

The Biblical World of Jonathan Edwards

“Thy word have I hid in mine heart, that I might not sin against thee.” Psalm 119:11¹

“Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?” Jeremiah 23:29

“From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” 2 Timothy 3:14-17

“For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.” Hebrews 4:12

Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) lived in a world strangely different from our own, a world imbued, often enchanted, by the contents of the Bible. Most of his family members, friends, congregants, and correspondents, both at home and back in Britain, would have identified the Bible as their most important book, the one they knew and loved the best, indeed their favorite source of information, inspiration, and insight into the nature of reality. Frequently it frightened them. They took its stories and warnings about the jealousy, wrath, and judgment of God as awesome matters of fact. However, it usually also succored them. They staked their very lives upon its promise of salvation, grace, and mercy to the penitent, its words of consolation to the anxious and oppressed, and its guidance for those who sought to live in a way that pleased the Lord.

“The Bible is full of wonderful things,” Edwards attested to his people. It has stood the test of time as the world’s “most comprehensive book.” It is “divine.” It is “unerring.” The splendid light it sheds on our world “is ten thousand times better than [that] of the sun.” The Scripture’s sacred texts, Edwards contended, are “the most excellent things in the world.” In fact,

they tower “as much above those things” we study “in other sciences, as heaven is above . . . earth.” Further, the knowledge held in these heavenly texts “is infinitely more useful and important” than the knowledge attained in “all other sciences.” Edwards lauded Scripture as a “great” and “precious treasure.” He pleaded with his congregations to “search for” biblical treasure, “and that with the same diligence . . . with which men . . . dig in mines” for “gold.” He assured them that the Bible “contains enough” within its covers so “to employ us to the end.” Even at death, he said, we “shall leave enough” of the Scriptures “uninvestigated to employ . . . the ablest divines to the end of the world,” or better, “to employ the . . . saints and angels to all eternity.” He found what he called a “greater delight” in exegetical exertion “than in anything else” he did. He confessed on many occasions that those who have ever “tasted the sweetness” of God’s Scriptural divinity will live out their days in “longing for more and more of it.”²

Despite his reputation as a backward-leaning Calvinist (which has likely been confirmed for some by the statements just quoted), Edwards surely would have jumped at the chance to live with us today. He would have given almost anything for access to the historical and scientific knowledge that has burgeoned so dramatically since the early nineteenth century. His eighteenth-century world seems far away, a distant land. And Edwards was a man of his times. But he was also keenly curious and usually open-minded. He was a forward-looking thinker with an insatiable appetite for information about the Bible, its ancient Near Eastern contexts, and the structure of the natural world in which its events, stories, songs, poems, prophecies, morals and other teachings were--and continued to be--realized.³ Edwards echoed the well-known adage of the Pilgrim John Robinson: “the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word.”⁴ He thought that God would use the future advance of pious scholarship to inundate the

church with light as the end of world drew near. As he wrote in his “Miscellanies” during the late 1720s,

‘Tis an argument with me that the world is not yet very near its end, that the church has made no greater progress in understanding the Scriptures. The Scripture and all parts of it were made for the use of the church here on earth, and it seems reasonable to suppose that God will by degrees unveil the meaning of it to his church. It was made obscure and mysterious, and in many places having great difficulties, that his people might have exercise for their pious wisdom and study, and that his church might make progress in the understanding of it; as the philosophical world makes progress in the understanding of the book of nature, and unfolding the mysteries of it. And there is a divine wisdom appears in ordering of it thus: how much better is it to have divine truth and light break forth in this way, than it would have been, to have had it shine at once to everyone without any labor or industry of the understanding. It would be less delightful, and less prized and valued and admired, and would have vastly less influence on men’s hearts, and would be less to the glory of God.⁵

He seldom studied extra-biblical things for secular significance. He nearly always focused on their theological meaning. But as we will see more fully below, this was because he thought the Word of God was that by which the secular world began, was sustained, and cohered ontologically. Its record in the Bible was divine speech in writing, given by God as our most basic, proper, and helpful frame of reference for interpreting all else.

Edwards devoted most of his waking life to studying the Bible, its extra-biblical contexts, its theological meanings, and its import for everyday religion. His student and friend, Samuel

Hopkins, once remarked of his priorities: “He studied the Bible more than all other Books, and more than most other Divines do. . . . He took his religious Principles from the Bible, and not from any human System or Body of Divinity.”⁶ Edwards vowed in his “Resolutions” while a boy in his late teens that he would “study the Scriptures so steadily, constantly and frequently, as that I may find, and plainly perceive myself to grow in the knowledge of the same.” As he penned in the “Personal Narrative” of his early spiritual life, he took “the greatest delight in the holy Scriptures, of any book whatsoever.”

Oftentimes in reading it, every word seemed to touch my heart. I felt an harmony between something in my heart, and those sweet and powerful words. I seemed often to see so much light, exhibited by every sentence, and such a refreshing ravishing food communicated, that I could not get along in reading. Used oftentimes to dwell long on one sentence, to see the wonders contained in it; and yet almost every sentence seemed to be full of wonders.

Edwards’ wonderment and passion for the study of the Bible got him up before sunrise almost every day of the year (between four and five in the morning). Hopkins testified that Edwards had “a tender . . . Constitution, yet few Students are as capable of close Application more Hours in a Day than he. He commonly spent thirteen Hours every Day in his Study. . . . He had an uncommon thirst for Knowledge,” and “spared no . . . Pains” to get it. Edwards’ “Diary” suggests that when “engaged in reading the Scriptures” he would often skip his dinner “rather than be broke off” from study. His devotion to the Bible did waver on occasion. In the main, though, it flourished to an exceptional degree. For he felt that “at those times when I have read the Scripture most, I have evermore been most lively, and in the best of frames.”⁷

Edwards encouraged a like devotion in the laity he served. He assured his congregations that biblical learning was for all--not just clergy and “men of learning, but . . . persons of every character.” God calls everyone, he said, to hunt the treasure hid in Scripture, both the “learned and unlearned, young and old, men and women.” Not even the brightest Bible scholar will ever begin to find it all. In fact, the ones who “studied the longest, and have made the greatest attainments . . . know but little of what is to be known.” The Bible’s “subject is inexhaustible,” for God “is infinite, and there is no end to the glory of his perfections.” Consequently, all should apply their hearts and minds to Holy Scripture, making the study of its books “a great part of the business of our lives.” Edwards drove this point home by recommending that his people give as much of their time to seeking the things of God as seeking Mammon.

Content not yourselves with having so much knowledge as is thrown in your way, and as you receive in some sense unavoidably by the frequent . . . preaching of the word, of which you are obliged to be hearers, or as you accidentally gain in conversation; but let it be very much your business to search for it, and that with the same diligence and labor with which men are wont to dig in mines of . . . gold.

Or as he put this in a another sermon, preached the same year, “He that has a Bible, and don’t observe what is contained [in] it, is like a man that has a box full of silver and gold, and don’t know it, don’t observe that it is anything more than a vessel filled with common stones. As long as it is thus with him, he’ll be never the better for his treasure.”⁸

The Unsung Importance of the Exegetical Edwards

Modern scholars have yet to come close to understanding the ways in which Edwards’ life was animated by Scripture. Three hundred years after his birth, half a century into what some

have called the Edwards renaissance, few have bothered to study Edwards' massive exegetical corpus. While preoccupied with his place in America's public life and letters--and failing to see the public significance of his biblical exegesis--we have ignored the scholarly work he took most seriously. The lion's share of Edwards' time during every week of his life was spent wrestling with the words of holy writ. But though we know a great deal now about his ethics, metaphysics, Calvinism, and aesthetics—not to mention his pastoral labors and his role in the Great Awakening—few know much at all about his exegetical work. Although we know quite a lot about his engagement with the leading philosophical men of his day, we know little of his work with Matthew Poole, Philip Doddridge, Matthew Henry, Arthur Bedford, John Owen, or Humphrey Prideaux—biblical scholars all. Yet they were steady, staple sources of his study day to day--more than Locke, Berkeley, and Newton. They rarely played as great a role in shaping his scholarly agenda. But they played a greater role in its execution. He spent decades, quite literally, poring over their biblical writings, doing his most important work with them at hand.⁹

Edwards scholars often treat this as an awkward family secret, one that would damage our reputations if widely known. And truth be told, this concern is not completely misdirected. Many scholars would prefer to do without the Edwards of history. In the words of Bruce Kuklick, Edwards was far more serviceable to secular intellectuals when portrayed by Perry Miller as “one of us—close to being an atheist for Niebuhr.” But now that Edwards has been outed as a biblical supernaturalist—ironically, by Miller's Yale edition of his *Works*—his thought “is not likely to compel the attention of intellectuals ever again. Indeed,” claims Kuklick, “it is more likely to repel their attention.”¹⁰ To most disinterested observers this assertion is ridiculous. Plenty of intellectuals remain intrigued by Edwards. Nonetheless, Kuklick's

statement represents a common perception that the real, historical Edwards may not be fit for polite, academic company.

How peculiar this appears in light of Edwards' hallowed place in American intellectual history, how perplexing given the cultural clout of Scripture in America (not to mention Christian history), a topic often neglected even by specialists in religion.¹¹ As Nathan Hatch and Mark Noll chided long before today's best graduate students were born, as if we needed a reminder, "Scripture has been nearly omnipresent in the nation's past."¹² Unfortunately, however, we still know little about this presence. We have acknowledged it for years. But too many have been lulled by its deceptive familiarity.¹³

Of the thousands of publications devoted to Edwards since his death, only a few, a tiny fraction, deal at length with his biblical writings. A survey of M. X. Lesser's massive Edwards bibliography confirms this point appreciably. Its subject index lacks a heading for "Bible," "Revelation," "Scripture," or even "Word of God." It has an entry for "Biblicism." There are scattered entries on topics like "Hermeneutics" and "Typology." To be sure, this enchiridion is not a foolproof indicator. It ends in 2005. Edwards' engagement with the Bible is discussed from time to time in works devoted to other themes. Nevertheless, and overall, it does reflect the relative scarcity of scholarship on Edwards the exegete.¹⁴

This scarcity is rooted in the priorities of those who pioneered the Edwards renaissance, most of whom belittled their subject's obvious biblicism in rather tragic, not to say histrionic, terms. Ola Winslow, for example, while ignoring his exegesis, denigrated Edwards' doctrine, beholden as she knew it was to biblical authority. It was an "outworn, dogmatic system," she concluded, one that "needed to be demolished." Perry Miller admired the system but pretended it could be understood without resorting to Scripture. Stressing Edwards' great achievements in the

realm of Enlightenment science, Miller lamented that Edwards also wasted time rehearsing the Bible. “Part of the tragedy of Edwards,” Miller confessed to his chagrin, “is that he expended so much energy upon an [exegetical] effort that has subsequently fallen into contempt.” Alfred Owen Aldridge pulled no punches, rendering Edwards a fundamentalist for his view of the Bible’s supremacy. In contradiction to Miller, but while sharing Miller’s distaste for Edwards’ frequent appeals to Scripture, he complained in an ironic mode that “in vindicating revelation, nearly all of Edwards’ inferences tended to depreciate reason.” Peter Gay spoke for many when in 1966 he labeled Edwards “the greatest tragic hero . . . that American Calvinism produced.” According to Gay, Edwards’ biblicism was nothing short of “medieval” and “the results were, as they had to be, pathetic.” He “philosophized in a cage that his fathers had built and that he unwittingly reinforced.” He should have known that “revelation . . . can be nothing more than an extension of reason; nearly all religious doctrine is either redundant or superstitious.” But he “went right on accepting the testimony of Scriptures as literally true.”¹⁵

The cumulative effect of such presentist pronouncements proved similar to that described by Berkeley’s John Coolidge with respect to Puritan studies:

the one necessary presupposition for any attempt to defend [Puritanism], or even to make it interesting was that the Puritans really derived their convictions from some other source than the Bible. . . . In order to argue that Puritanism had a mind, it has seemed necessary to assume that Puritan writers regularly deluded themselves by a curious ritual, casting a dust of scriptural references over pages where, nevertheless, an ingenious modern investigator can discover traces of thought.¹⁶

Or by London’s David Daniell with respect to the Great Awakening:

Historians are prepared to allow in the story of the Great Awakening that it was a religious experience of some significance. Yet, even when the religious history is explained over hundreds of pages with many detailed references to sermons, journals, published books and letters, there is visible a curious reluctance even to mention the Bible. A student of the period needs only to turn a few pages of the original documents to see at once that they are full of quotations from and references to the Scriptures. To write American colonial-period history without mention of the Bible is to build a house on sand.¹⁷

Much as secularist gymnastics long distorted our view of these movements, so aspersions against, excuses for, and smokescreens erected to hide the biblicism of Edwards have prevented us from understanding his principal occupation.¹⁸

The priorities of the pioneers of the Edwards renaissance were also markedly postliberal during and after World War II, which yielded a tendency to employ Edwards to meet America's need for what was commonly called an "American Augustine": a theological founding father who understood original sin, respected the limits of human potential, and promoted social realism along with moral progress.¹⁹ But in nominating Edwards to this vaunted cultural role, they appeared but dimly aware of what it would mean to retrieve Edwards as a spiritual founding father in the wake of disestablishment. Augustine and Edwards worked within a Constantinian world, one at the dawn and one at the twilight of the age of Christendom. Their theological pronouncements carried the weight of legal authority and mainstream cultural privilege. Thus their calls for cultural submission to Bible and church were not unreasonable.

But things have clearly changed since the time of Edwards' death. The age of Christendom has ended and the likes of Augustine and Edwards speak as dissenters now from

mainstream Western culture. Ironically, Edwards expedited the dissolution of Christendom with his call for “true” religion and critique of Christian convention.²⁰ But he feared what he foresaw as its corrosive cultural consequences, worrying that “many men of great temporal knowledge” were becoming self-sufficient. They were “puffed up” with pride regarding the progress of their epoch and could “hardly bear to submit . . . to . . . revelation.”²¹ Edwards’ premonition was realized during the early national period. The churches and their sacred texts were legally disestablished. The leading founding fathers felt little compulsion to submit their hearts and minds to revelation. Ever since, the biblical Edwards has actually militated against the spirit of mainstream America. He has contradicted its spirit of liberation from authority, its spirit of independence, self-culture, and self-sufficiency.²² America’s Augustine has had to be shorn of his biblicism in order to serve as a significant public symbol.

Not everyone has sought to relieve Edwards of his biblicism. Several conservative clergymen have championed his exegesis as a model for other pastors and seminarians.²³ Several other, more critical scholars—now informed by the publication of exegetical writings in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*--have begun to realize that, in the words of Harry Stout, Edwards’ Constantinian world was “suffused with the Word of God.”²⁴ We have some good work now on Edwards’ doctrine of revelation.²⁵ But only a few critical scholars have offered extensive interpretations of Edwards’ work on the biblical texts--most importantly Stephen Stein and Robert Brown, but more recently Glenn Kreider, Stephen Nichols, David Barshinger, and a handful of the editors of the *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*.²⁶ In addition to numerous articles on Edwards’ use of Scripture, Stein has undertaken the yeoman’s work on Edwards’ biblical manuscripts.²⁷ Brown has written on Edwards’ fascination with higher criticism--belying Gay’s claim that the biblical Edwards was benighted.²⁸ Several others have written sporadically on

Edwards' study of Scripture,²⁹ some in works of erudition on typology, eschatology, and philosophy of history as these relate to American literature and culture.³⁰ But no one has written much on Edwards' exegesis *per se*--on how he handled biblical doctrine in the texts of Scripture themselves, and on how his interpretations came to matter.

Although it lost its legal privileges soon after Edwards died, Edwards' biblical theology reverberates today. In fact, in yet another irony, it has enjoyed far more adherents during the past 200 years than it ever had in America's eighteenth century. It continues to attract tens of thousands of admirers, and to interest many others far removed from Edwards' faith.³¹ Indeed, if the rapid global spread of Edwards' evangelical movement were not enough to demonstrate the might of his biblicism today, then surely the saga of 9/11 and its global aftermath have awakened us to the fact that much of the world persists in living by some kind of scriptural faith. Billions of people around the globe submit themselves to sacred texts, avoiding America's ardent zeal for self-construction as they do. Perhaps the exegetical Edwards can illumine this behavior. This would seem a most propitious time to pay due attention to Edwards' life-long love affair with Scripture.

An Ecology of Edwards' Exegesis

Edwards' exegetical world has disappeared from most maps of early modern cultural life. It is a lost world of preachers and their colleagues in the academy who worked in ancient history and philology. They fit poorly in standard narratives of modern Western thought, shaped as these have tended to be by teleologies of intellectual freedom and secularity, of progress by *departure* from traditionary, authoritarian modes of Christian thought to unencumbered work in natural and social sciences. But they were enormously important to the construal of reality in the early

modern West, especially by believers—most Christians, Jews, and others—who wanted actionable intelligence about their sacred writings and the cultural and spiritual information they imparted. We need to reconstruct this long-lost exegetical world if we are to make good sense of Edwards, his biblical frame of reference, and the things he took for granted about the nature of reality. We need to know not only what he did when studying Scripture, but also how he did it, what tools he used in doing it, and why he chose to do it as he did.

The best place to start on such a reconstruction project is with Edwards' own manuscripts, the most reliable portal to his exegetical world. His more than 1,200 sermons, of course, preserve a sizable record of his exegetical method, parts of which are treated below. He preached on almost every book within the Protestant biblical canon, nearly "all the counsel of God" (Acts 20:27), for over 35 years.³² Most of his efforts in the pulpit are preserved in manuscript. But many of Edwards' private notebooks also feature biblical commentary, revealing the vast extent of his exegetical portfolio.³³

His best-known biblical manuscripts are called his "Notes on Scripture," four volumes of miscellaneous remarks on Scripture texts. Begun in 1724, they were kept throughout his life and cross-referenced with his other private notebooks.³⁴ His most bulky biblical manuscript is called the "Blank Bible," technically known as "Miscellaneous Observations on the Holy Scriptures." It is a large, blank book, given to Edwards by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Benjamin Pierpont, interleaved with the pages of a smaller King James Bible. Beginning late in 1730, Edwards filled the ample margins that surrounded its biblical leaves with a commentary, or gloss, on the whole of sacred Scripture (as defined, again, by Protestants). From Genesis to Malachi, Matthew to the Apocalypse, he left a lengthy record of his engagement with the Word.³⁵ There are other manuscripts, too, in which he wrote about the Scriptures. Edwards' "Notes on the Apocalypse"

comprise a large volume on the book of Revelation.³⁶ “Images of Divine Things” and “Types” contain remarks on much of the imagery--or types--of Christ, the church, and human redemption Edwards found in Scripture and nature.³⁷ He kept a booklet of “Hebrew Idioms,”³⁸ a notebook in “Defense of the Authenticity of the Pentateuch as a Work of Moses and the Historicity of the Old Testament Narratives,”³⁹ a leaf of “Notes on Books of Moses,”⁴⁰ a notebook of “Scripture Prophecies of the Old Testament,”⁴¹ and a reused letter cover full of “Notes on the Coming of Christ.”⁴² He drafted hundreds of other sheets on sundry doctrines of the Bible.⁴³ Altogether, this material fills thousands of manuscript pages in the extant Edwards corpus. It is an understudied treasure trove of biblical exegesis.

