

JONATHAN EDWARDS, D. D.

A BIOGRAPHY BY

ERASMUS MIDDLETON

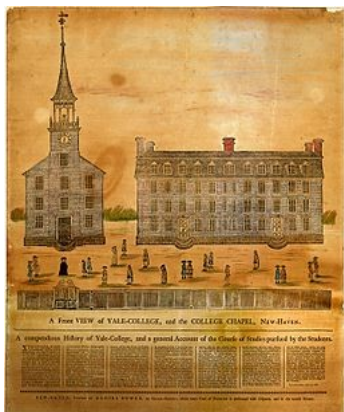
**Edited and put into simpler English
by
Geoffrey Stonier**

We speak now of a man of whom it is not easy to do so with justice, without seeming to border on adulation. There is also an additional difficulty which attends the Christian biographer when he aims to describe the characters of extraordinary men, and which the writers of other lives are generally allowed to forget. He must so represent the motives and actions of the ones he offers to view, as to remind his readers that they, no less than himself, are to consider the uncommon excellence of some characters, not as resulting from the mere force or acumen of natural ability, but as flowing entirely from the Divine Bounty for purposes of his own appointment. Otherwise, instead of rightly placing them in a view for an imitation, attainable in any degree only through grace, or for an encouragement, reviving to the soul through the same grace, we should only set up idols, though idols of more worth than gold, and lead others astray, as well as ourselves, from the One great Object of the Christian life, which is Jesus Christ and his fullness which fills all in all. Interested in Him, it is a privilege to hear of his wonderful works in or by his eminent servants; and it is the confirmation of the privilege to be enabled to imitate them. If their graces send us to our knees, and thus become the means of quickening ours, we have not run over their history for idle amusement, but have made the right use of it, which is the spurring of us on to follow them who now through faith and patience inherit the promises.

Mr. Jonathan Edwards was born on the 5th of October, 1703, at Windsor, in the province of Connecticut, North America. His father was minister of that place for almost sixty years. He was descended from Mr. Richard Edwards, minister of the gospel in London, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, by whom, it seems, his wife was employed for some part seeing to her royal attire. In short, by his lineage, it appears that his ancestors came from the west of England, and allied themselves, on their emigration, to some of the best families in the New Country, where they settled.

There was another valuable writer of the name of Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jesus College, Cambridge, who published an excellent book entitled, *A Preservative against Socinianism* in four parts, quarto. The first of which was printed in 1693, and the last in 1703. Another writer of the same name, Dr. John Edwards, is worthy of remembrance for his well-known treatise *Veritas redux*, and many other books on theological subjects.

Our Author was entered at Yale College in 1716.



A Front View of Yale-College
and the College Chapel,
Daniel Bowen, 1786.



Connecticut Hall, oldest building
on the Yale campus, built between
1750 and 1753.

[Yale University is a private university in New Haven, Conn. Founded in 1701, it is the third oldest university in the United States. In 1718, it was renamed Yale College in honour of a wealthy British merchant and philanthropist, Elihu Yale, who made several donations to the school.]

Edwards was made bachelor of arts in 1720, before he was seventeen years of age. His mental powers opened themselves so early and so strong that he read Locke's *Essay upon Human Understanding* with delight in his second year at this college, when other boys usually amuse themselves with Robinson Crusoe, or books of romance and amusement. He discovered thus early an uncommon depth, solidity, and penetration of mind, which found nothing so pleasant to itself as the exercise of its own powers.

He lived at college nearly two years after taking this first degree, preparing himself, principally for the sacred function. After passing the usual trials, he was licensed, conforming to the custom of the college and the form of religion [Puritanism] in the province, to preach the gospel as a candidate.

In August, 1722, he received a call to preach to the English Presbyterians at New-York, where he continued with approval more than eight months. This society was then too small to maintain a minister, and therefore, in the spring of the year 1723, he returned to his father's house in Connecticut, where, during the following summer, he followed his studies with the closest application. It appears, however, that he had a deep sense of his Christian and ministerial profession on his mind during his abode in New-York; that the people he watched over became very dear to him, and that he left them at last with great regret. Some extracts from his own Diary will outline more exactly his frame of mind at this time, and, therefore, they are committed to a note below.

"Wednesday, January 3, 1732-3. Dull. I find by experience that let me make resolutions, and do what I will, with never so many inventions, it is all nothing, and to

no purpose at all, without the motions of the Spirit of God! For if the Spirit of God should be much withdrawn from me always, as for the week past, despite all I do, I should not grow, but should languish, and miserably fade away. — There is no dependence upon myself. It is to no purpose to resolve, except we depend on the grace of God; for if it were not for his mere grace, one might be a very good man one day, and a very wicked one the next.

“Thursday, January 10, about noon, reviving. It is a great dishonour to Christ, in whom I hope I have an interest, to be uneasy at my worldly state and condition. When I see the prosperity of others, and that all things go easy with them, the world is smooth to them, and they are happy in many respects, and very prosperous, or are advanced to much honour, etc., to grudge and envy them, or be the least uneasy at it; to wish or long for the same prosperity, and that it would ever be so with me. Therefore, concluded always to rejoice in every one's prosperity, and to expect from myself no happiness of that nature as long as I live; but depend on afflictions, and take myself entirely to another happiness. I think I find myself much more sprightly and healthy, both in body and mind, for my self-denial in eating, drinking, and sleeping. I think it would be advantageous every morning to consider my business and temptations, and what sins I shall be exposed to that day:” and make a resolution how to improve the day, and to avoid those sins. And so at the beginning of every week, month, and year. I never knew before what was meant by not settling our hearts upon these things. It is not to care about them, to depend on them, to afflict ourselves much with fears of losing them, nor please ourselves with expectation of obtaining them, or hope to continue in them. At night, made the forty-first resolution.

“Saturday, January 13, in the morning. I have this day solemnly renewed my baptismal covenant and self-dedication, which I renewed when I was received into the communion of the church. I have vowed this before God; and have given myself, all that I am and have, to God.

