

# MEMOIRS

OF THE LATE REVEREND

JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M.

VOL. I,

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## CHAPTER I.

*Mr. EDWARDS's Birth, Parentage, Education and Entrance into the Ministry.*

PRESIDENT EDWARDS was one of those men of whom it is not easy to speak with justice without seeming, at least, to border on the marvellous, and to incur the guilt of adulation. The Christian Biographer labors under a difficulty, in describing the characters of extraordinary men, which the writers of other lives are but too generally allowed to forget ; for he is bound so to represent actions and motives, as to remind his readers, that the uncommon excellencies of a character, flow entirely from the bounty of heaven, for the wisest and best purposes, and are not the result of natural vigor and acumen. Otherwise, instead of placing these excellencies in a view advantageous for imitation, or describing a character attainable, as to its most valuable traits, only by gracious aids, there would be danger of setting up an idol, more precious indeed than gold, but still an idol, whereby the mind would be led astray from the one great object of the Christian life, JESUS CHRIST, whose fullness *filleth all in all*. While we have a just view of *him*, it is a privilege to hear of his wonderful works in and by his honored servants ; and to be enabled to imitate them is a great augmentation of the privilege. If *their* graces, exemplified in a variety of circumstances, in a manner force us to a throne of grace, and thereby prove the means of quickening *ours* ; then do we make a

right use of their history, and follow them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

MR. JONATHAN EDWARDS was born on the 5th of October, 1703, at Windsor, in the then Province of Connecticut, North America. His father, the Rev. TIMOTHY EDWARDS, was minister of that place almost sixty years, and resided there from November, 1694, till January, 1758, when he died in the 89th year of his age ; not two months before this his only son Jonathan. He was very universally beloved, and esteemed, as an upright, pious, exemplary man ; a faithful and very useful minister of the gospel. A few more particulars of this excellent man will be acceptable. He was born at Hartford, in Connecticut, May 14th, 1669, received the honors of the college at Cambridge, in Newengland, by having the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts given him the same day, July 4th, 1694, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. On November 6, 1694, he married Esther Stoddard, daughter of the Rev. and celebrated Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, in the 23d year of her age. They lived together in the married state above sixty three years. Mrs. Edwards, our author's mother, was born June 2d, 1672, and lived to about ninety years of age, (some years after her son) a remarkable instance of the small decay of mental powers at so advanced an age. This venerable couple had eleven children ; one son, the subject of these Memoirs, and ten daughters, four of whom were older, and six younger than himself.\*

\* We shall here subjoin a sketch of Mr. Edwards's more remote ancestors, as it may gratify some readers. Jonathan Edwards's grandfather was Richard Edwards, who married Elizabeth Tuttle, daughter of William Tuttle, of Newhaven, in Connecticut, and Elizabeth his wife, who came from Northamptonshire, in Old England. By this connexion he had seven children, of whom the eldest was Timothy, our author's father. His second marriage was to Mrs. Talcot, sister to governor Talcot, by whom he had six children. The father of Richard was William Edwards, Jonathan's great grandfather, who came from England young and unmarried. The person he married, whose Christian name was Agnes, and who had left England for America, had two brothers in England, one of them Mayor of Exeter, and the other of Barnstable. The father of William, Richard Edwards, our author's

Mr. Edwards entered Yale college, when about twelve years of age ; and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Sept. 1720, a little before he was seventeen. While at college, his character was marked with sobriety and improvement in learning. In the second year of his collegiate course he

great great grandfather, was minister of the gospel in London, in the reign of queen Elizabeth ; and his wife, Ann Edwards, was employed in making some part of the royal attire. After the death of Mr. Edwards, she married Mr. James Cole, who with her son William accompanied her to America, and all died at Hartford in Connecticut.