Edwards died before he could publish two enormous biblical monographs, both of which had engrossed his mind for years. As he explained to the leaders of the College of New Jersey, who had invited him to serve as the next president of Princeton after Edwards’ son-in-law, President Aaron Burr, died late in 1757, he was reluctant to accept because he hoped to finish these projects and he feared that a presidency would only get in the way.⁴⁴

The first of these two books was to be built upon the longest sermon series he ever preached, a 30-sermon exposition of the history of redemption (preached in 1739). It would be a great [i.e. large] work, which I call *A History of the Work of Redemption*, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of an history, considering the affair of Christian theology, as the whole of it, in each part, stands in reference to the great work of redemption by Jesus Christ; which I suppose is to be the grand design of all God’s designs, and the *summum* and *ultimum* of all the divine operations and decrees; particularly considering all parts of the grand scheme in their historical order.⁴⁵

By the time he wrote this letter, Edwards had filled three notebooks with ideas on how to expand his sermon series into a book. If completed, this *magnum opus* would have secured his reputation as the Anglo-American world's leading biblical theologian.⁴⁶

The second of these two works was even more exegetical. Edwards called it *The Harmony of the Old and New Testament*.

The first [part] considering the prophecies of the Messiah, his redemption and kingdom; the evidences of their references to the Messiah, etc. comparing them all one with another, demonstrating their agreement and true scope and sense; also considering all the various particulars wherein these prophecies have their exact fulfillment; showing the universal, precise, and admirable correspondence between predictions and events. The second part: considering the types of the Old Testament, showing the evidence of their being intended as representations of the great things of the gospel of Christ: and the agreement of the type with the antitype. The third and great [largest] part, considering the harmony of the Old and New Testament, as to doctrine and precept.

Edwards hoped that this work would offer “occasion for an explanation of a very great part of the holy Scripture . . . in a method, which to me seems the most entertaining and profitable, best tending to lead the mind to a view of the true spirit, design, life and soul of the Scriptures, as well as to their proper use and improvement.”⁴⁷

He drafted hundreds of manuscript pages for inclusion in this book. For part one, on biblical prophecy, he penned four entries in his “Miscellanies” notebooks, all treating what he labeled either “Prophecies of the Messiah” (mainly in the Old Testament) or “Fulfillment of the Prophecies of the Messiah” (in the New). Two of these entries proved so large that they

consumed a whole book.⁴⁸ For part two, on the wealth of biblical types of the Messiah, Edwards drafted another entry in a “Miscellanies” notebook: “That the Things of the Old Testament Are Types of Things Appertaining to the Messiah and His Kingdom and Salvation, Made Manifest from the Old Testament Itself.” In published form, this entry exceeds a hundred pages in length. Edwards wrote it in addition to his “Images of Divine Things” and “Types” mentioned above.⁴⁹ For part three, on the theological harmony of Scripture, Edwards kept a separate notebook on “The Harmony of the Genius, Spirit, Doctrines, & Rules of the Old Testament & the New.” Most of this book is ordered canonically (he made it through the Psalms). Several entries appear topically. All attest to his interest in the doctrinal integrity, or “harmony,” of Scripture.⁵⁰

As these manuscripts reveal, Edwards employed a wide array of both lexical and historical aids when studying the Bible. For help with ancient languages, he frequented the work of the most important early modern Reformed Protestant Hebraist, the German Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), who lectured mainly in Basel.⁵¹ Edwards plied a well-worn copy of his *Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, which his father, Timothy Edwards, had presented him in college.⁵² David Brainerd left him another, similar *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* when he died in Edwards’ house late in 1747. Compiled, again, by Johann Buxtorf to assist Christian scholars with the Hebrew and Aramaic sections of the Bible, Brainerd’s volume had the advantage of a Native American binding made of painted otter skin. Edwards cited it repeatedly in his exegetical writings.⁵³ Edwards referenced a concordance of ancient Hebrew written by Buxtorf in his book on *Original Sin* (in a debate with John Taylor).⁵⁴ For the Bible as a whole, he wielded a copy of Alexander Ross, *Sodalis Discipulis. The Schollers Companion, . . . Containing All the Interpretations of the Hebrew and Greek Bible*.⁵⁵ He owned Erasmus Schmid’s concordance of the Greek New Testament.⁵⁶ He mentioned Edmund Castell’s polyglot in the

“Blank Bible.”⁵⁷ And he listed a number of other philological resources in his “Catalogue” of the books he sought to acquire.⁵⁸

Edwards also owned a portion of the Antwerp Polyglot, produced originally by the Spanish Roman Catholic orientalist, Benedictus Arias Montanus, in Belgium (1569-72). Europe’s Renaissance had yielded several polyglot Bibles, the first being that of the Spanish Cardinal, Francisco Ximenez, the Complutensian Polyglot, which was published in Alcalá de Henares (1520). An Italian, Sanctes Pagnini, published the first complete translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin since Jerome (1528), parts of which would make their way into subsequent polyglots. Brian Walton would publish the best known polyglot of all, called the London Polyglot, during the British interregnum (1657). But the Antwerp Polyglot remained a popular tool, due largely to the fact that one of its volumes offered its main fruit in reduced, accessible form, which was easily reissued as a single-volume work. In fact, eight different editions of this special, streamlined volume were republished in Geneva from 1609-27. One of these was owned and used by Edwards.⁵⁹

The unabridged Antwerp Polyglot filled eight folio volumes, funded by Philip II of Spain and set by the famous Belgian printer, Antwerp’s Christophe Plantin. Its initial four volumes featured the Hebrew Old Testament, the Vulgate Old Testament, the Greek Septuagint with Latin translation, and the Aramaic targums in both Aramaic and Latin (excluding Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles). Its fifth volume contained the New Testament in Greek, its translation from the Vulgate, as well as from the Peshitta (the Syriac Bible), which was printed in both Syriac and Hebrew characters with a Latin translation (sans 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation). Its sixth and seventh volumes offered lexicons (Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic/Syriac), a Syriac grammar, philological, archaeological, and other critical notes. The

final volume republished both the Hebrew and Greek texts (now in slightly improved form) along with interlinear Latin: the Old Testament Latin being an updated version of the work of Sanctes Pagnini, the New Testament Latin taken again from the Vulgate. This eighth and final volume was repackaged several times and used as far away as New England by the likes of Edwards himself. (N.B.: In some editions of the polyglot it appeared as volume six, preceding the critical apparatus in the final two volumes; at other times it appeared as volume seven.) For reasons of economy, it proved to be the most popular tome in the project.⁶⁰

Why would a Calvinist like Edwards use a Roman Catholic polyglot, especially after the publication of Walton's London Bible? Perhaps this was simply a matter of access or cost. Surely Edwards would have known of Walton's Laudian, Arminian, and anti-Puritan views.⁶¹ But Edwards also may have appreciated the ways in which the Antwerp Bible undermined the authority of the Roman magisterium, which declared Jerome's Vulgate the official Catholic Bible at the Council of Trent in 1546. Pagnini did his work with the blessing of three popes (Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII), even though his Latin differed from the Vulgate rather markedly and owed much of its difference to rabbinical commentaries. But this was before Trent, which in an anti-Protestant mood decreed all Bibles but the Vulgate inauthentic—and anathematized those who would dissent.⁶² Montanus ran afoul of Catholic hierarchs in Spain. An anti-Catholic man like Edwards may have relished, even if secretly, this aspect of his study Bible's provenance.

Edwards' skill with biblical languages is difficult to assess. He never published a standard commentary. Nor did he often function as an independent translator. His exegetical manuscripts contain scores of references to Hebrew and Greek terms, with frequent notes on their translation. Given the aids at his disposal, though, one might well conclude that Edwards

learned to read the Bible in the original languages but usually leaned on other scholars when he faced technical matters of translation.⁶³

Here is what we can say, in sum, of Edwards' work in the languages. He learned Greek and Hebrew as a boy, with his father, who ran a grammar school in the parlor of their parsonage. He tested in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew when matriculating at Yale and continued to use these languages throughout his college career. As an adult, he wrote his sermons with linguistic aids at hand, trying his best to interpret the Word of God from the originals. He used his Antwerp Polyglot to work on biblical Hebrew, which was always somewhat weaker than his Greek. (Edwards and his peers rarely expressed much doubt about their competence in Greek.) He took a periodic interest in the Bible's Aramaic.⁶⁴ But the bulk of his language tools, as well as most of the marginal comments in his polyglot Bible, focused on Hebrew and, less frequently, on Greek.⁶⁵

Christian interest in ancient Hebrew had increased by fits and starts during the Renaissance and Reformation periods.⁶⁶ It was all the rage in England during the Puritan interregnum, when Jews were readmitted after centuries in exile as many came to believe that their conversion to Christianity would hasten the millennium and second coming of Christ.⁶⁷ Some New England Puritan clergyman would study Hebrew earnestly. It was taught at Harvard and Yale. There were always those who balked, of course, and never really learned.⁶⁸ As Shalom Goldman avers, even Edwards' biblical Hebrew proved mediocre at best.⁶⁹ But he would work on this deficiency to the very end of his life. For as Cotton Mather had pleaded to New England's would-be ministers, the study of ancient languages was vital to sound preaching. "For the HEBREW," he had written, "I am importunate with you. . . . 'Twill enable you to penetrate further into the deep Things which the Spirit of God has laid up in His Oracles, than you could

possibly do, by seeing them only in some Translation.”⁷⁰ Even in taking charge of Princeton just months before he died, Edwards continued to seek a way to gain facility with Hebrew. As he wrote to the school’s trustees, “It would be now out of my way, to spend time, in a constant teaching of the languages; unless it be the Hebrew tongue, which I should be willing to improve myself in, by instructing others.”⁷¹

To the people in the pews, of course, English Bibles proved far more important than the originals. In Edwards’ world, this meant that England’s King James Bible (1611), unadorned by annotations, maps, or other critical aids, was the gateway for most into the sacred realm of Scripture. Edwards used it from the pulpit, as did all of his contemporaries. They knew that it was flawed. English printers had emended it conspicuously for decades--modernizing spelling, perfecting punctuation, and improving translations through the end of Edwards’ life.⁷² Some pined for the footnotes of the old Geneva Bible (1560), or the English Annotations of the Westminster divines (1645 ff.). However, the latter notes had never been released in the form of a Bible.⁷³ And the Geneva Bible undermined episcopacy and monarchy. James I had banned its publication in 1616. Charles I banned its importation in 1630. Beginning in 1642, several King James editions with Geneva notes were printed, primarily in Amsterdam, and shipped back to England. But eventually, the Puritans moved beyond their allegiance to these controversial texts. And during the Stuarts’ Restoration, England cracked down hard on all the products of dissent, banning new translations of the Bible into English and ensuring that the King James Bible would prevail. In eighteenth-century New England, where nary a single English Bible would be printed in Edwards’ lifetime—they had to be imported--virtually everyone would use a modernized King James. Many new translations of the Bible, biblical testaments, or books appeared in England during the long eighteenth century. Ministers like Edwards knew of some of these productions.

They worked to keep abreast of text-critical developments and philological quarrels. But they preached, taught, and memorized the King James Version, which by Edwards' day was woven into the fabric of their world.⁷⁴

Because their Bibles were bereft of any hermeneutical aids, Edwards' people were more dependent than they would have been before on his scholarship and teaching for their understanding of Scripture. In addition to his study of Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic, then, he also worked with commentaries, maps, ancient histories, and studies of the backgrounds of the Old and New Testaments. His commentarial sources have been limned by Stephen Stein.⁷⁵ Edwards owned several commentaries on individual books—John Taylor's notes on Romans, John Owen's massive, four-volume commentary on Hebrews, Thomas Manton on James and Jude—some of which appear below.⁷⁶ He also favored the use of lengthy whole-Bible commentaries and surveys, or compendia, of multiple commentaries. His favorite was Matthew Poole's five-folio *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum (Synopsis of Interpreters, Both Critical and Otherwise, of Sacred Scripture, 1669-76)*, a more affordable epitome of Bishop John Pearson's nine-volume *Critici Sacri, sive Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes & Tractatus (Holy Critics, or Annotations and Treatment of the Men Most Learned on the Holy Bible, 1660)*. Both compendia had notes on every book of sacred Scripture from a wide array of writers, though Poole's was much more manageable and offered notes from a greater number of English commentators.⁷⁷ Edwards also mined Matthew Henry's six-volume *Exposition of the Old and New Testament (1707-21)*, an evangelical classic,⁷⁸ and Philip Doddridge's six-volume *Family Expositor (1739-56)*, a more recent best-seller treating the New Testament books.⁷⁹

Edwards availed himself of scores of shorter aids to exegesis. In the “Blank Bible” alone, he cited 109 sources (some of which were multi-volume, though shorter than the ample works enumerated above).⁸⁰ In the “Notes on Scripture” he cited 38 publications.⁸¹ He used Samuel Mather’s sermons on the Old Testament types and often lent them out to others.⁸² He looked to leading theologians for help expounding Bible doctrine, his favorites being Peter van Mastricht, Francis Turretin and, near the end of his life, Johann Friedrich Stapfer.⁸³ He secured a copy of Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* (1728) for reference, employing it for help with various intellectual trends, exegetical and other.⁸⁴ And he pored over the massive learning in several recent summaries of the state of the conversation regarding biblical chronology and ancient Near Eastern history, especially those by Christians who assimilated all of ancient history to the Bible, “taking biblical chronology, characters and events as the gold standard,” according to Roy Porter’s apt description⁸⁵: Humphrey Prideaux’s four-volume *Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations* (9th ed., 1725); Samuel Shuckford’s three-volume *Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, from the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the Death of Sardanapalus, and to the Declension of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, under the Reigns of Ahaz and Pekah* (2d ed., 1731-40); Arthur Bedford’s *Scripture Chronology Demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations* (1730); and others.⁸⁶

As Robert Brown has demonstrated, Edwards swam deeply in a sea of biblical criticism. Most accounts of the rise of higher critical work in America still spotlight nineteenth-century trends in research institutions.⁸⁷ This tendency derives in part from dated but still common attributions of its European roots to liberal Germans, men like David Friedrich Strauss, F. C. Baur, and Julius Wellhausen and schools such as the University of Tübingen. However, as recent

scholarship has shown beyond the shadow of a doubt, higher criticism took its rise two centuries before, mainly in England and the Netherlands. It also made its way to England's North American colonies by the late seventeenth century. Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) and Benedict Spinoza's *Tractatus Philosophico-Politicus* (1670) placed its critical methods on the map. Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678; English trans., 1682) and Jean LeClerc's *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande* (1685ff.) increased its currency in French and throughout the Republic of Letters. In the Anglo-American world, it was associated closely with the work of English deists.⁸⁸

Edwards knew about them all. In fact, long before Edwards, Cotton Mather interacted with Spinozist criticism.⁸⁹ Edwards would as well, as we will see more fully below. Jean LeClerc appears several times in Edwards' "Catalogue," in his copy of Hugo Grotius's *The Truth of the Christian Religion . . . Corrected . . . by Mr. Le Clerc* (1719), and in his "Miscellanies" too.⁹⁰ And Edwards' handling of the canon, predictive prophecy, typology, and a host of other matters was refined in response to skeptical claims made by deists and English latitudinarians. Stein says that Edwards' response was uniformly negative, defensive, and conservative.⁹¹ But Brown has shown not only that "the problem of biblical criticism is a ubiquitous feature of Edwards's work, an aspect absent of which the nature and genesis of his entire theological career cannot be adequately understood." He has also shown that Edwards struck a "modestly critical" pose in his own exegesis. He never rejected critical arguments completely, out of hand, but rather dealt with them extensively and carried on his own biblical scholarship responsibly.⁹²

A Demography of Edwards' Exegetical Interlocutors

Though Edwards was an evangelical Calvinist, to be sure, one with traditional views of the provenance and dating of biblical books and the historicity of biblical figures and events, he participated avidly in Europe's Republic of Letters, taking part in what some have termed the Christian Enlightenment (more below). He was a both-and thinker: traditional and modern, partisan and ecumenical, critical and edifying, catholic and anti-Catholic. He undermines--by straddling, combining, even melding—standard categories used to periodize Western thought. His biblical scholarship was shaped by both ancient and modern values, by Renaissance humanism and Reformation dogma, by scholastic orthodoxy and religions of the heart (Puritanism, Pietism, *Nadere Reformatie*), by Old Dissent in its diversity and nascent evangelicalism.

Edwards is best known as a scion of the Puritans, who taught him how to read, study, and preach the sacred Scriptures. In principle, at least, Scripture drove the Puritan movement.⁹³ As Christopher Hill confessed, “The Bible was central to the whole of . . . life” in seventeenth-century England.⁹⁴ John Coolidge *defined* Puritanism in England, in particular, as a protracted, comprehensive “*commentaire vécu* on the Bible.”⁹⁵ And as Janice Knight has specified of Puritans in New England, while “Protestantism has often been called a religion of the book[,] nowhere was this truer than in Puritan America, where reading the Bible was not only the legislated obligation but also the deepest desire of every believer.”⁹⁶ Scripture gave structure to New England's “Bible commonwealths,” whose laws and other mores were derived from the Word of God.⁹⁷ Scripture stood right at the center of the Puritans' worship services, symbolically and physically, orienting the faithful to the ministry of the Word. The catholic liturgy was abandoned—even in the form used by England's Protestant Church--as were visual and musical arts. Puritans dubbed their churches “meeting houses” in order to mark this change. In

accordance with traditions learned in continental Europe (mainly Zurich and Geneva), they eradicated crosses, stained glass windows, statuary, and all other “graven images,” everything they thought distracted people from the Word. They sang the Psalms *a cappella*, banning the use of musical instruments and hymnody in worship. Puritan clergy shed their vestments, preaching instead in academic gowns that signified their calling to learned, biblical ministry (rather than sacramental priesthood). They delivered long sermons. In accordance with the *Westminster Directory* for worship (1644/45), many also led their people in the public reading of Scripture not treated in their sermons.⁹⁸

Many leading Puritan writers reinforced these changes frequently, championing the Bible and exhorting the movement’s clergy to be “mighty in the Scriptures” (Acts 18:24) for the sake of the people of God. As William Ames asserted in *The Marrow of Theology* (1627), which Edwards studied in college, “no one is fit for the ministry who is not greatly concerned with the Holy Scripture, even beyond ordinary believers, so that he might be said, with Apollos, to be mighty in the Scriptures, Acts 18:24. He must not put his trust in notes and commentaries.”⁹⁹ Thomas Manton warned students in his commentary on James “not to adventure upon the preaching of the Word, till they have a good spiritual furniture, or are stored with a sufficiency of gifts: ‘Tis not for every one that can speak an hour to adventure upon the work of Teaching.”¹⁰⁰ And Cotton Mather queried in his *Manuductio*, “Can a Man be a Thorough Divine without Reading the SACRED SCRIPTURES? No, Verily; Not so much as a Common Christian. Read them, child; I say, Read them, with an Uncommon Assiduity. To Dig in these Rich Mines, make it your Daily Exercise.”¹⁰¹

In practice, most Puritans proved proficient Bible readers, turning their base in southern New England into what many have called the single most literate society the world had ever

seen. Children had to be taught to read (most were taught to read the Bible). Towns with more than fifty households had to hire a reading teacher. Towns with more than a hundred families had to found a grammar school.¹⁰² Parents could be fined for failing to teach their children English. Fathers could be punished for failing to catechize their families.¹⁰³ Bibles and devotional books--along with almanacs--became the region's best sellers.¹⁰⁴ People expected ordained clergy to spend the bulk of their time in study, preparing to minister the Word to them in depth and rich detail.¹⁰⁵ They were never as parochial as many have presumed. Their clergymen, especially, read far more than the Bible. Theirs was a transatlantic world; they had a cosmopolitan mien.¹⁰⁶ But theirs was biblical cosmopolitanism--so Edwards' biblical reading list should come as no surprise. In addition to Manton, Samuel and Cotton Mather, Owen and Poole, he read a host of other Puritans from both sides of the pond--from William Bates to Anthony Burgess, John Evans to John Flavel, Thomas Hall to William Perkins, Samuel Willard to John Winthrop--who fueled his exegesis in profound and lasting ways.¹⁰⁷

