commandments."

Rom. 8:24, "We are saved by hope."

Rom. 15:12–13, "In him shall the Gentiles trust. Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost."

Rom. 4:16, "But to that also which is of the faith of Abraham." [V.] 18, "Who against hope believed in hope." [V.] 19, "And not being weak in

faith." V. 20, "He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God."

Gal. 5:5, "We through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness through faith."⁷

Col. 1:23, "If ye continue in faith grounded and settled, and are not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard."

I Tim. 1:1, "And the Lord Jesus Christ, which is our hope."

Heb. 3:6, "Whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end."

I Pet. 1:3–9, "Hath begotten us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you. Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness, through manifold temptations: that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ: whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls." V. 13, "Be sober, and hope to the end for the grace which is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." Vv. 21–22, "Who by him do believe in God, who raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God. Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit."

Ch. 3:15, "And be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you."

Heb. 11:1, "Faith is the substance of things hoped for." Matt. 12:21, "In his name shall the Gentiles trust"; in the original, ἐλπιοσι, "hope." See no. [135].

[115.] LOOKING TO, or looking for, are used as phrases equivalent to trusting, seeking, hoping, waiting, believing on, etc. Num. 21:9, "And it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived," together with John 3:14–15, "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." Is. 45:22, "Look to me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the

7. This sentence is a later addition, squeezed in between the lines.

earth." Ps. 133:1-2, "Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens. Behold, as the eyes of servants look to the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress; so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until that he have mercy upon us."

Cant. 4:8, "Look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards."

Is. 31:1, "Woe unto them that go down into Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord!" Is. 8:17, "I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him." Is. 17:7-8, "In that day shall a man look to his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel. And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands, neither shall respect that which his fingers have made, either the groves or the images." Jonah 2:4, "Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight; then I said, I will look again towards thy holy temple." Mic. 2:2, "Therefore will I look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me." Ps. 34:4-5, "I sought the Lord, and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears. They looked unto him, and were lightened: and their faces were not ashamed." Is. 22:11, "But ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it long ago."

Ps. 141:8, "But mine eyes are unto thee, O God the Lord: in thee is my trust; leave not my soul destitute." II Chron. 20:12, "O our God, wilt thou not judge them? for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we what to do: but our eyes are upon thee." Ps. 25:15, "Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord; for he shall pluck my feet out of the net."

[116.] ROLLING ONE'S SELF OR BURDEN ON THE LORD, is an expression used as equipollent to trusting. Ps. 22, "He trusted in the Lord, that he would deliver him"; in the original, "He rolled himself on the Lord." Ps. 37:5, "Commit thy way unto the Lord trust also in him and he shall bring it to pass"; in the Hebrew, "*Roll thy way upon the Lord.*" Prov. 16:3, "Commit thy works unto the Lord and thy thoughts shall be established"; in the Hebrew, "*Roll thy works.*"

[117.] LEANING ON THE LORD AND STAYING ONE'S SELF.

Mic. 3:11, "Yet will they lean on the Lord."

Cant. 8:5, "Who is this that cometh up out of the wilderness, leaning

on her beloved?" Is. 48:2, "Yet they call themselves of the holy city, and stay themselves on the God of Israel." Prov. 3:5, "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not to thine own understanding." Is. 26:3, "Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee." II Kgs. 18:21, "Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him. But if ye say unto me, We trust in the Lord our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?" So Is. 36:6-7.

II Chron. 32:8, "With him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to fight our battles. And the people rested themselves upon the words of Hezekiah"; in the Hebrew, "*leaned* on the word of Hezekiah." Ezek. 29:7, "When they leaned upon thee, thou brakest, and madest all their loins to be at a stand." Heb. 11:21, "By faith Jacob . . . worshipped, leaning on the top of his staff."

[118.] No. [112]. Ps. 91, "I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust. He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day . . . A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. . . . Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh they dwelling."⁸

[119.] RELYING ON GOD. II Chron. 13:18, "Thus the children of Israel were brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers," compared with vv. 14-15, wherein it is said, "And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind: and they cried unto the Lord, and the priests sounded with the trumpets. Then the men of Judah gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah." II Chron. 16:7-8, "Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and not relied on the Lord thy God, therefore

8. JE cites Ps. 91 in toto, but only quotes up through v. 10.

is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thine hand. Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubims a huge host, with very many chariots and horsemen? yet, because thou didst rely on the Lord, he delivered them into thine hand.”

[120.] COMMITTING OURSELVES, our cause, unto God. Job 5:8–9, “I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause: who doth great things and unsearchable; marvelous things without number.” Ps. 31 at the beginning, “In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust . . . thou art my strong rock, for an house of defense to save me. For thou art my rock and my fortress . . . Into thine hand I commend my spirit . . . I have hated them that regard lying vanities: but I trust in the Lord.” II Tim. 1:12, “Nevertheless I am not ashamed; for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.”

[121.] The distinction of the several constituent parts or acts of faith into ASSENT, CONSENT and AFFIANCE, if strictly considered and examined, will appear not to be proper and just, or strictly according to the truth and nature of things, because the parts are not all entirely distinct one from another, and so are in some measure confounded one with another: for the last, viz. AFFIANCE, implied the other two, assent and consent, and is nothing else but a man’s assent and consent, with particular relation or application to himself and his own case, together with the effect of all in his own quietness and comfort of mind and boldness, in venturing on this foundation in conduct and practice.⁹

AFFIANCE consists in these five things: 1. Consent to some thing proposed to be obtained by another person as good, eligible or desirable, and so for him. 2. Assent of the judgment to the reality of the Good as to be obtained by him, that he is sufficient, faithful, etc. 3. The mind’s applying itself to him for it, which is no other than the soul’s desiring¹ possession of this good consented to, expressing these desires before him, that he may see and take notice of them; i.e. exercising these desires with an apprehension that he sees our hearts, and designedly spreading them before him to the end that they might be observed by him and gratified. 4.

9. JE deletes: “Affiance consists in two things, viz. first, in hope, and secondly, adventuring on that hope. Hope consists in two things: 1. Expectation of good. 2. In some ease, quietness or comfort arising from that expectation.”

1. MS: “souls desiring Him to ~~to bring us to the Con Good Co~~ possession.”

Hoping that the good will be obtained in this way, which hope consists in two things, viz. expectation of the good in this way, and in some ease, quietness or comfort of mind arising from this expectation. 5. Adventuring some interest on this hope in practice, which consists either in doing something that implies trouble or brings expense or suffering, or in omitting something that we should otherwise [do],² by which omission some good is foregone or some evil is brought on.

If those acts can't in strictness be all together at the same moment of time, though they follow one another in the order of nature, yet they are all as it were implied in the act that is exercised the first moment, so far that act is of such a nature as implies a necessary tendency to what follows.

In these three last especially consists a man's *committing himself* to Christ as a Savior.

In the third and fourth especially consists the soul's *looking to Christ* as a Savior.

In that CONSENT to the way or method of salvation which there is in saving faith, the heart has especially respect to two things in that method that are the peculiar glory of it, and whereby 'tis peculiarly contrary to corrupt nature:

1. Its being a way wherein God is so exalted and set so high, and man so debased and set so low. God is made all in all, and man nothing. God [is] magnified as self-sufficient and all-sufficient, and as being all in all to us, his power and his grace, and Christ's satisfaction and merits, being all; and man is annihilated, his power, his righteousness, his dignity, his works, are made nothing of.

2. Its being so holy way, a way of mere mercy but yet of holy mercy: mercy in saving the sinner but showing no favor or countenance to sin; a way of free grace but yet of holy grace: not grace exercised to the wrong of God's holiness, but in such a way as peculiarly to manifest God's hatred of sin, and opposition to it, and strict justice in punishing of it, and that he will by no means clear the guilty, every way manifesting the infinite evil and odiousness of sin, much more than if there had been no method of salvation offered. And therefore humiliation and holiness are the chief ingredients in the act of consent to this way of salvation.

In these things I have spoken only of a consent to the *way* or *method* of salvation; but in saving faith is included also a consent to the salvation it-

2. JE, Jr.'s insert.

self, or the benefits procured. What is peculiarly contrary to this in corrupt nature is a worldly spirit; and therefore in order to this act of con[sent] there must be mortification to or weanedness from the world, and a selling all for the pearl of great price.

Lastly, besides all these, there is in saving faith a consent to Christ himself, or a closing of the heart or inclination with the person of Christ. This implies each of the three things forementioned, viz. humiliation, holiness and renouncing the world. It implies humiliation, for as long as men deify themselves, they will not adore Jesus Christ. It implies sanctification, for Christ's beauty, for which his person is delighted in and chosen, is especially his holiness. It implies forsaking the world, for as long as men set their hearts on the world as their chief good and have that as the chief object of the relish and complacency of their minds, they wont relish and take complacency in Christ, and set their hearts on him as their best good.

N.B. This paragraph about consent may be begun by observing, that the heart of a true believer consents to three things, exhibited in the gospel of salvation: 1. The person who is the author of the salvation. 2. The benefit or the salvation itself. 3. The way or method in which this person is the author of this benefit.³

[122.] The following things concerning the APPLICATION which a believer makes of a Christ to himself, are taken from Dr. Manton's *Fifth Volume of Sermons*, pp. 264–65:⁴

Inq. What is this application?

Here I shall give you, first, some distinctions; secondly, some observations.

I. Distinctions.

First. There is a twofold application: one that more immediately respects *comfort*, the other *duty*. The application of comfort is when I respect Christ under such a term as implies some privilege to me, that he is my Savior, stood in my room before God, etc. . . . The application that more immediately respects duty, is when I apprehend Christ under such a term as inferreth my obligation to duty and obedience, as the Apostle speaketh, not only of the knowledge of Christ as the Lord, but my Lord. John 20:28, "My Lord and my God." Now this application is always necessary, and yet questionable.

3. JE, Jr., writes: "The following so far as marked in the margin not to be transcribed," referring to the succeeding excerpt from Manton.

4. Thomas Manton, *A Fifth Volume of Sermons* (London, 1701), pp. 264–65.

Second. There is the application of *faith* and the application of *assurance*.

1. The application of faith is a particular application of Christ and the promise to ourselves, so as to excite us to look after the benefits and ends for which Christ is appointed. This certainly is necessary for all, that which God revealeth I should know for my good (Job 5:27). . . . In this business it is the more necessary, because we are concerned both in the merit of the Redeemer, and the offer of grace in the promise. Acts 13:26, "To you is this word of salvation sent." 'Tis a message from God sent to excite me to accept of the remedy offered. 'Tis my duty to make general grace particular, as to obey the commands moral so also evangelical. And the true nature of faith is accepting of Christ to be to me what God appointed him to be and to do for me, what God hath appointed him to do for poor sinners—suppose to be prince and Savior—to give repentance and remission of sins: for certainly I, for my particular, am to accept the offered remedy.

2. The application of assurance is when I actually determine that my own sins are pardoned, that I am adopted into God's family, or that I am appointed to eternal glory by Jesus Christ. This cannot be made without some sense of our sincerity, because the promises of God require a qualification and performance of duty in the person to whom the promises are made. Therefore we cannot be certain of our interest till we have performed the duty and have the qualification. . . . Of this application the Apostle speaketh, I John 3:19, "Hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him."

II. I shall give you some observations.

First [Obs.]. That the application of faith may be without the application of assurance. The application of faith we must have. . . . God offereth pardon and life to you, and you must consent to accept it; and that Christ may be yours, and you his, to the end propounded in the gospel, you must choose him and depend upon him as the only Mediator, resolving to venture your souls and all your hopes upon him. You are not Christians without it. But it may be all this while you do not know that he doth or will own you, because the sincerity of faith and love is doubtful to you.

Second [Obs.]. The one is necessary, the other comfortable. The one is necessary, which application is expressed diversely in Scripture. Sometimes by receiving Christ (John 1:12). We receive him to be a Lord to us and a Savior to us. 'Tis also expressed by apprehending Christ (Phil. 3:2). The words of the spouse do explain this, Cant. 3:4, "I held him, and would not let him go." Again, this application is ex-

pressed by putting on the Lord Jesus. Gal. 3:27, "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ." So John 6:56, it is expressed by eating of his flesh and drinking his blood.

[123.] No. [35] and no. [101]. Faith implies a cleaving of the heart to Christ, because trusting in others is spoken of as a departing of the heart from the Lord. Jer. 17:5, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, whose heart departeth from the Lord." So a heart of unbelief is a heart that departeth from the Lord. Heb. 3:12, "Lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God."

[124.] No. [82]. FAITH is the soul's entirely closing with Christ for my Savior, applying itself to him and to God through him for salvation, effectually acquiescing in his reality and perfection as a Savior as the gospel exhibits him. No. [146].

[125.] "Faith has a double office: it accepts Christ from God, and presents Christ to God. It accepts Christ in the Word, and makes use of him in prayer. In the Word, God offereth him to you as Lord and Savior to give you repentance and remission of sins. Now when you consent to God's terms, this is to believe in him. . . . Faith presents Christ to God. Eph. 3:12, 'In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him.' All religion lieth in coming to God by him. Heb. 7:25, 'Wherefore he is able also to serve them unto the uttermost that come unto God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them'" (Dr. Manton, vol. 5, p. 382).⁵

[126.] We often read in the New Testament of the CALLING of Christians; of their high CALLING; and that effect of God's Word and Spirit, by which they are brought to a saving faith, is called their CALLING; and true believers are spoken of as the CALLED of God, called saints, etc. And this call is often represented as an invitation: an invitation to come to Christ, to come and join themselves to him, to come to follow him, to continue with him; to be of his party, his society, seeking his interest, etc.; to come to him for his benefits; to come for deliverance from calamity and misery, to come for safety, to come for rest, to come to eat and drink: an invitation to come into his house to a feast. And faith is often called by the name of *ὑπακοή*: hearing, hearkening, yielding to and obeying

5. Ibid., p. 382.

the gospel; obeying Christ, being obedient to the faith, obeying the form of doctrine, etc.

Hence we may learn the nature of saving faith, that it is an accepting, yielding to and complying with the gospel as such a call and invitation, which implies the hearing of the mind, i.e. the mind's apprehending or understanding the call; a believing the voice, the offer and promises contained in it; an accepting, esteeming, prizing the person and benefits invited to; a falling in of the inclination, the choice, the affection, etc.

[127.] FAITH, as the word is used in Scripture, don't only signify dependence as it appears in venturing in practice, but also as it appears in the rest of the mind in opposition to anxiety; as appears by Matt. 6:25–34, "Take no thought for your life . . . shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" So Luke 12:22–33, "Take no thought for your life . . . how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith? . . . Fear not, little flock; 'tis the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom," compared with Phil. 4:6–7 and I Pet. 5:7. This is agreeable to that phrase used for trusting in the Old Testament, "all thy burthen on the Lord." Matt. 14:30–31, "But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?"⁶

[128.] METHOD OF THE DISSERTATION. Let this discourse on faith be in the way of answering inquiries, as, for example:⁷

One *Inquiry* may be, whether justifying faith in its proper essence implies, besides the act of the judgment, also an act of the inclination and will? What sort of evidence is that which is the principal immediate good of that assent of the judgment that is in saving faith?

Another *Inquiry*, whether it properly implies love in its essence?

Another *Inquiry*, what are the Scripture descriptions, characters and representations of justifying [faith]?