President Edwards's grandfather on the mother's side, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, Newengland, married Mrs. Mather, the relict of the Rev. Mr. Mather his predecessor, who was the first minister at Northampton. Her maiden name was Esther Warham, daughter, and the youngest child of the Rev. John Warham, minister at Windfor, in Connecticut, and who, before he left England, had been minister at Exeter. This lady had three children by Mr. Mather, viz. Eunice, Warham, and Eliakim ; and twelve children by Mr. Stoddard, six sons and six daughters. Three of the sons died in infancy, and three lived to adult years, viz. Anthony, John, and Israel ; the last of whom died a prisoner in France. Anthony was minister of the gospel at Woodbury, in Connecticut ; he was in the ministry about sixty years, and died September 6, 1760, in the 82d year of his age. John lived at Northampton, and often, especially in his younger years, served the town as their representative, at the General Court at Boston ; and was long head of the county of Hampshire, as chief colonel, and chief judge of the court of common pleas. He moreover served in the province of Massachusetts Bay, as one of his Majesty's council. He distinguished himself as an able politician, a wise counsellor, an upright and skillful judge ; possessed in an eminent degree the spirit of government, and ever proved a great and steady friend to the interest of religion. He was a great friend and admirer of our Mr. Edwards, and to the time of his death, greatly strengthened his hands in the work of the ministry. A more particular account of the life and character of this truly great man, may be seen in the sermon which Mr. Edwards preached and published, on the occasion of his death. The father of Mr. Solomon Stoddard, and Mr. Edwards's great grandfather, on the mother's side, was Anthony Stoddard, Esq. of Boston, a zealous congregational man. He had five wives, the first of whom was Mary Downing, sister to Sir George Downing, whose other sister married Governor Bradstreet. Solomon was the first child of this first marriage. From these particulars it appears, that Mr. Edwards's ancestors were from the west of England, who, upon their emigration, allied themselves to some of the most respectable families in America.

read Locke on the Human Understanding with much delight. His uncommon genius, by which he was naturally formed for close thought and deep penetration, now began to discover and exert itself. From his own account, he was inexpressibly entertained and pleased with that book, when he read it at college ; more so than the most greedy miser, when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some newly discovered treasure. Though he made good proficiency in all the arts and sciences, and had an uncommon taste for Natural Philosophy, (which he cultivated to the end of his life) yet Moral Philosophy, including divinity, was his favorite subject, in which he made great progress in early life.

He lived at college nearly two years after he took his first degree, preparing for the work of the ministry. After which, having passed the usual trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel as a candidate. In consequence of an application from a number of ministers in Newengland, who were intrusted to act in behalf of the English Presbyterians in Newyork, he went to that city the beginning of August, 1722, and preached there with great acceptance about eight months. But on account of the smallness of that society, and some special difficulties that attended it, he did not think there was a rational prospect of answering the good end proposed, by his settling there as their minister. He therefore left them the next spring, and retired to his father's house, where he spent the summer in close study. He was earnestly solicited by the people to return again to Newyork ; but his former views were not altered, and therefore, however disposed to gratify them, he could not comply with their wishes.

In Sept, 1723, he received his degree of Master of Arts. About this time several congregations invited him to become their minister ; but being chosen tutor of Yale college, he chose to continue in that retirement, and attended the business of tuition there above two years. During his stay there, he was applied to by the people of Northampton, who had some powerful motives to offer, in favor of his exercising his ministry there ; and especially that his grandfather Stoddard, by reason of his great age, stood in need of assistance. He

therefore resigned his tutorship in Sept. 1726, and accepted their invitation, and was ordained as colleague with his grandfather, Feb. 15, 1727, in the twentyfourth year of his age, and continued at Northampton twentythree years and four months.



## CHAP. II.

### *Extracts from his Private Writings.*

BETWEEN the time of his going to Newyork and his settlement at Northampton, Mr. Edwards formed a number of Resolutions, which are still preserved. The particular time, and special occasion of making many of these resolutions, he has noted in a Diary which he then kept ; where we also find many other observations and rules relative to his own exercises and conduct. As these private writings may be justly considered the basis of his conduct, or the plan according to which his whole life was governed, it may be proper here to give the reader some idea of them by the following extracts.