Closer to Edwards than the Puritans was the world of British Dissent, the wide array of those ejected or neglected by the post-Puritan leaders of the Church of England after the Restoration. Strictly speaking, Puritanism ceased in 1662 when the Act of Uniformity proscribed its reformations. All clergy had to declare their "unfeigned assent and consent" to England's Book of Common Prayer (newly reversed against reform). All ministers, professors, deans and fellows in Oxford and Cambridge, heads of schools and private tutors, had to sign a declaration of non-resistance to the crown and a promise to conform to the national liturgy. Those resisting still by August 24, 1662 (St. Bartholomew's Day, which was precious to the Reformed) would lose their livelihoods--including the semiannual tithes at Michaelmas (September 29)—and risk three months in jail for further insubordination. As a result of this and several other, related

English laws, known collectively as the “Clarendon Code,” 1,760 clergy and 149 scholars were ejected from their churches, universities, and schools (171 of the clergy later conformed and recovered stable livings in the Church). Dissenters were barred from professions such as medicine and law, not to mention government office. They were forced to worship in private homes, barns, and other shelters, often at odd, secret hours. Most of their publications were monitored and censored by the crown (with the aid of the Stationers’ Company). Enforcement varied by time and place. But as late as the 1710s—near the end of Queen Anne’s reign (1702-14)—persecution was severe. In 1711, Parliament outlawed the practice of occasional conformity (communing once or twice a year in a legally sanctioned church to skirt the force of these constraints). In 1712, England closed its ports to Protestant refugees. In 1714, Parliament tried to squelch Dissenting schools by means of a (short-lived) Schism Act.¹⁰⁸

Despite draconian restrictions, the Dissenters often thrived during the 80 years between the Restoration and the revivals of the so-called Great Awakening. According to the Compton Census of 1676, they comprised only 5% of the total population.¹⁰⁹ By the early eighteenth century, though, their numbers had increased: England alone housed an estimated 338,120 Dissenters (6.21% of her people); Wales contained another 17,770 (5.74% of her people). By the death of Queen Anne (1714), the total in both lands combined had reached roughly half a million. In the late 1710s, these lands supported nearly 2,000 Dissenting congregations. Most belonged to one of three main nonconforming networks: Presbyterians, strongest in the north and northwest; Congregationalists (Independents), farther south and in East Anglia; and Baptists, who were biggest in the midlands and southeast. Over time, and especially after the Glorious Revolution (1688-89) and its Toleration Act (1689), Trinitarian and Protestant Dissent won some leeway. England’s Toleration Act eased subscription to the 39 Articles of Religion, waiving

assent to the clauses on traditions, rites, and ceremonies (Articles 34-36, and parts of Articles 20 and 27). G. V. Bennett summarized its practical significance:

The number of licenses taken out under the Toleration Act was a great surprise. In the first year of its operation 796 temporary and 143 permanent meeting-houses were licensed, and the Quakers set up an additional 239. In the years from 1691 to 1710 no less than 2,536 places were licensed. Many of these would have been private houses or even barns, and the number of specifically constructed chapels was still small, but up and down the land parsons were facing a new and disturbing phenomenon: a local Dissenting congregation meeting openly for worship and competing with them for the hearts and minds of their parishioners.¹¹⁰

All was not rosy as conventicles increased. Heterodoxy spread rapidly when Quakers, Unitarians, and deists blossomed too, inspiring Anglican conservatives to prune with greater vigor--especially on the eve of what they feared would be a tolerant and thoroughly pan-Protestant Hanoverian dynasty (1714-1901). But overall, and over time, Old Dissent sank roots in Britain's rich, cultural soil, which would yield a plentiful harvest of revivals and reforms during the later eighteenth century. Its legendary academies competed with Oxford and Cambridge, training students who achieved disproportionate importance in religion and society.¹¹¹ Dissenters shared an "interest" in the future of Great Britain, often termed the "Protestant interest" for its stern anti-Catholicism.¹¹² They fueled Whig politics and won further concessions in the age of Europe's social and political revolutions.¹¹³

As Edwards came of age, however, Calvinist Dissent, while extant, was on the wane.¹¹⁴ Prophets cried for revival of "true religion" in Great Britain. Calvinist clergymen combated the

spread of heresy in England, often appealing to older sources of Dissenting orthodoxy.¹¹⁵

Edwards scanned their work assiduously, with nervous agitation. As he penned to one of his Scottish friends in 1752, “things are going downhill so fast; truth and religion, both of heart and practice, are departing by such swift steps that I think it must needs be, that a crisis is not very far off.”¹¹⁶ This sympathetic cleric, John Erskine, kept him up with such declension back in Britain, shipping Edwards some of the most important recent publications.¹¹⁷ Edwards cherished post-Puritan Dissenting authors best, but he read whatever he could from nonconforming British writers, from William Bates to Anthony Burgess, Philip Doddridge to John Evans, John Flavel to John Gill, Nathaniel Lardner to Isaac Watts.¹¹⁸ In fact, he used these authors more than he consulted Calvin himself, who by the Restoration era was taken for granted more than read by most Dissenters.¹¹⁹

Edwards even engaged many of England’s leading (state) Churchmen, both conservative and liberal, as he did his exegesis. A faithful English subject with exalted expectations of the spiritual role of Britain in the history of redemption (more on these below), Edwards watched the leading trends within his country’s state Church and interpreted the Word with them in mind. Thomas Preston has amassed an enormous mound of data on the wealth of biblical scholarship in eighteenth-century England, clarifying the central role of Scripture in a culture that is all too often framed in secular terms: “sermons dominated religious publishing from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century,” he explains:

8,800 sermons were published from 1660 to 1751, about 96 a year. In the decades from 1700 to 1790, an average of 230 books on religion (including Bibles and Prayer Books) was published annually. Excluding Bibles and Prayer Books, the Term Registers for 1700-1708 show the publication of 144 new religious works

every year. . . . Biblical commentaries . . . went through an astonishing number of editions: there were ten editions of Matthew Henry's *An Exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testament* within the eighteenth century, and five of Bishop Simon Patrick's *Old Testament Commentary*. Biblical commentaries covering both Testaments, including Henry's, totalled 123 editions.

New Testament commentaries enjoyed equal popularity, totalling 71 editions during the course of the century. . . . Borrowings from public and cathedral libraries reflect the publishing figures; books on religious subjects and biblical commentaries top the list.¹²⁰

Neither English national culture nor our subject's own horizons can be apprehended clearly without reference to these numbers. Quite simply, biblical literature pervaded British life.¹²¹ Anglican lights like Richard Bentley, Samuel Clarke, and James Hervey, Richard Kidder, Humphrey Prideaux, Thomas Sherlock, and William Warburton, though hardly mentioned today, were household names in Edwards' England¹²² and crucial sources of his exegetical work.¹²³

As I hope is clear by now, Edwards always had a voracious intellectual appetite--from his teens to his early death in 1758. He was certainly no provincial. Though he never moved physically beyond what became the northeastern United States, he circumnavigated the globe with his mind's eye. His "Catalogue" refers to nearly 800 books.¹²⁴ He left 837 items written by others in his own, personal library.¹²⁵ He cited nearly 400 separate publications, some dozens of times.¹²⁶ He participated avidly in Europe's Republic of Letters¹²⁷ and was central to what some now call the religious--or the Christian--Enlightenment.¹²⁸

Paul Hazard, Peter Gay, and a host of lesser lights once depicted “the Enlightenment” in unitary terms as an anti-Christian movement—or at least a movement meant to undermine traditional orthodoxies—and, correlatively, a potent secularizing scheme.¹²⁹ Jonathan Israel and his minions still do much the same today, making Spinoza and his radical, or critical, Enlightenment the leading, cutting edge of early modern Western thought.¹³⁰ But as a host of careful scholars have revealed in recent years, such depictions are misleading. On the ground, few participants in eighteenth-century trends would have understood their purposes in anti-Christian terms. Most were Christian. None of them even used the English word “Enlightenment.”¹³¹ They disagreed constantly about the implications of their intellectual trends for the churches and their teachings. Most in Britain, in particular, preferred what we now call a rather moderate “Enlightenment,”¹³² a modernizing movement that was cautious, led by clergy (not exclusively, but largely), brimming with biblicism, ardent supernaturalism, and faith.¹³³ Even Newton, Locke, and Priestley spent more time interpreting Scripture than experimenting with nature.¹³⁴ Many shared Edwards’ combination of Christian orthodoxy, guarded optimism regarding moral and scientific progress, eagerness to apply human reason to current challenges, earnestness in pleading for genuine virtue in the world, and intercourse with kindred spirits near the north Atlantic.¹³⁵ Many also shared his interest in Isaac Newton and John Locke, Thomas Chubb, Hugo Grotius, Francis Hutcheson, Andrew Michael Ramsay, Matthew Tindal, and other major stars in the age of lights.¹³⁶

However, again, for Edwards himself, as for many other scholars in his sizeable but long neglected exegetical world, this capacious curiosity for early modern learning took its rise and its bearings from the study of the Bible, from the urge of those within that world to apprehend divine things and make them known to those within their care. Edwards pored over the writings

of so many other scholars first and foremost as a means of understanding revelation, as an aid to exegesis. He deemed it “better . . . to have divine truth and light break forth in this way, than it would have been, to have had it shine at once to everyone without any labor or industry of the understanding.”¹³⁷ The Word exerted a centripetal force at the center of his world, as the sun of his solar system, not as the sole source of energy and light at his disposal but as the one that helped him understand the rest in the right way. Or to modify our metaphor, the Bible was the key to real knowledge of the Creator and His handiwork in history--so let us now examine Edwards’ view of the key itself, and of the character of those who wield it best.

¹ All Scripture quotations are taken from the King James Bible (1611), the translation used most often by Edwards himself.

² Jonathan Edwards, sermon on Matt. 24:35 (n.d.), Box 7, F. 502, L. 2r., Jonathan Edwards Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (hereafter Beinecke); Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption*, ed. John F. Wilson, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (hereafter *WJE*), vol. 9 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 290-91; Jonathan Edwards, *Freedom of the Will*, ed. Paul Ramsey, *WJE*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 438; Jonathan Edwards, “To the Mohawks at the Treaty,” in *The Sermons of Jonathan Edwards: A Reader*, ed. Wilson H. Kinnach, Kenneth P. Minkema and Douglas A. Sweeney (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 109; Jonathan Edwards, “Heeding the Word, and Losing It,” in Jonathan Edwards, *Sermons and Discourses, 1734-1738*, ed. M. X. Lesser, *WJE*, vol. 19 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 46, 44; Jonathan Edwards, sermon on Ps. 119:162 (Nov. 1749), Box 3, F. 189, L. 3v., Beinecke; Jonathan Edwards, “The Importance and Advantage of a Thorough Knowledge of Divine Truth,” in *The Sermons of Jonathan Edwards*, 33-36, 40, 43; Jonathan Edwards, sermon on Jer. 8:8 (Dec.

1749), Box 5, F. 353, L. 4r.-v., Beinecke; Jonathan Edwards, sermon on 1 Pet. 2:2-3 (Aug. 1755, n.d.), Box 11, F. 855, L. 5r., L. 2v., Beinecke; Jonathan Edwards, sermon on Hosea 13:9 (n.d.), Box 13, F. 1011, L. 2v., Beinecke; and Jonathan Edwards, “Light in a Dark World, a Dark Heart,” in Edwards, *Sermons and Discourses, 1734-1738*, 722, 732-33. N.B.: Hereafter, references to the volumes in the letterpress edition of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards (WJE)*, published by Yale University Press (1957-2008), will include only volume and page numbers. For a complete bibliography of all 26 volumes, see

<http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/OnlineCatalog.asp?catalog=1105488>.

³ On Edwards’ awareness of and engagement with his era’s critical scholarship on the Bible and its contexts, see Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); and Peter J. Thuesen, “Editor’s Introduction” to Edwards’ *Catalogues of Reading*, *WJE* 26:1-107.

⁴ See Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked: A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton of Rhode Island* (Providence, RI: The Club for Colonial Reprints, 1916; orig. London, 1646), 97, for the original printed form of Robinson’s adage. (All succeeding writers either took these words from Winslow or from someone else who took the words from Winslow.) Though he would later serve as governor of New England’s Plymouth Colony (in 1633-34, 1636-37, and 1644-45), Winslow (1595-1655) was a young adult when he heard these words from Robinson (1575-1625), the English Separate pastor of the pilgrim flock in Leiden who declaimed them during a farewell speech to those setting sail aboard the Mayflower in September 1620. Robinson died in Leiden, never crossing the Atlantic. But as Winslow would remember, he encouraged his congregation to be receptive to the shedding forth of more light from the Bible and to use that light in the further

reformation of the church. “For, saith he, It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once” (98). For more on Robinson, see Timothy George, *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition*, NABPR Dissertation Series (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1982).

⁵ Jonathan Edwards, “Miscellanies” No. 351, *WJE*, 13:426-27. As Edwards preached in his series on the “History of Redemption,” some biblical conundrums would be solved only amid the great millennial age itself: “There shall then be a wonderful unraveling the difficulties in the doctrines of religion, and clearing up seeming inconsistencies. . . . Difficulties in Scripture shall then be cleared up, and wonderful things shall be discovered in the word of God that were never discovered before” (*WJE*, 9:480-81).

⁶ Samuel Hopkins, *The Life and Character of the Late Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards* (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1765), 40-41.

⁷ Jonathan Edwards, “Resolutions” No. 28, *WJE*, 16:755; Jonathan Edwards, “Personal Narrative,” *WJE*, 16:797; Hopkins, *Life and Character*, 40; and Jonathan Edwards, “Diary,” Jan. 22, 1734 and May 23, 1724, *WJE*, 16:789, 786. See also Edwards’ “Diary” at August 1723, where at the age of nineteen he tried to establish steady habits of biblical scholarship: “I find it would be very much to advantage, to be thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures. When I am reading doctrinal books or books of controversy, I can proceed with abundantly more confidence; can see upon what footing and foundation I stand. . . . When I want books to read; yea, when I have not very good books, not to spend time in reading them, but in reading the Scriptures,” etc. (*WJE*, 16:779-80). As confirmed by Sereno Edwards Dwight (Edwards’ great-grandson) in a moment of family pride, “no other divine has as yet appeared, who has studied the

Scriptures more thoroughly. . . . His knowledge of the Bible . . . is probably unrivalled.” Sereno E. Dwight, “Memoirs of Jonathan Edwards, A.M.,” most widely available in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Edward Hickman (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974; orig. 1834), clxxxvii-clxxxix. (Dwight’s “Memoirs” appeared first in the less accessible Sereno E. Dwight, ed., *The Works of President Edwards . . . in Ten Volumes* [New York: S. Converse, 1829-1830].) For more from Hopkins and Dwight on Edwards’ allegedly “unwearied” and “truly astonishing” devotion to the study of the Bible, see Hopkins, *Life and Character*, 51, 83; and Dwight, “Memoirs,” cxc-cxci, cxcvii. For examples of the low points in Edwards’ biblical study, see his “Diary” for March 2 and May 12, 1723: “I have lately been negligent as to reading the Scriptures I have not been sedulous and diligent enough”; and “I have lost that relish of the Scriptures and other good books, which I had five or six months ago.” *WJE*, 16:767, 769.

⁸ Jonathan Edwards, “The Importance and Advantage of a Thorough Knowledge of Divine Truth,” 35, 38, 40, 43; and Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption*, *WJE*, 9:291. Edwards said the same in a long-lost and sketchy sermon to the Indians of Stockbridge, whom he implored “to take a great deal of pains to learn to read and understand the Scriptures. . . . You must not only hear and read, &c., but you must have it sunk down into your heart. Believe. Be affected. Love the Word of God. Written in your heart. Must not only read and hear, but DO the things. Otherwise no good; but will be the worse for it.” See Jonathan Edwards, sermon on 2 Timothy 3:16, in *Selections from the Unpublished Writings of Jonathan Edwards of America. Edited from the Original Mss., with Facsimilies and an Introduction*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart ([Edinburgh]: printed for private circulation [by Ballantyne and Company], 1865), 191-96 (quotation from p. 195).

⁹ The works of Poole, Doddridge, Henry, Bedford, Owen, and Prideaux that Edwards engaged the most extensively were Matthew Poole, *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible . . .*, 2 vols. (London: John Richardson, for Thomas Parkhurst et al., 1683-85); Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum*, 5 vols. (London: J. Flesher & T. Roycroft, 1669-76); Philip Doddridge, *The Family Expositor; or, A Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament . . .*, 6 vols. (London: John Wilson, Richard Hett, J. Waugh, et al., 1739-56); Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, 3d ed., 6 vols. (London: J. Clark, R. Hett, et al., 1721-25); Arthur Bedford, *The Scripture Chronology Demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations, and also by the Year of Jubilee, and the Sabbatical Year among the Jews: or, An Account of Time, from the Creation of the World, to the Destruction of Jerusalem; as it may be proved from the Writings of the Old and New Testament* (London: James and John Knapton, 1730); John Owen, *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 4 vols. (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1668-84); and Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*, 9th ed., 4 vols. (London: R. Knaplock and J. Tonson, 1725). As will become quite clear below, these were but some of the many exegetical influences on Edwards. More comprehensive treatments of his biblical interlocutors may be found in Stephen Stein's editorial introductions to Edwards' *Notes on Scripture* and *Blank Bible* (discussed below), *WJE*, 15:4-12, 22-24, and 24:59-75.

¹⁰ Bruce Kuklick, "Review Essay: An Edwards for the Millennium," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 11 (Winter 2001): 116-17. On Edwards' modern supernaturalism, see my "Editor's Introduction" to his *Miscellanies, 1153-1360*, *WJE*, 23:20-23.

¹¹ Church historians know that Gerhard Ebeling, a twentieth-century German theologian, defined the history of Christianity “as the history of the interpretation of Holy Scripture.” He spoke of exegesis in an unusually broad manner. Still, in 1947 he described Christian history as a history of biblical thinking and activity. His argument aided the rise of careful work in the history of exegesis by non-Americans, which compensated partly for the lopsided emphasis on dogma by the founders of historical theology. If his argument is true of Christianity in general, it is certainly true of Protestant church history in America, a far more biblically-leavened place than most. See Gerhard Ebeling, *Kirchengeschichte als Geschichte der Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift*, Sammlung Gemeinverständlicher Vorträge (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1947), translated as “Church History is the History of the Exposition of Scripture,” in Gerhard Ebeling, *The Word of God and Tradition: Historical Studies Interpreting the Divisions of Christianity*, trans. S. H. Hooke (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968; orig. *Wort Gottes und Tradition* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964]), 11-31. On Ebeling’s scholarly impact, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer’s Exegetical Writings, Luther’s Works* (hereafter *LW*), Companion Volume (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 5-31.

¹² Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, eds., *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 4.