In the spring of the year 1724, having taken his master's degree the year before, he was chosen tutor of Yale College; and he followed this duty for more than two years. It must be owned that this was an engagement of great consequence for a young man of twenty-one, who, by his early introduction to the ministry and other callings, could say to God:

“I am not in any respect my own.” I can challenge no right in myself; I can challenge no right in this understanding, this will, these feelings that are in me; neither have I any right to this body, or any of its members”, no right to this tongue, these hands or feet”, no right to these senses, these eyes, these ears, this smell or taste. I have given myself clear away, and have not retained anything as my own. I have been to God this morning, and told Him that I gave myself wholly to Him. I have given every power to Him; so that, for the future, I will challenge no right in myself, in any respect. I have expressly promised Him, and now promise Almighty God that, by His grace I will not. I have this morning told Him that I take Him for my whole portion and happiness, looking on nothing else as any part of my happiness, nor acting as if it were; and his law for the constant rule of my obedience:” and would fight with all my might against the world, the flesh, and the devil, to the end of my life. And believe in Jesus Christ, and receive Him as a Prince and a Saviour; and would adhere to the

faith and obedience of the gospel, however hazardous and difficult the profession and practice of it may be. That I receive the blessed Spirit as my teacher, sanctifier, and only comforter; and cherish all his motions to enlighten, purify, confirm, comfort and assist me. This I have done. And I pray God, for the sake of Christ, to look upon it as a self-dedication; and to receive me now as entirely His own, and deal with me in all respects as such; whether he afflicts me or prospers me, or whatever he pleases to do with me, who am his.

“Now, henceforth I am not to act in any respect as my own. I shall act as my own, if I ever make use of any of my powers to anything that is not to the glory of God, and do not make the glorifying Him my whole and entire business; if I murmur in the least at afflictions; if I grieve at the prosperity of others; if I am any way uncharitable; if I am angry because of injuries; if I revenge; if I do anything purely to please myself, or if I avoid anything for the sake of my ease:” if I omit anything because it is great self-denial, etc. If I trust to myself, if I take any of the praise of any good that I do, or rather does it by me, then I am anyway proud.

“Tuesday, January 15. It seemed yesterday, the day before and Saturday, that I should always retain the same resolutions to the same height, but alas! how soon do I decay! O, how weak, how infirm, how unable to do anything am I! What a poor, inconsistent, what a miserable wretch, without the assistance of God’s Spirit! While I stand, I am ready to think I stand in my own strength, and upon my own legs; and I am ready to triumph over my enemies, as if it were I myself that caused them to flee; when, alas! I am but a poor infant, upheld by Jesus Christ, who holds me up, and gives me liberty to smile to see my enemies flee, when he drives them before me; and so I laugh, as though I myself did it, when it is only Jesus Christ leads me along, and fights himself against my enemies. And now the Lord has a little left me, and how weak. I could not have found too many opportunities for his own improvement.”

But the strength of his mind overcame what are usually insuperable difficulties in the usual way; and perhaps his genius acted more forcibly from not being fettered with academic clogs, which other geniuses of an elevated rank could never endure.

“How weak do I find myself! Oh, let it teach me to depend less on myself, to be more humble, and to give more of the praise of my ability to Jesus Christ. The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know it?”

“Saturday, March 2. — Oh, how much pleasanter is humility than pride! Oh, that God would fill me with exceeding great humility, and that he would evermore keep me from all pride! The pleasures of humility are really the most refined, inward and exquisite delights in the world. How hateful is a proud man! how hateful is a worm that lifts up itself with pride! What a foolish, silly, miserable, blind, deceived, poor worm am I when pride works!

“Wednesday, March 6, near sunset. Felt the doctrines of election, free-grace, and of our not being able to do anything without the grace of God; and that holiness is entirely, throughout, the work of God’s Spirit, with more pleasure than before.”

“Wednesday, May 1, forenoon. Last night I came home, after my melancholy parting from New York. I have always, in every different state of life I have up till now been in,

thought the troubles and difficulties of that state to be greater than those of any other that I proposed to be in; and when I have altered, with assurance of mending myself, I have still thought the same. Yes, that the difficulties of that state are greater than those that I left last, Lord, grant that from now on I may learn to withdraw my thoughts, affections, desires, and expectations entirely from the world, and may fix them upon the heavenly state, where there is fullness of joy; where reigns heavenly, sweet, calm, and delightful love without alloy; where there are continually the dearest expressions of their love.” Where there is the enjoyment of the people loved, without ever parting:” Where those people, who appear so lovely in this world, will really be inexpressibly more lovely, and full of love for us. How sweetly will the mutual lovers join together to sing the praises of God and the Lamb! How full will it fill us with joy to think, this enjoyment, these sweet exercises, will never cease or come to an end, but will last to all eternity!”

“Thursday, October 18. To follow the example of Mr. B — , who, though he meets with great difficulties, yet undertakes them with a smiling countenance, as though he thought them but little, and speaks of them as if they were very small.”

“Monday, February 3, 1724. Let everything have the value now that it will have on a sick bed! And frequently in my pursuits, of whatever kind, let this come into my mind:” How much shall I value this on my death-bed?”

“Saturday night, June 6. This week has been a remarkable week with me with respect to despondencies, fears, perplexities, multitudes of parts, and distraction of mind; being the week I came here to New-Haven, in order to entrance on the office of tutor of the college. I have now abundant reason to be convinced of the troublesomeness and vexation of the world, and that it never will be another kind of world.”

“Tuesday, September 2. By being sparing in diet, and eating as much as may be, what is light and easy of digestion, I shall doubtless need only mention Milton, Dryden, and Swift, in confirmation of such an opinion. Our Author was certainly not in the highest class of learned men; for his times, his duties, and his means, did not allow of such an attainment:” But he was far more happily employed both for himself and others; and he has given such proofs of a mind uncommonly invigorated and enlightened, that it is a matter of joy not to be engrossed by studies, which would have rendered him only the admiration of a few, instead of allowing him to be the instructor of all. He had, in short, the best and sublimest sort of knowledge, without being too much encumbered with what was unnecessary to or beneath his calling. 1st, By lengthening out my life. 2dly, Shall need just time for digestion after meals. 3rd, Shall be able to study closer without wrong to my health. 4th, need less time to sleep. 5th, Shall seldomer be troubled with the head-ache.”

In September 1726, he resigned his tutorship, in consequence of the invitation of the people at Northampton in Connecticut for assistance to his mother’s father Mr. Stoddard, who was the settled minister of the town. He was ordained colleague on the 15th of February 1727, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and continued in the ministerial service there till the 22nd of June 1750; when he was dismissed in as extraordinary away, and for as extraordinary a cause, as perhaps most of our readers may ever have heard of. “We have (says his Biographer) with respect to this, an instructive lesson on the stability of

all human affairs, and the unreasonableness of trusting in man. He might have said — the unreasonableness of submitting such a man as Mr. Edwards to the passionate ignorance of the brutish multitude.