Inq. What is the true definition of justifying faith? Show how this definition agrees with the Scripture representations of faith and takes all in.

Inq. Whether the word FAITH as used in the gospel has a signification diverse from what it has in common speech.

6. As a transition to the next entry, JE, Jr., writes: "The following inquiries concerning saving faith are proper and important."

7. JE, Jr., crossed out JE's "INQ." at the beginning of each statement and replaced them with entry numbers, 1–18.

Inq. Why the word FAITH is used to signify this complex act of the mind.

Inq. How far trusting in Christ be of the nature and essence of faith. What does the word “trust” imply in common speech?

Inq. Whether assent, consent and affianced be a proper distribution of the various and distinct acts of faith.

Inq. Whether hope, as the word is used in the New Testament, be properly distinct from saving faith.

Inq. What it implies as used in Scripture.

Inq. In what sense faith implies obedience.

Inq. What is the nature of self-righteousness?

Inq. How self-righteousness is peculiarly opposite to the nature of faith.

Inq. In what sense there must be particular application in the act of saving faith.

Inq. Whether the first act of faith is certainly more lively and sensible than some of the weakest of the consequent acts of saving faith.

Inq. In what sense perseverance in faith is necessary to salvation.

[129.] No. [85]. Calling on the name of Christ is often spoken of as the proper expression of saving faith in Christ (Acts 2:21; Rom. 10:13–14; I Cor. 1:2; Acts 9:14, 21 and 22:16).

[130.] No. 13. Faith is trusting in Christ. See Doddridge’s note on Acts 16:31.⁸

[131.] See no. [103]. What in that prophecy of the Messiah in Is. 42:4 is expressed thus, “*The isles shall wait for his law*,” is, as cited in Matt. 18:21, “*In his name shall the Gentiles trust*.” No. [145].

[132.] See no. [107]. [. . .] with Is. 28:16 and Rom. 9:33 and 10:11; I Pet. 6:6–8. These places show that waiting for God signifies the same as believing on him. And ’tis evident by what was observed, [No. 113], that waiting on God, or for God, signifies the same as trusting in him.

8. Philip Doddridge, *The Family Expositor; or, a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament; with Critical Notes* (6 vols. London, 1739–56; rep. Amherst, Mass., 1836). Vol. 3, containing Acts of the Apostles, was issued in 1748. Doddridge’s note on Acts 16:31 (§ 37, 3, 261, n. o) reads: “To believe in Christ does undoubtedly in its primary Signification imply, trusting in him, or committing ourselves to his Protection. . . . In this Connection it would immediately imply, submitting to the farther Instructions of these his special Embassadors, and authorized Messengers. And it always includes, a Desire to be delivered from the Power of Sin, and a Disposition to comply with his Scheme of Salvation, which is to purify to himself a peculiar People zealous of good Works.”

[133.] No. 17. COMING to Christ and believing in him are evidently used as equipollent expressions in John 6:29–30, 35–37, 40, 44–45, 47, 64–65.

This coming, wherein consists believing, implies an attraction of the heart, as is manifest by vv. 44–45.

[134.] No. 17. Christ, by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, evidently means the same thing that he intends in the same chapter by believing in him and coming to him. Compare John 6:50–51, 53–54, 56–58 with vv. 29–30, 35–37, 40, 44–45, 47, 64–65.

[135.] No. [36]. No. [114]. Saving faith is called in Heb. 3:6, “Παρησια και το καυχημα της ελπιδος, The confidence and the rejoicing of the hope,” well expressing the act of the whole soul that is in saving faith, the judgment, the will and affections. So in Heb. 10:23, “Let us hold fast the profession of our faith.” In the original it is, “ελπιδος, hope.”

[136.] Justifying faith is nothing else but true virtue in its proper and genuine breathings adapted to the case: to the revelation made, the state we are in, the benefit to be received and the way and means of it, and our relation to these things.

[137.] See no. [28]. FAITH IS A SINCERE SEEKING righteousness and salvation of Christ and in Christ. Rom. 9:31–32, “Hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith but as it were by the works of the law.” See also the promises made both in the Old Testament and New to them that seek the Lord.

[138.] No. [103]. To saving faith in Christ belongs adoration, submission and subjection, as appears by Is. 45:23, “Unto me every knee shall bow,” with the foregoing and following verse.

[139.] The general DESCRIPTION of justifying faith *is a proper reception of Christ and his salvation, or a proper active union of the soul to Christ as a Savior*: I say “a proper reception,” which implies that ’tis a receiving him in a manner agreeable to his office and character and relation to us, in which he is exhibited and offered to us, and with regard to those ends and effects for which he is given to mankind, was sent into the world and is appointed to be preached; and in a manner agreeable to the manner in which he is exhibited, made known and offered—i.e. by divine revelation

without being exhibited to the view of our senses—and the nature of his person, character, offices and benefits and way of salvation as related to our faculties, mysterious and incomprehensible; and a manner agreeable to our own circumstances and our particular necessities and immediate and infinite personal concern with the revelation and offer of this Savior. An union of soul to this Savior, and a reception of him and his salvation that is proper in these respects, is most aptly called by the NAME OF FAITH.

[140.] See no. 20, and no. [104]. That LOVE belongs to the essence of saving faith, is manifest by comparing Is. 64:4, “Men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath he seen, O God, beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him,” as cited by the Apostle, I Cor. 2:9—it is “*for them that love him.*” Now it is evident that waiting for God in the Old Testament signifies the same with faith in God or trusting in God.

[141.] Dr. Goodwin, in vol. 1 of his *Works*, p. 286, says, “The papists say, wickedly and wretchedly, that LOVE is the form and soul of faith.”⁹

[142.] See no. 17. It was of old the coming to the sacrifice as one consenting to the offering, active in choosing and constituting that as his offering, and looking to it as the means of atonement for his sins, that interested him in the sacrifice. As appears by Heb. 10:1–2—[sacrifices] could never “make the COMERS thereunto perfect. For then . . . the WORSHIPPERS once purged should have had no more conscience of sins.” Compare ch. 9:9.

[143.] See concerning the nature of FAITH, Mr. MacLaurin’s discourses, “Essay on Christian Piety,” pp. 189–99 and [pp.] 205–15; and “Essay on the Scripture Doctrine of Divine Grace,” pp. 273–80.¹

9. Thomas Goodwin, *Works* (5 vols. London, 1681–1704), 1, Pt. 1, p. 286. The quote appears in the first part of *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians*. JE, Jr., adds: “But how does the truth of this charge of wickedness appear?”

1. John MacLaurin, *Sermons and Essays* (Glasgow, 1755). In pp. 189–99 of the “Essay on Christian Piety,” MacLaurin defines several aspects of faith, including having the glory of God as the chief end, being justified before God, and striving for universal holiness. In justification there is a “free donation” consisting of the free gift of the giver and the acceptance of the receiver. Faith is a “sincere persuasion of the divine offers and promises” and a “cordial esteem of the things promised” (p. 195). Finally, there must be an apprehension of the divine perfections of God. Pp. 205–15 elaborate on the nature of faith and the glory of redemption through Scripture teachings. Scripture teaches a “cordial acceptance” of salvation which includes “due esteem” of the excellency and cause of salvation. Acknowledgment of redemption consists in recognizing its glory. The Scripture also teaches that redemption manifests God’s glory, justice, power, wis-

[144.] Concerning the nature of saving faith, see note on Esther 5:2, “Blank Bible,” p. 369, second column.²

[145.] No. [131]. Believing in one for any benefit as sufficient for that benefit and disposed to procure it, and accordingly leaving our interest with him with regard to that benefit, is implied in TRUSTING in another. Job 39:11, “Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great? or wilt thou leave thy labor with him? Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed, and gather it into thy barn?”

[146.] No. [124]. As the whole soul in all its faculties is the proper subject and agent of faith, so undoubtedly there are two things in saving faith, viz. BELIEF OF THE TRUTH, and an answerable DISPOSITION of heart. And therefore faith may be defined:

A thorough believing what the gospel reveals of a Savior of sinners, as true and perfectly good, with the exercise of an answerable disposition towards him.

That true faith in the Scripture sense of it implies not only the exercise of the understanding, but the heart or disposition, is very manifest.

Many important things pertaining to saving religion, which the Scripture speaks of under the name of some exercise of the understanding, implies the disposition and exercise of the heart also: such as knowing God, understanding the word of [God], having eyes to see and an heart to understand; and piety is called wisdom.

So men’s wickedness is called ignorance, folly, etc. A being wise in our own eyes, implies an high opinion of themselves with an agreeable or answerable disposition.

[147.] ’Tis evident that TRUST IN CHRIST implies the disposition or will, the receiving and embracing of the heart. For we don’t trust in any per-

dom, mercy and love, and furthermore gives ground for a “high esteem” for God’s glory. All of these show the necessity of honoring redemption as a work of God.

In pp. 273–80, in the “Essay on the Scripture Doctrine of Divine Grace,” MacLaurin discusses several “resemblances” of faith that are to be found in “self-deceivers.” These include entertaining a belief in Christ’s mission without owning its principal ends; acknowledging redemption without applying sincerely for sanctification; and giving assent to the gospel without complying with its designs. He then reiterates the importance of a “transcendent esteem” of God and Christ in salvation.

2. The “Blank Bible” note on Esther 5:2 argues that Esther’s touching the top of the golden scepter was an expression of “her joyful acceptance of the favor” of King Ahasuerus. So the “act or benefit of saving faith in Christ may be compared to this act of Esther.”

son or thing for anything but GOOD, or what is agreeable to us, what we choose, incline to and desire. Yea, TRUSTING commonly is used with respect to great good, good that we choose as what we depend upon for support, satisfaction, happiness, etc.

[148.] The following things concerning the nature of FAITH from DR. SHERLOCK, the present Bishop of London, in his *Several Discourses Preached at Temple Church*, Discourse 14, pp. 257, etc.:³

Faith, as some think, is no proper subject for exhortation: for if faith is a mere act of the mind judging upon motive of credibility, it is as reasonable to exhort a man to see with his eyes, as to judge with his understanding . . . But then, if this be the true nature of faith, . . . how comes it that in every page we find the praises of it in the gospel? What is there in this to deserve the blessings promised to the faithful? Or, whence is it that the whole of our salvation is put upon this foot? . . . How come all these prerogatives to belong to faith, if faith be nothing else but believing things in themselves credible? Why are we not said to be justified by sight, as well as by faith? For is there not the same virtue in seeing things visible, as in believing things credible? . . . Tell me then, what is faith, that it should raise men above the level of mortality, and make men become like the angels of heaven?

But further: [if faith] be only an act of the understanding formed upon due reasons, how comes it to be described in Scripture as having its seat in the heart? The Apostle in the text (Heb. 3:12) cautions against “an evil heart of unbelief”: and the same notion prevails throughout the books of Scripture, and is as early as our Savior’s first preaching. . . . It is necessary for the right understanding of the text, to inquire, first, what is the true notion of faith. . . . Every step by which we advance to the last degree of perfection in Faith, is an act of faith, though of a different kind, and not entitled either to the praises or rewards of the gospel. . . . To render what I mean plain and intelligible, I desire you to consider the degrees and steps of faith, by which men arrive at gospel righteousness. It is one degree of faith to believe the gospels to be true and faithful accounts . . . But this is not that faith we seek after. It is a farther degree of faith to believe the miracles of Christ

3. Thomas Sherlock, *Several Discourses Preached at the Temple Church* (London, 1754). JE’s page references match the 2nd ed. of 1756, which was in the Yale College library. He quotes from Discourse 14, on Heb. 3:12, pp. 257–62; the emphases are his. JE also quotes from this work in “Miscellanies” no. 1341.

and his apostles to be true and real miracles, wrought by the power and Spirit of God. But neither is this faith complete: for the miracles were wrought, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of something else; and therefore to believe the miracles, without believing what the miracles were intended to prove, is not Christian faith. Farther still, it is another and more advanced degree of faith to believe that the Spirit of God was given to the apostles in a large measure, and to Christ, the Author of the salvation, without measure. But neither is this that faith which Christ came to propagate: for, should I ask you, Why we are taught, and why are we to believe, that God gave the Spirit to his Son without measure, and to the disciples in a very wonderful manner and degree? would you not easily answer, that these heavenly endowments were both given and declared to make them fit teachers, and as ready disciples, of the doctrines of God? It is evident then, that these gifts were subservient to a farther end, and that Christian faith does not terminate here. . . . Faith, which is the principle of the gospel, respects the promises and declarations of God, and includes a sure TRUST AND RELIANCE on him for the performance. Beyond this there is no farther act of faith. We are not taught to believe this in order to our believing something else: but here faith has its full completion, and leads immediately to the practice of virtue and holiness [. . .]. For this end was the Son of God revealed, to make known the mind and will of the Father, to declare his mercy and pardon, and to confirm the promises of eternal life to mankind: he that believes and accepts this deliverance from the bondage of sin, and through patience and perseverance in well-doing, waits for the blessed hope of immortality; who passes through the world as a stranger and a pilgrim, looking for another country and a city whose builder is God: this is he whose faith shall receive the promise, whose confidence shall have great recompense of reward.

Here Dr. Sherlock speaks of that true Christian faith, which is the principle of the gospel, as including a *sure trust and reliance on God*. The same author elsewhere in the same book, p. 251,⁴ speaks of reliance or dependence on God as arising from a principle of LOVE to God, in the words following: “The duties we owe to God are founded in the relation between God and us. . . . I observed likewise to you, that love naturally transforms itself into all relative duties, which arise from the circumstances of the persons related. Thus, in the present case, if we love God, and consider him

4. Ibid., Discourse 13, on Matt. 22:40, p. 251. JE supplied the emphases.

as Lord and Governor of the world, our love will soon become obedience. If we consider him as wise, good, and gracious, our love will become honor and adoration. If we add to these our own natural weakness and infirmity, LOVE will teach us DEPENDENCE, and prompt us in all our wants to FLY FOR REFUGE to our great Protector." Thus far Dr. Sherlock.

[149.] That in Ps. 50:5, "Gather my saints . . . that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice," seems to show that such is the nature of true faith in Christ, that believers do therein by the sincere full act of their minds and hearts appoint Christ to be their sacrifice, as such bring him and offer him to God; i.e. they entirely concur [with] what was done in his offering himself a sacrifice for sinners as a real sacrifice, sufficient and proper for them, trusting in this sacrifice, coming to God and giving himself up to God, hoping for acceptance by this sacrifice and taking God for his God, hoping for an interest in him as such by this sacrifice, that so God may be his God and he one of his people.

SIGNS OF GODLINESS

THE folio notebook entitled “Signs of Godliness,” published here for the first time, is an early effort on the part of Northampton’s young assistant preacher to isolate the Scripture signs of true sainthood. From Edwards’ own remarks in the notebook, it is clear that even at this early date, well before the awakening period, he envisioned a larger work on the subject. The notebook generally consists of statements of particular signs, for example, “Bringing forth fruit” or “Keeping Christ’s commandments,” followed by proof-texts from Scripture, though in several places Edwards includes what amount to short essays on the signs, their usefulness and limitations, and their relation to depraved human faculties. As such, the document shows Edwards’ interest in this topic very early on in his career, resulting possibly from the cumulative effects of his father’s and grandfather’s preaching and counsel, his own meditations on his spiritual experience, and perhaps even his participation in the minor awakening that followed the earthquake of October 1727. It also represents a foundation for such later works as *Distinguishing Marks* and *Religious Affections* and provides significant comparisons with Edwards’ mature thought on the subject.