¹³ For an historiographical survey of the scholarship produced on the Bible in America, which is beginning to improve on Scripture’s roles in American culture but is still rather weak on the history of exegesis, see Mark A. Noll, “Review Essay: The Bible in America,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 6 (September 1987): 493-509, published shortly after the first edition of Mark A. Noll, *Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship, and the Bible in America*

(Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986; 2d ed., 1991). Important, more recent books not covered in Noll's fine review include James P. Wind, *The Bible and the University: The Messianic Vision of William Rainey Harper*, Biblical Scholarship in North America (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); Ernest S. Frerichs, ed., *The Bible and Bibles in America*, The Bible in American Culture (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1988); John H. Giltner, *Moses Stuart: The Father of Biblical Science in America*, Biblical Scholarship in North America (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); Mark S. Massa, *Charles Augustus Briggs and the Crisis of Historical Criticism*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-Day Saints in American Religion*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Peter J. Thuesen, *In Discordance with Scripture: American Protestant Battles over Translating the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jay G. Williams, *The Times and Life of Edward Robinson: Connecticut Yankee in King Solomon's Court*, Biblical Scholarship in North America (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999); Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Allen Dwight Callahan, *The Talking Book: African Americans and the Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Claudia Setzer and David Shefferman, eds., *The Bible and American Culture: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2011); and James P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War: The Bible and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹⁴ See M. X. Lesser, *Reading Jonathan Edwards: An Annotated Bibliography in Three Parts, 1729-2005* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008). Some of the best-known work on Edwards before

the rise of the Yale edition, moreover, excised or misrepresented his biblical writings. Harvey G. Townsend, ed., *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards from His Private Notebooks*, University of Oregon Monographs: Studies in Philosophy (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1955), deleted Edwards' exegesis from the manuscripts he published. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), 374, described Edwards' "Notes on Scripture" (which she labeled "Notes on the Bible") as three quarto volumes (when really they are comprised of four lengthy manuscript notebooks, two quartos and two folios). Even Perry Miller himself, in his benchmark *Jonathan Edwards, The American Men of Letters Series* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1949), 127, confused Edwards' "Notes on Scripture" with the "Blank Bible" (these texts are discussed below).

¹⁵ Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards*, 325-30; Perry Miller, "Introduction," in Miller, ed., *Images or Shadows of Divine Things by Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 25 and *passim* (cf. Miller, *Jonathan Edwards*); Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Jonathan Edwards, The Great American Thinkers Series* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1966), 120-21, 150-62 (quotation from 158); and Peter Gay, *A Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 105, 113, 116. Confirmation that Edwards' biblicism rendered him "medieval," not "modern" as Miller pretended against the grain of his own evidence, was made in a famous article by Vincent Tomas, "The Modernity of Jonathan Edwards," *New England Quarterly* 25 (March 1952): 60-84.

¹⁶ John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 1-2.

¹⁷ David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 551-52.

¹⁸ As Forshaw and Killeen have noted, presentist concerns have kept us from understanding well even the rather more secular rise of early modern Western science, which was also shaped profoundly by the Bible: “Exegesis, it could be argued, was one of the crucial cultural activities of the early modern era, its effect traceable across a range of thought—from law to politics, poetics to philosophy—for all that such biblicism has been occluded, by and large, in the historiography of the Scientific Revolution.” See Peter J. Forshaw and Kevin Killeen, “Introduction: The Word and the World,” in Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw, eds., *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 5.

¹⁹ On the notion of an American Augustine, see especially H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (New York: Harper, 1959; orig. 1937), xvi; John F. Wilson, “Religion at the Core of American Culture,” in David W. Lotz with Donald W. Shriver, Jr. and John F. Wilson, eds., *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 373-76; Harry S. Stout, “The Historical Legacy of H. Richard Niebuhr,” in Ronald F. Thiemann, ed., *The Legacy of H. Richard Niebuhr*, Harvard Theological Studies (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 92; Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 186-96; George Marsden, “Jonathan Edwards, American Augustine,” *Books & Culture* 5 (November/December 1999), 10; and Avihu Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards’ Philosophy of History: The Re-Enchantment of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 1-26 and *passim*.

²⁰ On the decline of Christendom, see Hilary M. Carey and John Gascoigne, eds., *Church and State in Old and New Worlds*, Brill’s Series in Church History (Leiden: Brill, 2011). On the relationship between the rise of modern evangelicalism and the decline of Christendom, see also

Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 27-48, 194-214.

²¹ Edwards, "Profitable Hearers of the Word," *WJE*, 14:264-65.

²² Though much has been written on this spirit of American self-culture, I have found the following works most helpful: Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1992); and Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2000). Tellingly, even in James E. Block's more submissive "nation of agents" Edwards' "proto-agency" view is excluded from the mainstream. According to Block, the national "vision was of individuals freed from lifelong submissiveness within authoritarian hierarchies in every domain of societal life in order to be resubordinated to the emerging institutions of liberal society, and placed *qua* individuals as equal agents capable of undertaking the realization of collective ends." Further, this vision of "agency liberalism struggled against and overcame the traditional models of servitude and Puritan proto-agency (though the latter long lingered) embedded in early religious movements and local hierarchies, in colonial dependency, southern slave society, and early industrial organization." And "Edwards' conservative defense of religious and civil elites who shared with secularizing elites the rejection of uncontained popular religious enthusiasm and its empowerment of women and minorities, and his increasingly marginal pessimism regarding American prospects, represented desperate efforts to sustain the Puritan legacy. . . . Today he remains largely a cautionary voice, Melville's lonely prophet, improbably reminding a human-centered culture of the limits of human action." James

E. Block, *A Nation of Agents: The American Path to a Modern Self and Society* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2002), 29, 33, 204 and *passim*.

²³ See especially Ralph G. Turnbull, *Jonathan Edwards The Preacher* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), 68-78; Ralph G. Turnbull, "Jonathan Edwards--Bible Interpreter," *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 6 (October 1952): 422-35; Samuel T. Logan, Jr., "The Hermeneutics of Jonathan Edwards," *Westminster Theological Journal* 43 (Fall 1980): 79-96; John H. Gerstner, "Jonathan Edwards and the Bible," *Tenth: An Evangelical Quarterly* 9 (October 1979): 2-71; John H. Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 1 (Powhatan, VA: Berea, 1991); Ted Rivera, "Jonathan Edwards's 'Hermeneutic': A Case Study of the Sermon 'Christian Knowledge,'" *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 49 (June 2006): 273-86; and John Carrick, *The Preaching of Jonathan Edwards* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2008), 231-41.

²⁴ Harry S. Stout, "Word and Order in Colonial New England," in Hatch and Noll, eds., *The Bible in America*, 34. See also Paul Ramsey, "Editor's Introduction" to Edwards' *Freedom of the Will*, *WJE*, 1:8-9; Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 14, 149-50, 154, 215, 227; Helen Westra, *The Minister's Task and Calling in the Sermons of Jonathan Edwards*, *Studies in American Religion* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), esp. 43-79; Wilson H. Kinnach, "General Introduction to the Sermons: Jonathan Edwards Art of Prophesying," in Edwards' *Sermons and Discourses, 1720-1723*, *WJE*, 10:207; John E. Smith, *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 138-47; Kenneth P. Minkema, "Editor's Introduction" to Edwards' *Sermons and Discourses, 1723-1729*, *WJE*, 14:15-16; Stephen J. Stein, "America's Bibles: Canon, Commentary, and Community," *Church*

History 64 (June 1995): 169-84; Robert A. Ferguson, *Reading the Early Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 52, 102, and *passim*; Alexis A. Antracoli, "'Mighty in the Scriptures': The Bible in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1776" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2006); Charles L. Cohen, "Religion, Print Culture, and the Bible before 1876," in *Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America*, ed. Charles L. Cohen and Paul S. Boyer, *Print Culture History in Modern America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 3-13; Janice Knight, "The Word Made Flesh: Reading Women and the Bible," in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly, *Material Texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 169-98; David W. Kling, "A Contested Legacy: Interpreting, Debating, and Translating the Bible in America," in *American Christianities: A History of Dominance and Diversity*, ed. Catherine A. Brekus and W. Clark Gilpin (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 214-41; and George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 473-81, where, in a discussion of Edwards' unfinished "Harmony of the Old and New Testaments," Marsden emphasized "the paramount importance of Scripture for everything else in [Edwards'] thought. In his daily life and work, biblical study had a priority for Edwards that is difficult for a biographer to convey. It was an activity, like prayer or family interactions, that was so habitual that it gets obscured in accounts of more unique events and works that frame the narrative from day to day and year to year" (473). Marsden also rendered homage to Edwards' biblicism briefly, long ago, in a correction of Perry Miller's misconstrual of Puritan thought. See George M. Marsden, "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: A Critique," *Church History* 39 (March 1970): 93-95.

²⁵ See esp. Gerald R. McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods: Christian Theology, Enlightenment Religion, and Non-Christian Faiths* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34-51, 71-86; Gerald R. McDermott, "Revelation as Divine Communication through Reason, Scripture and Tradition," in Don Schweitzer, ed., *Jonathan Edwards as Contemporary: Essays in Honor of Sang Hyun Lee* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 187-205, revised in Michael J. McClymond and Gerald R. McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 130-48; and William M. Schweitzer, *God Is a Communicative Being: Divine Communicativeness and Harmony in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, T & T Clark Studies in Systematic Theology (London: T & T Clark, 2012).

²⁶ In addition to the work of Stein and Brown cited below, see esp. Ava Chamberlain, "Brides of Christ and Signs of Grace: Edwards' Sermon Series on the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins," and Kenneth P. Minkema, "The Other Unfinished 'Great Work': Jonathan Edwards, Messianic Prophecy, and 'The Harmony of the Old and New Testament,'" both in Stephen J. Stein, ed., *Jonathan Edwards' Writings: Text, Context, Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 3-18, 52-65; Glenn R. Kreider, *Jonathan Edwards's Interpretation of Revelation 4:1-8:1* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004); Stephen Robert Chamberlain Nichols, "The Relationship of the Old and New Testaments in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards (1703-58)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol, 2011); and the following work by David P. Barshinger: "'The Only Rule of Our Faith and Practice': Jonathan Edwards' Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah as a Case Study of His Exegetical Boundaries," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 52 (December 2009): 811-29; "'Making the Psalter One's 'Own Language': Jonathan Edwards Engages the Psalms," *Jonathan Edwards Studies* 2, No. 1 (2012): 3-29; and "'So Much of the Gospel . . . Shining in It': Jonathan Edwards' Redemptive-

Historical Vision of the Psalms” (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2012). My own earlier work on Edwards’ exegetical labor includes “‘Longing for More and More of It’?: The Strange Career of Jonathan Edwards’s Exegetical Exertions,” in Harry S. Stout, Kenneth P. Minkema, and Caleb J. D. Maskell, eds., *Jonathan Edwards at 300: Essays on the Tercentenary of His Birth* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005), 25-37; “Jonathan Edwards,” in Donald K. McKim, ed., *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), 397-400; “Edwards and the Bible,” in Gerald R. McDermott, ed., *Understanding Jonathan Edwards: An Introduction to America’s Theologian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 63-82; *Jonathan Edwards and the Ministry of the Word: A Model of Faith and Thought* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009); “Jonathan Edwards and Justification: The Rest of the Story,” in Schweitzer, ed., *Jonathan Edwards as Contemporary*, 151-73; and with David Barshinger, “Edwards, Jonathan,” in Hans-Josef Klauck, Bernard McGinn, Choon-Leong Seow, Hermann Spieckermann, Barry Dov Walfish, and Eric Ziolkowski, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, 30 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009-), forthcoming.

²⁷ Stephen J. Stein, “A Notebook on the Apocalypse by Jonathan Edwards,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 29 (October 1972): 623-34; Stephen J. Stein, “Jonathan Edwards and the Rainbow: Biblical Exegesis and Poetic Imagination,” *New England Quarterly* 47 (September 1974): 440-56; Stephen J. Stein, “Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards on the Number of the Beast: Eighteenth-Century Speculation about the Antichrist,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 84 (October 1974): 293-315; Stephen J. Stein, “The Biblical Notes of Benjamin Pierpont,” *Yale University Library Gazette* 50 (April 1976): 195-218; Stephen J. Stein, “The Quest for the Spiritual Sense: The Biblical Hermeneutics of Jonathan Edwards,” *Harvard*

Theological Review 70 (January-April 1977): 99-113; Stephen J. Stein, "Editor's Introduction" to Edwards' *Apocalyptic Writings*, *WJE*, 5:1-93; Stephen J. Stein, "Providence and the Apocalypse in the Early Writings of Jonathan Edwards," *Early American Literature* 13 (Winter 1978/79): 250-67; Stephen J. Stein, "'Like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver': The Portrait of Wisdom in Jonathan Edwards's Commentary on the Book of Proverbs," *Church History* 54 (September 1985): 324-37; Stephen J. Stein, "The Spirit and the Word: Jonathan Edwards and Scriptural Exegesis," in Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout, eds., *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 118-30; Stein, "Editor's Introduction" to Edwards' *Notes on Scripture*; Stephen J. Stein, "Eschatology," in Sang Hyun Lee, ed., *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 226-42; Stephen J. Stein, "Jonathan Edwards and the Cultures of Biblical Violence," in Stout, Minkema, and Maskell, eds., *Jonathan Edwards at 300*, 54-64; Stephen J. Stein, "Editor's Introduction" to Edwards' "Blank Bible," *WJE*, 24:1-117; and Stephen J. Stein, "Edwards as Biblical Exegete," in Stephen J. Stein, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 181-95.

²⁸ Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*. See also Robert E. Brown, "Edwards, Locke, and the Bible," *Journal of Religion* 79 (July 1999): 361-84; the last-minute addition commissioned from Brown entitled "The Bible" in Lee, ed., *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards*, 87-102; and Robert E. Brown, "The Sacred and the Profane Connected: Edwards, the Bible, and Intellectual Culture," in Stout, Minkema, and Maskell, eds., *Jonathan Edwards at 300*, 38-53.

²⁹ See especially Karl Dietrich Pfisterer, *The Prism of Scripture: Studies on History and Historicity in the Work of Jonathan Edwards*, Anglo-American Forum (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1975); Conrad Cherry, "Symbols of Spiritual Truth: Jonathan Edwards as Biblical Interpreter,"

Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology 39 (July 1985): 263-71; two of Cherry's books that pay attention to Edwards' biblicism: *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990; 1966), and *Nature and Religious Imagination: From Edwards to Bushnell* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); Shalom Goldman, *God's Sacred Tongue: Hebrew & the American Imagination* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 74-88; William A. Tooman, "Edwards's Ezekiel: The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the *Blank Bible* and *Notes on Scripture*," *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 3 (Spring 2009): 17-38; William J. Danaher, Jr., "'Fire Enfolding Itself': Jonathan Edwards, the *Merkabah*, and Reparative Reasoning," *Journal of Scriptural Reasoning* 8 (August 2009): no pagination (available online at etext.virginia.edu/journals/ssr/); Paul Silas Peterson, "'The Perfection of Beauty': Cotton Mather's Christological Interpretation of the Shechinah Glory in the 'Biblia Americana' and Its Theological Contexts," in Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann, eds., *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana—America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 383-412, which contains a section comparing Mather and Edwards on this theme (406-408); Brandon G. Withrow, *Becoming Divine: Jonathan Edwards's Incarnational Spirituality within the Christian Tradition* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011), 171-96; Mark A. Noll, "Jonathan Edwards' Use of the Bible: A Case Study," *Jonathan Edwards Studies* 2, No. 1 (2012): 30-46; Jeongmo Yoo, "Jonathan Edwards's Interpretation of the Major Prophets: The Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel," *Puritan Reformed Journal* 3 (July 2011): 160-92; McClymond and McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, esp. 130-48, 167-80; and Benjamin D. Wayman, "Women as Types of the Church in the *Blank Bible*: The 'Feminine' Ecclesiology of Jonathan Edwards," *Jonathan Edwards Studies* 2, No. 2 (2012): 56-82.

³⁰ On these themes, see especially C. C. Goen, “Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology,” *Church History* 28 (March 1959), 25-40; Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); John F. Wilson, “History, Redemption, and the Millennium,” in Hatch and Stout, eds., *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*, 131-41; John F. Wilson, “Editor’s Introduction” to Edwards’ *History of the Work of Redemption*, *WJE*, 9:1-109; Wallace E. Anderson, “Editor’s Introduction” to “Images of Divine Things” and “Types,” and Mason I. Lowance, Jr. with David H. Watters, “Editor’s Introduction” to “Types of the Messiah,” both in *WJE*, 11:3-33, 157-82; Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards’ Philosophy of History*; Janice Knight, “Typology,” in Lee, ed., *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards*, 190-209, which offered a minor updating of Janice Knight, “Learning the Language of God: Jonathan Edwards and the Typology of Nature,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 48 (October 1991): 531-51; Tibor Fabiny, “Edwards and Biblical Typology,” in McDermott, ed., *Understanding Jonathan Edwards*, 91-108; and McClymond and McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, esp. 116-29, 181-90, 566-79.

³¹ On Edwards’ global footprint during the past two hundred years, see especially Conforti, *Jonathan Edward, Religious Tradition, and American Culture*; David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney, eds., *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003); and Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney, eds., *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³² No Edwards sermons survive from the following books: Ezra, Esther, Lamentations, Obadiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Philemon, 2 John, or 3 John.

³³ On the general practice of note taking in early modern Europe, so crucial to scholarly development, see Ann Blair, “The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe,” *Intellectual History Review* 20 (September 2010): 303-16.

³⁴ These were not published until 1829-1830, when Sereno Edwards Dwight, Jonathan Edwards’ great-grandson, Timothy Dwight’s son, published an expurgated, bowdlerized, and rearranged version of “Notes on the Bible” (re-ordered now canonically) in Dwight, ed., *The Works of President Edwards*, 9:113-563. Dwight’s edition of the “Notes” has been reprinted numerous times in a variety places (most famously in Edward Hickman’s revised, corrected repackaging of Dwight’s publication, printed in 1834, which has been picked up and reprinted several times since 1974 by The Banner of Truth Trust and Hendrickson Publishers). But not until 1998 did Yale publish the “Notes on Scripture” in their entirety, accurately, and in their original order. See *WJE*, 15.

³⁵ Pierpont had penned nearly 60 marginal notes on the leaves of the “Blank Bible” before he passed it on to Edwards. Edwards himself added 5,506 entries between 1730 and 1758. In the words of Kinnach and Minkema, this Bible quickly “became the logistical center of the expanding web of Edwards’s recorded speculations and of his mental life, and as such it became the center of his cross-references, an index of indexes in his study.” We still know precious little about the use of volumes like this, but other clergymen possessed them. Antracoli, apparently unaware of Edwards’ volume, notes that the Rev. Joseph Emerson, a contemporary of Edwards serving in Malden, Massachusetts, used a blank Bible held today at the Boston Atheneum. See Stein, “The Biblical Notes of Benjamin Pierpont,” 197; *WJE*, 24:92; Wilson H. Kinnach and Kenneth P. Minkema, “The Material and Social Practices of Intellectual Work: Jonathan Edwards’s Study,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 69 (October 2012): 713; and Antracoli,

“Mighty in the Scriptures,” 132. For Edwards’ “Blank Bible” itself, see both of the volumes numbered together as *WJE*, 24.

³⁶ This is published in *WJE*, 5:97-305. For further information, see Stein, “A Notebook on the Apocalypse by Jonathan Edwards,” which functioned as a draft of Stein’s “Editor’s Introduction,” *WJE*, 5:1-93.