What seems at first to have rendered Mr. Edwards an object of hatred was a circumstance which should have made him, and would have made him among people truly religious, an object of love. Some young people of his flock had procured some obscene publications, which they commented upon among themselves for their own enjoyment in lasciviousness, and which they quoted, with the usual decency of such, for an impression on others. This came in a short time to Mr. Edwards's ears; and therefore, taking occasion after a sermon on Heb. 12:15-16, preached for the purpose, of calling the leading members of his charge together, he informed them of what he had heard, and procured a consent that the matter should be examined. A committee was appointed for the purpose, and to assist the pastor. When this was done, Mr. Edwards appointed a time of meeting; and then read a list of the names of the young people, accusing and accused, without specifying under which predicament they stood, who were desired to come together to his house.

Upon the declaration of names, it appeared that almost all the families in the town had some relation or other concerned in the matter; and therefore a great number of the heads of families not only altered their minds about examination, but declared, that their children, etc. should not be called to account for such things as these. The town was immediately in a blaze. And this so strengthened the hands, or hardened the faces, of the guilty, that they set their pastor at defiance with the greatest insolence and contempt. Here this affair ended." And obscenity enjoyed its triumph.

But its effects did not end here. Mr. Edwards's hands were weakened; and, we are told, that he afterwards had no great visible success in his ministry, but, on the contrary, that security and worldliness much increased among his people, and the youth in particular became more wanton and dissolute.

All this paved the way for something more. It had been a standing opinion among this people for some time, countenanced also by their late pastor, that unconverted people known to be such by the ungodliness of their lives, or the ignorance of divine truth in their minds, by which men are known to be unconverted, had, despite, a right in the sight of God to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and that, therefore, it was their duty to partake of it, even though they had no appearance of the grace and holiness which the gospel states to be inseparable from true believers. It was sufficient, if they were outward and visible members; so that they, who really rejected Jesus Christ, and disliked the gospel way of salvation in their hearts, and knew that this was true of themselves, might (inconceivable as it appears) make the profession without lying and hypocrisy.

To the common inconveniencies always attending a National church, where it is impossible, to examine every man's profession, or keep him from disgracing it, here is an addition becoming the disciples of Ignatius of Loyola, by which men may be hypocrites without the guilt of hypocrisy, and liars without the imputation of sin. A convenient sort of principle indeed, to men of a certain cast; but by no means to those who are never to forget that fornication and all uncleanness — should not be even named among them, as becomes saints. See Eph. 5:3-7

Mr. Edwards had long been uneasy at the prevalence of this principle, which, I believe, no church of Christ ever avowed, and on his own yielding to the example of his predecessor, and to a practice settled before he came here. Doubting and unease (as might be expected from so gracious a man) increased in him, and drove him at length to a thorough investigation of the subject, the result of which was (and how could it be otherwise?) an absolute conviction of the error, and a firm determination to expose it. He saw, "that to be a visible Christian was to put on the visibility or appearance of a real Christian; that the profession of Christianity was a profession of that in which real Christianity consists"; and that therefore, as the Lord's Supper was intended for real Christians, none ought to come to it who were not at least professors of real Christianity, and to whom no imputation of allowed ungodliness could rightly be made.

The declaration of his mind upon this subject, among such kind of men, raised an immediate clamour, and put this town into as great a ferment, as the preaching of the holy apostle had long before occasioned at Ephesus. They were all in an uproar; and "Dismiss him, dismiss him!" was the universal cry of men, women, and elders. He had touched a favourite sin, and a favourite principle which protected it." And (what was a very great truth, though not in their sense of it) he was no longer fit to be their pastor. He attempted to reason with them calmly, but he breathed against the winds. They knew well enough that their views were by no means subjects of cool discussion, for there is no one so base or so stupid as to believe that iniquity can be sanctified by reason or revelation; and, therefore, the business was to be bellowed down with the force of lungs, against which it is scarcely possible for the gentle voice of meekness and wisdom to be heard in opposition.

Mr. Edwards, when they would not hear him, wished to refer the matter to impartial judges out of the vortex of this noisy faction; but this would not answer their designs of confusion and the meditated ruin of Mr. Edwards, more than the former proposal. He attempted to discuss the matter in a course of lectures, which he began for that purpose; but they would not listen to him. Rebellion, like the sin of witchcraft, as a prophet has observed, added stubbornness to their iniquity, and diffused itself universally among these people, that there was not a tenth of the whole which did not declare against him. So firm remains the crowd at all times under the inflammation of nonsense and wickedness, that no conciliation, urged with truth and calmness even for their own interest, can claim or receive a moderate attention. While the hot fit lasts, medicines, like oil, heighten the flame.

How often did he use all means in his power to reduce them at least to a calm, if not a charitable temper; to hear and weigh, with a little attention, what he had to say for himself; and not to condemn him, were it only for their own sakes, without some shadow of a reason! But his meekness and modesty were treated as concessions against himself, and only raised the insolence and fury of his adversaries, instead of lowering them into peace. Nothing would serve their turn (however highly against their spiritual and real interests) but absolute separation; and those who disagreed before, agreed with lies and abusive language to promote this mean and unjust purpose, in the true spirit of injustice and spite. Their excellent pastor had written against the liberty of the will in divine concerns; but these unreasonable men were resolved he should feel that it had liberty enough to do him evil in his human affairs.

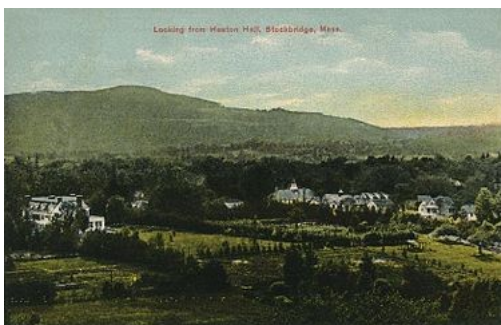
Mr. Edwards, deploring their unhappy feelings, and finding all methods ineffective to restrain the torrent of virulence, slander, and falsehood rolling upon him, at length yielded

to a low artifice of these opponents in packing a council, composed of people like themselves, which soon came to a resolution for his dismissal. Only twenty out of more than two hundred who voted upon this occasion, were for Mr. Edwards; and therefore he was expelled, with all the marks of profound rancour, on the 23rd of June 1750.

Thus had these wretched people the lasting infamy of endeavouring to ruin one of the meekest and humblest of men, and the most able and celebrated divine who has as yet been born in America. — But they did not know their own mercies; and it would be well if yet they knew them. — Such a man as Mr. Edwards would bring honour to any country or profession, and be readily embraced by all.” How difficult is it then to reflect, without some indignation, that a person of his uncommon worth should be made the sport of wayward ignorance, or be baffled by the cunning intrigues of an ungodly upstarts, or be overawed by the insolent clamours of a licentious mob! How much is it to be regretted that these, who should have been ruled by him according to the gospel, should arrogate to themselves the place of rulers; that they, who should have listened to his gracious instructions, should fancy themselves too wise to be taught; and that, by thus inverting the order of things, they should have “power to open for themselves a door to faction, and to all the consequences of faction — tumult, misrule, nonsense, and anarchy!”