#### SECT. I.

##### *His Resolutions.*

MR. EDWARDS was too well acquainted with human weakness and frailty, where the intention is most sincere, to enter on any resolutions rashly. He therefore looked to God for aid, who alone can afford success in the use of any means. This he places at the head of all his other important rules, that his dependance was on grace, while he frequently recurred to a serious perusal of them....“ Being sensible that I am unable to do any thing without God’s help, I do humbly intreat him by his grace to enable me to keep these resolutions so far as they are agreable to his will, for Christ’s sake.” He then adds :—

“REMEMBER TO READ OVER THESE RESOLUTIONS ONCE A WEEK.”\*

1. Resolved, that *I will do whatsoever* I think to be most to God's glory and my own good, profit and pleasure, ON THE WHOLE ; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriads of ages hence ; to do whatever I think to be my *duty*, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general....whatever *difficulties* I meet with, how many and how great soever.

2. Resolved, to be continually endeavoring to find some *new contrivance* to promote the forementioned things.

4. Resolved, *never to DO, BE, OR SUFFER*, any thing in soul or body, less or more, but what tends to the glory of God.

5. Resolved, never to lose one moment of *time* ; but improve it in the most profitable way I possibly can.

6. Resolved, to live with all my might, while I do live.†

\* The Resolutions, as contained in the original manuscript, were seventy in number, a part only is here transcribed, as a specimen of the whole. The figures prefixed to them are those by which they were numbered in that manuscript ; and they are here retained for the sake of the references made to some of them in the Diary, as the reader will find in the subsequent part of these Memoirs. It may be proper to add, that we should regard the *spirit* of these resolutions, and of the following extracts from the Diary, without a minute attention to the critical nicety of his language. In fact, as these extracts were penned at a very early period of life, his style was not formed ; and his chief concern was to deal plainly with himself, in the presence of God, and to record for his own private inspection what he thought might be of most use to him in future —

† This is the full and exact import of the Latin Motto, “ *Dum vivimus, vivamus ;*” which was the motto of Dr. Doddridge's family arms, and which he paraphrased with so much beauty.

“Live, while you live,” the *Epicure* would say,

“And seize the pleasures of the present day.

I live, while you live, the sacred *preacher* cries,

And give to God each moment as it flies.

Lord, in my views let both united be ;

I live in *pleasure*, when I live to *thee*.”—

7. Resolved, never to do any thing, which I should be afraid to do if it were the last hour of my life.

9. Resolved, to think much, on all occasions, of my own dying, and of the common circumstances which attend death.

11. Resolved, when I think of any theorem in divinity to be solved, immediately to do what I can towards solving it, if circumstances do not hinder.

13. Resolved, to be endeavoring to find out fit objects of charity and liberality.

14. Resolved, never to do any thing out of revenge.

15. Resolved, never to suffer the least motion of anger to irrational beings.

17. Resolved, that I will live so as I shall wish I had done when I come to die.

18. Resolved, to live so at all times, as I think is best in my devout frames, and when I have clearest notions of the gospel and another world.

20. Resolved, to maintain the strictest temperance in eating and drinking.

21. Resolved, never to do any thing, which if I should see in another, I should count a just occasion to despise him for, or to think any way the more meanly of him.

24. Resolved, whenever I do any evil action, to trace it back, till I come to the original cause ; and then both carefully endeavor to do so no more, and to fight and pray with all my might against the original of it.

28. Resolved, to 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.

30. Resolved, to strive to my utmost every week to be brought higher in religion, and to a higher exercise of grace, than I was the week before.

32. Resolved to be strictly and firmly faithful to my trust, that Prov. xx. 6. (*A faithful man who can find ?*) may not be partly fulfilled in me.

33. Resolved, always to do what I can towards making, maintaining, and establishing peace, when it can be done without an overbalancing detriment in other respects.



34. Resolved, in narrations never to speak any thing but the pure and simple verity.

36. Resolved, never to speak evil of any person, except some particular good call for it.

37. Resolved, to inquire every night, as I am going to bed, wherein I have been negligent, what sin I have committed, and wherein I have denied myself ; also at the end of every week, month, and year.

38. Resolved never to speak any thing that is ridiculous, or matter of laughter on the Lord's day.

39. Resolved, never to do any thing that I so much question the lawfulness of, as that I intend, at the same time, to consider and examine afterwards, whether it be lawful or no : Except I as much question the lawfulness of the omission.

41. Resolved, to ask myself at the end of every day, week, month and year, wherein I could possibly in any respect have done better.