Edwards began what grew into a twenty-page notebook only a few months before he became the full pastor of Northampton, in February 1729. In a short time he filled in to the top of page four in a minute, round hand and dark brown ink, which, according to the chronology established by Thomas A. Schafer, dates from late 1728 or very early 1729. The following three entries on page four were made in the middle of 1729. He then filled the rest of page four and nearly all of page five during the late spring or summer of 1730. Apparently from the conception of the notebook, Edwards began connecting the entries with cue marks. The majority of the following entries are written in a lighter brown ink and in a larger, more open hand, though still very neat, probably dating from the early 1730s. Toward the end of the notebook the entries become more sparse, less elaborate, and separated by varying amounts of blank space, indicating that Edwards anticipated adding to them.

Whatever his intentions, Edwards neglected the notebook during the

years around and including the awakening of 1734 and 1735. However, beginning in the late 1730s and through the 1740s, he made additions to it, either within or at the end of previous entries or as separate entries scattered throughout the notebook. This fact suggests that the awakening itself, beyond making added demands on his time that took him away from the notebook, may have caused Edwards to reappraise his earlier formulations. For example, where entries from the early 1730s, before the awakening, tend to place all the various Scripture signs on an equal footing, entries added after the awakening emphasize persevering Christian behavior as the most important sign.¹ Even so, from the outset Edwards is skeptical of making “others’ experiences” the guide in judging the signs of godliness.

The notebook, in the Edwards Collection at Yale’s Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, is composed of five folio-sized double leaves stitched into a coarse brown cover, which is inscribed “Signs of Godliness” four times, front and back, by Edwards. The watermarks on the signatures, as identified by Schafer, are: 1–2) English GR^{wr}, 3) London/GR (R), 4) London/GR (L), 5) English/GR^{wr}. While utilitarian and practical in its original conception, the notebook in its final form is complex and convoluted because of Edwards’ practice of adding to previous entries through the use of cue marks, thereby giving the text a labyrinthine quality. The edited text presented here follows the edition’s standards in relocating passages according to Edwards’ instructions, but, in order to retain distinctions between earlier and later entries, an effort has been made in the annotations to alert the reader to the relocations and to changes in ink and handwriting.

1. A similar shift is evident in “Directions for Judging of Persons’ Experiences” (printed below) and in “Miscellanies” and sermons from the 1730s. See “Editor’s Introduction,” in *Works*, 18, 18–24; and the sermon from Sept. 1736 entitled *Persevering Faith*, in *Works*, 19, 595–608.

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BRING² forth fruit, and keeping Christ's commandments and doing good works. Matt. 13:23, "He that received seed into good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it; and bringeth forth" the fruit of it. Matt. 13:26, "But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also." The tares were not distinguishable from the wheat till they brought forth fruit, and then it appeared what they were. Matt. 7:16-19, "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." Which shows that this is a Scripture way of judging, to judge by fruits. John 15:2, "Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." Luke 6:44-45, "Every tree is known by its fruit. . . . A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of his heart his mouth speaketh." Which shows that good fruit in both words and actions are a good sign. John 15:8, "Bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples." II Pet. 1:10, "For if ye do these things, ye shall never fall." It distinguishes from them that have only common illuminations. Heb. 6:7, with context.

Keeping Christ's commandments. Matt. 7:24-27, "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doth them, I will liken him to a wise man, which built his house upon a rock. . . . And every one that heareth these

2. JE deleted an initial paragraph with a diagonal line, which reads: "SIGNS OF GRACE. I would here inquire what are the true Scripture signs of grace. One is that they understand the word of God. Matt. 13:23, 'But he that receiveth the seed into good ground is he that heareth the word and understandeth it.' Knowing God and Christ. I John 2:3, 'Hereby do we know that we know him,' etc. 'He that saith, I know him' (v. 4). I John 3:6, 'He hath neither seen him, nor known him.'"

sayings of mine, and doth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand." Vv. 21–23, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many shall say unto me, Lord, Lord, [. . .] and I will profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye workers of iniquity." And so we are told from time to time that hereafter, when hypocrites shall seek to be owned and accepted of Christ, he will deny and reject because workers of iniquity. I John 1:6–7, "If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin." I John 2:3–6, "Hereby do we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. [. . .] He that keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby we know that we are in him. He that saith he abideth in him ought also to walk, as he walked." Which last clause shows that following Christ's example,³ as well as keeping his commandments, is a sign. John 14:21, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." It is spoken with such an emphasis, as if this were the great and most distinguishing sign of loving Christ. V. 23, "If any man love me, he will keep my words." V. 24, "He that loveth me not keepeth not my sayings." V. 15, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." John 15:10, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love." V. 14, "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." I John 5:3, "This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments." The promises are almost everywhere in the Old Testament made to keeping God's commandments. I John 3:3–10, "Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure. Whosoever sinneth transgresseth the law [. . .]. And ye know that he was manifested to take away sin; and in him is no sin. Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, nor known him. Little children, let no man deceive you" (vid. note on v. 7):⁴ "he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin is of the devil [. . .] Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin [. . .]. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil."

3. At virtually the same time that JE began the "Signs" notebook (late 1728 or early 1729), he also created a separate manuscript entitled "Christ's Example" (printed below), the purpose of which was to delineate true Christian behavior on the basis of the life of Jesus.

4. The "Blank Bible" note on I John 3:7 reads: "The Apostle still has respect to those seducers that he spoke of in the latter end of the foregoing chapter. He is here insisting on the same rule, whereby they might discern them that were wolves in sheep's clothing that Christ gave (Matt. 7:15–16), and which the Apostle gave to Gaius in his third epistle, 11th verse."

I John 2:29, “Ye know that every one that doth righteousness is born of him.” III John 1:11, “He that doth good is of God: but he that doth evil hath not seen God.” I John 5:18, “We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not.” II Tim. 2:19, “Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.” They must keep those that more especially are called Christ’s commandments, as well as other of God’s commandments: such as loving brethren, forgiving injuries, doing good for evil, not hating them that hate us, being much merciful, etc.; such as are Christ’s Sermon on the Mount: these special commandments are included, as appears by the twentieth verse of the fifth chapter of Matthew—“Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven”; and then Christ goes on to tell wherein—and by the last verses of this sermon. Vid. sermon on Matt. 7:21, specially last use.⁵

Doing good works. Gal. 5:6, “Faith that worketh by love.” Jas. 2:14, “What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he have faith, and have not works? can faith save him?” V. 18, “Yea, a man may say, I have faith and thou hast works; show me thy faith without thy works, and I must show thee my faith by my works.” Jas. 1:25, “He that is not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.” We are often told [we] must be judged according to our works; and are particularly told how, Matt. 25, where keeping Christ’s commandments is given as a sign of godliness. It does not mean all sorts of holy exercises of heart, for then keeping Christ’s commandments would only be a sign of itself; that which is given as a sign of faith would be faith, and the sign of knowing God would be knowing him, and of loving God loving him. This appears by Christ’s discourse with the rich young man, Matt. 19:16. Heb. 6:9–11, “Beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation [. . .]. For God is not unrighteous to forget your work of faith and labor of love [. . .], in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. And we desire that every one of you do show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope to the end.” Good works of charity are often especially insisted on as evidential. See *Love of Brethren*.⁶

5. The sermon on Matt. 7:21 (176), from late 1730 or early 1731, is on doing the will of God by keeping the commandments of God. The last use, of warning, provides ways to judge the state of one’s soul. JE warns his hearers that they should not think they are going to heaven unless they keep their bodies under subjection, have a spirit to suffer for God’s commandments, discontinue the practice of any known sin, repent after special transgressions, refuse to gratify any lust, and bridle their tongues.

6. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE’s direction from MS p. 4.

Good works. Rev. 3:1, "I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead"; and v. 15, "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot." Job 23:10–12.⁷

Man's actions may be distinguished into two kinds. First, there are those acts which consist in the mere immanent exercise of the inclination and spirit of the mind, and it proceeds no further, but the actions remain and are complete in that without the consideration of anything produced by 'em. They begin and end in a simple exercise of the inclination or spirit of the mind. They have no preceding act of the will that is the immediate cause of 'em, neither in the action is included any fruit of this exercise. Such are the internal breathings of love to God and exercises of faith in Christ. These may be a sure evidence of sincerity and are that sort of evidence spoken of [below],⁸ viz. having the spirit of Christ and the witness of the Spirit.

2. Properly voluntary actions, that is, those acts, whether internal or external, that are immediately caused by preceding acts of the inclination and will, at whose command it arises: whether this act be in doing some positive thing or in voluntarily omitting, for omitting may be as much from the spirit or will as doing something positive; whether those voluntary actions or omissions are external, or whether they are internal, voluntary thinking, or voluntary allowing of thoughts or refraining from thoughts: all the voluntary inward endeavors, labors, and strivings and effects of the mind about its own thoughts and exercises or allowing and neglecting or restraining acts of the mind; anything whatsoever that is the proper fruit of a man's inclination that is not the immediate first acting of that inclination itself. These are that sort of acts which in Scripture are chiefly meant by works, when we are directed to try our sincerity by our works and are told that we shall be judged by them at the great day. In these last sort of actions is considered, beside the mere inclination of the soul, some effect produced.

Men will be judged at the great day by their actions, and not by the spirit of their actions, for the spirit of their actions is a thing that is to be made to appear; whether what they have done be with a gracious spirit and with love to God, etc. is a thing that will be then to be tried by something more plain: it will be tried by their works, by which their own consciences and the world will be convinced. For the end of judgment is not that God may

7. The following ten paragraphs are inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 5.

8. MS: "spoken of before." Because of JE's shifting of passages, the entries on "Having the spirit of Christ" appear below, pp. 488–89.

be determined himself, but for the conviction of men's own consciences and to make things appear to the world.

Those good works mentioned are those actions that hypocrites may do a while and not continue in, as is evident by the frequent promises to perseverance in obedience and well-doing. When continuance in good works or obedience is given as a sign of sincerity, and not continuing a sign of want of sincerity, such things is doubtless meant by good works as men sometimes fall from.

When obedience is given as a sign of sincerity, the sincerity or spirit of the obedience is not included in the sign. That which withered in the stony ground is the same that continued and bore the heat of the sun in the good ground; the righteousness that some fall from and some continue in, mentioned in the eighteenth [chapter] of Ezekiel, is the same righteousness.

An universal and persevering obedience is given in Scripture as the distinguishing sign of sincerity, rather than the experience of particular exercises of soul, and manner of influence of the Spirit of God in conversion and at other times, in bringing men off from their own righteousness, and the nature and manner of the exercises of faith in Christ, because such things are not so plain and easy to the understanding or capacities of the ordinary rank of men; they would be abundantly more liable to mistake. But every man's conscience tells him when he proves false and treacherous to God.

God will judge men hereafter by the same things that he proves 'em by here. God is often in Scripture said to try men or to prove them, that he may know whether they will walk in his ways, and know what is in their hearts, and the like, when he brings them into difficulties. Now men are proved by difficulties, as it thereby appears whether the righteousness which they perform at other times will hold at such times. Now God don't prove men that he may determine within himself what they are, for he knows what is in men; but he proves them that he may thereby determine before their consciences and before the world as a judge.

A cleaving to God in those things that are visible perseveringly through all trials and difficulties, especially those that are remarkable, is an evidence of faith, or else how can believers be said to be witnesses of the truth and faithfulness of God in so doing (Heb 12:1)? A believer can give testimony to this no other wise than as he manifests his assurance of it. Therefore, such a persevering adherence to God is a manifestation of an assurance of God's truth and faithfulness.

There can be no objection against that second sort of actions mentioned above (which are properly voluntary actions) being those works which are given in Scripture as signs of sincerity, and which we shall be judged by, from the insufficiency of this sort of actions to distinguish sincere from insincere: for the Scripture directs us to try our sincerity by our works, and tells us that we are to be judged by them. Now it is certain that our works are of that kind of acts. Therefore, this kind of acts are sufficiently distinguishing.

The fruits of grace in the life must needs be the proper evidences of it. What can be the proper evidence of a person's loving God above all but his actually preferring him, or preferring him indeed when it comes to a trial? What can be the proper evidences of the heart's forsaking all for Christ, or of his willingness to forsake all for him, than his actually doing of it, as there is occasion? What can be the proper evidence of trusting in the promises of God, than his actually running the venture of their truth when it comes to a trial? The act of the man must be the proper evidence of the act of the heart. The will must be shown by the voluntary actions. We find the promises of God sometimes made to conversion and sometimes to perseverance: 'tis because perseverance is but the actual fulfillment of that which is virtually done in conversion, and the accomplishment is the proper evidence of the virtual accomplishment. When two things are set before a man to see which he will choose, the proper evidence which he chooses, is which he takes. So is practice the evidence of sincerity, and the fruit that by which the tree is known.⁹ (Vid. "Miscellanies" no. 790.)¹ Surely the proper evidence of a man's heart's being prepared to cleave to Christ above all, is his actually doing it; the proper manifestation of choice is act.²

'Tis true it is the heart that God looks at; godliness lies in the disposition of the heart, but godliness consists not in an *heart* to purpose to fulfill God's commandments, but in an *heart* actually to do it. The children of Israel had an heart to purpose to keep all God's commands. They say, "All that the Lord hath said, we will hear, and do." But God says, "O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always" [Deut. 5:27, 29]. But their actually doing God's

9. The remainder of the paragraph is a later addition, dating from the late 1730s.

1. "Miscellanies" no. 790 (c. 1739) is a lengthy entry (possibly contemporaneous with this later addition to the notebook) on the "Signs of Godliness," in which JE gives preeminence to good works and keeping Christ's commandments as the chief signs. See *Works*, 18, 18–24.

2. The following paragraph (written in the late 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 12.

commandments must needs be the proper evidence whether they have a heart actually to do God's commandments, and not only a heart to purpose and intend to do them.³

To the like purpose is that representation of sincere godliness of *God's law's being written on the heart* [Rom. 2:15, II Cor. 3:2–3], which signifies that true godliness consists in an heart to do God's commands, or perform God's law.⁴

God's commands must be kept universally. If one member only be corrupt, if we don't cut it off, it will carry us to hell. I John 3:3–10, "Every one that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure. . . . Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not [. . .]" ([see] I John 5:18). "He that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin is of the devil," etc. Jas. 2:10–11, "He that keeps the whole law, and offends in one point, is guilty of all. For the same God that said, Don't commit adultery, said also, Don't kill." I Cor. 6:9, "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators," etc. Luke 14:28, "Count the cost." John 15:14, "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you."⁵

Universal obedience. Saul was commanded to slay all the sinners, the Amalekites, but he saved alive Agog the king of 'em, which proved his ruin; so if men part with their sins but save only one lust that is most dear to them, and has the chief place in their hearts and holds the place of king. The Samaritans worshipped the God of Israel and served their own gods. Christ tells us we cannot serve God and Mammon: we must not set up one idol with the God of Israel in his temple, for which Manasseh was so greatly blamed (II Chron. 33:7). If we bridle all our lusts, it is a sign that we are true and upright Christians. Jas. 3:2, "The same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body." Gal. 5:19–21, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God"; which is as much as to say, they that do any sort of wickedness. Matt. 5:19, "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach

3. The next paragraph is inserted here at JE's direction from the bottom of MS p. 13 as a continuation of the previous addition from MS p. 12.