³⁷ Edwards began by calling the former notebook “Shadows of Divine Things,” then toyed with “The Book of Nature and Common Providence,” and even “The Language and Lessons of Nature,” before settling on the title that stuck, “Images of Divine Things.” See *WJE*, 11:50-51.

³⁸ Edwards listed “Hebrew Idioms” with their English equivalents by the Old Testament verses where they are found. Box 16, F. 1211, Beinecke.

³⁹ Box 15, F. 1204, Beinecke.

⁴⁰ This leaf was misplaced somewhere in the Edwards Collection at Yale when that collection was reorganized in 1995, but is currently available in transcription. See the online edition of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 28, “Minor Controversial Writings” (<http://edwards.yale.edu/>).

⁴¹ Jonathan Edwards, “Scripture Prophecies of the Old Testament,” Box 21, F. 1248, Beinecke. This is the notebook Edwards kept on “Prophecies of the Old T. besides the Prophecies of the Messiah & his Kingdom & the Prophecies of daniel which have had an Evident Fulfillment” (inside cover), which he treats in other notebooks (see below).

⁴² Jonathan Edwards, “Notes on the Coming of Christ,” Box 19, F. 1231, Beinecke.

⁴³ The best example of Edwards’ manuscript reflections on assorted Bible doctrines is found in Edwards, *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *WJE*, 21.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Edwards to the trustees of the College of New Jersey, 19 October 1757, in *WJE*, 16:725-30. Edwards' son-in-law, the Rev. Aaron Burr (Esther's husband), had been president of the college since 1748, but had recently died of fever from malaria.

⁴⁵ *WJE*, 16:727-28.

⁴⁶ Sixteen years after he died, Edwards' sermon series was published with the help of his son, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., as *A History of the Work of Redemption. Containing, The Outlines of a Body of Divinity, in a Method Entirely New* (Edinburgh: W. Gray, J. Buckland, and G. Keith, 1774). Frequently reprinted, it is available today as *WJE*, vol. 9. For Edwards' notes toward the turning of these sermons into a treatise, see the books in Box 16, Ff. 1212-1214, Beinecke.

⁴⁷ *WJE*, 16:728-29.

⁴⁸ Sadly, these entries, Nos. 891, 922, 1067, and 1068, are the only "Miscellanies" not in the letterpress edition of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*.

⁴⁹ See "Types of the Messiah," in *WJE*, 11:191-324.

⁵⁰ The "Harmony" notebook, nearly 200 pages in manuscript, did not find its way into the letterpress edition of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. See "The Harmony of the Genius, Spirit, Doctrines, & Rules of the Old Testament & the New," Box 15, F. 1210, Beinecke. For more on Edwards' intentions for this second unfinished project (in its entirety), see Minkema, "The Other Unfinished 'Great Work,'" 52-65; and Nichols, "The Relationship of the Old and New Testaments in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards." Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 473, offers a fascinating analogy, quoting from Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: Norton, 2000), 433: "We might think of Edwards' unfinished works as analogous to the two great works that J. S. Bach did live long enough to finish in the 1740s, the *B-Minor Mass* and the *Art of the Fugue*. In each of these works Bach drew on a lifetime of

achievement for one great summation. The subject of the *B-Minor Mass* is, of course, the same as that of ‘The History of Redemption,’ although Bach was following a conventional mass format The *Art of the Fugue*, in contrast, represents the Baroque scientist at work, attempting ‘an exploration in depth of the contrapuntal possibilities inherent in a single musical subject.’ Edwards’ ‘Harmony’ may be seen as a similar sort of technical work of a Baroque scientist, attempting the most elaborate exploration of the variations on a theme essential to the theologian’s art.”

⁵¹ On Buxtorf and his work, see Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

⁵² Johann Buxtorf, *Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum. Quo significata omnium vocum, tam primarum, quam derivatarum, quotquot in Sacris Bibliis, Hebraeâ & partim Chaldaeâ linguâ scriptis, extant, solidè & succinctè explicantur*, 5th ed. (Basil: Ludovici Köning, 1631), Edwards’ copy of which is held in the Beinecke. On its second leaf, recto, in Edwards’ own hand, is written “Jonathan Edwards His Book Given to him by his Hon[ored] Father Ani 1718 Dom.” On its last leaf, verso (which was also the first page of the manual itself, which is read from right to left), Edwards penned, “Anno Domini 1719 – August Jonathan Edwards His Book Given him by His Hon[ored] Father.” There are scores of dashes, check marks, and minor marginalia in this frequently used book.

⁵³ Johann Buxtorf, *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum; complectens omnes voces . . . quae in Sacris Bibliis, hebraea, & ex parte chaldaea lingua scriptis, extant: interpretationis fide, exemplorum biblicorum copiâ, locorum plurimorum difficilium ex variis Hebraeorum commentariis explicatione, auctum & illustratum. Accessit Lexicon breve rabbinico-*

philosophicum, communiora vocabula continens, quæ in commentariis passim occurrunt. Cum indice vocum latino, 5th ed. (Basil: Ludovici Köning, 1645), Edwards' copy of which is held Princeton's Firestone Library. For a list of Edwards' references to this work, see *WJE*, 26:434.

⁵⁴ *WJE*, 3:235. Johann Buxtorf, *Concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicae . . .* (Basil: Ludovici Köning, 1632), begun by Buxtorf the elder but completed by his son, Johann Buxtorf "the younger" (1599-1664), another great Hebraist. Edwards engaged this concordance in the "Blank Bible" as well (*WJE*, 24:308, 494, 568).

⁵⁵ Alexander Ross, *Sodalis Discipulis: The Schollers Companion, or a Little Library, Containing All the Interpretations of the Hebrew and Greek Bible, by All Authors, First into the Latine . . .* (London: M. Bell for William Larnier and George Whittington, 1648), Edwards' copy of which is held in Princeton's Firestone Library.

⁵⁶ Erasmus Schmid, *Novi Testamenti Jesu Christi Graeci, hoc est, originalis linguae tameion (aliis Concordantiae) . . .* (Wittenberg: C. Bergeri, 1638; Gotha and Leipzig: Ioh. Andreae Reyheri, 1717). Edwards' copy of Schmid is not known to survive.

⁵⁷ *WJE*, 24:145-46. Edmund Castell, *Lexicon heptaglotton; Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Æthiopicum, Arabicum conjunctim; et Persicum, separatim*, 2 vols. (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1669).

⁵⁸ See, for example, Edwards' references to Edward Leigh, *Critica Sacra; or, Philological and Theological Observations, upon All the Greek Words of the New Testament . . .* (London: Robert Young, 1639); Abraham Trommius, *Concordantiae Graecae versionis vulgo dictae LXX interpretum . . .*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Sumptibus Societas, 1718); Johann Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-latinum*, rev. ed. (London: Iosuae Kirton & Samuelis Thomson, 1652); Christianus Noldius, *Concordantiae particularum Ebraeo-Chaldaicarum . . .* (Copenhagen: Cornisicii Lust.,

1679); Paulus Martinus Alberti, *Shaar leshon ha-kodesh; sive, Porta linguae sanctae, h.e., Lexicon novum Hebraeo-Latino-Biblicum . . .* (Bautzen, Germany: Friderici Arnstii, 1704); and Charles-François Houbigant, *Biblia Hebraica . . .*, 4 vols. (Paris: Antonium Claudium Briasson & Laurentium Durand, 1753). *WJE*, 26:128, 234, 254, 256-57, 274, 282-83. As far as we know, Edwards did not own any of these titles.

⁵⁹ For brief, English-language histories of these polyglot projects, see especially E. Nestle, “Bibles, Polyglot,” in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, vol. 2 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1908), 167-68; R. A. Muller, “Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in McKim, ed., *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, 32; and Peter N. Miller, “The ‘Antiquarianization’ of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653-57),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (July 2001): 463-82. On the Antwerp Polyglot, see also Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁶⁰ For the complete Antwerp Polyglot, see Benedictus Arias Montanus, ed., *Biblia sacra hebraicae chaldaice, graece et latine . . . Philippi II regis catholici pietate et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum*, 8 vols. (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1569-72). For Edwards’ shortened version, see *Biblia Hebraica: eorundem Latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini Lucensis, Benedicti Ariæ Montani . . .* (Geneva: Petrus de la Rouiere, 1609), bound together with *Novum Testamentum Graecum, cum vulgata interpretatione Latina Graeci contextus lineis inserta . . .* (Geneva: Petrus de la Rouiere, 1609), Edwards’ copy of which was signed by him in 1751 (when he moved his books to Stockbridge) and is held at Princeton’s Firestone Library.

⁶¹ Some speculate that Walton published his polyglot partly to destabilize, or complicate, the text of sacred scripture in the face of Puritan biblicism. Always a Laudian Anglican, he was made a bishop as soon as the Restoration had begun (but died soon thereafter, in 1661). For more on Walton and his views, see Henry John Todd, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Brian Walton, D.D. . . .*, 2 vols. (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1821).

⁶² “If anyone should not accept as sacred and canonical these entire books and all their parts as they have, by established custom, been read in the catholic church, and as contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition, and in conscious judgment should reject the aforesaid traditions: let him be anathema. . . . Moreover, the same holy council considers that noticeable benefit can accrue to the church of God if, from all the Latin editions of the sacred books which are in circulation, it establishes which is to be regarded as authentic. It decides and declares that the old well known Latin Vulgate edition which has been tested in the church by long use over so many centuries should be kept as the authentic text in public readings, debates, sermons and explanations; and no one is to dare or presume on any pretext to reject it.” Decreed at the Council of Trent, Session 4, April 8, 1546. For the Latin original along with this translation, see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Volume Two, Trent to Vatican II*, ed., Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 664.

⁶³ For instances where Edwards did assert some independence, moving away from other scholars on a matter of translation, see *WJE*, 3:266-67; 15:594-98; 21:345-54; and 24:489. For some of the instances where Edwards amended the King James Version (with some help from Matthew Poole), see also *WJE*, 15:335; 18:381; and 24:480, 503, 509-10, 528. Many thanks to David Barshinger for help on this matter.

⁶⁴ On the inside of the back cover of Edwards' polyglot, he wrote: "These Parts of the Old Testament are written in Chaldee [Aramaic], Jer. Chap X v. 11. Dan. Chap. II, from v. 4 to the End. Chap. IV, V, VI, VII, throughout Ez Chap. IV, from v. 8 to the End. Chap. V, throughout Chap VI to v. 19. Chap VII from v. 12 to 27, including the former verse [and] excluding the latter. Bithnir." He also listed "the Chaldee Paraphrast" in his "Catalogue" of reading. *WJE*, 26:171.

⁶⁵ The vast majority of the jots and notes in his polyglot, in fact, are found in margins of the Hebrew book of Genesis.

⁶⁶ From about the time of Jerome, and through much of Christian history, many Christian intellectuals thought that Hebrew must have been the first language of humanity, spoken by Adam and Eve and not marginalized until the tower of Babel. Many medieval theologians, though—St. Thomas, for example—never learned to read Hebrew. Others were largely anti-semitic, often for exegetical reasons. Hebrew learning rarely guaranteed that Christians would love Jews (as they were, anyway), however it did serve to undermine hostility to Jews. On the spread of Christian Hebraism and even philosemitism in early modern Europe, see especially these recent English sources: Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983); G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "Foundations of Biblical Philology in the Seventeenth Century Christian and Jewish Dimensions," in *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, Center for Jewish Studies Harvard Judaic Monographs, ed. Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 77-94; William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989);

Peter T. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648), Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden*, Studies in the History of Leiden University (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989); Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*; Mark W. Elliott, "Calvin the Hebraiser?: Influence and Independence in Calvin's Old Testament lectures, with special reference to the 'commentary' on Jeremiah," in *Interpreting the Bible: Historical and Theological Studies in Honour of David F. Wright*, ed. A. N. S. Lane (Leicester, U.K.: Apollos, 1997), 99-112; Jeffrey S. Shoulson, *Milton and the Rabbis: Hebraism, Hellenism, & Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds., *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), who argues that Christian Hebraism declined from 1650 through the long eighteenth century; David B. Ruderman, *Connecting the Covenants: Judaism and the Search for Christian Identity in Eighteenth-Century England*, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510-1580)* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007); Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), who attributes the rise of modern republican political ideology in the West, not to gradual secularization, but to Hebraism; and Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, with Alastair

Hamilton, *“I have always loved the Holy Tongue”*: Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).

⁶⁷ King Edward I decreed the expulsion of all Jewish people from England on July 18, 1290, stating that any Jew remaining after All Saints Day (November 1, 1290) was to be killed. On June 25, 1656, the British Council of State allowed the readmission of Jews, at the request of Menasseh ben Israel and with help from Oliver Cromwell (though, by then, nearly three dozen Jewish male Marranos, most of them with families, lived secretly in England, posing as Spanish or Dutch immigrants). As Peter Toon has shown, “if the basic ground of the preliminary call to readmit Jews sprang primarily from advanced views of religious toleration, the more common ground of advocating readmission, amongst theologians and preachers, seems to have been based on eschatological considerations. If the Jews re-entered Britain where they would meet some of the godliest people on earth their conversion to Christ could probably be hastened and the inauguration of the latter-day glory or millennium brought nearer.” See Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600 to 1660* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2002; orig. 1970), 117. On the roots of this “relatively more benign attitude toward the Jews” in the late middle ages, see Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), quotation on p. 120. By 1690, nearly 300 Jews had settled back in England. But not until 1858, when Baron de Rothschild became a sitting member of the parliament, were Jews widely recognized as real English citizens. For more on this sad history and its role in Christian Hebraism, see Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941); V. D. Lipman, ed., *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*:

A Volume of Essays (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1961); Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*; Richard H. Popkin, "Jewish Messianism and Christian Millenarianism," in Perez Zagorin, ed., *Culture and Politics From Puritanism to the Enlightenment*, Publications from the Clark Library Professorship, UCLA (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 67-90; and David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

⁶⁸ The study of biblical Hebrew in colonial New England was a largely Protestant enterprise, pursued for Christian reasons and with precious little help from Jewish rabbis. Even by the time of the American Revolution, there were only about 1,500 Jews living in what would later be the United States, none of whom was a rabbi or a specialist in Judaica (though some colonial Christians had earlier benefited from friendships with rabbis). And while they did use Hebrew for liturgical (and other religious) reasons, their rabbinic Hebrew had morphed over the course of many centuries and was different from the Hebrew in the Bible. See D. de Sola Pool, "Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England Prior to 1700," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 20 (1911): 31-83; Cyrus Adler, "Hebrew and Cognate Learning in America," in Cyrus Adler, *Lectures, Selected Papers, Addresses* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1933), 277-94; Isidore S. Meyer, "Hebrew at Harvard (1636-1760): A Résumé of the Information in Recent Publications," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 35 (1939): 145-70; Robert H. Pfeiffer, "The Teaching of Hebrew in Colonial America," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 45 (April 1955): 363-73; Eugene R. Fingerhut, "Were the Massachusetts Puritans Hebraic?" *New England Quarterly* 40 (December 1967): 521-31; Salo Wittmayer Baron, "From Colonial Mansion to Skyscraper: An Emerging Pattern of Hebraic Studies," in *Steeled by Adversity: Essays and Addresses on American Jewish Life by Salo Wittmayer Baron*,

ed., Jeannette Meisel Baron (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971), 106-126; Arthur A. Chiel, "Ezra Stiles: The Education of An 'Hebrician,'" *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 60 (March 1971): 235-41; Arthur A. Chiel, "The Rabbis and Ezra Stiles," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 61 (June 1972): 294-312; Isidore S. Meyer, *The Hebrew Exercises of Governor William Bradford* (Plymouth, MA: Pilgrim Society, 1973); Milton M. Klein, ed., "A Jew at Harvard in the 18th Century," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., 97 (1985): 135-45; Alan Mintz, ed., *Hebrew in America: Perspectives and Prospects*, American Jewish Civilization Series (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993); Shalom Goldman, ed., *Hebrew and the Bible in America: The First Two Centuries*, Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993); and Shalom Goldman, *God's Sacred Tongue: Hebrew & the American Imagination* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

⁶⁹ Goldman, *God's Sacred Tongue*, 77-78.

⁷⁰ Cotton Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium: Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry*, reproduced from the original edition, Boston, 1726, with a bibliographical note by Thomas J. Holmes and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York: Published for the Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press, 1938), 30-31. Mather, whose *Manuductio* Edwards read (*WJE*, 26:26-27, 162, 164, n. 5, 186), recommended that ministers study Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac (mainly for the way in which it aided the study of Hebrew) and, if time permitted and they would actually use them, modern languages (27-33). Richard Bernard, *The Faithfull Shepheard: Or the Shepherds Faithfulness* (London: Printed by Arnold Hatfield for John Bill, 1607), another popular manual, recommended that the clergy study Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (36). Edwards' favorite theologian, Peter van Mastricht, proved himself to be an excellent Hebraist, which may

have inspired Edwards. See Adriaan Cornelis Neele, *The Art of Living to God: A Study of Method and Piety in the Theoretico-Practica Theologia of Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706)*, Perspectives on Christianity (Pretoria: Department of Church History, University of Pretoria, 2005), 45, 50-51, 156-57.

⁷¹ *WJE*, 16, 729.

⁷² As several of the sources in n. 73 attest, there was never a master text of the King James Bible that would guarantee consistency in the history of its printing. There was even some confusion as to which was the first edition. Its text was only stabilized after Edwards' death with the publication of Benjamin Blayney's Oxford folio (1769). That and the nineteenth-century labors of the American Bible Society have yielded more stability in today's King James. (Minor changes have been made, though, even during the last two centuries.)

⁷³ On the English *Annotations upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament; Wherein the Text Is Explained, Doubts Resolved, Scriptures Paralleled, and Various Readings Observed . . .* (London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645), which were commissioned by the Long Parliament in 1640, went through three different editions (1645, 1651, 1657, the latter two so large that they comprised two volumes, eventually totaling nearly 2,400 pages) and two supplemental volumes (1655, 1658), see Muller's contribution to Richard A. Muller and Rowland S. Ward, *Scripture and Worship: Biblical Interpretation and the Directory for Public Worship, The Westminster Assembly and the Reformed Faith* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2007), 3-82; and Dean George Lampros, "A New Set of Spectacles: The Assembly's Annotations, 1645-1657," *Renaissance and Reformation* 19 (1995): 33-46.

⁷⁴ The first English Bible to include verse numbers and explanatory notes, the Geneva Bible soared in popularity. Nearly half a million copies, in more than 70 editions, were sold in Great

Britain. Because produced by Marian exiles dwelling in Geneva, it was printed there first in 1560. It was published back in England between 1575 and the start of the civil wars (after which it had to be made abroad and shipped back to England, most frequently from Amsterdam). Nine King James editions with Geneva notes were published between 1642 and 1715 (again, usually in Amsterdam). Sometimes their notes were even adapted to the language of the King James itself. Inasmuch as the King's Printer had a monarchial monopoly on the printing of English Bibles and, over time, invested most in the King James Bible, and because the King himself had outlawed Geneva Bibles, only the King James was printed in England by 1640 (though the monopoly itself dissolved with the monarchy in the later 1640s.) For more on the history of these translations and the eventual ascendancy of the King James Bible, see Arthur Sumner Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible: 1525-1961*, rev. and expanded from the ed. of T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, 1903 (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968); Irena Doruta Backus, *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament: The Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament*, The Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series (Pittsburgh, PA: The Pickwick Press, 1980); Neil W. Hitchin, "The Politics of English Bible Translation in Georgian Britain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 9 (1999): 67-92; David Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature*, A History of the Bible as Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Roland H. Worth, Jr., *Church, Monarch and Bible in Sixteenth Century England: The Political Context of Biblical Translation* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2000); Daniell, *The Bible in English*; David S. Katz, *God's Last Words: Reading the English Bible from the Reformation to Fundamentalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Scott Mandelbrote, "The Authority of the Word: Manuscript, Print and the Text of the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England," in *The Uses of*

Script and Print, 1300-1700, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 135-53; David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Muller and Ward, *Scripture and Worship*; Lori Anne Ferrell, *The Bible and the People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones, eds., *The King James Bible after 400 Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611-2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Harold Bloom, *The Shadow of a Great Rock: A Literary Appreciation of the King James Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); and David Norton, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁷⁵ See especially *WJE*, 15:4-12.