42. Resolved frequently to renew the dedication of myself to God, which was made at my baptism ; which I solemnly renewed, when I was received into the communion of the church ; and which I have solemnly ratified this twelfth day of January, 1723.

43. Resolved, never to act as if I were any way my own, but entirely and altogether God's.

46. Resolved, never to allow the least measure of any fretting or uneasiness at my father or mother. Resolved to suffer no effects of it, so much as in the least alteration of speech, or motion of my eye ; and to be especially careful of it, with respect to any of our family.

47. Resolved, to endeavor to my utmost to deny whatever is not most agreeable to a good, and universally sweet and benevolent, quiet, peaceable, contented, easy, compassionate, generous, humble, meek, modest, submissive, obliging, diligent and industrious, charitable, even, patient, moderate, forgiving, sincere temper ; and to do at all times what such a temper would lead me to. Examine strictly every week, whether I have done so.

48. Resolved, constantly, with the utmost niceness and diligence, and the strictest scrutiny, to be looking into the state of my soul, that I may know whether I have truly an interest in Christ or no ; that when I come to die, I may not have any negligence respecting this to repent of.

50. Resolved, I will act so as I think I shall judge would have been best, and most prudent, when I come into the future world.

52. I frequently hear persons in old age say how they would live, if they were to live their lives over again : Resolved, that I will live just so as I can think I shall wish I had done, supposing I live to old age.

54. Whenever I hear any thing spoken in conversation of any person, if I think it would be praiseworthy in me, Resolved to endeavor to imitate it.

55. Resolved, to endeavor to my utmost to act as I can think I should do, if I had already seen the happiness of heaven, and hell torments.

56. Resolved, never to give over, nor in the least to slacken my fight with my corruptions, however unsuccessful I may be.

57. Resolved, when I fear misfortunes and adversities, to examine whether I have done my duty, and resolve to do it ; and let it be just as Providence orders it, I will as far as I can, be concerned about nothing but my duty, and my sin.

62. Resolved, never to do any thing but duty ; and then, according to Eph. vi. 6.....8, do it willingly and cheerfully as unto the Lord, and not to man ; knowing that whatever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord.

65. Resolved, to exercise myself much in this all my life long, viz. with the greatest openness to declare my ways to God, and lay open my soul to him ; all my sins, temptations, difficulties, sorrows, fears, hopes, desires, and every thing, and every circumstance ; according to Dr. Manton's 27th sermon on the 119th psalm.

67. Resolved, after afflictions, to inquire, What I am the better for them ; what good I *have* got, and what I *might* have got by them."

## SECT. II.

*Extracts from his Diary.*

THOUGH MR. EDWARDS wrote his Diary for his own private use, exclusively, it is not apprehended that the following extracts are unfairly exposed to public view. Whatever is calculated to do good, and is perfectly consistent with an author's real reputation, may be published with honor, whatever his design might be while writing. Besides, what Mr. EDWARDS wished to have effectually concealed from every eye but his own, he wrote in a particular short hand. After having written pretty much in that character, he adds this remark in long hand: "Remember to act according to Prov. xii. 23. *A prudent man concealeth knowledge.*"

"*Saturday, Dec. 22, 1722.* This day, revived by God's Holy Spirit. Affected with a sense of the excellency of holiness. Felt more exercise of love to Christ than usual. Have also felt sensible repentance for sin, because it was committed against so merciful and good a God. This night, made the 37th Resolution.

*Sabbath Night, Dec. 22.* Made the 38th Resolution.

*Monday, Dec. 24.* Higher thoughts than usual of the excellency of Jesus Christ and his kingdom.

*Wednesday, Jan. 2, 1723.* Dull. I find by experience, that let me make resolutions, and do what I will, 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 as much withdrawn from me always, as for the week past, notwithstanding 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.

*Sabbath, Jan. 6, at night.* Much concerned about the improvement of precious time. Intend to live in continual mortification, without ceasing, as long as in this world.

*Tuesday, Jan. 8, in the morning.* Higher thoughts than usual of the excellency of Christ, and felt an unusual repentance for sin therefrom.