The few abhorrrers of this atrocious act entered an unavailing protest against it. The good man, shocked rather for his enemies than for himself, preached a most solemn and affecting farewell discourse, which was after published, on 2 Cor. 1:4. on which he raised this doctrine “That ministers, and the people who have been under their care, must meet one another at the tribunal of Christ.” — A very solemn truth it should be to those who disregard other tribunals; but it did not at all affect these people, who had renounced their allegiance to justice, truth, and reason.

This malice of his enemies, raised against him (it must ever be remembered, for the honour of the gospel and himself) only for his resisting SIN, did not stop here. When there was no preacher to supply the pulpit at times, he cheerfully gave them his service, rather than it should be empty, or any means should be wanting for their good. This kindness, which would have conciliated more ingenuous and gracious minds, only increased the diabolic flame kindled in them; inasmuch that they called their town together, and voted that he should preach among them no more. And so they frequently went without preaching, rather than have the free ministrations of a man of whom the world itself was not worthy. But these are the blessings of an absolute democracy!



Stockbridge



[Mission House](#), built about 1740

Thus ended his service of near four-and-twenty years for an undiscerning and ungrateful people, who had been much upon his heart, and for whom he had always expressed a very tender concern. "For their good, he was always writing, contriving, labouring; for them he had poured out his thousand fervent prayers; and in their welfare he had rejoiced as one that finds great spoil." Yet all their detestable conduct did not alter the frame of his mind." His calmness and sedate frame, his meekness and humility under the most injurious treatment, his resolution and conduct in the whole affair, were truly wonderful, and cannot be set in so beautiful and affecting a light by any description, as they appeared in to his friends who were eye-witnesses."

This incomparable man was now in the decline of life, and with little or no income besides his stipend; and this throws the greatest light upon his faithfulness and sincerity." Nor had he the views of support from another appointment; for he did not know how far the malice of his people might extend to prevent it, or the prejudice of his dismissal operate against him elsewhere." Nor was he capable (alas! what a pity he should be driven to think of it!) to take up any other business for a support. Thus beggary and disgrace lay before him. But he had a good Master; and he knew that he was good. He had comfort from him in his soul, and, in a short time, sustenance by his providence for his own needs, and his household. Ashamed at this unparalleled baseness to so excellent a man, his friends, or rather the friends of godliness, administered to his relief, and he was soon after appointed to the mission at Stockbridge; but not before some other insolent and bitter attempts had been made to murder his reputation, as well as to deprive him of bread.

The voluntary retraction of one man, though a ring-leader in this iniquitous business, ought to save him from being involved in the common infamy. The remorse of Mr. Joseph Hawley, while it entitles him to our forgiveness, confirms, and in the strongest language too, both Mr. Edwards's innocence and the depraved behaviour of his comrades. For these reasons, we subjoin his letter in a section for the reader:

"To the Rev. Mr. Hall of Sutton.

Rev. Sir,

Northampton, May 9, 1760.

I have often wished that every member of the two ecclesiastical Councils (that formerly sat in Northampton upon the unhappy differences between our former most worthy and reverent pastor Mr. Jonathan Edwards, and the church here) of which you were a member; I say, Sir, I have often wished every one of them truly knew the real sense of my own conduct in the affairs that the one and the other of said councils are

privy to; and as I have long understood it to be my duty not only to humble myself before God for what was unchristian and sinful in my conduct before said councils, but also to confess my faults to them, and take shame to myself therefore before them. I have often studied with myself in what way it was practicable for me to do it; and when I understood that you, Sir, and Mr. Eaton, were to be at Cold Spring at the time of their state council, I resolved to improve the opportunity fully to open my mind there to our aim in it; and thought that probably each method might be then thought of by Mr. Edwards, who was able to shine in the seats of learning, and some time later was called to preside over one, was now delegated to the instruction of savage Indians at Stockbridge. This place is in the western part of Massachusetts Bay, and about sixty miles from Mr. Edward's former residence at Northampton. He was fixed here thought of in which my reflections on myself touching the matters above hinted at, might be communicated to most if not all the gentlemen aforesaid, who did not reside in this country. But you know, Sir, how difficult it was for us to converse together by ourselves when at Cold Spring, without giving umbrage to that people. I therefore proposed writing to you about the matters which I had then opportunity only most summarily to suggest, which you, Sir, signified would be agreeable to you. I therefore now undertake what I then proposed, in which I humbly ask divine aid; and that I maybe made most freely witting fully to confess my sin and guilt to you and the world. In those instances which I have reason to suppose fell under your notice, as they were public and notorious transactions, and on account of them, therefore, you, Sir, and all others who had knowledge of it had just cause to be offended at me. And in the first place, Sir, I understand that, with the church and people of Northampton, I sinned and erred exceedingly in consenting and labouring that there should be so early a dismissal of Mr. Edwards from his pastoral relation to us, even upon the supposition that he was really in a mistake in the disputed point. Not only because the dispute was over matters so very disputable in themselves, and at the greatest remove from fundamental, but because Mr. Edwards so long had approved himself a most faithful and painful pastor to said church, and also changed his sentiments in that point wholly from a tender regard to what appeared to him to be truth, and had made known his feelings with great moderation, and upon great deliberation, against all worldly motives, and from mere fidelity to his great Master, and a tender regard to the souls of his flock, as we had the highest reason to judge. Which considerations now seem to me sufficient; and would (if we had been of a right spirit) have greatly endeared him to his people, and made us, to the last degree, reluctant to part with him, and disposed us to the exercise of the greatest candour, gentleness, and moderation. How much its reverse appeared in us, I need not tell you, Sir, who was an eye-witness of our temper and conduct. And although it does not become me to pronounce decisively on a point so disputable as what was then in dispute; yet I beg leave to say, that I really apprehend that it is of the highest moment to the body of this church, and to me in particular, most solicitously to inquire, whether, like the Pharisees and lawyers in John the Baptist's time, we did not reject the counsel of God against ourselves, in rejecting Mr. Edwards and his doctrine, which was the ground of his dismissal. And I humbly conceive that it highly imports us all of this church most seriously and impartially to examine what that most worthy and able divine about that time published in support of the same, in which he being dead yet speaks. But there were three things, Sir, especially in my own particular conduct before the first council, which have been justly matter of great grief and much trouble to me almost ever since, to wit, in the first place, I confess, Sir, that I acted very immodestly here on the 8th. of August 1751; and here he contributed his labours in