⁷⁶ John Taylor was Edwards' nemesis in his work on *Original Sin*. See *WJE*, 3:68-70; and G. T. Eddy, *Dr Taylor of Norwich: Wesley's Arch-heretic* (Werrington, U.K.: Epworth Press, 2003), 95-100. John Owen was a nonconformist Calvinist Oxonian who made a great impression on the Anglo-American world. Among the numerous publications devoted to Owen's life and work, especially in recent years, see especially Tim Cooper et al., "The State of the Field: 'John Owen Unleashed: Almost,'" *Conversations in Religion and Theology* 6 (November 2008): 226-57; Peter Toon, *God's Statesman: The Life and Work of John Owen, Pastor, Educator, Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973; orig. 1971); Carl R. Trueman, *The Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Carlisle, U.K.: Paternoster Press, 1998); Sebastian Rehnman, *Divine Discourse: The Theological Methodology of John Owen*, Texts and Studies in

Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002); Kelly M. Kapic, *Communion with God: The Divine and the Human in the Theology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007); and Carl R. Trueman, *John Owen: Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man*, Great Theologians Series (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007). On Owen's exegesis, see Carl Trueman, "Faith Seeking Understanding: Some Neglected Aspects of John Owen's Understanding of Scriptural Interpretation," in *Interpreting the Bible: Historical and Theological Studies in Honour of David F. Wright*, ed. A. N. S. Lane (Leicester, U.K.: Apollos, 1997), 147-62; Henry M. Knapp, "Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2002); and K. M. McKim, "Owen, John (1616-1683)," in *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), 795-99. Thomas Manton was a celebrated Presbyterian exegete. See especially William Harris, "Some Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Manton, D.D.," in Thomas Manton, *One Hundred and Ninety Sermons on the Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm*, 3 vols., 3d ed. (London: William Brown, 1845), 1:vii-xxx; Derek Cooper, "The Ecumenical Exegete: Thomas Manton's Commentary on James in Relation to Its Protestant Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors" (Ph.D. diss., Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, 2008); and Derek Cooper, *Thomas Manton: A Guided Tour of the Life and Thought of a Puritan Pastor*, The Guided Tour Series (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2011). For the works of these three men read regularly by Edwards, see John Taylor, *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans: to Which Is Prefix'd, A Key to the Apostolic Writings; or, An Essay to Explain the Gospel Scheme, and the Principal Words and Phrases the Apostles Have Used in Describing It* (Dublin: A. Reilly for John Smith, 1746), Edwards' lightly marked copy of which was a gift from John Erskine and is housed at the

Beinecke Library; Owen, *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews*; and Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes upon the Epistle of James. Delivered in Sundry Weekly Lectures at Stoke-Newington in Middlesex, neer London . . .*, 3d ed. (London: J. Macock for Luke Fawn, 1657), bound with Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude. Delivered (for the Most Part) in Sundry Weekly Lectures at Stoke-Newington in Middlesex . . .* (London: J. M. for Luke Fawn, 1658), Edwards' copy of which is held at Princeton's Firestone Library.

⁷⁷ Poole, ed., *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum*, based on John Pearson et al., ed., *Critici Sacri: sive Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes et Tractatus*, 9 vols. (London: Cornelius Bee et al., 1660). Edwards also used Poole's English-language *Annotations* (see n. 9, above), which were owned by his father. Poole was sued for abridging Pearson's work without permission, but survived the suit unscathed, except that pirated editions of Poole's compendium appeared thereafter in Frankfurt (1678, 1694, 1709, 1712) and Utrecht (1684). For more on Pearson, Poole, and their massive publications, see "Poole, Matthew," in S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century, Containing over Forty-Six Thousand Articles (Authors), with Forty Indexes of Subjects*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1858-72; repr. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1965), 2:1621-23; Thomas R. Preston, "Biblical Criticism, Literature, and the Eighteenth-Century Reader," in *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Isabel Rivers (Leicester, U.K.: Leicester University Press, 1982), 97-126 (esp. 103); Manuel, *The Broken Staff*, 102-103; G. Bray, "Poole, Matthew (1624-1679)," in *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), 840-42; and Reiner

Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” to Cotton Mather, *Biblia Americana: America’s First Bible Commentary, A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, Volume 1: Genesis*, ed. Reiner Smolinski (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 49. On Poole’s more famous attempt to gather and publish accounts of prodigies, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 95-96; Michael P. Winship, *Seers of God: Puritan Providentialism in the Restoration and Early Enlightenment*, *Early America: History, Context, Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 60-62; and William E. Burns, *An Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics and Providence in England, 1657-1727* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 12-19.

⁷⁸ Henry, *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*. Henry made it through the Old Testament but died while working on Romans, so thirteen of his nonconformist colleagues completed the sixth and final volume. See J. B. Williams, *The Life, Character, and Writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry*, 3d ed. (London: Joseph Ogle Robinson, 1829); David Crump, “The Preaching of George Whitefield and His Use of Matthew Henry’s *Commentary*,” *Crux* 25 (September 1989): 19-28; H. O. Old, “Henry, Matthew (1662-1714),” in *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. McKim; and Allan M. Harman, “The Impact of Matthew Henry’s *Exposition* on Eighteenth-Century Christianity,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 82 (January 2010): 3-14, who notes that “no other biblical commentary was so readily available or repeatedly reprinted in the 18th century than that by Matthew Henry His acceptance was widespread, involving dissenters, Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists and Scottish Presbyterians” (13). Cotton Mather’s estimate was common in Edwards’ day: “The Commentaries of our Henry on the Bible, have out-done most that we have yet had, in this Regard: The SPIRIT which dictated the Sacred Scriptures, operating

on the Mind of the Commentator, in the Dispositions and Observations of Experimental Piety. The Erudition also appearing, without Affectation of Appearance, in them is far from Contemptible.” See Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium*, 83.

⁷⁹ Doddridge, *Family Expositor*. Doddridge was an Edwards fan, who read the *Faithful Narrative* (WJE, 4:130-211) and Edwards’ *Life of Brainerd* (WJE, 7:89-541). See Malcolm Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton, 1702-51* (Northampton, U.K.: Northamptonshire Libraries, 1980), 133 and *passim*. For more on Doddridge and his work, see John Stoughton, *Philip Doddridge: His Life and Labours, a Centenary Memorial* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1851); Charles Stanford, *Philip Doddridge, D.D.* (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1881); Alexander Gordon, *Philip Doddridge and the Catholicity of the Old Dissent* (London: Lindsey Press, 1951; orig. 1895); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, ed., *Philip Doddridge, 1702-51: His Contribution to English Religion* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1951); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge: A Study in a Tradition*, Friends of Dr. Williams’s Library, Fifth Lecture (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); R. L. Greenall, ed., *Philip Doddridge, Nonconformity and Northampton* (Leicester, U.K.: Department of Adult Education, University of Leicester, 1981); Preston, “Biblical Criticism, Literature, and the Eighteenth-Century Reader,” 105-106; Alan C. Clifford, “The Christian Mind of Philip Doddridge (1702-1751): The Gospel according to an Evangelical Congregationalist,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 56 (October 1984): 227-42; Isabel Rivers, “Philip Doddridge’s New Testament: *The Family Expositor* (1739-56),” in *The King James Bible after 400 Years*, ed. Hamlin and Jones, 124-45; and Richard A. Muller, “Philip Doddridge and the Formulation of Calvinistic Theology in an Era of Rationalism and Deconfessionalization,” in *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832: Essays in Honour of*

James E. Bradley, ed. Robert D. Cornwall and William Gibson (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2010), 65-84.

⁸⁰ See Stein, *WJE*, 24:59.

⁸¹ See John A. Ayabe, “A Search for Meaning: Principles of Exegesis in Jonathan Edwards’s ‘Notes on Scripture’” (M.A. thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2001), 56-57.

⁸² Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament, by Which Christ and the Heavenly Things of the Gospel Were Preached and Shadowed to the People of God of Old. Explain’d and Improv’d in Sundry Sermons . . .*, 2d ed. (London: Nath. Hillier, 1705), Edwards’ copy of which is held in Princeton’s Firestone Library. One of Richard Mather’s sons (brother of Increase, uncle of Cotton), Samuel graduated from Harvard (M.A., 1643), preached for a short time in New England, but moved to England in 1650 and served as chaplain of Magdalen College (Oxford) before his ordination and settlement at St. Nicholas’ Church, Dublin, where he preached these sermons in 1666. They would be published posthumously and widely used by other Puritans. On Edwards’ ownership of these sermons and habit of lending them out to others, see *WJE*, 26:340, 417-18, 421, 425. For more on Mather’s life and work, see Mason Lowance’s “Introduction” to the critical facsimile of Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament*, ed. Mason I. Lowance, Jr., Series in American Studies (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969; 2d ed., 1705), v-xxiii; and Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 57-88.

⁸³ He cited all of these writers frequently, especially Maastricht’s *Theoretico-practica theologia . . .*, new ed. (Utrecht: Thomae Appels, 1699), which had been recommended by Mather above all “SYSTEMS OF DIVINITY” (*Manuductio ad Ministerium*, 84-85), which Edwards claimed “is

much better than Turretin or any other book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion” (*WJE*, 16:217), and Edwards’ copy of which is held in Princeton’s Firestone Library; Turretin’s *Institutio theologiae elencticae* . . . , 3 vols. (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1679-85), which Edwards owned and lent to others (*WJE*, 26:349-50) as an “excellent” source of “polemical divinity; on the Five Points, and all other controversial points” (*WJE*, 16:217); and Stapfer’s *Institutiones theologiae polemicae universae* . . . , 5 vols. (Zurich: Heideggerum and Socios, 1743-47), which Edwards cited often during the latter years of his life. On Mastricht, see especially Adriaan C. Neele, *Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706): Reformed Orthodoxy: Method and Piety*, Brill’s Series in Church History (Leiden: Brill, 2009), which has an appendix on “Mastricht and Edwards,” 316-20, and emphasizes throughout that theology, for Mastricht, always begins with and is founded on the text of Scripture itself. On Turretin, start with J. Mark Beach, *Christ and the Covenant: Francis Turretin’s Federal Theology as a Defense of the Doctrine of Grace*, Reformed Historical Theology (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007). On Stapfer, see *WJE*, 3:83, and 23:17-18.

⁸⁴ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* . . . , 2 vols. (London: James and John Knapton et al., 1728). On Chambers and his work, see Robert Collison, *Encyclopaedias: Their History throughout the Ages* (London: Hafner Publishing Company, 1964), who calls Chambers “the father of the modern encyclopaedia throughout the world,” showing that “almost every subsequent move in the world of encyclopaedia-making is . . . directly traceable to the pioneer example of Chambers’ work” (103-104), including the celebrated *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d’Alembert (1751-72), which began as a French translation of Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia*; and Richard Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 37,

120-44. On Chambers' significance to Edwards, see *WJE*, 26:77-78. For more on Enlightenment-era encyclopedias and their bearing on the cultural status of Scripture in the West, see also Frank A. Kafker, "Encyclopedias," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, 4 vols., ed. Alan Charles Kors (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1:398-403; Jonathan Sheehan, "From Philology to Fossils: The Biblical Encyclopedia in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (January 2003): 41-60; and Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁸⁵ Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 233. This comports with Jonathan Sheehan's summary statement on the notion of "the biblical encyclopedia" in Western Europe: In the early eighteenth century, "the Bible, already a book of topical commonplaces for the learned, was made into [an] organizational system for presenting and containing not just knowledge about the biblical world but also knowledge itself in its humanistic, religious, and natural historical incarnations." Sheehan, "From Philology to Fossils," 49-50.

⁸⁶ Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations*, which Edwards owned (*WJE*, 26:342); Samuel Shuckford, *The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, from the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the Death of Sardanapalus, and to the Declension of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, under the Reigns of Ahaz and Pekah*, 2d ed., 3 vols. (London: H. Knaplock and J. and R. Tonson, 1731-40), which was intended to serve as an introduction to Humphrey Prideaux's work; and Bedford, *The Scripture Chronology Demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations*, which Edwards cited frequently. He also knew of many other ancient/biblical histories, including Archbishop James Ussher's *Annals of the World . . .* (London: E. Tyler for J. Crook and G.

Bedell, 1658), which Edwards listed in his “Catalogue” but might not have acquired, as no evidence remains that he engaged it (*WJE*, 26:145-46). N.B. Though Ussher remains the best-known chronologer today, he was neither the first to claim that God created the world 4,000 years before Jesus, nor a pioneer in the field, nor unrivaled in his day. His chief claim to fame is that he took the earlier calculations of scholars like Joseph Scaliger and the Jesuit Denis Pétau, made them more precise with help from recent scholarship in astronomy, and made them more accessible to the Anglo-American world. For more on biblical chronology in the early modern West, see especially Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols., Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-1993); James Barr, “Why the World Was Created in 4004 B.C.: Archbishop Ussher and Biblical Chronology,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 67 (Spring 1985): 575-608; Johanna Roelevink, “In the Beginning Was Chronology: An Early Eighteenth-Century Attempt to Model the Eschaton on the Creation,” in *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. Michael Wilks, Studies in Church History (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 151-66; James Barr, “Pre-scientific Chronology: The Bible and the Origin of the World,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 143 (September 1999): 379-87; Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism*, Archives Internationales D’Histoire Des Idées (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 33-105; Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, 60-67; Katz, *God’s Last Words*, 101-108; David N. Livingstone, *Adam’s Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 3-5, 8-11; and William Poole, *The World Makers: Scientists of the Restoration and the Search for the Origins of the Earth*, The Past in the Present (Oxford:

Peter Lang, 2010), 39-44. On Ussher himself, see R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher: Archbishop of Armagh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967).

⁸⁷ The *locus classicus* remains the work Jerry Wayne Brown, *The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800-1870: The New England Scholars* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1969). In addition to the work cited in n. 13 above, see also Ira V. Brown, "The Higher Criticism Comes to America, 1880-1900," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 38 (December 1960): 193-212; Walter F. Peterson, "American Protestantism and the Higher Criticism, 1870-1910," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 50 (1961): 321-29; Warner M. Bailey, "William Robertson Smith and American Biblical Studies," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 51 (Fall 1973): 285-308; Jerry Dean Campbell, "Biblical Criticism in America 1858-1892: The Emergence of the Historical Critic" (Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1982); and Michael L. Kamen, "The Science of the Bible in Nineteenth-Century America: From 'Common Sense' to Controversy, 1820-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2004).

⁸⁸ On the rise of higher criticism in Europe, see especially Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), who rightly traces it to the English-speaking world. See also Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Biblical Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); Preston, "Biblical Criticism, Literature, and the Eighteenth-Century Reader"; Richard H. Popkin, "Cartesianism and Biblical Criticism," in *Problems of Cartesianism*, ed. Thomas M. Lennon, John M. Nicholas, and John W. Davis, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982), 61-81; John D. Woodbridge, "Richard Simon's Reaction to Spinoza's 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,'" in *Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner religiösen Wirkung*, ed.

Karlfried Gründer and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1984), 201-26; Richard H. Popkin, "Some New Light on the Roots of Spinoza's Science of Bible Study," in *Spinoza and the Sciences*, ed. Marjorie Grene and Debra Nails, *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1986), 171-88; Yvon Belaval et Dominique Bourel, eds., *Le Siècle des Lumières et la Bible*, *Bible de Tous les Temps* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986); John D. Woodbridge, "German Responses to the Biblical Critic Richard Simon: from Leibniz to J. S. Semler," in *Historische Kritik und biblischer Kanon in der deutschen Aufklärung*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, Walter Sparn and John Woodbridge, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 65-87; Jean-Robert Armogathe, ed., *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible*, *Bible de Tous les Temps* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989); John Drury, "Introductory Essay," in *Critics of the Bible, 1724-1873*, ed. John Drury, *Cambridge English Prose Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-20; Klaus Scholder, *The Birth of Modern Critical Theology: Origins and Problems of Biblical Criticism in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1990); Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, "England and France in the Eighteenth Century," in *Reading the Text: Biblical Criticism and Literary Theory*, ed. Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 136-81; Richard H. Popkin, "Spinoza and Bible Scholarship," in *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza*, ed. Don Garrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 383-407; Wiep van Bunge and Wim Klever, eds., *Disguised and Overt Spinozism around 1700: Papers Presented at the International Colloquium Held at Rotterdam, 5-8 October 1994*, *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Barry C. Davis, "George Whitefield's Doctrine of Scripture in Light of 18th Century Biblical Criticism," *Methodist History* 36 (October 1997): 17-32; Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 383-431, 457-545;

Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*; Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Piet Steenbakkers, “Spinoza in the History of Biblical Scholarship,” in *The Making of the Humanities*, vol. 1, *Early Modern Europe*, ed. Rens Bod, Jaap Matt, and Thijs Weststeijn (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 313-25; and Steven Nadler, *A Book Forged in Hell: Spinoza’s Scandalous Treatise and the Birth of the Secular Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011). On the deists in particular, see also chapter three.

⁸⁹ See Reiner Smolinski, “Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather’s Response to the European Spinozists,” in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection*, ed. Allan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson, *The Atlantic World: Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500-1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 175-203; and Reiner Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” to Cotton Mather, *Biblia Americana: America’s First Bible Commentary, A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, Volume 1: Genesis*, ed. Reiner Smolinski (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 3-210, in which Smolinski concludes that “Mather’s willingness to face [higher critical, redactionary, and text-critical] facts, then, demonstrates the astounding ways Enlightenment criticism of the Bible had crossed the Atlantic and infiltrated New England’s pulpits long before Jonathan Edwards” (141). Such work belies the claims of scholars such as Norman Vance of Sussex that, “as far as the Bible was concerned, the Enlightenment had little real impact in Britain, at least not until the nineteenth century. . . . [Spinoza’s] *Tractatus* was not available in English translation until 1862 and attracted little attention in England until it was picked up by well-informed Victorian essayists such as G. H. Lewes and J. A. Froude.” Norman Vance, “More Light? Biblical Criticism and Enlightenment

Attitudes,” *Religion in the Age of the Enlightenment* 2 (2010): 133. Mather and Edwards, of course, read Latin.

⁹⁰ *WJE*, 26:177-78, 251-53, 276-77, 445, 449; *WJE*, 20:240-41, n. 1, 397, and 415, where Edwards is copying from Jeremiah Jones, *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament . . .*, 3 vols. (London: J. Clark and R. Hett, 1726-27), which references LeClerc.

⁹¹ See especially Stein, “Edwards as Biblical Exegete,” 187.

⁹² Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*, xv, xvii-xviii.

⁹³ Gerald R. Cragg’s classic chapter, “The Puritans: The Authority of the Word,” in Cragg, *Freedom and Authority: A Study of English Thought in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975), 127-58, remains a useful introduction to the Puritans’ estimation of the authority of the Bible for their doctrine and their lives.