4. Here we return to MS p. 1.

5. The following paragraph is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 4.

men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven." Deut. 1:36, "Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh; he shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children, because he hath wholly followed the Lord." Ps. 119:3, "They also do no iniquity: they walk in his ways."⁶

Universal obedience. Job 31:3–7, "Is not destruction to the wicked? and a strange punishment to the workers of iniquity? Doth not he see my ways, and count all my steps? If I have walked with vanity, or my foot hath hasted to deceit; let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity. If my step hath turned out of the way, and mine heart walked after mine eyes, and if any blot hath cleaved to my hands." Mark 6:20, "For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly." He did many things, but would not divorce his beloved Herodias, as we are told in the context. Deut. 5:29, "O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever!" II Kgs. 5:17–18, "Thy servant will not offer burnt offering nor sacrifice to any other god but to the Lord. In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, when the lord goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon." Ps. 125:4–5, "Do good, O Lord, unto those that be good, and to them that are upright in their hearts. As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the Lord shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity." I Tim. 5:8, the Apostle, speaking of them that did not provide for their needy parents, says, "If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." See "Notes on Scripture" no. 390.⁷ Ezek. 33:14–16, "Again, when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right; if the wicked restore the pledge, yield again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life, *without committing iniquity*; he shall surely live, he shall not die. None of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him: he hath done that which is lawful and right; he shall surely live."⁸ See also chs. 18, 19, 33.

6. The following paragraph (written in the late 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 7.

7. "Notes on Scripture" no. 390, on Exodus, chs. 6–11 and 14, concerns "Pharaoh's hardness of heart and obstinacy in refusing to let the children of Israel go, and the manner of God's dealing with him." See *Works*, 15, 379–83.

8. The final sentence of the paragraph is a later addition.

I Tim. 2:15, "She shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety." Heb. 3:6, "Whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope firm unto the end." [V.] 14, "We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end."

John 8:31, "Ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed." Rom. 2:7, "To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life." Rom. 11:22, "Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off." Col. 1:21–23, "You [...] hath he reconciled [...], to present you holy and unblameable and unreprieveable in his sight: if ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel." Gal. 6:9, "We shall reap, if we faint not."

This obedience is a persevering obedience. The stony-ground hearers dared for a while, but in time of temptation fell away. The thorny-ground hearers dared for a while, till the thorns choked the Word. But we are told, Luke 8:15, that "the good ground are they" that receive the Word into "good and honest hearts, and keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience." Matt. 24:13, "He that endureth to the end, shall be saved." Heb. 10:36, 38–39, "For ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise. [...] Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But ye are not of them that draw back unto perdition; but of them that believeth to the saving of the soul." Luke 14:29–30, "Lest haply, when he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish."⁹

Persevering through temptations and difficulties. Deut. 1:36, "Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh; he shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children, because he hath wholly followed the Lord"; or, as it is in the original, "hath fulfilled to go after the Lord." Jas. 1:25, "Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, shall be blessed in his deed." See what blessings are promised to him that overcomes in the second and third chapters of Revelation, and ch. 21:7. See also [the] twenty-third chapter of Ezekiel. Heb. 6:12, "But followers of them who through faith and patience" (or perseverance) "inherit the promises." Rev. 2:10, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Luke 12:43, "Blessed is that servant,

9. The following two paragraphs are inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 4.

whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Ezek. 18:24–32 (and ch. 23:12–49, 3:20–21), "And when the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, . . . shall he live?" etc. Gen. 22:12, "For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me." Deut. 8:2, "And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee those forty years in the wilderness, . . . to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, to know whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no." The trial of Job's uprightness, which God allowed for the conviction of Satan. For this very reason, difficulties and opposition are called temptations or trials.

Perseverance is often in Scripture mentioned as a note of sincerity. Not that there is anything in the nature of the thing that should hinder but that it should so happen that an insincere man that holds on in a way of religion and in the outward performance of duty, may to the end of his life. He that holds on five years, may ten; and he that holds ten, may twenty. "Joash did that that was right in the sight of the Lord all the days of Jehoiada the priest" (II Chron. 24:2); and if Jehoiada had lived, he might, for ought we know, have gone on as long as he lived. So Uzziah, he sought the Lord all the days of Zechariah (II Chron. 26:5). If Zechariah had lived as long as he, he might have sought the Lord as long as he lived. But 'tis God's manner so to order that all persons making profession of godliness, shall first or last have such trials as shall discover whether their goodness be of the lasting sort. John 15:16, "I have chosen and ordained you, that you should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain." Matt. 25, the wise virgins provided for the worst, that in case the bridegroom should tarry longer than was expected, that yet they might have wherewithal to keep their lamps burning to the end; the foolish virgins had no oil, and so their lamps went out. Luke 22:28–29, "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me." Ps. 78:57, "But turned back, and dealt unfaithfully like their fathers: they were turned aside like a deceitful bow." Ps. 78:34–37, "When he slew them, then they sought him; and they returned and inquired early after God. And they remembered that God was their rock, and the most high God their Redeemer. Nevertheless they did flatter with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues. For their heart was not right with him, neither were they steadfast in his covenants." Ps. 78:8, "Who set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God."¹

1. The following paragraph (written in the late 1730s) is inserted at JE's directions from MS p. 7.

Perseverance. The expression of keeping God's or Christ's commandments, doth sometimes especially signify persevering in obedience. So it signifies, John 15:10, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." The expression naturally denotes continuing in obedience. He that continues in obedience, he holds and keeps the commandments; but he that leaves off to obey, he lets go or casts away the commandments. If one should commit any treasure to the care of another to keep, and should promise him that if he kept, he should have such a reward, such a promise would be [by] everybody understood in such a sense, that if he to whom the treasure was committed, should after a while lose it or cast it away, that then he did not fulfill the condition and forfeited the promised reward, though he kept it for a while. Deut. 5:29, "O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and their children for ever!" Ps. 125:4-5, "Do good, O Lord, unto those that are good, and to them that are upright in their hearts. As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the Lord shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity."² God is wont purposely to exercise persons with trials of their perseverance, and if they persevere through those trials, they approve themselves upright; but when those trials that God lays in their way prove stumbling blocks to them, at which they fall, it proves their insincerity. This is evident by Ezek. 3:20, "Again, When a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness, and commit iniquity, *and I lay a stumblingblock before him*, he shall die"; together with Is. 8:14-15 and Hos. 14:9, "The ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein." By a "stumbling" is meant a temptation, as in Rev. 2:14 and other places. See also "Notes on Scripture" no. 390.³

II Tim. 4:4-8, "And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry. For I am ready now to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." I John 2:24-26, "Let that

2. The remainder of the paragraph is in a darker ink, and represents a later addition.

3. For "Notes on Scripture" no. 390, see above, p. 478, n. 7, and *Works*, 15, 379-82. The following paragraph (written in the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 6, though the citation of the Scripture note follows the reference to the shifted passage.

therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father. And this is the promise that he has promised us, even eternal life. These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you.”⁴ As ’tis often said that we shall judged at the last day by our works, so [it] is evident that we shall be especially judged by our adhering to Christ under trials, difficulties and sufferings. I Pet. 1:6–7, “Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations: that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, might be found unto praise and honor and glory *at the appearance of Jesus Christ*.” So true grace is distinguished from the false religion of hypocrites, in that it is gold tried in the fire. Rev. 3:17–18, “Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased in goods, . . . and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor . . . : I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire”; i.e. that thou mayst be rich indeed, that thou mayst not only have that which has the color of gold and appearance of riches, but that will stand the fire like gold, and is indeed riches. Ps. 106:3, “Blessed are they that keep judgment, and he that doth righteousness at all times.” Note this text shows the meaning of the Scripture phrase, keeping God’s commandments.⁵

Mortifying our sensual and fleshly lusts. Matt. 5:29, “And if thy right eye offends thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: and it is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell.” Rom. 8:13, “If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.” I Cor. 9:27, “I keep under my body, [. . .] lest [. . .] I should be a castaway.” Gal. 5:24, “They that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.” Jas. 1:26–27, “If any man seem to be religious, and bridleth not [his tongue], he deceiveth his own heart, his religion is vain. Pure religion and undefiled . . . is to keep himself unspotted from the world.” The city of Abel was required to cut off the head of Sheba and to cast it to Joab over the wall, in order to Joab’s and his army’s retiring from the city. See note on II Sam. 20:15–22.⁶

4. The remainder of the paragraph is in a later hand and ink, probably from the 1740s.

5. With the beginning of the next paragraph we return to the top of MS p. 2.

6. In the “Blank Bible” note on II Sam. 20:15–22, JE draws a spiritual lesson from the story of the siege of Abel by Joab. The city itself represents a person, Sheba the rebel represents sin, and Joab and his army represent the wrath of God: “So the wrath of God will stand against us with all its army and seek our destruction till we destroy and give up sin.”

So Joseph would not suffer his brethren to see his face unless their younger brother, the only one that was kept back, was brought. See notes on the story.⁷

Denying ourselves and selling all for Christ. Matt. 10:37–39, “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me [. . .]. And he that taketh not up his cross, and followeth after me is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.” Luke 14:26–27, “If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and his mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.” Matt. 13:44–46, “The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hid in a field; which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all he hath, and buyeth that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it.” Matt. 19:16–22, Christ told the young man that asked him what he should do that he might have eternal life, that he should sell all, and come and follow him, and he should have treasure in heaven. Matt. 8:20, he tried another that told he would follow him wherever he went by telling of him that “the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.” I John 5:4, “Whosoever is born of God overcometh the world.” Luke 14:28, “For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?” [V.] 33, “So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.” The gate is said to be strait and the way narrow [Matt. 7:14]. The entrance into the kingdom of heaven is compared to the eye of a needle [Matt. 19:24]. Gen. 22:12, “Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son Isaac.” God would teach this by it: that that is a sign of the truth of grace, when men have a preparedness of mind to part with their Isaac, that is, that which is dearest to them of all things earthly, for God’s sake. We are told how one and another of the disciples, when Christ called them, rose up and left all and followeth him; ’tis to give us this instruction, that those that are Christ’s true followers do leave all for his sake.⁸

7. In the “Blank Bible” note on Gen. 41:40 ff., JE maintains that Benjamin represents that which the other brothers “were tender of,” and so unwilling to give up. “So oftentimes sinners, when they begin to seek salvation, keep back something that is dear and tender in their eyes, and flatter themselves that they ben’t obliged to deliver it up . . . but God will surely look upon ’em as enemies till all is delivered up and nothing kept back.”

8. The following paragraph (written in the late 1730s) is inserted here at JE’s direction from MS p. 7.

Denying ourselves and selling all for Christ. II Tim. 2:12, "If we suffer, we shall also reign with him"; and Rom. 8:17, "If so be that we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified together." I Pet. 4:13–14, "But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye"; and 3:14, "If ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye." See the promises to them that overcome in Revelation.⁹ Matt. 10:32, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven"; and so Luke 12:8 and 9:26, and Mark 8:38. Ittai the Gittite, who from a Philistine became an Israelite, left his own country for David's sake, was a type of a true follower of the spiritual David; who cleaved to David when his affairs were in low and dark circumstances, and told the king, when he would have excused him from going with him, II Sam. 15:21, "As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be." Rev. 14:4, "These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." Luke 9:61–62, "And another said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go [bid them farewell], which are at home at my house. And Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Ananias and Sapphira, they kept back a part, they did not sell all for Christ: and we see what was the fatal issue [Acts 5:1–10]. Vid. notes on Matt. 24:17–18.¹ See also many texts under the head of Perseverance.²

Abraham, when he was called, left his own country and his kindred and his father's house to follow God, "not knowing whither he went." He went into a land in which God gave him "none inheritance, no, not so much as to set his foot on" (Gen. 12:1–4, Heb. 11:8, and Acts 7:2–5). See how persons' cleaving to Christ in their practice or works under difficulties and sufferings, is the proper evidence of sincerity, sermon on Matt. 13:6, prop. IV.³

9. See Rev. 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21; 21:7.

1. In the "Blank Bible" note on Matt. 24:17–18, JE writes, "Flying out of Jerusalem is a type of flying out of a state of sin," represented in the disciples of Christ, who left their worldly business to follow him; and by Elisha, who when Elijah bid him come with him, did not bid farewell to his family but instead slew the oxen with which he was working.

2. See above, pp. 479–82. The following paragraph (dating from the early 1740s; see next note) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 6, though the final reference to "the head of Perseverance" is written after the cue to the shifted passage.

3. I.e. sermon on Matt. 13:3–6 (on the Parable of the Sower), preached in Nov. 1740, prop. IV, "The difficulties that attend religion are the proper trials of sincerity." JE exhorts that sin-

Bridling and well-using our tongues. Jas. 1:26, "If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain"; and ch. 3:2, "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body." In the following verses we are told it is like a bridle, and like a rudder of a ship; the whole ship goes as that goes (see note on third verse).⁴ Christ says, "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh" (Matt. 12:34); and v. 37, "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." Luke 6:44–45, "Every tree is known by his own fruit. . . . A good man out of the good treasure bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."⁵

Bridling the tongue. Prov. 13:3, "He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life." Prov. 18:21, "Death and life are in the power of the tongue: and they that love it shall eat the fruit of it." Prov. 15:4, "A wholesome tongue is a tree of life."⁶ Ps. 17:3, "Thou hast proved mine heart; thou hast visited me in the night; thou hast tried me, and shalt find nothing; I am purposed that my mouth shall not transgress." See Manton on James, pp. 356–57.⁷ See *Common Place Book to the Holy Scripture*, concerning duties of believers with respect to words, p. 162.⁸

cerity consists in choosing Christ before anything else, particularly in times of difficulty and trial. JE refers to this same passage in "Miscellanies" nos. 859–60. *Works*, 20, 84–85.

With the beginning of the next paragraph, we return to MS p. 2.

4. JE's reference is uncertain; neither the "Blank Bible" nor the "Notes on Scripture" contain an entry on Jas. 3:3. There is a "Blank Bible" note on Jas. 3:2 in which JE compares it to Matt. 12:37, Prov. 18:21, and Ps. 17:3.

5. The following paragraph (probably dating from the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 16.

6. The remainder of the paragraph is a later addition, written in a black ink characteristic of the late 1730s and early '40s.

7. Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of James* (London, 1651). On p. 356, writing on Jas. 3:2, Manton states: "To be able to bridle the tongue, is an argument of some growth and happy progress in grace." On p. 357, regarding speech, Manton continues: "'Tis the best discovery of the heart; speech is the express image of it." Noting that all of us are apt to use our tongues in offensive ways, he concludes: "'Tis a sin into which we usually and easily fall, partly by reason of that quick intercourse that is between the tongue and the heart, we sin in an instant. . . . Such natural actions are performed without thinking of the weight and consequences of them."

8. John Locke, *A Common Place Book of the Holy Bible: or, the Scriptures Sufficiency Practically Demonstrated* (London, 1697; 3d ed. 1725). In ch. XVI (pp. 162–65), Locke considers "the Duties of Believers, such as profess to be Saints." The section beginning on p. 162 is headed, "To take heed to our Lips, that our Words be not rash, but true, seasonable, well ordered, and savoury." With the beginning of the next paragraph, we return to MS p. 2.