more peace and quietness than he had ever known before, for six years. In this interval, old as he was, he made greater attainments in knowledge, and wrote more for the church of God, than he had ever been able to do within the same space of time, during the former part, and abusively to you, as well as injuriously to the church and myself, when, with much zeal and unbecoming assurance, I moved the council that they would interpose to silence and stop you in an address you were making one morning to the people, where you were, if I don't mind as a member, briefly exhorting them to a tender remembrance of the former affection and harmony that had long subsisted between them and their reverend pastor, and the great comfort and profit which they had seen that they had received from his ministry, for which, Sir, I heartily ask your forgiveness; and I think that we ought, instead of opposing an exhortation of that nature, to have received it with all thankfulness. Another particular of my conduct before that council, which I now apprehend was criminal, and was owing to the lack of that tender affection and reverend respect and esteem for Mr. Edwards which he had highly merited of me, was my strenuously opposing the adjournment of the matters submitted to that Council, for about two months, for which I declare myself unfeignedly sorry; and I with shame remember that I did it in a peremptory, decisive, vehement, and very immodest manner. But, Sir, the most criminal part of my conduct at that time that I am conscious of was my exhibiting to that council a set of arguments in righting the drift which was to prove the reasonableness and necessity of Mr. Edwards' dismissal in case no accommodation was then effected with mutual consent; which tract by clear implication contained some severe, uncharitable, and, if I do not misremember, groundless and slanderous imputations on Mr. Edwards, and expressed in bitter language; and although the original draft was not done by me, yet I foolishly and sinfully consented to copy it, and, as agent for the church, to read it and deliver it to the council, which I could never have done, if I had not had a wicked relish for perverse things. Which conduct of mine, I confess, was very sinful; am persuaded was highly provoking to God, and for which I am ashamed, confounded, and have nothing to answer. As to the church's remonstrance (as it was called) which their committee preferred to the last of said councils, to all of which I was consenting, and in the composing of it I was very active, as also in bringing the Church to their vote upon it, I would, in the first place, only observe, that I do not remember anything in that small part of it which was plainly discursive of the expediency of Mr. Edwards' re-settlement here as pastor to a part of the church, which was very exceptionable; but as to all the residue, which was much its greatest part (and I am not certain that any part was wholly free) it was everywhere larded with unchristian bitterness, sarcastic and unmannerly insinuations, contained different direct, grievous, and criminal charges and allegations against Mr. Edwards, which I have since good reason to suppose were all founded on jealous and uncharitable mistakes, and so were really gross slanders, also many heavy and reproachful charges upon different adherents of Mr. Edwards, and some severe censures of then judging him lifted. In this retirement, he composed his deepest and most valuable works. So that when, in his own judgement, as well as that of others, his usefulness seemed to be cut off, he found greater opportunities of more lasting service than ever. A pleasing calm, after so grievous a storm, to his placid mind! On all indiscriminately; all of which (if not wholly false and groundless) set were altogether unnecessary, and therefore highly criminal. Indeed, I am fully convinced, that the whole of that composure, excepting the small part concerning the above-mentioned, was totally unchristian, a scandalous, abusive, injurious libel against Mr. Edwards and his particular friends, especially the former, and highly provoking and detestable in the sight of God, for

which I am heartily sorry and ashamed; and pray I may remember it with deep abasement and penitence all my days. Nor do I now think that the church's conduct in refusing to appear and attend before that council to support the charges and allegations in said remonstrance against Mr. Edwards and said brethren, which they demanded was ever vindicated by all the subtle answers that were given to said demand; nor do I think that our conduct in that instance was capable of a defence, for it appears to me that by making charges of scandalous matters against them before said council, we necessarily so far gave that council jurisdiction; and I own with sorrow and regret, that I zealously endeavoured that the church should perseveringly refuse to appear before said council for the purpose aforesaid, which I humbly pray God to forgive. Another part of my conduct, Sir, of which I have long repented, and for which I here declare my hearty sorrow, was my obstinate opposition to the last council's having any conference with the church, which said council earnestly and repeatedly moved for, and which the church finally denied (as you know). I think it discovered a great deal of pride and vain sufficiency in the church, and showed them to be very opinionated, especially the chief sticklers, one of whom I own I was, and think it was running a most presumptuous risk, and acting the part of proud scorers, for us to refuse bearing and candidly and seriously considering what that council could say or propose to us; among whom there were different ones justly in great reputation for grace and wisdom. In these instances, Sir, of my conduct, and others (to which you were not privy) in the course of that most melancholy contention with Mr. Edwards, where I now see that I was very much influenced by vast pride, self-sufficiency, ambition, and vanity, I appear to myself vile, and doubtless much more so to others who are more impartial; and, in the review of these things, I abhor myself, and repent sorely. And if my own heart condemns me, it behoves me solemnly to remember that God is greater, and knows all things. And I hereby own, Sir, that such treatment of Mr. Edwards, as is before mentioned, where I was so deeply concerned and active, was particularly and very aggravatingly sinful and ungrateful in me, because I was not only under the common obligations of each individual of the society to him, as a most able, diligent, and faithful pastor; but I had also received many instances of his tenderness, goodness, and generosity to me, as a young kinsman, whom he was disposed to treat in a most friendly manner. Indeed, Sir, I must own, that by my conduct in consulting and acting, I did wrong. On the death of Mr. Aaron Burr, president of New Jersey College, which was on the 24th of September 1757, the trustees of that seminary did themselves the honour of choosing Mr. Edwards to succeed him. As this was unsolicited and unexpected, it gives great credit to both sides. But our excellent Author was so far from desiring this acting against Mr. Edwards within the time of our most unhappy disputes with him, and especially in and about that abominable remonstrance, I have to far symbolised with Balaam, Ahithophel, and Judah, that I am confounded and filled with terror oftentimes when I attend to the most painful similitude. And I freely confess, that on account of my conduct above-mentioned, I have the greatest reason to tremble at those most solemn and awful words of our Saviour in Luke 10 at the 16th — "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me." And I am most sorely sensible that nothing but that infinite grace and mercy which saved some of the betrayers and murderers of our blessed Lord, and the persecutors of his martyrs, can pardon me; in which alone I hope for pardon, for the sake of Christ, whose blood (blessed be God) cleanses from all sin. On the whole, Sir, I am convinced that I have the greatest reason to say, as David, 'Have mercy upon me, O GOD, according to thy loving