⁹⁴ Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1994; orig. 1993), 4. But note that Hill has a much-too-simple view of the Bible’s decline as a result of sectarian fighting during the Puritan Interregnum and the suppression of sectarians during the Stuart Restoration: “The Bible lost its universal power once it had been demonstrated that you could prove anything from it, and that there was no means of deciding once the authority of the church could not be enforced. . . . The Bible became a historical document, to be interpreted like any other. Today its old authority exists only in dark corners like Northern Ireland or the Bible Belt of the USA” (428).

⁹⁵ Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England*, 141.

⁹⁶ Janice Knight, “The Word Made Flesh: Reading Women and the Bible,” in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Heidi Brayman Hackel

and Catherine E. Kelly, *Material Texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 169.

⁹⁷ Too much is written on this theme to summarize briefly here, but see the authoritative summaries in Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Alexis A. Antroacoli, “‘Mighty in the Scriptures’: The Bible in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1776” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2006); and David D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011).

⁹⁸ On January 3, 1644/45, the English Parliament abolished the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, substituting the Puritans’ new *Directory for Public Worship* (1644/45). The Prayer Book was restored in England in 1662, but in New England most Puritans continued to follow the counsel of the Westminster divines (though never slavishly). See *The Westminster Directory, being A Directory for the Publique Worship of God in the Three Kingdomes*, with an introduction by Ian Breward, Grove Liturgical Study No. 21 (Bramcote, England: Grove Books, 1980), a reprint of the original published in London. Regarding the “publique reading” of Scripture, the Assemblymen advised: “How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the Minister: but it is convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the Chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it. It is requisite that all the Canonical Books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole Body of the Scriptures: And ordinarily, where the Reading in either Testament endeth on one Lords Day, it is to begin the next. Wee commend also the more frequent reading of such Scriptures, as hee that readeth shall thinke best for edification of this Hearers; as the Book of Psalmes, and such like” (11). On public Scripture

reading, see also Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, vol. 5, *Moderatism, Pietism, and Awakening* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 172-73; and the published sermon of William Homes, pastor of the Congregational church of Chilmark on Martha's Vineyard, *A Discourse Concerning the Publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures By the Lords People, in their Religious Assemblies: Deliver'd at Tisbury, August 12, 1719* (Boston: B. Green, 1720). On Puritan psalmody, see especially *The Bay Psalm Book: A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition of 1640* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), the first full-length book published in British North America, whose "Preface," penned anonymously by Boston's John Cotton, offered a biblical rationale for a *cappella* psalm singing; Zoltán Haraszti, *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956); J. H. Dovenkamp, "The *Bay Psalm Book* and the Ainsworth Psalter," *Early American Literature* 7 (Spring 1972): 3-16; Hugh Amory, "'Gods Altar Needs Not our Pollishings': Revisiting the Bay Psalm Book," *Printing History* 13 (1990): 2-14; and Joanne van der Woude, "'How Shall We Sing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land?': A Transatlantic Study of the *Bay Psalm Book*," in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2011), 115-36. For more on Puritan worship, see Muller and Ward, *Scripture and Worship*, 111-140; and Horton Davies, *The Worship of the American Puritans, 1629-1730* (New York: P. Lang, 1990), which is built upon Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (Westminster [London]: Dacre Press, 1948). On early Reformed worship generally, see James Hastings Nichols, *Corporate Worship in the Reformed Tradition* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968); and Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997).

⁹⁹ William Ames, *Medulla Theologiae*, 1.35.16, available in English as *The Marrow of Theology*, ed. John D. Eusden (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1997; 1968), 191. Eusden's English is a translation from the third Latin edition of the *Medulla* published in 1629.

¹⁰⁰ Manton, *A Practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes upon the Epistle of James*, 159 (at James 1:19), Edwards' copy of which is held at Princeton's Firestone Library.

¹⁰¹ Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium*, 80.

¹⁰² The General Court of Massachusetts included these rules as part of its famous Ould Deluder Satan law, passed in 1647. Most of New England's other colonies followed Massachusetts' lead. Similar laws were passed in Connecticut (1650), Plymouth Colony (1658) and New Haven (1657).

¹⁰³ On the Bible, the Puritans, and literacy in New England, see the most recent work of Gerald F. Moran and Maris A. Vinovskis, "Literacy and Education in Eighteenth-Century North America," in *The World Turned Upside-Down: The State of Eighteenth-Century American Studies at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Michael V. Kennedy and William G. Shade (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001), 186-223; Jill Lepore, "Literacy and Reading in Puritan New England," in *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*, ed. Scott E. Casper, Joanne D. Chaison, and Jeffrey D. Groves, *Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 17-46; Lisa M. Gordis, *Opening Scripture: Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 98-99; David Paul Nord, *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 14, 18; and especially E. Jennifer Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America*, *Studies in Print Culture and the History of the*

Book (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), who notes that the “goal of reading instruction for virtually all children, in any region of the colonies, was to enable them to read the entire Bible” (366). On women’s Bible reading, see also Knight, “The Word Made Flesh”; and see the journals of Christian women like New Haven’s Hannah Heaton, who, referring to her life in the early 1750s, wrote: “Ah in these days I use to keep the bible by me when I was at work so that I might often have a feast of reading. And o how did the spirit of god accompany it. . . . Me thot I see all the schriptures point to jesus Christ and his kingdom.” Barbara E. Lacey, ed., *The World of Hannah Heaton: The Diary of an Eighteenth-Century New England Farm Woman* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003), 28.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 6-7.

¹⁰⁵ For more on the careful biblical scholarship of Puritan clergymen, both in England and New England (i.e. in addition to the scholarly work on the subject cited above), see David D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972); John R. Knott, Jr., *The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Edward H. Davidson, “John Cotton’s Biblical Exegesis: Method and Purpose,” *Early American Literature* 17 (Fall 1982): 119-38; Theodore Dwight Bozeman, “Biblical Primitivism: An Approach to New England Puritanism,” in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 19-32; Thomas H. Olbricht, “Biblical Primitivism in American Biblical Scholarship, 1630-1870,” in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Hughes, 81-98; Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Kevin Killeen, *Biblical*

Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England: Thomas Browne and the Thorny Place of Knowledge, Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ On the cosmopolitan character of New England Puritanism, see Kuno Francke, "Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 5 (1896): 57-67; Kuno Francke, "Further Documents Concerning Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," *Americana Germanica* 1 (1897): 31-66; Kuno Francke, "The Beginning of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with August Hermann Francke," *Philological Quarterly* 5 (July 1926): 193-95; Ernst Benz, "Ecumenical Relations between Boston Puritanism and German Pietism: Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," *Harvard Theological Review* 54 (July 1961): 159-93; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965); Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1979); Francis J. Bremer, "Increase Mather's Friends: The Trans-Atlantic Congregational Network of the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 94 (April 1984): 59-96; Francis J. Bremer, ed., *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993); Francis J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994); Francis J. Bremer and Lynn A. Botelho, eds., *The World of John Winthrop: Essays on England and New England, 1588-1649* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005); Anthony Milton, "Puritanism and Continental Reformed Churches," in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 109-27; Alison Searle, "'Though I Am a Stranger to You by

Face, yet in Neere Bonds of Faith': A Transatlantic Puritan Republic of Letters," *Early American Literature* 43 (June 2008): 277-308; Walter W. Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606-1676* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Wolfgang Splitter, "The Fact and Fiction of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with German Pietist August Hermann Francke," *New England Quarterly* 83 (March 2010): 102-22; Oliver Scheiding, "The World as Parish: Cotton Mather, August Hermann Francke, and Transatlantic Religious Networks," in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana*, ed. Smolinski and Stievermann, 131-66; and Francis J. Bremer, "New England Puritanism and the Ecumenical Background of Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana,'" in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana*, ed. Smolinski and Stievermann, 113-30.

¹⁰⁷ The work of these writers owned by Edwards included William Bates, *The Harmony of the Divine Attributes, in the Contrivance and Accomplishment of Man's Redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ . . .* (London: J. Darby for Nathaniel Ranew et al., 1674); Anthony Burgess, *Spiritual Refining: A Treatise of Grace and Assurance . . .* (London: A. Miller for Thomas Underhill, 1652); John Evans, *Practical Discourses concerning the Christian Temper . . .*, 2 vols. (London: John and Barham Clark et al., 1723); John Flavel, *Pneumatologia, a Treatise of the Soul of Man, wherein the Divine Original, Excellent, and Immortal Nature of the Soul Are Opened, Its Love and Inclination to the Body, with the Necessity of Its Separation from It, Considered and Improved . . .* (London: Francis Tyton, 1685); Thomas Hall, *The Pulpit Guarded with XVII Arguments Proving the Unlawfulness, Sinfulness and Danger of Suffering Private Persons to Take upon Them the Publike Preaching, and Expounding the Scriptures without a Call . . .* (London: J. Cottrel for E. Blackmore, 1651); William Perkins, *The Workes of That Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins*, 3

vols. (London: John Legatt, 1612-13); Samuel Willard, *A Compleat Body of Divinity in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism . . .* (Boston: B. Green and S. Kneeland for B. Eliot and D. Henschman, 1726); and John Winthrop, *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, That Infected the Churches of New-England . . .* (London: Ralph Smith, 1644). See *WJE*, 26:319-55.

¹⁰⁸ On the plight of the Dissenters after the Act of Uniformity, see especially A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934); Malcolm Deacon, "Appendix VIII: Major Legislation affecting Dissenters, 1661-1714," in Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton*, 188-90; Geoffrey Holmes, "The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Past and Present*, No. 72 (August 1976): 55-85; Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie, eds., *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990); John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?: England, 1689-1727*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689*, *Studies in Modern History* (London: Longman, 2000); Jeremy Goring, *Burn Holy Fire: Religion in Lewes since the Reformation* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2003), noting that nonconformity has prevailed in Lewes for the bulk of its modern history; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 205-24, 247-58, 480-82; Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs, The Entering [sic] Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, vol. 1 (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2007), the introductory monograph to the 7-volume edition of *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell

Press, 2007-2009); and Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660-1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 20-27.

¹⁰⁹ Inasmuch as this census was administered to demonstrate the weakness of Dissent, many scholars have suggested that it may have underestimated the size and shape of its subjects, who in some towns comprised nearly a third of the population (especially when occasional conformity is considered).

¹¹⁰ G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 12-13. For more on the history of toleration after the Glorious Revolution and the role of Dissenting Protestants in the rise of radical politics in England and beyond, see G. V. Bennett, "Conflict in the Church," in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes, Problems in Focus Series (London: Macmillan and Co., 1969), 155-75; James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Richard Ashcraft, "Latitudinarianism and Toleration: Historical Myth Versus Political History," in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England, 1640-1700*, ed. Richard Kroll, Richard Ashcraft, and Perez Zagorin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 151-77; J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, eds., *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?*; James E.

Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley, eds., *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), esp. the chapter by James E. Bradley, “The Religious Origins of Radical Politics in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1662-1800,” 187-253; Andrew R. Murphy, *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 27-207; Harris, *Revolution*; Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*, The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); and Robert D. Cornwall and William Gibson, eds., *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832: Essays in Honour of James E. Bradley* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2010).

¹¹¹ On the dozens of usually short-lived Dissenting academies, see especially Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England: Their Rise and Progress and Their Place among the Educational Systems of the Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914); Herbert McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Nonconformist Academies, 1662-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931); A. Victor Murray, “Doddridge and Education,” in Nuttall, ed., *Philip Doddridge*, 102-21; J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education: The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800* (London: Independent Press, 1954); Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton*, esp. 24-25; Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 172-79; David L. Wykes, “The Contribution of the Dissenting Academy to the Emergence of Rational Dissent,” in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Knud Haakonssen, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 99-139; and Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, 1:505-507 (“Appendix 40”).

¹¹² On the so-called “Protestant interest,” or “Dissenting interest,” in Britain, which included many colonists and evangelical churchmen, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 11-54; Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War, A History of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999); Thomas S. Kidd, “‘Let Hell and Rome Do Their Worst’: World News, Anti-Catholicism, and International Protestantism in Early-Eighteenth-Century Boston,” *New England Quarterly* 76 (June 2003): 265-90; Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Brendan McConville, *The King’s Three Faces: The Rise & Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), esp. 159-217; and Owen Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution*, *Early American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). For some helpful qualifications to the recent scholarly tendency to magnify this interest, see Katherine Carté Engel, “The SPCK and the American Revolution: The Limits of International Protestantism,” *Church History* 81 (March 2012): 77-103.

¹¹³ For more on Old Dissent (Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist Protestants, as distinguished from the later and increasingly diverse array of nonconforming Christians sometimes called the New Dissent), see Edmund Calamy, *A Defence of Moderate Non-Conformity . . .*, 3 vols. (London: T. Parkhurst, 1703-1705); Edmund Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, Who Were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration . . .*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: J. Lawrence et al., 1713); Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers . . . Who Were Ejected and Silenced . . .*

(London: R. Ford, R. Hett, and J. Chandler, 1727); David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808*, 4 vols. (London: Williams and Smith et al., 1808); Joshua Toulmin, *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England, and of the Progress of Free Enquiry and Religious Liberty, from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen Anne* (Bath, U.K.: Richard Cruttwell, 1814); Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark; including the Lives of Their Ministers, from the Rise of Nonconformity to the Present Time . . .*, 4 vols. (London: R. Edwards, 1814); Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, 2 vols. (Manchester: Tubbs and Brook, 1869), 2:210-413; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*; Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge*; R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1962); Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick, eds., *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962* (London: S. P. C. K., 1962), 149-342; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Roger Thomas, R. D. Whitehorn, and H. Lismer Short, *The Beginnings of Nonconformity*, The Hibbert Lectures (London: James Clarke & Co., 1964); C. G. Bolam et al., *The English Presbyterians: From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Russell E. Richey, "The Origins of British Radicalism: The Changing Rationale for Dissent," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (Winter 1973-1974): 179-92; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); Donald Davie, *A Gathered Church: The Literature of the English Dissenting Interest, 1700-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1-54; Isabel Rivers, "Dissenting and Methodist Books of Practical Divinity," in *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Isabel Rivers (Leicester, U.K.: Leicester University Press, 1982), 127-64; Rupp, *Religion in England*, 105-79; N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of*

Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England (Leicester, U.K.: Leicester University Press, 1987); Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism*; David L. Wykes, “‘To Let the Memory of These Men Dye Is Injurious to Posterity’: Edmund Calamy’s *Account* of the Ejected Ministers,” in *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1997), 379-92; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; orig. 1985); Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Martin Sutherland, *Peace, Toleration and Decay: The Ecclesiology of Later Stuart Dissent*, *Studies in Evangelical History and Thought* (Carlisle, U.K.: Paternoster Press, 2003); R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, ed. Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 1-109; Alan P. F. Sell et al., eds., *Protestant Nonconformist Texts*, 4 vols. (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2006-2007), vols. 1-2; David Steers, “Arminianism amongst Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)*, Brill’s Series in Church History (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 159-200; and Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes, eds., *Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹¹⁴ On the decline of Old Dissent and the transition from Dissent to evangelical revival in the mid-eighteenth century (which was funded even more heavily by evangelical leaders in the established Church of England), see John Walsh, “Origins of the Evangelical Revival,” in *Essays in Modern English Church History, in Memory of Norman Sykes*, ed. G. V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 132-62; John Walsh, “‘Methodism’ and the

Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism,” in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 29; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, “Methodism and the Older Dissent: Some Perspectives,” *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 2 (October 1981): 259-74; Henry D. Rack, “Survival and Revival: John Bennet, Methodism, and the Old Dissent,” in *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750-c. 1950*, Essays in Honour of W. R. Ward, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 1-23; Watts, *The Dissenters*, 434-45, 450-64; D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 21; Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism*, 93; Clark, *English Society*, 31; Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?*, 220-21; D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 8, 72; Peter J. Morden, *Offering Christ to the World: Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) and the Revival of Eighteenth-Century Particular Baptist Life*, Studies in Baptist History and Thought (Milton Keynes, U.K.: Paternoster, 2003), 7-9, 22; Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, 118; and Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, 198.

¹¹⁵ Calvinism is often said to have declined rather severely in the Restoration period and early eighteenth-century England. In the classic words of G. R. Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason: A Study of Changes in Religious Thought within the Church of England, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966; orig. 1950), “the second half of the seventeenth century saw many changes in English religious thought, but none more striking than the overthrow of Calvinism” (13). But recent scholarship has shone a light on Calvinist and broadly

Reformed survivals in this period, stressing the ongoing importance of Puritan authors in a post-Puritan age. See Barbara Olive, “The Fabric of Restoration Puritanism: Mary Chudleigh’s *The Song of the Three Children Paraphras’d*,” in *Puritanism and Its Discontents*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 122-42; David P. Field, ‘*Rigide Calvinisme in a Softer Dresse*’: *The Moderate Presbyterianism of John Howe (1630-1705)*, Rutherford Studies in Historical Theology (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 2004); Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, 148-49, 194, 225; Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660-1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Edwards to the Rev. John Erskine, July 7, 1752, in *WJE*, 16:491.

¹¹⁷ On Erskine’s role in keeping Edwards abreast of British Dissent, see especially Jonathan M. Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism: The Life and Thought of John Erskine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 147-49, 163, 178-80.

¹¹⁸ The work of these writers owned by Edwards included William Bates, *The Harmony of the Divine Attributes, in the Contrivance and Accomplishment of Man’s Redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ . . .* (London: J. Darby for Nathaniel Ranew and Jonathan Robinson, 1674); Anthony Burgess, *Spiritual Refining: A Treatise of Grace and Assurance . . .* (London: A. Miller for Thomas Underhill, 1652); Doddridge, *Family Expositor*; John Evans, *Practical Discourses concerning the Christian Temper . . .*, 2 vols. (London: John and Barham Clark, Eman. Matthews, and John Morley, 1723); Flavel, *Pneumatologia*; John Gill, *The Cause of God and Truth: Being an Examination of the Principal Passages of Scripture Made Use of by the*

Arminians, in Favour of Their Scheme . . ., 4 vols. (London: Aaron Ward, 1735-38); Nathaniel Lardner, *The Credibility of the Gospel History; or, The Facts Occasionally Mention'd in the New Testament; Confirmed by Passages of Ancient Authors, Who Were Contemporary with Our Saviour or His Apostles, or Lived Near Their Time . . .*, 17 vols. (London: John Chandler et al., 1727-57); and Isaac Watts, *Sermons on Various Subjects . . .* (London: John Clark, Em. Matthews, and Richard Ford, 1721). See *WJE*, 26:319-51. It is not certain whether Edwards read the English Independent Rev. Daniel Neal (1678-1743). But Neal's *History of the Puritans; or, Protestant Non-Conformists . . .*, 4 vols. (London: Richard Hett, 1732-38), was owned by Timothy Edwards, held in the Hampshire, Massachusetts Association of Ministers Library, and served for many in Edwards' day as the main source on its subject from the time of the Reformation to the Glorious Revolution (*WJE*, 26: 359, 382). For more on Neal and his Dissenting historiography, see Laird Okie, "Daniel Neal and the 'Puritan Revolution,'" *Church History* 55 (December 1986): 456-67; Laird Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), chapter 4; and Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, 299-303.

¹¹⁹ Edwards refers to Calvin only three times in his corpus, all in his treatise on the *Affections* (*WJE*, 2:278, 314, 322). As confirmed by Wallace, Jr., *Shapers of English Calvinism*, "it is somewhat surprising how seldom English Calvinists cited or discussed Calvin" (11). On this phenomenon, see also the work of Richard A. Muller, "Reception and Response: Referencing and Understanding Calvin in Post-Reformation Calvinism," in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509-2009*, ed. Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 182-201.