(Doubtful.)⁹ Strictly obeying in those instances where we are particularly exposed to temptation. Luke 3:12–14, the publicans asked him, “What shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you. And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages.”

Believing the difficult, the spiritual and abasing doctrines of Christianity. Thus when Nathaniel came to him and wondered that he said he saw him under the fig tree, Christ told him he should “see greater things than these,” that he should “see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man” (John 1, latter end). And when Nicodemus came to him, Christ tried him with another strange doctrine. John 3:2–3, “The same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God.” He makes a high profession of believing Christ to be a divine teacher. Christ immediately tries him with the doctrine of regeneration: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.” So when the multitude were so taken with Christ after he had fed them with five loaves and two fishes that they would feign make him a king, Christ tried them by telling of them that “except they eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drank his blood, they had no life in them,” and so he drove them away from him [John 6:53]. Christ says to Thomas, “Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed” [John 20:29]. John 11:25, “He that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? And she said unto him, Yea, Lord: I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.” Hereby Christ separated those that were really his people from others before the destruction of Jerusalem; he told them that when they saw Jerusalem compassed with armies, then they might know the desolation of it was near: and let him that is in Jerusalem flee to the mountains, and let him not turn back to take anything out of his house [Luke 21:20–21]. They that had a dependence on Christ’s word accordingly fled without turning back; others that did not believe were destroyed with the city. Some doctrines are difficult because of their incomprehensibleness by human reason and seeming opposition to reason. Some are difficult because of their spirituality and

9. This is the first of two instances in the notebook where JE later (though still in the early 1730s) interlineated the word “doubtful” above an entry (he deleted the other; see below p. 492, n. 4), indicating that he had second thoughts about what he had written.

remoteness from anything like sensible objects. Some are difficult because they are so against natural pride and selfishness. Christ tried his followers with each sort. Some events are difficult because they are strange and unusual: so was that which Christ tried Nicodemus with, viz. his seeing heaven opened, etc. [John 3:11–21]; so was that prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem that Christ separated believers in Jerusalem from unbelievers by [Luke 21:20–21]. Some events are difficult because of the greatness of them, and the difficulties and obstacles that lie in the way, and the seeming impossibility of them.

Hungering and thirsting after spiritual good. “Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled” [Matt. 5:6]. “As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby” [I Pet. 2:2]. Ps. 4: 6–7, “There be many that say, Who will show us any good? Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast put gladness into my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased.” Ps. 27:4, “One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple.” Ps. 42:1–2, “As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?” Ps. 63:1–2, “O God, thou art my God: early will I seek thee: my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is; to see thy power and thy glory, so as I have seen thee in the sanctuary.” Ps. 73:25, “Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.”¹

Hungering and thirsting after spiritual good. Ps. 84:1–3, “How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God. Yea, even the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altar, O Lord of hosts, my King, and my God.” Ps. 130:6, “My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning: I say more than they that watch for the morning.” Ps. 143:6–7, “My soul thirsteth after thee, as [a] thirsty land.” Cant. 3:1–2, “By night on my bed I sought him whom my soul loveth: I sought him, but I found him not. I will rise now, and go about the city in

1. The following paragraph (written in the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 7.

the streets, and [in] the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth." Cant. 5:6, 8, "I sought him, but I could not find him; I called him, but he gave me no answer. . . . I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if ye find my beloved, that ye tell him that I am sick of love." Is. 26:8–9, "The desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soul I have desired thee in the night; with my spirit within me will I seek thee early." Rev. 21:6, "I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely."

Having the spirit of Christ. Rom. 8:9, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his"; and v. 14, "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." I John 3:24, "Hereby we know that he abideth in us by the Spirit that he hath given us"; and 4:13, "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, because he hath given us of his Spirit." Therefore, believers are said to be sealed by the Spirit and to have the earnest of the Spirit. II Cor. 1:22, "Who hath also sealed us, and given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts"; and ch. 5:5, "He who hath wrought for this selfsame thing is God, who hath also given us the earnest of the Spirit." Eph. 1:13–14, "Ye were sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our future inheritance"; and 4:30, "And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption." The Spirit is called the firstfruits, Rom. 8:23.

Now the having Christ's Spirit is known by our being of Christ's temper and disposition. To have Christ's Spirit and to be of a Christian spirit are the same thing. Therefore, when the disciples desired that fire might be called for from heaven to destroy the Samaritans,² they knew not what spirit they were of [Luke 9:51–55]. So we read of a meek and quiet spirit, which must be the same as to be of a meek and quiet temper.

We know that we have the Spirit immediately by feeling that divine, holy, humble, amiable disposition and motion in us, whereby we are assured that we must be God's children. Vid. "Miscellanies" no. 375.³

2. MS: "samaritans that."

3. In "Miscellanies" no. 375, "SPIRIT'S WITNESS That We Are God's Children" (late 1728 or early 1729), JE argues that a person cannot simultaneously be the object of God's hatred and also experience "those holy, sweet, humble dispositions and motions of heart which are a participation of the divine nature." The entry has a corresponding cross-reference to the Signs notebook. See *Works*, 13, 447–48.

We know whether we have the Spirit of Christ by the fruits of it. We are told what they be. Gal. 5:18–25, “If ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest; adulteries, fornications uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they that do these things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law. And they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.” Eph. 5:9, “For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness and truth.” Jas. 3:17, “But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.” Col. 3:12, “Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering,” etc. I Cor. 13:4, “Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.” See also the Beatitudes in the fifth chapter of Matthew.

Particularly a meek and forgiving spirit and practice.⁴ See some texts mentioned under the head of the Fruits of the Spirit.⁵ Ps. 22:26, “The meek shall eat and be satisfied.” Ps. 25:9, “The meek will he guide in judgment: and the meek will he teach in his way.” Ps. 37:11, “The meek shall inherit the earth; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.” Ps. 76:9, “When God arose to judgment, to save all the meek of the earth.” Ps. 147:6, “The Lord lifteth up the meek: he casteth the wicked down to the ground.” Is. 29:19, “The meek shall increase their joy in the Lord.” Matt. 5:5, “Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth”; and v. 9, “Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.” Col. 3:12–13, “Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, . . . meekness, longsuffering; forbearing one another, forgiving one another.” Matt. 6:14–15, “If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.” Matt. 18:23,

4. The remainder of the paragraph (written in the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE’s direction from MS p. 10. At the beginning of the inserted passage he repeats the topic: “A meek, peaceable and forgiving spirit and practice.”

5. See above, p. 476.

"Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants. . . . And one was brought unto him, that owed him ten thousand talents," etc., "and he forgave him all the debt." But he refused to forgive his fellow servant that owed him an hundred pence. Therefore his Lord "delivered him to the tormenters, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise," says Christ, "shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses." Is. 61:1. "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek."

Love and charity is the primary fruit of the Spirit. See Reflections.⁶ I Cor. 13, "Though I speak with the tongue of men and angels, and have not charity," etc. I John 4:16, "God is love; he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." I John 5:2, "By this we know that we love the children of God, that we love God."

Love of brethren is particularly given as a sign of grace. See Christ's discourse with the rich young man [Matt. 19:16–24]. John 13:35, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another." I John 2:10, "He that loveth his brother abideth in the light and there is none occasion of stumbling in him." I John 3:14, "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren"; and [vv.] 18–19, "My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth. And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him." [Vv.] 23–24, "Let us love one another, as he gave us commandment. And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit that he hath given us." Ch. 4:7, "Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God." Vv. 12–13, "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit." Heb. 6:9–11 (see this under the head of Good Works);⁷ Matt. 25, latter end. Luke 3:10–11, "And the people asked him, saying, What shall we do then? He answereth and saith unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise." Jas. 1:27, "Pure religion

6. "Reflections" is JE's early term for the "Miscellanies." This is probably a reference to "Miscellanies" no. 375 (see above, p. 488, n. 3, and *Works*, 13, 447–48).

7. See above, p. 473.

and undefiled before God the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.”⁸

Love of brethren. I Pet. 1:22–23, “Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently: being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.”⁹ See what was the distinguishing character of Isaac’s spouse, the type of the church and the mother of Christ [Gen. 24]. Matt. 10:41, “He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man’s reward.” Gen. 12:3, “I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee.” So ch. 27:29, and Num. 24:9.

A merciful spirit and practice. Matt. 5:7, “Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.” Is. 57:1, “The righteous perisheth, . . . the merciful men are taken away.” Col. 3:12, “Put on, as the elect of God, bowels of mercies, kindness.”

Mercy and liberality to the poor. Ps. 37:21, “The righteous showeth mercy, and giveth”; and [v.] 26, “He is ever merciful, and lendeth.” And Ps. 112:5, “A good man showeth favor, and lendeth”; and v. 9, “He hath dispersed abroad, and given to the poor.” And Prov. 14:31, “He that honoreth God hath mercy on the poor.” II Cor. 8:8, “I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.”

Jas. 2:13–16, “For he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy. . . . What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and hath not works? can faith save him? If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto him, Depart in peace, be you warmed and filled; notwithstanding if ye give them not those things that are needful for the body; what doth it profit?” Prov. 21:26. “The righteous giveth and spareth not.” I John 3:17–19, “But whoso hath this world’s goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth. And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him.” Matt. 25:34–46, “Come, ye blessed

8. MS: “see to the like purpose ~~Jer 22–16~~.” The following paragraph (written in the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE’s direction from MS p. 15.

9. The remainder of the paragraph (written in the late 1730s) is a later addition in blank ink, probably contemporary with the bottom of MS p. 12.

[. . .]. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat," etc. "Depart from me, ye cursed, [. . .] for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat."¹

A merciful spirit and practice. Jer. 22:16, "He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: was not this to know me? saith the Lord." Jas. 1:27, "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Hos. 6:6, "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings."² See texts in sermon from Deut. 15:7–11, in the application.³

Really believing and being heartily convinced that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Savior of the world. I John 5:1, "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God." Ch. 4:1–2, "Try the spirits whether they be of God [. . .]. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God." V. 15, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God." I Cor. 12:3, "No man can say that Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Ghost."

Being⁴ faithful to God in our own sphere, our particular calling, in that which God has assigned as our particular work. Luke 3:12–14, the publicans asked him, "What shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you." And the soldiers asked him, "What shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content in your wages." The Parable of the Talents, Matt. 25:14–30.

Particularly in the gospel ministry. Matt. 24:45–46, "Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Dan. 12:3, "They that turn

1. The following paragraph (written in the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 16.

2. The final sentence of the paragraph is a later addition, in a black ink characteristic of the late 1730s and early '40s.

3. The sermon on Deut. 15:7–11, dated Jan. 1732/33 and published under the title *The Duty of Charity to the Poor in Works*, 17, 369–404, has the doctrine, "'Tis the most absolute and indispensable duty of a people of God to give bountifully and willingly for the supply of the wants of the needy." In the fourth head under the second use of the Application (pp. 381–83), JE states that the Scripture teaches this duty three ways: God will deal by us as we deal by others (Matt. 5:7; Jas. 2:13–15); such is the character of a godly man (Ps. 37:21, 112:5; Prov. 14:31; Is. 57:1 ff.; II Cor. 8:8); and judgment will be passed according to works in this respect (Matt. 25:34).

4. JE interlineated and then delineated the word "doubtful" above the paragraph.

many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." I Pet. 5:4, "And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."

See sermon on Ps. 119:2.⁵

An⁶ universal observance of outward moral duties was a more evident sign of sincerity under the Old Testament, before future rewards and punishments were clearly revealed, than it is now: for if men had not the love of God, they had nothing to make them universally moral, in thoughts and in secret actions, in aims and ends, and those things which were not liable to human cognizance.⁷

These passages seem to show that by works in Scripture are meant both internal exercises of grace or corruption, as well as external; and indeed, all those acts that are rewardable or punishable. I Kgs. 8:39, "Give to every man according to his ways, whose heart thou knowest (for thou, even thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men)," and other parallel texts that speak of God's searching the heart, and rendering to every one according to his works. So the places that speak of our not being justified by works of the law, i.e. by any goodness of our own, whereby we are conformed to the law of God. So we are by loving God and our neighbor in our hearts. In this extent works are spoken of, "Enemies in your mind by wicked works" [Col. 1:21]; and Heb. 6:1, "Repentance from dead works"; and ch. 9:14.

By not continuing in sin, but walking in newness of life, and not serving sin; yielding obedience to God and being servants of righteousness; and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness. The Apostle in Rom. 6 has a special respect to external works that are performed, because he particularly explains it by sin's not reigning in our mortal bodies; and yielding our members as "instruments of righteousness unto God"; and yield-

5. The sermon on Ps. 119:2 (146), from early 1730, has the doctrine, "The way to receive the blessed fruits of religion is to practice it with our whole hearts." To practice religion with the whole heart, JE states, is to do it with the whole consent of all our faculties, and to do it of free choice and with a conviction of the reality of spiritual things. In the application, he characterizes those who do not practice religion with their whole heart as those whose obedience is neither universal nor persevering.

6. At this point, the text skips from the middle of MS p. 4 to the bottom of MS p. 5 because of JE's shifting of passages. The minute hand of the original composition ends, and the hand becomes larger and more open.

7. The following two paragraphs (dating from the mid- to late 1730s) are inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 12.

ing our members as “servants of righteousness unto holiness” (see vv. 1, 3, 6, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19). So the Apostle in ch. 12:1 insists upon it. By good works and keeping God’s commandments and bringing forth fruit, when spoken of as signs of sincerity, are chiefly intended properly voluntary behavior; because the same is expressed by walking before God and being perfect, walking before him in truth and with a perfect heart, running a race, fighting a good fight.⁸

By good works is meant something properly distinguished from knowing or apprehending things of religion, from that text, “*If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them*” [John 13:17], and also from believing so far as an act of the judgment is intended; as appears by what James says about faith and works [Jas. 2].

There are two sorts of signs of godliness. First, there are those things that are mentioned in Scripture as that wherein godliness doth more primarily and radically consist, such as seeing and knowing God and spiritually understanding divine things; believing the reality of divine things; loving God, fearing God, trusting in God; repentance; believing in Christ; choosing and resting in God and Christ and spiritual and eternal good as a portion; hungering and thirsting after spiritual good. These are signs of a good estate, and may be known directly by reflecting upon ourselves and inquiring what we experience within ourselves.

As is evident by the frequent professions that are made of these things in Scripture by the saints. We have often instances of profession of faith. Christ asks persons from time to time whether they believe, and they profess it. So he asked Peter whether he loved him: he answers, “Yea, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee” [John 21:17]. How often are love to God, trusting in God and choosing him for a portion, resting in him, longing after him, professed in the Psalms.