*Wednesday, Jan. 9, at night.* Decayed. I am sometimes apt to think, I have a great deal more of holiness than I really have. I find, now and then, that abominable corruption which is directly contrary to what I read respecting eminent Christians. How deceitful is my heart ! I take up a strong resolution, but how soon does it weaken !

*Thursday, Jan. 10, about noon.* Reviving. It is a great dishonor 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 ; when the world is smooth to them, and they are happy in many respects, and very prosperous, or are advanced to much honor, &c. to envy them, or be the least uneasy at it ; or even to wish for the same prosperity, and that it would ever be so with me. Wherefore concluded, always to rejoice in every one's prosperity, and to expect for myself no happiness of that nature as long as I live ; but reckon upon afflictions, and betake myself entirely to another happiness.

I think I find myself much more sprightly and healthy, both in body and mind, for my selfdenial 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 to 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 setting our hearts upon these things. It is, not to care about them, depend upon them, afflict ourselves much with fears of losing them, or please ourselves with expectation of obtaining them, or hope of their continuance. At night made the 41st Resolution.

*Saturday, Jan. 12, in the morning.* I have this day solemnly renewed my baptismal covenant and selfdedication, which I renewed when I was received into the communion of the church. I have been before God ; and have given myself, all that I am and have to God, so that I am not in any respect

my own : I can claim no right in myself, no right in this understanding, this will, these affections that are in me ; neither have I any right to this body, or any of its members : No right to this tongue, these hands, nor feet : No right to these senses, these eyes, these ears, this smell or taste. I have given myself clear away, and have not retained any thing 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 or claim no right in myself in any respect. I have expressly promised him, and do now promise Almighty God, that by his grace I will not. I have this morning told him, that I did take him for my whole portion and felicity, 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 did believe in Jesus Christ, and receive him as a prince and a saviour ; and would adhere to the faith and obedience of the gospel, how hazardous and difficult soever the profession and practice of it may be. That I did 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 selfdedication ; 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 any thing that is not to the glory of God, or do not make the glorifying of 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 my own cause ; if I do any thing purely to please myself, or avoid any thing for the sake of my ease, or omit any thing because it is great selfdenial ; if I trust to myself ; if I take any of the praise of any good that I do, or rather God

does by me ; or if I am any way proud. This day made the 42d and 43d Resolutions.

*Monday, Jan. 14.* The dedication I made of myself to my God, on Saturday last, has been exceeding useful to me. I thought I had a more spiritual insight into the scripture while reading the 8th chapter to the Romans, than ever in my life before. Great instances of mortification are deep wounds given to the body of sin, hard blows that make him stagger and reel ; we thereby get firm ground and footing against him. While we live without great instances of mortification and selfdenial, the old man keeps whereabouts he was ; for he is sturdy and obstinate, and will not stir for small blows. After the greatest mortifications, I always find the greatest comfort. Supposing there was never but one complete Christian, in all respects, of a right stamp, having Christianity shining in its true lustre, at a time in the world ; resolved, to act just as I would do, if I strove with all my might to be that one, that should be in my time.

*Tuesday, Jan. 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 any thing am I ! What a poor, inconsistent, miserable wretch, without the assistance of God's Spirit ! While I stand, I am ready to think I stand in my own strength ; and 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, how weak do I find myself ! O, 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, Feb. 16.* I do certainly know that I love holiness, such as the gospel requires. At night. I have been neg-

ligent for the month past in these three things ; I have not been watchful enough over my appetite in eating and drinking ; in rising too late ; and in not applying myself enough to the duty of secret prayer.

*Sabbathday, Feb. 17, near sunset.* Renewedly promised, that I will accept of God, for my whole portion ; and that I will be contented, whatever else I am denied. I will not murmur, nor be grieved, whatever prosperity, upon any account, I see others enjoy, and I am denied.

*Saturday, March 2.* O, how much pleasanter is humility than pride ! O, 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 any thing without the grace of God ; and that holiness is entirely, throughout, the work of God's Spirit, with more pleasure than before.

*Monday Morning, April 1.* I think it best not to allow myself to laugh at the faults, follies and infirmities of others.