kindness; according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions, wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin; for I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me. Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O GOD, and renew a right spirit within me; cast me not away from thy presence, and take not My Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit.' And I humbly apprehend that it greatly concerns the church of Northampton most seriously to examine whether the many hard speeches, spoken by many particular members against their former pastor, some of which the church really countenanced, and especially those spoken by the church as a body, in that most vile remonstrance, are not so odious and ungodly as to be utterly incapable of defence; and whether said church were not guilty of great sin in being so willing and disposed, for so slight a cause, to part with so faithful and godly a minister as Mr. Edwards was. And whether ever God will hold us guiltless, until we cry to him for Christ's sake to pardon and save us from that judgement, which such ungodly deeds deserve, and publicly humble and take shame to ourselves therefore. And I most heartily wish and pray, that the town and church of Northampton would seriously and carefully examine whether they have not abundant cause to judge, and they are now lying under great guilt in the sight of God. And whether those of us who were concerned in that most awful contention with Mr. Edwards, can ever more reasonably expect God's favour and blessing, until our eyes are opened, and we become thoroughly convinced that we have greatly provoked the Most High, and been injurious to one of the best of men; and until we shall be thoroughly convinced that we have dreadfully persecuted Christ by persecuting and vexing that just man and servant of Christ; until we shall be humble as in the dust therefore, and till we openly, in full terms, and without baulking the matter, confess the same before the world, and most humbly and earnestly seek forgiveness of God, and do what we can to honour the memory of Mr. Edwards, this preferment, that it was with difficulty we could be prevailed on to accept it; modestly and unaffectedly alleging his own insufficiency, ill health, and disuse to that kind of life. At length, upon the arguments and persuasions of his brethren in the ministry, he did accept this presidency, and went from Stockbridge to Prince Town, in January 1758. But, alas! the end of his labours on earth have come. We clear Mr. Edwards, and put it out of reach of all the aspersions which we unjustly cast upon him, since God has been pleased to put it beyond our power to ask his forgiveness. Such terms I am persuaded the great and righteous God will hold us to, and that it will be in vain for us to hope to escape with impunity in any other way. This I am convinced of with regard to myself, and this way I most solemnly propose to take to myself, (if God in his mercy shall give me opportunity) that so, by making free confession to God and man of my sin and guilt, and publicly taking shame to myself therefore, I may give glory to the God of Israel, and do what in me lies to clear the memory of that venerable man from the wrongs and injuries I was so active in bringing on his reputation and character; and I thank God that he has been pleased to spare my life and opportunity therefore to this time, and am sorry that I have delayed the affair so long. Although I made the substance of almost all the foregoing reflections in writing, but not exactly in the same manner, to Mr. Edwards and the brethren who adhered to him, in Mr. Edwards's life, and before he removed from Stockbridge, and I have reason to believe that it is due him.

Yet because that was not generally known, I look out to myself to be obliged to take further steps; for while I kept silence, my bones became old. For all these my great

sins, therefore, in the first place, I humbly and most earnestly ask forgiveness of God. Next, of the relatives and near friends of Mr. Edwards, I also ask the forgiveness of all those who were called Mr. Edwards's adherents, and of all the members of the ecclesiastical councils above-mentioned; and lastly, of all Christian people who have had any knowledge of the matters abovesaid, or any of them. I have no desire, Sir, that you should make any secret of this letter, but desire you would communicate the same to whom you shall judge proper; and I purpose (if God shall give me opportunity) to procure it to be published in some one of the public newspapers; for I can't devise any other way of making known my feelings of the foregoing matters to all who ought to be acquainted them, and, therefore, I think I ought to do it, whatever remarks I may foresee will be made on them. Probably, when it comes out, some of my acquaintance will pronounce me quite over-run with vapours; others will be furnished with matter for mirth and pleasantries; others will cursorily pass it over, as relating to matters quite state; but some, I am persuaded, will rejoice to see me brought to a sense of my sin and duty; and I myself shall be conscious, that I have done something of what the nature of the case admits, towards undoing what is, and long has been, to my greatest remorse and trouble that it was ever done. Sir, I desire that none would entertain a thought from my having spoken respectfully of Mr. Edwards, that I am disaffected to our present pastor; for the very reverse is true, and I have a reverend esteem, real value, and hearty affection for him, and bless God that he has, despite all our unworthiness, given us one (to succeed Mr. Edwards, who (as I have reason to hope) is truly faithful.

"It is with regret that we cannot lay before our readers many striking passages of this gracious soul's conversion and life. I conclude this lone letter, by heartily desiring your prayers that my repentance of my sins above-mentioned may be true and genuine, and such as God, in infinite mercy for Christ's sake, will accept. And I beg leave to subscribe myself,

"Sir, your real, though very unworthy friend, and obedient servant,

Joseph Hawley."

The end of his life on earth was approaching. He had only preached two or three sermons, not having entered fully upon the duties of his new office before he was called to a higher place and to better service. The small-pox, which has always been unusually fatal in America, had infected Prince Town, which induced the physician of the place to advise him to be inoculated, with the consent of the corporation. Accordingly, he was inoculated on the 13th of February, and his disorder at first seemed to be favourable; but a fever coming on, and the pustules lying much in his throat, no proper medicines could be administered, and therefore the violence of it raged, till it put an end to his mortal life, on the 22nd of March 1758, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

When he was sensible that death was approaching, he called his daughter (who was the only part of his family which had yet removed with him), and addressed her in the following words:

“Dear Lucy, it seems to me to be the will of God that I must shortly leave you. Therefore, give my kindest love to my dear wife, and tell her, that the uncommon union which has so long lasted between us has been of such a nature as I trust is spiritual, and therefore will continue forever. I hope she will be supported under great trial, and submit cheerfully to the will of God. And as to my children, you are now likely to be left fatherless, which I hope will be an inducement to you all to seek a Father who will never fail you.”

He desired that his funeral might be attended with no parade (as is usual in America), but rather something be given to the poor. He could say but little in his sickness, owing to the nature and seat of his disorder; but just at the last, when surrounded by friends lamenting their own loss, and that of the church and college, he said, to their great surprise, as they did not imagine he heard them, or could speak himself, “Trust in God, and no need to fear.” And then, almost literally, fell asleep in Jesus.

Records of his life and ministry are preserved and left behind him. We will give, however, as much as we can, for such men do not arise too often.

Though he was of a tender and delicate constitution, just few students are capable of close application more than ours in a day than he. He commonly spent thirteen hours every day in his study. His most usual diversion in the summer was riding on horseback, and walking. He would commonly, unless diverted by company, ride two or three miles after dinner to some lonely grove, where he would dismount and walk a while. At which times he generally carried his pen and ink with him, to note any thought that should be suggested, which he chose to retain and pursue, as what promised some light on any important subject. In the winter, he was used almost daily to take an axe, and chop wood moderately for the space of half an hour or more. He had an uncommon thirst for knowledge, in the pursuit of which he did not spare cost nor pains.