¹²⁰ Preston, "Biblical Criticism, Literature, and the Eighteenth-Century Reader," 98-99.

¹²¹ Much has been said about this above, but see also Gerard Reedy, *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); and Simon Ross Valentine, *John Bennet and the Origins of Methodism and the Evangelical Revival in England*, *Pietist and Wesleyan Studies* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, inc., 1997), 287-95. On the interpretation of Scripture in Edwards' eighteenth-century world, see also Joel C. Weinsheimer, *Eighteenth-Century Hermeneutics: Philosophy of Interpretation in England from Locke to Burke* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); and G. T. Sheppard and A. C. Thiselton, "Biblical Interpretation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. McKim, 45-66.

¹²² For more on state-church Christianity and mainstream Christian thought during the long eighteenth-century in England, see Leslie Stephen, *The History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902); Mark Pattison, "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750," in *Essays by the Late Mark Pattison, Sometime Rector of Lincoln College*, 2 vols., ed. Henry Nettleship (New York: Burt Franklin, 1978; orig. 1889), 2:42-118; Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century*, *The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History*, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1931-3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934); Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History, 1660-1768* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*; J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660-1730*, *Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England, c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Jane Garnett and

Colin Matthew, eds., *Revival and Religion since 1700: Essays for John Walsh* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993); Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, *Accommodating High Churchmen: The Clergy of Sussex, 1700-1745*, Studies in Anglican History (Urbana: University Of Illinois Press, 1997); Thomas C. Pfizenmaier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675-1729): Context, Sources, and Controversy*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought (Leiden: Brill, 1997); B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832*; Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, eds., *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800*, Studies in Modern British Religious History (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2003); and William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram, eds., *Religious Identities in Britain, 1660-1832* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2005).

¹²³ The work of these writers owned by Edwards included Richard Bentley, *The Folly and Unreasonableness of Atheism . . .* (London: J. H. for H. Mortlock, 1693); Samuel Clarke, *A Discourse concerning the Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation . . .*, 6th ed. (London: W. Botham for James Knapton, 1724); James Hervey, *Theron and Aspasio; or, A Series of Dialogues and Letters, upon the Most Important and Interesting Subjects*, 3 vols. (London: John and James Rivington, 1755); Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias . . .*, 3 vols. (London: B. Aylmer et al., 1684-1700); Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected*; Thomas Sherlock, *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the Several Ages of the World . . .*, 5th ed. (London: J. Whiston, 1749); and William Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated: on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Reward and Punishment in the Jewish Dispensation*, 2 vols. (London: Fletcher Gyles, 1738-41). See *WJE*, 26:321-50.

¹²⁴ See *WJE*, 26:117-318. Though the “Catalogue” contains only 720 entries, many refer to multiple books.

¹²⁵ See “Jonathan Edwards’ Last Will, and the Inventory of His Estate,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 33 (July 1876): 428-47, a literal transcription of the original document held by the Hampshire County, Massachusetts, Courthouse (published anonymously by Edwards Amasa Park, George Allen, and George W. Hubbard). This document does not list the titles in Edwards’ library, but does reveal that Edwards left 301 volumes (38 folios, 34 quartos, 99 octavos, 130 duodecimos), 536 pamphlets, as well as 25 “Books published by the Owner lately deceased” (446).

¹²⁶ See *WJE*, 26:428-72. I count 386 different printed titles cited by Edwards in his corpus.

¹²⁷ Though the phrase “republic of letters” dates back to the beginning of the Italian Renaissance, most use it to refer to the literary networks whose exchanges shaped the age of the Enlightenment. See Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), though her focus on Huguenot refugees in Holland keeps her from paying much attention to the Anglo-American world; Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc’s Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), an extraordinary treatment of the early seventeenth-century republic; Constance M. Furey, *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), which focuses on sixteenth-century Catholic intellectuals but highlights the spiritual component of the republic; and April G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters: Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650-1720*, *Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), which looks at the early, or “old,” phase of the republic (more Latinate, philological, and classically-oriented than the later eighteenth-century republic). On evangelicals involved in both

spiritual and secular republics of epistolary and literary exchange, see Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755," *American Historical Review* 91 (October 1986): 811-32; Michael J. Crawford, *Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in Its British Context*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), still the best book on the international dimension and connections of the revival; Leonard I. Sweet, ed., *Communication and Change in American Religious History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), *passim*; Susan O'Brien, "Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990*, 38-57; Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition*; David Ceri Jones, "A Glorious Work in the World": *Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735-1750*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004); Jennifer Snead, "Print, Predestination, and the Public Sphere: Transatlantic Evangelical Periodicals, 1740-1745," *Early American Literature* 45:1 (2010): 93-118; Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism*; and Peter J. Thuesen, "Jonathan Edwards and the Transatlantic World of Books," *Jonathan Edwards Studies* 3, No. 1 (2013): 48-50. On the historiography of the republic of letters, see also Anthony Grafton, "A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters," *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1 (May 1, 2009), unpaginated (online journal); and Françoise Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des lettres?: Essai de sémantique historique," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 147 (1989): 473-502. On American participation in the republic of letters, see Norman S. Fiering, "The Transatlantic Republic of Letters: A Note

on the Circulation of Learned Periodicals to Early Eighteenth-Century America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (October 1976): 642-60; Ned C. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680-1760*, Twayne’s American Thought and Culture Series (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 31-56; David D. Hall, “Learned Culture in the Eighteenth Century,” in *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 411-33; Alison Searle, “‘Though I am a Stranger to You by Face, yet in Neere Bonds by Faith’: A Transatlantic Puritan Republic of Letters,” *Early American Literature* 43 (June 2008): 277-308; and Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano, eds., *The Atlantic Enlightenment*, Ashgate Series in Nineteenth-Century Transatlantic Studies (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2008). On Edwards and the republic, see Peter J. Thuesen, “Editor’s Introduction,” *WJE*, 26:20-28, 33-36, 75-82; Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*, 1-26; and Thuesen, “Jonathan Edwards and the Transatlantic World of Books,” 43-54. Edwards developed his “Catalogue” (in part) on the basis of his reading in the eighteen volumes of the English periodical, *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*, published monthly from 1728-36 and owned by a local ministerial association.

¹²⁸ On the notion of a religious, Christian, or evangelical Enlightenment, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, “The Religious Origins of the Enlightenment,” in Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1967), 179-218, noting that here and in Trevor-Roper’s other work on the period his enlightened Christians tended toward a broad-minded Arminianism at odds with Edwards’ program; Pershing Vartanian, “Cotton Mather and the Puritan Transition into the Enlightenment,” *Early American Literature* 7 (Winter 1973): 213-24; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1-74; Ned

C. Landsman, "Presbyterians and Provincial Society: The Evangelical Enlightenment in the West of Scotland, 1740-1775," in *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1993), 194-209; Frank Shuffelton, "Introduction," in *The American Enlightenment*, ed. Frank Shuffelton, Library of the History of Ideas (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1993), x; William M. Shea and Peter A. Huff, eds., *Knowledge and Belief in America: Enlightenment Traditions and Modern Religious Thought*, Woodrow Wilson Center Series (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Thomas O'Connor, *An Irish Theologian in Enlightenment France: Luke Joseph Hooke, 1714-96* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995); Nina Reid-Maroney, *Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740-1800: Kingdom of Christ, Empire of Reason*, Contributions to the Study of World History (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001); Robert Sullivan, "Rethinking Christianity in Enlightened Europe," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34 (Winter 2001): 298-309; Jonathan Sheehan, "Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay," *American Historical Review* 108 (October 2003): 1061-1080; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Roads to Modernity: The British, French, and American Enlightenments* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 204-17; David Sorkin, "Geneva's 'Enlightened Orthodoxy': The Middle Way of Jacob Vernet (1698-1789)," *Church History* 74 (June 2005): 286-305; Helena Rosenblatt, "The Christian Enlightenment," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 7, *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 283-301, whose definition of Christian Enlightenment, including as it does an optimistic anthropology and an emphasis on tolerance, is too narrow to include the likes of Edwards; James Delbourgo, *A Most Amazing Scene of Wonders: Electricity and Enlightenment in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 2006), 200-238, 278-83, for his perspective on the “American tradition of zealous spiritual interpretations of nature” (218); Catherine A. Brekus, “Sarah Osborn’s Enlightenment: Reimagining Eighteenth-Century Intellectual History,” in *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*, ed. Catherine A. Brekus (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 108-41; David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna, Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), though, like Rosenblatt (above), Sorkin defines the religious Enlightenment as a non-dogmatic movement of religious tolerationists, which tends to rule out figures such as Edwards; Jeffrey D. Burson, “Towards a New Comparative History of European Enlightenments: The Problem of Enlightenment Theology in France and the Study of Eighteenth-Century Europe,” *Intellectual History Review* 18 (July 2008): 173-87; Jonathan Yeager, “Puritan or Enlightened? John Erskine and the Transition of Scottish Evangelical Theology,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 80 (2008): 237-53; John Fea, *The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment in Early America*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Daniel W. Howe, “John Witherspoon and the Transatlantic Enlightenment,” in *The Atlantic Enlightenment*, Ashgate Series in Nineteenth-Century Transatlantic Studies (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2008), 61; Reiner Smolinski, “How to Go to Heaven, or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana’ (1693-1728),” *New England Quarterly* 81 (June 2008): 278-329; Kathryn Duncan, ed., *Religion in the Age of Reason: A Transatlantic Study of the Long Eighteenth Century*, AMS Studies in the Eighteenth Century (New York: AMS Press, 2009); Jeffrey D. Burson, *The Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment: Jean-Martin de Prades and Ideological Polarization in Eighteenth-Century*

France (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Ned C. Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America*, Regional Perspectives on Early America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 144-81; Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy, eds., *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Jeffrey D. Burson, "Claude G. Buffier and the Maturation of the Jesuit Synthesis in the Age of Enlightenment," *Intellectual History Review* 21 (December 2011): 449-72; Sarah Rivett, *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 271-335; Yeager, *Enlightened Evangelicalism*, 16-21, 200-208, and *passim*; Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America*, New Directions in Narrative History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 8-11 and *passim*; and the new scholarly journal, *Religion in the Age of the Enlightenment*, ed. Brett C. McInelly of Brigham Young University and published in New York by AMS Press.

¹²⁹ For an introduction to the history of Enlightenment studies, see Lynn Hunt, with Margaret Jacob, "Enlightenment Studies," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, 1:418-30. For the views of Hazard and Gay, see especially Paul Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century: From Montesquieu to Lessing*, trans. J. Lewis May (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954; orig. *La Pensée Européenne au XVIIIème Siècle, de Montesquieu à Lessing*, 3 vols. [Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1946]); and Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment, an Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Knopf, 1966). That their views remain popular and largely detrimental to our understanding of Edwards is obvious in works like Gary Wills, *Head and Heart: A History of Christianity in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), who tells his story as a struggle between "enlightened" and "evangelical" tendencies within America and claims that "it is hard

to see . . . how Edwards could be considered as a major figure in the American Enlightenment” (114); and Jose R. Torre, “General Introduction,” *The Enlightenment in America, 1720-1825*, 4 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 1:vii-xix, who views his subject as a movement away from Calvinism and, thus, decided not to include Edwards in this sizeable anthology.

¹³⁰ Israel’s perspective is most easily seen in a brief (276 pg.) distillation of the teleological argument laid out in his three-volume magnum opus on the subject: Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). For the trilogy itself, see Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Jonathan I. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750-1790* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹³¹ Use of the English word “Enlightenment” in reference to a system of early modern Western thought dates from ca. 1865 as a translation of *Aufklärung*. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 5:268.

¹³² On the moderate or conservative face of the British Enlightenment, see especially Margaret C. Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution, 1689-1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976); J. G. A. Pocock, “Post-Puritan England and the Problem of the Enlightenment,” in *Culture and Politics from Puritanism to the Enlightenment*, ed. Perez Zagorin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 91-112; John G. A. Pocock, “Clergy and Commerce: The Conservative Enlightenment in England,” in *L’Età dei lumi: studi storici sul Settecento europeo in onore di Franco Venturi*, vol. 1 (Napoli: Jovene, 1985), 525-62; J. G. A. Pocock,

“Conservative Enlightenment and Democratic Revolutions: The American and French Cases in British Perspective,” *Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics* 24 (January 1989): 81-105; B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 1-23, 99.

¹³³ On these themes, see also John Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion: The Age of Enlightenment in England, 1660-1750* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); Jeanne Bignami-Odier, “Prophecies Concerning the Later Stuarts,” in *Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, ed. Ann Williams (Essex, U.K.: Longman, 1980), 271; R. M. Burns, *The Great Debate on Miracles: From Joseph Glanvill to David Hume* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1981); Donald Davie, *Dissentient Voice: The Ward-Phillips Lectures for 1980 with Some Related Pieces*, University of Notre Dame Ward-Phillips Lectures in English Language and Literature (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982); John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment: Science, Religion and Politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989); Peter Harrison, “Religion” and the Religions in the English Enlightenment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Winship, *Seers of God*; Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Phyllis Mack, “Religious Dissenters in Enlightenment England,” *History Workshop Journal* 49 (2000): 1-23; Robert G. Ingram, “William Warburton, Divine Action, and Enlightened Christianity,” in

Religious Identities in Britain, 1660-1832, ed. Gibson and Ingram, 97-117; Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Killeen and Forshaw, eds., *The Word and the World*; Phyllis Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jitse M. van der Meer and Richard J. Oosterhoff, “God, Scripture, and the Rise of Modern Science (1200-1700): Notes in the Margin of Harrison’s Hypothesis,” in *Nature and Scripture in the Abrahamic Religions: Up to 1700*, vol. 2, ed. Jitse M. van der Meer and Scott Mandelbrote, Brill’s Series in Church History (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 363-96; James E. Bradley, “The Changing Shape of Religious Ideas in Enlightened England,” in *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, ed. Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 175-201; Henry D. Rack, “A Man of Reason and Religion? John Wesley and the Enlightenment,” *Wesley and Methodist Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Geordan Hammond and David Rainey (Manchester: Didsbury Press, 2009), 2-17; Rena Denton, “Enlightened Thought Devised from Biblical Principles,” and Robert G. Ingram, “‘The Weight of Historical Evidence’: Conyers Middleton and the Eighteenth-Century Miracles Debate,” both in *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832*, ed. Cornwall and Gibson, 51-63, 85-109; Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 241-315; and the religiosity presumed in much of Ruth Savage, ed., *Philosophy and Religion in Enlightenment Britain: New Case Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³⁴ On the biblical exegesis of “Enlightenment” luminaries such as Newton, Locke, and Priestley, see William Whitla, ed., *Sir Isaac Newton’s Daniel and the Apocalypse: With an Introductory*

Study of the Nature and the Cause of Unbelief, of Miracles and Prophecy (London: John Murray, 1922); H. McLachlan, ed., *Sir Isaac Newton: Theological Manuscripts* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1950); Richard H. Popkin, "The Third Force in 17th Century Philosophy: Scepticism, Science and Biblical Prophecy," *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* 3 (Spring 1983): 35-63; Richard H. Popkin, "The Religious Background of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 25 (January 1987): 35-50; John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians*, 2 vols., ed. Arthur W. Wainwright, The Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), which is only the best known of Locke's biblical publications; Richard H. Popkin, *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought, 1650-1800: Clark Library Lectures, 1981-1982* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); Maria Cristina Pitassi, *Le philosophe et l'écriture: John Locke exégète de Saint Paul*, Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie (Genève: Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, 1990); Richard H. Popkin, *The Third Force in Seventeenth Century Thought*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); Richard H. Popkin, "Introduction," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, ed. James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin, Archives Internationales D'Histoire des Idées (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), ix-x; S. J. Barnett, "The Prophetic Thought of Sir Isaac Newton, Its Origin and Context," in *Prophecy: The Power of Inspired Language in History, 1300-2000*, ed. Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton, Themes in History (Stroud, U.K.: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 101-16; N. Hitchin, "The Evidence of Things Seen: Georgian Churchmen and Biblical Prophecy," in *Prophecy*, ed. Taithe and Thornton, 119-39; Stephen D. Snobelen, "Isaac Newton,

Heretic: The Strategies of a Nicodemite,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 32 (December 1999): 381-419; S. J. Barnett, ed., *Isaac Newton’s Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John: A Critical Edition*, Mellen Critical Editions and Translations (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999); James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin, eds., *Newton and Religion: Context, Nature, and Influence* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999); Kim Ian Parker, *The Biblical Politics of John Locke* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004); Robert E. Schofield, *The Enlightened Joseph Priestley: A Study of His Life and Work from 1773 to 1804* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 210, 383; Stephen D. Snobelen, *Isaac Newton, Heretic: Alchemy, the Apocalypse and the Making of Modern Science* (London: Icon Books, forthcoming); and the online effort to publish all of Newton’s writings, which is revolutionizing our understanding of his work and its biblical foundations, The Newton Project, based at the University of Sussex (www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk/).

¹³⁵ For more on Edwards and the Enlightenment, see especially John E. Smith, “Puritanism and Enlightenment: Edwards and Franklin,” in Shea and Huff, eds., *Knowledge and Belief in America*, 195-226; McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods*; Allen C. Guelzo, “Edwards, Jonathan,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, 1:390-92; Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards’s Philosophy of History*; Avihu Zakai, “The Age of Enlightenment,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards*, 80-99; Avihu Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards’s Philosophy of Nature: The Re-enchantment of the World in the Age of Scientific Reasoning* (London: T & T Clark, 2010); and Louis Benjamin Rolsky, “Edwards and the Enlightenment: Mapping the Secular within the Covenanted Community,” *REA: A Journal of Religion, Education and the Arts* 7 (2011), available online at <http://rea.materdei.ie/>.

¹³⁶ The work of these writers read by Edwards included Issac Newton, *Opticks* . . . (London: Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1704); Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of the Ancient Kingdoms Amended* . . . (London: J. Tonson, J. Osborn, and T. Longman, 1728); John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 7th ed., 2 vols. (London: J. Churchill and Samuel Manship, 1716); Thomas Chubb, *A Collection of Tracts, on Various Subjects* (London: T. Cox, 1730); Hugo Grotius, *The Truth of the Christian Religion* . . . , 2d ed. (London: J. and P. Knapton, 1719); Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections. With Illustrations on the Moral Sense*, 2d ed. (London: James and John Knapton et al., 1730); Andrew Michael (Chevalier) Ramsay, *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion* . . . , 2 vols. (Glasgow: Robert Foulis, 1748-1749); Andrew Michael (Chevalier) Ramsay, *The Travels of Cyrus. To Which Is Annexed, a Discourse upon the Theology and Mythology of the Pagans*, 8th ed. (London: James Bettenham, 1752); and Matthew Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation* . . . (London: s.n., 1730). See *WJE*, 26:324, 445, 448, 450, 455, 458-59, 466, and *passim*.

¹³⁷ Edwards, “Miscellanies” No. 351, *WJE*, 13:426-27. On this theme, see also Edwards, “Profitable Hearers of the Word,” in *WJE*, 14:246-47; and Edwards, “Miscellanies” No. 139, *WJE*, 13:296-97, where he noted, “I am convinced that there are many things in religion and the Scriptures that are made difficult on purpose to try men, and to exercise their faith and scruting, and to hinder the proud and self-sufficient.”