Second, there are those things that the Scripture mentions as signs of these signs of faith and love, etc.: such as bringing forth fruit, doing good works, keeping God’s and Christ’s commandments universally and perseveringly, mortifying our lusts, denying ourselves and selling all for Christ, bridling our tongues, believing difficult doctrines, being of a Christian temper and behavior towards ourselves and our fellow creatures. These are expressly given in Scripture as signs by which we are to try our sincer-

8. See the texts referred to below, p. 510, n. 1, and Heb. 12:1, I Cor. 9:24–26, I Tim. 6:12, and II Tim. 4:7.

The following paragraph, written in a later hand (late 1730s at the earliest), is inserted here at JE’s direction from MS p. 16.

ity by, and by which we are to try whether we indeed have those things wherein godliness more radically consists.⁹

Trusting in God. Scarcely anything is more frequently mentioned in the Old Testament as the distinguishing character of a godly man than trusting in God. See what is meant in the Old Testament by trusting in God, in sermon on Jer. 17:5–6, where is described what it is to trust in a creature; and sermons on the two following verses, where is described what it is to trust in God.¹

Choosing and resting in God and Christ and spiritual and eternal good as our portion. This is implied in trusting in God, that is often mentioned as a characteristic of a godly man, as above, as is shown in the sermons there referred to. See also the texts quoted under the head of Denying Ourselves and Selling All for Christ.² Ps. 4:6–7, “There be many that say, Who will show us any good? Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased.” Ps. 16:5–6, “The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot. The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.” Ps. 27:4, “One [thing] have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple.” Ps. 73:25, “Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth whom I desire besides thee.” Ps. 119:57, “Thou art my portion, O Lord”; and 142:5, “Thou art my portion in the land of the living.” Lam. 3:24, “The Lord is my portion, saith my soul.” Hab. 3:17–19, “Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet will I rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.” Luke 10:42, “Mary hath chosen the good part that shall not be taken away from her.” Phil. 3:7–9, “But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness,

9. At this point, the text skips from MS p. 6 to the top of MS p. 8 because of JE’s shifting of passages.

1. The sermons on Jer. 17:5–6 (122) and 17:7–8 (123) date from the summer or fall of 1729.

2. See above, pp. 483–84.

which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith."

Fearing God is very often mentioned as a characteristic of a godly man in Scripture. It is so mentioned in both Old Testament and New; vid. *Common Place Book*.³ By which one main thing intended, is having a dread of displeasing and provoking God, as appears by the following texts. Ex. 1:17–18, "But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them." Lev. 19:14, "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor cast a stumblingblock before the blind, but shalt fear thy God." Job, when he is arguing his sincerity, declares how carefully he avoided sin; for says he, Job 31:23, "Destruction from God was a terror to me, and by reason of [his] highness I could not endure." Ps. 36:1, "The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart, there is no fear of God before his eyes." Ps. 76:7, "Thou, even thou, art to be feared: and who may stand in thy sight when once thou art angry?" Is. 8:12–13, "Neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread." Is. 66:2, "But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." Ezra 9:4, "Then were assembled unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the transgression of those that had been carried away"; and 10:3, "According to the counsel of my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God." Is. 66:5, "Hear ye the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word; Your brethren that hated you, and cast you out for my name's sake, said, The Lord be glorified: but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed." Ps. 119:120, "My flesh trembleth for fear of thee; and I am afraid of thy judgments." Matt. 10:28, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him that is able to destroy both body and soul in hell." Luke 12:5, "But I will forewarn you whom you shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him." Heb. 12:28–29, "Let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear: for our God is a consuming fire."

There must be a change made in man; he in heart, nature and life must be changed from sin to God. All are under sin and must be converted. Rom. 3:9–19, "What then? are we any better than they? No, in no wise:

3. Locke, *Common Place Book to the Holy Bible*, ch. XVI, "Of the Duty of Believers." Pp. 140–44 list verses under the duty to "Fear God."

for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin; as it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none doth good, no, not one.” And there the Apostle shows by passages quoted from the Old Testament that everyone is universally corrupt in every part, proving it of the several distinct members: their throat, their tongues, their lips, their mouths, their feet. It is shown that each of these is desperately corrupt, in that “their throat is an open sepulcher,” that “with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood.” These are horrid crimes. The meaning is, that there are the seeds of the most atrocious wickedness naturally in every man. And all that is good is denied of them in the following verses: “Destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace they have not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes. Now we know that whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law: that every mouth may be stopped, and that all the world may become guilty before God.” Rom. 5:12, “Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.” Gal. 3:22, “But the scripture hath concluded all under sin.” Ps. 51:5, “Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me.” Job 11:12, “Vain man would be wise, though man be born like the wild ass’ colt,” i.e. ignorant, perverse and untractable, going astray as soon as he is born. In the original it is, “Though man is born a wild ass’ colt.” As Mr. Hubbard in the Berry Street Sermons paraphrases it, “Utterly averse to be under the law and rule of God, headstrong and furiously bent on his own will and ways.”⁴ Compare the verse with the foregoing. Job 14:1–4, “Man that is born of woman is of few days,” etc. “Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one.” Ps. 58:3–5, “The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies. Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear,” etc. Matt. 3:4, “O generation of vipers.” Gen. 8:21, “The imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth.” Job 15:14–16, “What is man,

4. *Faith and Practice Represented in Fifty-Four Sermons on the Principle Heads of the Christian Religion; Preached at Berry Street, 1733. By I. Watts, D. Neal, J. Guyse, S. Price, D. Jennings, J. Hubbard* (2 vols., London, 1735). John Hubbard’s sermon on “The Fall of Man, and Original Sin; with Man’s Inability to Recover Himself” is in vol. I, sermon X. The quote appears on p. 219: “Of Man in general it is affirm’d, that he is *vain* and *born like a wild Ass’s Colt*, Job xi. 12. utterly averse to be under the Law and Rule of God, strong and furiously bent on his own lawless Will and Ways.”

that he should be clean? and he that is born of a woman, that he should be righteous? . . . How much more abominable and filthy is man, who drinketh iniquity like water?" Jer. 17:9 (compared with Job 14:4, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one"), "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" Matt. 10:16–17, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: . . . But beware of men." Luke 11:13, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts." John 15:19, "Because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." Tit. 3:3–5, "For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after the kindness and love of God our Savior towards men appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost." Eph. 4:22–24, "That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your minds; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." In the beginning of the sixth chapter of Romans, this follows, and is introduced by the Apostle's discourse of original sin in the latter end of the fifth chapter: "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, so we should walk in newness of life. For if we have planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin," etc. Ezek. 16:3–4, "Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem; Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite. And as for thy nativity, in the day that thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to supple thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all." V. 6, "And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live." Eph. 2:1–5, "And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins; wherein in time past ye walked *according to the course of this world*, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; among whom *also we all* had our con-

version in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; *and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.* But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ (by grace ye are saved), and hath raised us up together." Vv. 8–10, "For by grace ye are saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."⁵

All are under sin and must be converted or have their hearts and lives changed from sin to God. Deut. 30:6, "And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live" (see note concerning circumcision on Gen. 17:10).⁶ Ezek. 11:19–20, "And I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh: that they may walk in my statutes, and keep my ordinances, and do them." Jer. 31:31–33, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and the house of Judah: . . . This shall be the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people." Ezek. 36:26–27, "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them." Rom. 2:29, "But he is a Jew, that is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter." Phil. 3:2–3, "Beware of the concision. For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh"; i.e. have no confidence in such external things as the Jewish circumcision, as being that worship that is acceptable to God, because 'tis not in the Spirit. Col. 2:11–13, "In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ: buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.

5. The following paragraph (written in the early 1730s) is inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 13.

6. In the "Blank Bible" note on Gen. 17:10, JE states that circumcision is "an evidence of original sin . . . and we are taught that the foreskin represents sin or lust."

And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him." Col. 3:9–10, "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him." II Cor. 5:17, "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are past away; behold, all things are become new." Gal. 6:15, "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." John 3:3, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." [Vv.] 5–6, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." [V.] 8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Matt. 18:3, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." John 1:12–13, "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of men, but of God." Jas. 1:18, "Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures." I Pet. 1:21–23, "Who by him do believe in God, who raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God. Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently: being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever." And it there follows, in the continuation of the same argument, in the second verse of the next [chapter]: "As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." Luke 13:2–5, "Suppose ye that those Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans . . . I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Or those eighteen," etc. I John 3:13, "We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death." These words imply that we all originally are in death and remain so 'till there be a great change in us. Gen. 5:1–3, "In the likeness of God made he him; . . . Adam begat a son in his own likeness."⁷

It is plainly taught that the world of mankind are corrupt and wicked,

7. The four following paragraphs are inserted here at JE's direction from MS p. 20, which is written in a later ink and hand, probably of the mid- to late 1740s.

and also that all are wicked; and⁸ that 'tis by regeneration only that men are made otherwise. I John 5:17–19, “All unrighteousness is sin: and there is a sin not unto death. We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not. And we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.” And⁹ by ch. 2, last, and ch. 3, at the beginning, it is exceeding manifest that [they who] are before or without regeneration, whereby they are born of God, are impure, wicked and the children of the devil; and that they are changed and purified by regeneration, or a being born of God; and that the world are wicked and enemies to holiness and the children of, and naturally abide in, death (i.e. in sin and wickedness); and that by regeneration their state is changed and they are passed from death to life. “If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doth righteousness is born of him. Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God: therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not. Beloved, now are we the sons of God . . . And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure.” V. 5, “Ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins.” Vv. 8–10, “He that committeth sin is of the devil; . . . For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.” [Vv.] 13–14, “Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death” (i.e. “remains still in death,” implying that he is naturally in a state of death).

This part of holy Scripture is exceeding full of evidence of the doctrine of original sin, and affords a multitude of arguments for it.¹

Job 28:13, “Man knoweth not the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the living,” together with the last verse, “And unto man he said, The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is under-

8. MS: “but only they that are born of God &.” The phrase “that men” that appears later in the sentence indicates that JE apparently changed the wording mid-sentence without going back to delete or revise the annotated clause.

9. MS: “And tis manifest.” Deleted to prevent redundancy.

1. The first two sentences of the following paragraph, i.e. the references to Job 28:13 and Prov. 22:15, are written in a black ink, but the remainder of the paragraph is in the gray ink that precedes.

standing." Prov. 22:15, "Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child." Prov. 20:9, "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?" This supposes that everybody originally has sin, everybody is first polluted: for "making clean" is an expression which is relative and has reference to an antecedent, to uncleanness; and the latter expression, "Who can say I am pure from my sin," supposes everyone has sin of his own. II. Cor. 5:14-15, "If one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them, and rose again."

Ps. 94:11, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity," compared with Gen. 8:21.

Humility, a broken and contrite heart, a being poor in spirit, sensibleness of our own vileness and unworthiness, self-abasement before God, disclaiming all worthiness and glory, mourning for sin.

Job 22:29, "When men are cast down then, thou shalt say, There is lifting up; and he shall save the humble person." Ps. 34:18, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit." Ps. 51:17, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Ps. 138:6, "Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect to the lowly." Prov. 3:34, "He giveth grace to the lowly." Is. 57:15, "Thus saith the high and lofty One who inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones." Is. 66:1-2, "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: . . . but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." Mic. 6:8, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" Is. 61:1-2, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, . . . and to comfort those that mourn." Matt. 5:3, "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's is the kingdom of heaven"; and v. 4, "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted." Matt. 18:3-4, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." Mark 10:15, "Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter

therein." Luke 18:9–14, "And he spake this parable unto certain that trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others," etc. "The publican, standing afar off, would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Luke 15:18–19, the prodigal son said, "I will arise and go to my father, and I will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thine hired servants." Matt. 15:26–27, Christ granted not the request of the woman of Canaan till she said, "Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table," and she submitted to Christ in that repulse he gave her, "'Tis not meet to take the children's bread, and cast it to dogs," and did as it were own that she was worthy to be called a dog. Whereupon Christ says unto her, "O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt." So the centurion that we have an account of, Luke 7, he acknowledged that he was not worthy that Christ "should enter under my roof," and that he was "not worthy to come to thee." See the manner of the woman's coming to Christ that was a sinner, Luke 7:37–50, "And behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and anointed them with the ointment." And Jesus pardoned and accepted her, and says to her, "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." Vid. note on Mark 14:3.² The thief on the cross says to the other, Luke 23:40–41, "Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds." I Cor. 11:31, "For if we would judge ourselves we should not be condemned with the world." Col. 3:12, "Put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, . . . humbleness of mind." Lev. 26:40–42, "If they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, with their trespass which they have trespassed against me, and that also they have walked contrary to me; and that I also have walked contrary to them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies; if then

2. The "Blank Bible" note on Mark 14:3 presents a typological interpretation of the woman's pouring oil on Christ's feet. The act itself is a type of the believer's exercising love to Christ, the box out of which the oil was poured represents the believer's heart poured forth in love to Christ, and the fact that the box was broken shows that true Christian grace flows only from a broken and contrite heart.

their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they accept of the punishment of their iniquity: then will I remember my covenant with Jacob," etc. Job 33:27–28, "If any say, I have sinned, and perverted that which was right, and it profited me not; he will deliver his soul from going into the pit, and his life shall see the light." Ps. 32:5, "I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." Prov. 28:13, "He that confesseth and forsaketh his sins shall have mercy." Jer. 3:13, "Only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God," etc. Hos. 5:15, "I will go and return unto my place, till they acknowledge their offense." Joel 2:12–13, "Turn unto me with all your heart, with weeping, and with mourning; and rent your heart, and not your garments." Luke 22:61–62, "And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord," etc. "And Peter went out, and wept bitterly." I John 1:9, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Jas. 4:9–10, "Be afflicted, mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your joy into heaviness. Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up." Jer. 31:18–20, "Surely I have heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus; Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: turn thou me, and I shall be turned; thou art the Lord my God. Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth." Zech. 12:10, "And I will pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look on me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for an only son," etc. Ezek. 20:41–43, "I will accept you with your sweet savor, when I bring you out from the people," etc. "And there shall ye remember your ways, and all your doings, wherein ye have been defiled; and ye shall loathe yourselves in your own sight for all your evils that ye have committed." Ezek. 36:26–27, 31, "A new heart also will I give unto you . . . And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes," etc. "Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that were not good, and shall loathe yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities and for your abominations." Gen. 24:64–65, Rebekah, when she comes to Isaac, lights off her camel and takes a veil and covers herself; so those that come truly to Christ, come humbly. Matt. 28:9, "And they came and held him by the

feet, and worshipped him.” See concerning the circumstances of Paul’s conversion [Acts 9:1–22].

To³ show in this essay how that the Scripture is a more sure guide in this matter than experience; that many, by making others’ experiences their guide in this matter, are misled—others that are accounted godly are not so. And how shall we know whose experience to make our rule, unless it be by the Scripture? So that if we must judge of experience by Scripture, then Scripture is the highest rule: for experience is a subordinate rule that is to be tried by it, and by which we are to judge of it.

Boldly confessing Christ before men, when we shall expose ourselves to the odium, reproach and persecution of men. Matt. 10:32–33, “Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven”; and Luke 12:8–9, the like words. Mark 8:38, “Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.” John 12:42–43, “Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.” Rom. 10:10, “With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” II Tim. 2:12, “If we suffer, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he also will deny us.” Rev. 2:13, “I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan’s seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.”

Spiritually⁴ seeing and knowing God and Christ and understanding divine things. John 17:3, “And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.” V. 6, “I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the

3. At the top of MS p. 12, the handwriting is neat and round, and the ink brown, as in the late 1720s or very early 1730s.