He read all the books, especially books of divinity, that he could get his hands on, from which he could hope to get any help in his pursuit of knowledge. And, in this, he did not confine himself to authors of any particular sect or denomination, but took much pains to come at the books of the most noted writers, who advance a scheme of divinity most contrary to his own principles. But he studied the Bible more than all other books, and more than most other divines do. His uncommon acquaintance with the Bible appears in his sermons, and in most of his publications. And his great pains in studying it are manifest in his manuscript notes on it. He was thought by some, who had but a slight acquaintance with him, to be stiff and unsociable; but this was owing to lack of better acquaintance. He was not a man of many words indeed, and was somewhat reserved among strangers, and those on whose candour and friendship he did not know he could rely. But how groundless the imputation of stiff and unsociable was; his known and tried friends best knew. They always found him easy of access, kind and condescending; and, though not talkative, yet affable and free. Among such whose candour and friendship he had experienced, he threw off reserve, and was most open and free; quite patient of contradiction, while the utmost opposition was made to his sentiments that could be by any plausible arguments or objections. His conversation with his friends was always savoury and profitable. In this, he was remarkable, and almost singular. He was not used to spend his time with them, in scandal, evil-speaking, and back-biting, or in foolish jesting, idle chat, and telling stories. But his mouth was that of the just, which brings forth wisdom, and his lips dispersed knowledge. His tongue was as the pen of a ready writer, while he conversed about important, heavenly, divine things, which his heart was so full of, in such

a natural and free manner, as to be most entertaining and instructive. So none of his friends could enjoy his company without instruction and profit, unless it was by their own fault. He kept himself quite free from worldly cares. He gave himself wholly to the work of the ministry, and did not get himself entangled with the affairs of this life. He left the particular over-sight and direction of the temporal concerns of his family almost entirely to Mrs. Edwards, who was better able than most of her sex to take the whole care of them on her hands. He was less acquainted with most of his temporal affairs than many of his neighbours, and seldom knew when and by whom his forage for winter was gathered in, or how many milk kine he had, from which his table was furnished, etc.

As to his secret life and walk with God, we must refer the reader to his Diary which he left behind, some extracts of which, as a specimen, we take leave to offer in the note below.

“The first that I remember, that ever I found anything of that matter of inward sweet delight in God and divine things, that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words in 1 Tim. 1:17— ‘Now unto the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise GOD, be honour and glory, forever and ever. Amen.’ As I read the words, there came into my soul, and was, as it were, diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being; a new sense, quite different from anything I ever experienced before. Never any words of Scripture seemed to me as these words did. I thought with myself how excellent a Being that was, and how happy I should be if I might enjoy that God, and be wrapped up to God in heaven, and be, as it were, swallowed up in him. I kept saying, and, as it were, singing over these words of Scripture to myself; and went to prayer, to pray to God that I might enjoy him, and prayed in a manner quite different from what I used to do, with a new sort of affection. But it never came into my thought that there was anything spiritual, or of a loving nature in this. Not long after I first began to experience these things, I gave an account to my father of some things that had passed through my mind. I was pretty much affected by the discourse we had together. And when the discourse was ended, I walked abroad alone, in a solitary place in my father’s pasture, for contemplation. And as I was waiting there, and looked up to the sky and clouds, there came into my mind a sweet sense of the glorious majesty and grace of God, that I don’t know how to express. I seemed to see them both in a sweet conjunction — majesty and meekness joined together. It was a sweet and gentle, and holy majesty, and also a majestic meekness.”

President Edwards left many MS. volumes, written miscellaneously, on almost every subject in divinity, not for publication, but for his own improvement. He is said to have commented largely on several difficult passages in the Bible not explained fully by others, and to have thrown much light upon them.

“If those who possess his awful sweetness; a high, and great, and holy gentleness. After this, my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of everything was altered. There seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. God’s excellence, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in everything; in the sun, moon, and stars; in the clouds, and blue sky; in the grass, flowers, trees; in the water, and all nature, which used greatly to fix my mind. I often used to sit and view the moon for a long time; and so in the day time, spent much time in viewing the clouds and sky, to behold the sweet glory of God in these things. In the mean time, singing forth with a low voice, my

contemplations of the Creator and Redeemer. And scarcely anything, among all the works of nature, was so sweet to me as thunder and lightning. Formerly, nothing had been so terrible to me. I used to be a person uncommonly terrified of thunder. And it used to strike me with terror when I saw a thunder storm rising. But now, on the contrary, it rejoiced me. I felt God at the first appearance of a thunder storm. And used to take opportunity at such times, to set myself to view the clouds, and see the lightnings play, and hear the majestic and awful voice of God's thunder. Which often was exceedingly entertaining, leading me to sweet contemplations of my great and glorious God. And while I viewed, used to spend my time, as it always seemed natural to me, to sing or chant my meditations; to speak my thoughts in soliloquies, and speak with a singing voice. The delights which I now felt in things of religion were of an exceeding different kind from those aforementioned, that I had when I was a boy. They were totally of another kind; and what I then had no more notion or idea of, than one born blind has of pleasant and beautiful colours. They were of a more inward, pure, soul-animating, and refreshing nature. Those former delights never reached the heart; and did not arise from any sight of the divine excellence of the things of God, or any taste of the soul-satisfying and life-giving good, there is in them. My sense of divine things seemed gradually to increase, until I went to preach at New York, which was about a year and a half after they began. While I was there, I felt them, very sensibly, in a much higher degree than I had done before. My longings after God and holiness were much increased. Pure and humble, holy and heavenly Christianity, appeared exceeding amiable to me. I felt in me a burning desire to be in everything a complete Christian, and conformed to the blessed image of Christ. And that I might live in all things, according to the pure, sweet, and blessed rules of the gospel. The heaven I desired was a heaven of holiness; to be with God, and to spend my eternity in divine love, and holy communion with Christ. My mind was very much taken up with contemplations on heaven, and the enjoyment of those there, and living there in perfect holiness, humility, and love.

It is time to express a great part of the happiness of heaven, that there the saints could express their love to Christ. It appeared to me a great clog and hindrance and burden to me, that what I felt within, I could not express to God, and give vent to, as I desired. The inward ardour of my soul seemed to be hindrance and pent up, and could not freely flame out as it would. I used often to think how, in heaven, this sweet principle should freely and fully vent and express itself. Heaven appeared to me exceeding delightful as a world of love. It appeared to me, that all happiness consisted in living in pure, humble, heavenly, divine love. Holiness, as I then wrote down some of my contemplations on it, appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature. It seemed to me, it brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness, and ravishment to the soul. And that it made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers, that is all pleasant, delightful and undisturbed; enjoying a sweet calm, and the gently vivifying beams of the sun. The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom, to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory; rejoicing, as it were in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragrance; standing peacefully and lovingly, in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms, to drink in the light of the sun. I had then, and at other times, the greatest delight in the Holy Scriptures, of any book whatsoever. Oftentimes in reading it, every word seemed to touch my heart. I felt a 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. Since I came to this town (Northampton) I have often had sweet complacency in God, in views of his glorious perfections, and the excellence of Jesus Christ. God has appeared to me a glorious and lovely being, chiefly on the account of his holiness. The holiness of God has always appeared to me the most lovely of all his attributes. The doctrines of God's absolute sovereignty, and free grace, in showing mercy to whom he would show mercy; and man's absolute dependence on the operations of God's Holy Spirit, have very often appeared to me as sweet and glorious doctrines. These doctrines have been much my delight. God's sovereignty has ever appeared to me, as great part of his glory. It has often been sweet to me to go to God, and adore him as a sovereign God, and ask sovereign mercy of him. Sometimes, only mentioning a single word causes my heart to burn within me. Or only seeing the name of Christ, or the name of some attribute of God. And God has appeared glorious to me, on account of the Trinity, It has led me to having exalting thoughts of God, that he subsists in three Persons — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The sweetest joys and delights I have experienced, have not been those that have arisen from a hope of my own good estate, but in a direct view of the glorious things of the gospel. When I enjoy this sweetness, it seems to carry me above the thoughts of my own safe estate. It seems at such times a loss that I cannot bear to take off my eye from the glorious, pleasant object I behold without me, to turn my eye in upon myself, and my own good estate. Once, as I rode out into the woods for my health, anno 1737; and having alighted from my horse in a retired place, as my manner commonly has been, to walk for divine contemplation and prayer, I had a view, that for me was extraordinary, of the glory of the Son of God, as Mediator between God and man; and his wonderful, great, full, pure and sweet grace and love, and meek and gentle condescension. This grace, that appeared to me so calm and sweet, appeared great above the heavens. The person of Christ appeared more than excellent, with an excellence great enough to swallow up all thought and conception: Which continued, as near as I can judge, about an hour; which kept me the bigger part of the time in a flood of tears, and weeping aloud. I felt in all, an ardency of soul to be, what I don't know otherwise how to express, than to be emptied and annihilated; to lie in the dust, and to be full of Christ alone; to love him with a holy and pure love; to trust in him; to live upon him; to serve and follow him, and to be totally wrapped up in the fullness of Christ; and to be perfectly sanctified and made pure, with a divine and heavenly purity. I have several other times had views very much of the same nature, and that have had the same effects. I have many times had a sense of the glory of the third Person in the Trinity, in his office of sanctifier; in his holy operations communicating divine light and life to the soul. God, in the communications of his Holy Spirit, has appeared as an infinite fountain of divine glory and sweetness; being full and sufficient to fill and satisfy the soul, pouring forth itself in sweet communication, like the sun in its glory, sweetly and pleasantly diffusing light and life. I have vastly a greater sense of my universal, exceeding dependence on God's grace and strength, and mere good pleasure, of late, than I used formerly to have; and have experienced more of an abhorrence of my own righteousness. The thought of any comfort or joy arising in me, on any consideration or reflection on my own amiableness, or any of my performances or experiences, or any goodness of heart or life, is nauseous and detestable to me. And yet I am greatly afflicted with a proud and self-righteous spirit; much more sensibly, than I used to be formerly. I see

that serpent rising, and putting up its head, continually, everywhere, all around me. Though it seems to me, that in some respects I was a far better Christian, for two or three years after my first conversion, than I am now, and lived in a more constant delight and pleasure; yet of late years, I have had a more full and constant sense of the absolute sovereignty of God, and a delight in that sovereignty, and have had more of a sense of the glory of Christ as a Mediator, as revealed in the gospel. On one Saturday night in particular, had a particular discovery of the excellence of the gospel of Christ above all other doctrine; so that I could not but say to myself, 'This is my chosen teaching, my chosen doctrine.' And of Christ, 'This is my present prophet.' It appeared to me to be sweet beyond all expression, to follow Christ, and to be taught and enlightened and instructed by him and learn of him, and live for him."

And if used at that time, his papers could be published after the manner of Estius (Willem Hessels van Est, 1542–1613), a Dutch commentator on Paul's epistles, which they might easily do. It would doubtless be an acceptable present to the religious world, and meet with encouragement.

His Published Works.

1. A Sermon preached at Boston, on 1 Cor.1: 29-31.
2. A Sermon preached at Northampton, in the year 1734, from Mat. 16:17.
3. Five Discourses on the following Heads: 1. Justification by Faith alone. 2. Pressing into the Kingdom of God. 3. Ruth's Resolution. 4. The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners. 5. The Excellence of Jesus Christ.
4. A Sermon preached at Enfield, July 8, 1714, entitled, Sinners in the hands of an angry God.
5. A Sermon on the distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God, preached at New-Haven, Sept. 10, 1741, from 1 John 4:1.
6. Some Thoughts concerning the present Revival of Religion in New England, and the Way in which it ought to be acknowledged and promoted, humbly offered to the Public in a Treatise on that subject, in five parts. Published in the year 1742.
7. A Treatise concerning Religious Affections. Published in the year 1746.
8. A Treatise entitled, An humble Attempt to promote explicit Agreement, and visible Union of God's People in extraordinary Prayer, for the Revival of Religion, etc. Recommended by five of the principal Ministers in Boston. Published in 1747.
9. An Account of the Life of the Reverend Mr. David Brainerd, Minister of the Gospel and Missionary to the Indians, etc., with Reflections and Observations thereon. Published in the year 1749.
10. An Inquiry into the Qualifications for full Communion in the visible Church. Published in the year 1749: Intended as an explanation and vindication of his principles in the matter which occasioned his dismissal from Northampton.

11. A Reply to the Reverend Mr. Williams's Answer to the aforementioned Inquiry. Published in the year 1752.

12. A Sermon preached at Newark, before the Synod, Sept., 1752, from Jas. 2:19. entitled, True Grace distinguished from the experience of Devils.

13. A careful and strict Inquiry into the modern prevailing Notion of that Freedom of Will, which is supposed to be essential to moral Agency, etc. Published in the year 1754.

14. The great Christian Doctrine of original Sin defended; Evidences of its Truth produced, and Arguments to the contrary answered. Containing, in particular, a Reply to the Objections and Arguments of Dr. John Taylor, etc., published in 1758. This was in the press when he died.

15. A History of Redemption. A very excellent posthumous publication.

Besides these, several Sermons have been published separately on various occasions.