4. Text skips to top of MS p. 14 because of JE’s shifting of passages. The hand and ink date from no later than the early 1730s.

world." Matt. 11:25-27, "At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." Ps. 9:10, "They that know thy name will put their trust in thee." Jer. 31:33-34, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." I Cor. 15:34, "Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame." Jer. 9:24, "But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth." Jer. 22:16, speaking of Josiah, "He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: was not this to know me? saith the Lord." John 15:21, "But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me." John 8:19, "Jesus answered, Ye neither know me, nor my Father: if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also." John 16:3, "And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me." I Cor. 2:14, "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." John 6:40, "And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day." John 12:44-46, "Jesus cried and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me. And he that seeth me seeth him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness." John 14:17, "Even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." I John 3:6, "Whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him." I John 2:3-5, "And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby we know that we are in him." I John 4:7-8,

"Every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love." III John 1:11, "He that doth good is of God: but he that doth evil hath not seen God." I John 2:13, "I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known [him] that is from the beginning. . . . I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father." V. 14, "I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning." II Cor. 3:18, "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory even as by the Spirit of the Lord." Ch. 4:3-4, "But if our gospel be hid, 'tis hid to them that are lost: in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." V. 6, "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Phil. 3:8, "Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: . . . and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ." Prov. 2, at the beginning, "If thou criest after knowledge," etc., "Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God. For the Lord giveth wisdom; out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding." Jer. 24:7, "And I will give them an heart to know me, that I am the Lord: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God: for they shall return unto me with their whole heart." Matt. 13:19, "When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one," etc. Matt. 13:23, "But he that receiveth the seed into good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it," etc. John 14:21, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." This is to explain what he said before in the nineteenth verse, that the disciples should see him when the world should see him no more. Gal. 1:15-16, "But when it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me . . ." Deut. 29:4, "Yet the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day." Ps. 25:14, "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; and he will show them his covenant." Matt. 13:11, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given."

Spiritual knowledge. John 6:45, "It is written in the Prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." Eph. 1:17-19, "That the God of

our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him: the eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance, in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power," etc. Eph. 3:17–19, "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge." Judg. 2:10, "There arose another generation after them, that knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel." I Sam. 2:12, "The sons of Eli were sons of Belial; they knew not the Lord." Is. 6:9–10, "Hear ye indeed, but understand not; see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and convert, and be healed." Jer. 2:8, "They that handle the law knew me not: the pastors also transgressed against me." Jer. 4:22, "My people is foolish, they have not known me." Dan. 11:32–33, "But the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that do understand among the people shall instruct many." Hos. 4:1, "The Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land." Hos. 6:3, "Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the Lord." Hos. 6:6, "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." Hos. 14:9, "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall in them." Col. 1:9–10, "And to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God." Col. 3:10, "And put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him." II Pet. 1:2, "Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and Jesus our Lord." II Pet. 3:18, "But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." I John 3:1, "Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed on us, that we should be called the sons of God: therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not." I John 4:6, "He that knoweth God heareth us." Eph. 4:21, "If so be ye have heard him, and have been taught by him."

Relishing,⁵ savoring and delighting in the Word of God. This is spoken of in the Psalms, in places too many to be enumerated.

Taking complacency in the awful attributes of God, as well as those that are more winning and drawing; delighting in the absolute sovereignty and vindictive justice of God, as well as in his mercy and goodness. This was the spirit and temper of Jesus Christ. Matt. 11:25–27, “At that time Jesus rejoiced in spirit and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.” And so it is the spirit of all the true followers of Christ. It appears to be the spirit and temper of the saints to rejoice in God’s sovereignty and justice by their songs: as particularly the song of Moses at the Red Sea, the song of Deborah and the song of Hannah, and the song of the Virgin Mary. It is the spirit of the saints in heaven, as is evident by their often ascribing dominion and power to God in their songs, and praising him on the occasions of the executions of his wrath, in the Revelation.⁶

A disposition to praise God. ’Tis the breathing of an holy spirit to be ready to praise God, as appears by innumerable places in the Psalms.

A delighting and rejoicing in God. Ps. 9:2, “I will be glad and rejoice in thee.”⁷

That which is naturally imported by these Scripture expressions, so often used to signify a gracious sincerity, of turning to God and seeing God, and loving and serving him with the **WHOLE HEART** and with a **PERFECT HEART**, and all the heart: see use of examination in sermon on II Cor. 8:5.⁸

5. At this point, the text skips from MS p. 15 to the top of MS p. 17 because of JE’s shifting of passages. The ink and hand are of early composition.

6. The next two entries, which are all that appear on MS p. 18, are early.

7. The next two entries, which are all that appear on MS p. 19, are later additions, dating from 1739 or later (see next note).

8. The sermon on II Cor. 8:5, July 1739, has as its doctrine, “We ought to give ourselves to Jesus Christ.” The first Use is of self-examination, in which JE asks his hearers whether they have indeed given their whole heart to God. “Have you in your heart alienated yourself as it were from yourself?” JE goes on to state that people may deceive themselves about their own experiences, or may be deceived about others’ experiences, but God is not deceived.

See also sermon [on] Ps. 119:2.⁹ See many places in the Concordance under the words *heart, with all* and *perfect heart*.¹

The grand secret of being real, thorough Christians lies in these two things: in cleaving to Christ as our only portion, so as therein to renounce the world; and in trusting in Christ as our only Savior, in a renunciation of our own righteousness. See “Miscellanies” no. 862.²

See³ Ps. 119, which seems to be throughout a profession of his sincerity. See the many signs of sincerity that are there professed.

See *Common Place Book on the Holy Scripture*, the chapter concerning sincerity and zeal, p. 183.⁴

9. See above, p. 493, n. 5.

1. Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament*.

2. “Miscellanies” no. 862, “Humiliation” (c. 1740), which appears to be virtually simultaneous with this entry in the “Signs” notebook, begins, “’Tis necessary that persons should be brought to forsake the world as well as their own righteousness in order to a saving closing with Christ.” Two ways of being brought off from the world include having one’s heart “forced off” the world by afflictions and trial, or having it drawn off by being shown something better. See *Works*, 20, 86–91.

3. The final two entries in the notebook, on the bottom of MS p. 20, appear to be contemporary with the entries made in the middle of MS p. 16 (above, p. 485), which, as here, also include a reference to the *Common Place Book*.

4. Locke, *Common Place Book to the Holy Bible*, ch. XVI, “Of the Duties of Believers.” Pp. 183–89 list texts for the duty, “To walk with God heartily, uprightly, sincerely, and to follow him fully and zealously: The reasons thereof.”

CHRIST'S EXAMPLE

THE manuscript "Christ's Example" was begun in the period from August 1728 to February 1729, probably as part of a complex of manuscripts on marks of grace that included "Signs of Godliness" and "Notes on Conversion from Various Authors." Owing to its scriptural nature, "Christ's Example" may bear some possible relation to "Notes on Scripture." Thomas A. Schafer has established that the four-page manuscript is one folio signature with a London/PvL watermark, which first appears in sermons dating from the spring of 1728. Initially, Edwards filled in to the middle of page one, through the comment on Mark 10:21. From August 1731 to December 1732, he wrote the entries up to and including the reference to the sermon on Matt. 16:21–23, which took him to the top of page two of the manuscript.

As we see in other manuscripts such as "Signs of Godliness," Edwards then laid aside the notebook for many years. When he did return to it, he drew a horizontal line where the earlier entries ended and divided the remainder of page two, as well as pages three and four, into two columns. The handwriting of these subsequent entries is very angular and the ink black, both characteristic of Edwards' manuscripts from the very late 1740s and the 1750s. Also, in citing scripture texts, Edwards uses capital roman numerals for chapter numbers, a further characteristic of his late manuscripts.

The earlier entries are relatively polished and eloquent, and contain few direct scriptural references. They provide as examples for Christian living Jesus' love and friendship for his disciples, his spirit of forgiveness (even to his enemies who crucified him), the absence of revenge in him, and his humility (as when he washed his disciples' feet). Christ did not seek the praise and admiration of men; even after performing miracles, he would remove himself from the public eye. Instead, he sought "to withdraw and be alone in the woods and mountains and retired places, to contemplate and converse with God"—a statement that resonates with the earlier "Apostrophe to Sarah Pierpont" and the later *Personal Narrative*. Christ preferred Mary's "spiritual" way of showing respect—by sitting at

Christ's feet and hearing his teachings—to Martha's, who worried about being a proper host.

The later entries in the notebook, taken from the four gospels (with an emphasis on Matthew), are cursory comments on Christ's behavior supplied more or less in canonical order. These later entries, which elaborate on the themes of Christ's love, humility, benevolence, and condescension, bear some comparison with the "Harmony of the Old and New Testaments" notebook in their similar format and may be roughly contemporaneous.

CHRIST'S EXAMPLE

THE sincerity and wonderful ardency of Christ's love and friendship to his disciples, his wonderfully pitiful and compassionate nature, and the tenderness of his heart and his great love to mankind and all that were his, appears by his taking so much pains and being so much concerned for the comforting of his disciples, just before his death, when he had all the horrors of that just before his eyes; and we know that he was not a little affected by this prospect. And yet he seems to be much more concerned for the disciples, than himself; he seems to be wholly taken up in pitying them, exhorting and counseling them, and praying for them and the church. How strange it seems to a man that is going to be put to death, [to be] so much concerned and taken up in pitying his friends; what a degree of friendship must that be that will cause it. 'Twas not because he was unconcerned about his death, as appears by John 12:27.

When Christ prayed and pleaded that his enemies might be forgiven upon the cross, he did it heartily and not feignedly and affectedly: for what heart would any one have to feign any such thing when in the agonies of death? Neither had he any great temptation to feign it for honor and applause, seeing before it was not accounted a duty to do good to enemies and those that abuse us.

Our Lord never sought to be revenged of his enemies, though he had so many that so constantly maligned, persecuted and reproached [him]. We have no instance of his seeking revenge in his whole life, and when he died, no shadow or appearance of any desire of revenge. He gave no directions or counsels to his disciples tending to this, nor did he let drop anything out of his mouth manifesting any revengeful thought or inclination in his heart.

How far was Christ from a revengeful spirit, and how wonderfully meek, that he should wash Judas' feet (John 13), though he knew he was just about to betray him; yea, had actually intended to do it, as appears by v. 2.

It does not consist with an ordinary degree of pride for a man that pretends to be a king, and that sits as a teacher and a master over others, and is the Son of God and rightful sovereign of the whole world, to be inclined (though it were only for a pretense) to such an action as the washing the

feet of his disciples and attendants. Yea, 'twould seem unnatural and indecorous, were there not a peculiar and inimitable love, sweetness and condescension, wonderfully tempered with that superiority and lordship which he maintained over them. What man, if he had, being an impostor, contrived such a thing as being the only begotten Son of God, sent from heaven to be the king of the whole world, would have thought it proper and consistent with his dignity to do such a thing, and would not rather have thought it to be a disgrace to his great office and high relation to the Almighty as his Son?

No beauties of mind are more attracting to men than goodness, love and condescension. Let us therefore dwell in our minds on the wonders of this kind in Christ's incarnation, death, etc.

Dr. Manton [writes]: "It is worth our observation, that in the gospel we are so often told that after the Lord Jesus had performed some eminent miracle, he withdrew himself and retired from the mu[l]titude] that so he might not be mixed with their praises."¹ How exceeding agreeable is it to an eminently virtuous and holy mind, after his virtues and excellencies have been very signally manifested and remarkably published to man's admiration, to delight to withdraw and be alone in the woods and mountains and retired places, to contemplate and converse with God, with a neglect of the praise and admiration of man.

All that strive to advance themselves in the world and obtain dominion used, like Absalom, to endeavor by one wise or other to get the people's admiration and insinuate themselves into their affections. But Christ showed that he did not seek promotion and advancement by men, nor at all court their favor in the whole of his behavior; he loved to retire from their applause, and when they came to make him a king, he took that opportunity to reprove 'em and thereby drove them from him.

Mark 10:21, "Then Jesus beholding him loved him"; by which it appears that Christ was [of] a very benevolent loving temper.²

Matt. 3:13, "Then cometh Jesus to John, to be baptized of him." Christ was now just going to enter upon his public ministry as the Messiah. An imposter, and one that was contriving to set up himself for some great,

1. Thomas Manton (1620–77), an English Non-conformist, was a highly respected preacher. In his "Catalogue," JE has references to "Dr. Manton's Sermons," "Twenty Select Sermons by Dr. Manton," and "Manton's Sermon in various books." A number of Manton's sermons and other writings were collected in five volumes (London, 1678–1701) and in William Bates, *Sermons Preached by the Late Thomas Manton* (London, 1678).

2. The light brown ink of the first sitting (Aug. 1728-Feb. 1729) ends here; what follows is in a darker brown ink dating from Aug. 1731 to Dec. 1732.

extraordinary [man] only for the sake of honor or riches, would have been jealous of John, that men were thus flocking [to]. He never would have borne any appearance as though he himself were one of his followers and disciples amongst the crowd. So Christ extolled John as the greatest prophet, and more than a prophet (Luke 7:28). But 'tis evident that Christ did not in any thing act like an imposter; he never was ostentatious or forward to show and declare himself, or any way greedy of honor and applause from the multitude. He endeavored to suppress any such thing, and when they had thoughts of advancing of him,³ he suppressed and endeavored to beget in them better notions.

Luke 10, from the thirty-eighth verse to the end: when Christ came to the house, Mary and Martha had their different ways of showing their respect to Christ. Martha was concerned that Christ should be treated as they used to treat great men: she was anxious that he might have good outward entertainment; she put herself to a great deal of trouble that Christ might be well waited upon; she was "cumbered about much serving." Mary sat at his feet, and hearing his word. She showed her esteem and love to Christ by the love she had to his word, and the reception and entertainment she gave it. And her way was most acceptable to Christ. Herein Christ manifested his humility, contempt of the honor of the world, and his charitable beneficent spirit. He manifested his humility and disregard of the honor of the world. If some great man had come to the house—the governor, or high priest, or some of their Pharisees—they would have expected to be waited upon with a great deal of ceremony: they would not have disapproved of Martha's being at a great deal of trouble to wait upon them and entertain them; they would not have commended Mary, rather than Martha, who neglected his outward attendance for the sake of hearing spiritual doctrine; it would have suited them well that they should put themselves to trouble. But Christ had not so great delight in such a way of showing respect as in that more spiritual way which Mary took. Though he was the most honorable person in the world, he had rather see one sitting at his feet, entertaining his gospel in their heart, than busily and anxiously serving and waiting upon him, as they are wont to wait upon great men. Herein he also showed of what a charitable beneficent disposition he was of: he took more delight in Mary's sitting and receiving good from him than in Martha's ministering to him; he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. This is

3. MS: "them."

not the spirit of impostors, whose only aim is to magnify and set up themselves.

Vid. sermon on Matt. 16:21–23.⁴

Christ did not proudly refuse to come to John to be baptized of him (Matt. 3:14–15).

His mildness and humility appears in the manner of his repelling Satan's temptations (Matt. 4).

His self-denial appears in his patiently suffering hunger and Satan's insults in that forty days of his temptation.

His steadfastness in obedience and trust in God appears in his resisting those temptations.

His contempt of the glory of the world appears in rejecting Satan's offer of the glory of the world (Matt. 4:8–10).

He did not affect to set aside the Law and the Prophets, and that way to set himself up as above them; but he greatly established their authority (Matt. 5:17–19).

Matt. 5, Luke 6. His spirit may be argued from his doctrine, especially being as it were newly introduced, so contrary to the doctrines of the Jewish teachers and the received settled opinions and notions of the people.

8:4. He would have the leper he cleansed strictly obey the Law of Moses. He was not for setting up himself in opposition to Moses (Mark 1:44).

8:7, 15:21–28; Luke 10:25–37, Luke 27:14. He did not despise the gentiles, as the rest of the Jews did. Yet this was not from prejudice against the Jews, his own people, or for want of peculiar friendship for them (see Matt. 10:5–6, 15:24; Mark 7:27).

8:19. He did not flatter the scribe, though a great man, when he appeared in a disposition to be his follower. He flattered neither small nor great to get honor. He dealt faithfully with him and with all (Luke 8:57–58, ch. 16:24–25, Luke 14:25–33). Matt. 19:16–22, Mark 10:17–22, Luke 18:18–23. He did [not] at all flatter the rich and great that appeared most

4. This sermon (234) is undated, but Schafer places it in a large batch of sermons written on English/GR paper dating from Aug. 1731–Dec. 1732, which provides a terminus a quem for the first set of entries in this MS (see *Works*, 17, 453). The doctrine of the sermon is, "It was a thing exceeding offensive to Christ to hear anything said against enduring those great sufferings which he came into the world to undergo." In the doctrinal portion, JE states that this idea was contrary to what Christ had freely chosen to do, and undergoing suffering for sinners was what Christ had desired to do from the beginning.

After this reference, JE did not write in the MS for many years. The remainder of the MS is in the black ink and angular hand characteristic of the late 1740s and 1750s. Before resuming, JE divided the rest of the present page and the subsequent pages each into two columns.

forward to be his followers, but dealt so by them as tended to prevent their being his followers, and had that effect (see Matt. 19:21–22). He flattered none with expectations of worldly prosperity (Matt. 24:9).

8, latter end. He did not conduct among the Gergesenes as one that affected by flatteries to get followers. He might know the loss of their swine would offend them. However, when they were displeased and besought him to be gone, it put him into no ruffle.

9:10, Mark 2:15–17, Luke 5:29–32, Luke 14. He eat and drank with publicans and sinners, did not make an ostentation of his peculiar holiness nor eminent greatness (11:19, Luke 19:1–10).

9:14–17. He did [not] make a great show before men of mortification, etc. by often fasting, as the disciples of John and others that were most esteemed for piety (see also 11:19, Luke 7:34).

9:2 and 22, Mark 5:34–36, Luke 8:48. The kind, gentle, compassionate and condescending manner in which he used to treat them that came to him for relief (20:28–34).

9:36. His compassionate temper (14:14, 15:32; Mark 1:41; Luke 7:13; Mark 8:2–3; John 11:33–35).

The directions he gave to his disciples show the spirit he was of: to treat all mankind with benevolence and courtesy, as hoping the best of them (Matt. 10:12–13); under persecution, not to behave with violent opposition nor a foolish sullenness; or an affected exposing themselves to suffering (v. 23).

He did not flatter his followers with hopes of worldly prosperity, nor attempt to draw followers that way (Matt. 10:16–39, Mark 8:34, Luke 9:23).

His condescension to the mean, his satisfaction in union and communion with them, and his contentment without the respect and society of the great; his satisfaction in God's will (Matt. 11:25–26, Luke 10:21).

His loving temper and disposition, and his love to virtue (Matt. 12:49–50).

Matt. 12:23, Mark 6:46, John 6:14–15. He affected not the applause of the multitude for his miracles when they were most disposed to extol him, and advance him to worldly glory and dominion. He cared not for the glory of the world. Mark 2:35. His great devotion, his neglect of the applause of the multitude, his forsaking it to converse with God alone, etc. (see also Luke 4:42).

He delighted to retreat from these things to spend time alone in divine contemplation, prayer and converse with God, so as to spend great part of the night, so depriving himself of sleep all that night, spending it in acts of devotion & mercy (Luke 6:12). And the next day, when they manifested

the same disposition, he encouraged it not at all (John 6:25–40). By the parallel place, Mark 3:6–13, it appears that this also was at a time when he was in a peculiar manner thronged by the admiring multitude (see also Luke 5:15–16).

Matt. 16:8, 17–19, 17:7. The great gentleness and love with which he treated his disciples (see sermon on that subject).⁵

Matt. 16:1–3, Mark 8:11–13. Christ would not work miracles for ostentation.

Matt. 16:21–23, Mark 8:31–33. Christ's cheerfulness in doing the will of God and redeeming sinners by his last sufferings (see sermon on that subject).⁶

Matt 27:24–27 and Mark 9:33. Christ's readiness to pay tribute, and working a miracle to avoid offense.

Matt. 18:1–6. His spirit appears in his doctrine. The humility and meekness of it, and love of it.

Love and compassion (18:11–14).

Meekness and moderation (vv. 15–17).

Forgiveness (vv. 21–35).

Matt. 19:14, Mark 10:13–16. His condescension to little children.

Matt. 20:17–19. Jesus' forwardness in going up to Jerusalem when he knew he was there to be crucified (see sermon on that subject).⁷

Matt. 20:30–34. Jesus found no fault with [them] that cried after him, whom the multitude rebuked as thinking they treated Christ with ill manners. But he kindly received and relieved them.

Matt. 21:8–11. He favored not the multitude, who were so greatly affected with his miracles and appeared so ready to assist him to set up a temporal kingdom at Jerusalem over all the nation of the Jews. He chose rather to go and be crucified, according to what he had foretold his disciples, in the foregoing chapter, vv. 17–18. He conducted so as to disappoint the expectations of the multitude to that degree that they were quickly turned against him and willing he should be crucified.

Matt. 25:35 to the end. His compassionate temper.

Matt. 26–27. His behavior in the approach of his last sufferings and under those sufferings.

5. There are no extant sermons on Matt. 16:8, 17–19 or 17:7. However, a sermon on John 15:15 (308), dated Dec. 1733, has as its doctrine, "When Christ was upon earth, he did not keep at an awful distance from his disciples, but was intimate with them as friends" (see *Works*, 17, 458).

6. See sermon on Matt. 16:21–23, cited above, n. 4.

7. There is no extant sermon on Matt. 20:17–19. This may be a reference to the sermon on Matt. 16:21–23, cited above, n. 4.

Luke 4:4. He would not work miracles merely from ostentation (see parallel place in Matthew [4:4]).

John 2:11. He did not discountenance innocent temporal enjoyments and liberties and customs testifying civil joy and mirth. He had no such moroseness or preciseness.

John 3. He did not flatter Nicodemus, a great man, when he showed a disposition to admire and adhere to him.

John 4. He civilly and kindly treated the Samaritans, contrary to the custom of the Jews, and was so engaged in seeking their spiritual good that he as it were forgot and neglected his food when he was weary and hungry (vv. 31–42).

Though the scribes and Pharisees and priests were his greatest enemies, yet he was forward to maintain the honor due to them. (Matt. 8:4 and Mark 1:44, Matt. 23:1–3).

Jesus obeyed the ceremonial law in going to their great feast at Jerusalem, though Jerusalem was a place peculiarly inimical to him. He obeyed when going to that Passover, at which he knew he should be crucified.

Luke 6:12. When he was about to enter on a business of great importance, he first sought to God in an extraordinary manner.

Matt. 9:10–13, Mark 2:15–17, Luke 5:29–32, Luke 7:36 to the end, Luke 15. His great condescension to, and kind reception, of noted sinners, that were had in disgrace, when he knew it would be to his reproach among the Jews.

Mark 5:18–19, Luke 8:38–39. If Christ had sought the applause of men, he would willingly have suffered the Gaderene, on whom he had wrought so great a miracle, to have gone with him for all to behold wherever he went; but he sought not his own glory, but the glory of God, and therefore sends to tell his friends and countrymen how great things God had done for him, and had compassion on him.

Mark 6:31–34. Christ's compassion was moved on occasion of that which would have put another into a fret.

Luke 10:38–42. Christ did not desire a great deal of waiting upon, or that persons should put themselves to much trouble sumptuously to entertain him; it was more agreeable to him to do good to men's souls, than to receive such kindness and respect.

John 11:5, with other parts of the story of Lazarus. Jesus was a person of warm, lively and tender affections.

Luke 5:3. "And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and PRAYED him that he would thrust out a little from the land." He did not treat men as affecting to assume and exercise authority.

DIRECTIONS FOR JUDGING OF PERSONS' EXPERIENCES

THE only text we have for this document is the one published by Alexander Grosart in his *Selections from the Unpublished Writings of Jonathan Edwards*. In his introduction, Grosart writes, "I have come upon this searching and very precious MS. since the issuing of my Proposals. It evidently formed the author's guide in his test-conversations with enquirers during the great Awakenings or Revivals."¹ Beyond this, nothing is known of its nature or provenance. The title may be Grosart's own.

The deliberate division of the document into two parts is based on Grosart's transcription. In the absence of the original manuscript, we cannot know with certainty whether the sections date from different periods. However, while the directives in each section do not fall into distinct categories, the former lean more heavily toward the nature of conviction and the latter toward holiness and practice. This shift in emphasis parallels that which Edwards makes in "Miscellanies" and sermons after the end of the 1734–35 awakening, as well as in notebooks such as "Signs of Godliness," when he became more intent on Christian practice and perseverance as signs of true conversion.²

Throughout, the directives reflect Edwards' lifelong interest in souls under awakening. He is concerned with detecting outright hypocrites and those under the power of their own "imagination" as well as with steering sincere seekers to a correct sense of their own sin and the excellency and sufficiency of God. Convictions should be founded on "reasonable, solid consideration" of the person's actual experience—"as of things as they are indeed"—and not on "pangs and sudden passions, freaks and frights, and a capriciousness of mind." Expressing an important point in his theology, Edwards emphasizes that proper conviction and humiliation lead to a longing after holiness.

In the process of hearing hundreds of relations of spiritual experience

1. Grosart, *Selections from the Unpublished Writings of Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 183–85. The quote appears on p. 13.

2. See, for example, "Editor's Introduction," in *Works*, 18, 18–24; *Persevering Faith*, in *Works*, 19, 595–608; and above, p. 470.

from his parishioners, Edwards became an expert in the genre and came to deplore the use of stock phrases that really meant nothing to the narrators (a development that is probably related to his distrust of spiritual relations as a prerequisite for church admission). At one point, stringing together several common utterances, Edwards cautions himself to ensure that it is a true sense of sin that convinces narrators “of the justice of God in their damnation, in rejecting their prayers, disregarding their sorrowful case, and all desires and endeavors after deliverance, etc. and not merely any . . . melting of affection through some real or supposed instance of divine goodness.” Even more indicative of some narrators’ attitude is Edwards’ concern regarding “[w]hether, when they tell of their experiences, it is not with such an air that you as it were feel that they expect to be admired and applauded . . . and shocked and displeased if they discover the contrary.”

Since these reflections are probably based on face-to-face encounters and interviews with his parishioners, Edwards as religious clinician comes through here in an immediate way. In this document is raw material that Edwards could use in constructing his treatises on conversion, affections, and the signs of grace. The directives in the first section bear some resemblance, in miniature, to Edwards’ detailed study of the experiences of his parishioners in his *Faithful Narrative*. The directives in the second section contain criticisms Edwards made of his parishioners during and after the emotional stir of 1740–42. For these reasons, the document is, as Grosart described it, “precious.”

DIRECTIONS FOR JUDGING OF PERSONS' EXPERIENCES

SEE to it:

That the operation be much upon the will or heart, not on the imagination, nor on the speculative understanding or motions of the mind, though they draw great affections after 'em as the consequence.

That the trouble of mind be reasonable, that the mind be troubled about those things that it has reason to be troubled about; and that the trouble seems mainly to operate in such a manner, with such a kind of trouble and exercise as is reasonable: founded on reasonable, solid consideration; a solid sense and conviction of truth, as of things as they are indeed.

That it be because their state appears terrible on the account of those things, wherein its dreadfulness indeed consists; and that their concern be solid, not operating very much by pangs and sudden passions, freaks and frights, and a capriciousness of mind.

That under their seeming convictions it be sin indeed; that they are convinced of their guilt, in offending and affronting so great a God: One that so hates sin, and is so set against it, to punish it, etc.

That they be convinced both of sins of heart and life: that their pretenses of sense of sin of heart ben't without reflection on their wicked practice; and also that they are not only convinced of sin of practice, but sin of heart. And in both, that what troubles 'em be those things wherein their wretchedness has really chiefly consisted.

That they are convinced of their spiritual sins, consisting in their sinful defects, living without love to God, without accepting Christ, gratitude to him, etc.

That the convictions they have of the insufficiency and vanity of their own doings, ben't only from some sense of wanderings of mind, and other sinful behavior mixed; but from a conviction of the sinful defects of their duties, their not being done from a right principle; and so as having no goodness at all mixed with the bad, but altogether corrupt.

That it is truly conviction of sin that convinces them of the justice of

God in their damnation, in rejecting their prayers, disregarding their sorrowful case, and all desires and endeavors after deliverance, etc. and not merely any imagination or pang, and melting of affection through some real or supposed instance of divine goodness.

That they be so convinced of sin as not in the inward thought and habit of their minds to excuse themselves, and impliedly quarrel with God, because of their impotency: for instance, that they don't excuse their slight of Christ, and want of love to him, because they can't esteem and love him.

That they don't evidently themselves look on their convictions [as] great, and ben't taken with their own humiliation.

That which should be chiefly looked at should be *evangelical*. If this be sound, we have no warrant to insist upon it, that there be manifest a remarkable work, purely legal, wherein was nothing of grace. So with regard to convictions and humiliation; only seeing to it that the mind is indeed convinced of these things, and sees 'em, that many divines³ insisted should be seen, under a purely legal work. And also seeing to it that the convictions there are, seem to be deep and fixed, and to have a powerful governing influence on the temper of the mind, and a very direct respect to practice.

See to it:

That they have not only pretended convictions of sin; but a proper mourning for sin. And also, that sin is burdensome to them, and that their hearts are tender and sensible with respect to it . . . the object of their care and dread.

That God and divine things are admirable on account of the beauty of their moral perfection.

That there is to be discerned in their sense of the sufficiency of Christ, a sense of that divine, supreme, and spiritual excellency of Christ, wherein this sufficiency fundamentally consists; and that the sight of this excellency is really the foundation of their satisfaction as to his sufficiency.

That their conviction of the truth of divine things be discerned to be truly some way or other primarily built on a sense of their divine excellency.

That their discoveries and illuminations and experiences in general, are not superficial pangs, flashes, imagination, freaks, but solid, substantial, deep, inwrought into the frame and temper of their minds, and discovered to have respect to practice.

3. Grosart, p. 184: "and sees 'em [sees] that [which] many divines."

That they long after HOLINESS, and that all their experiences increase their longing.

Let 'em be inquired of concerning their disposition and willingness to bear the cross, sell all for Christ, choosing their portion in heaven, etc.

Whether their experience have a respect to PRACTICE in these ways. That their behavior at present seems to be agreeable to such experiences.

Whether it inclines 'em much to think of practice, and more and more for past ill practice.

Makes a disposition to ill practices dreadful.

Makes 'em long after perfect freedom from sin, and after those things wherein *holiness* consists; and by fixed and strong resolutions, attended with fear and jealousy of their own hearts.

Whether, when they tell of their experiences, it is not with such an air that you as it were feel that they expect to be admired and applauded, and won't be disappointed if they fail of discerning in you something of that nature; and shocked and displeased if they discover the contrary.

Inquire whether their joy be truly and properly joy in God and in Christ; joy in divine good; or whether it ben't wholly joy in themselves, joy in their own excellencies or privileges, in their experiences; what God has done for them, or what he has promised he will do for them; and whether they ben't affected with their own discoveries and affections.

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