*Saturday Night April 6.* This week I found myself so far gone, that it seemed to me, that I should never recover more. I let God of his mercy return unto me, and no more leave me thus to sink and decay ! I know O Lord, that without thy help, I shall fall innumerable times, notwithstanding all my resolutions, how often so ever repeated.

*Saturday Night, April 13.* I could pray more heartily this night, for the forgiveness of my enemies, than ever before.

*Wednesday, May 1. Forenoon.* Last night I came home, after my melancholy parting from Newyork. I have always, in every different state of life I have hitherto 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 ; yea, that the difficulties of that state, are greater than those of that I left last. Lord, grant that from hence 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 fulness of joy ; where reigns heavenly, sweet, calm, and delightful love without alloy ; where there are continually the dearest expressions of this love ; where there is the enjoyment of the persons loved, without ever parting ; where those persons, who appear so lovely in this world, will really be inexpressibly more lovely, and full of love to us. How sweetly will the mutual lovers join together to sing the praises of God and the Lamb ! How will it fill us with joy to think, this enjoyment, these sweet exercises, will never come to an end, but will last to eternity. Remember, after journies, removes, overturnings, and alterations in the state of my life, to consider, whether therein I have managed the best way possible, respecting my soul ? and before such alterations, if foreseen, to resolve how to act.

*Thursday, May 2.* I think it a very good way to examine dreams every morning when I awake ; what are the nature, circumstances, principles and ends of my imaginary actions and passions in them, to discern what are my chief inclinations, &c.

*Saturday Night, May 4.* Although I have in some measure subdued a disposition to chide and fret, yet I find a certain inclination which is not agreeable to Christian sweetness of temper and conversation : Too dogmatical, too much of egotism ; a disposition to be telling of my own dislike and scorn ; and freedom from those things that are innocent, or the common infirmities of men ; and many such like things. O that God would help me to discern all the flaws and defects of my temper and conversation, and help me in the difficult work of amending them ; and that he would fill me so full of Christianity, that the foundation of all these disagreeable irregularities may be destroyed, and the contrary beauties may follow.



*Sabbathday, May 5, in the morning.* This day made the 47th resolution.

*Sabbathday, May 12.* I think I feel glad from the hope that my eternity is to be spent in spiritual and holy joys, arising from the manifestation of God's love, and the exercise of holiness and a burning love to him.

*Saturday Night, May 18.* I now plainly perceive what great obligations I am under to love and honor my parents. I have great reason to believe, that their counsel and education have been of great use to me; notwithstanding, at the time, it seemed to do me so little good. I have good reason to hope that their prayers for me have been in many things very powerful and prevalent; that God has in many things, taken me under his care and guidance, provision and direction, in answer to their prayers. I was never made so sensible of it as now.

*Wednesday, May 22, in the morning. Memorandum.* To take special care of these following things; evil speaking, fretting, eating, drinking, and sleeping, speaking simple verity, joining in prayer, slightness in secret prayer, listlessness and negligence, and thoughts that cherish sin.

*Saturday, May 25, in the morning.* As I was this morning reading the 17th Resolution, it was suggested to me, that if I was now to die, I should wish that I had prayed more that God would make me know my state, whether it be good or bad; and that I had taken more pains to see, and narrowly search into this matter. Wherefore, *Mem.* For the future most nicely and diligently to look into our old Divines concerning conversion. Made the 48th Resolution.

*Friday, June 1, afternoon.* I have abundant cause, O merciful Father, to love thee ardently, and greatly to bless and praise thee, that thou hast heard me in my earnest request, and hast so answered my prayer for mercy to keep from decay and sinking. O, graciously, of thy mere goodness, continue to pity my misery by reason of my sinfulness. O, my dear Redeemer, I commit myself together with my prayer and thanksgiving into thine hand.

*Monday, July 1.* Again confirmed by experience of the happy effects of strict temperance, with respect both to body and mind. Resolved for the future to observe rather more of meekness, moderation, and temper in disputes.

*Thursday, July 18, near sunset.* Resolved to endeavor to make sure of that sign the Apostle James gives of a perfect man, James iii. 2. *If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body.*

*Monday, July 22.* I see there is danger of my being drawn into transgression by a fear of seeming uncivil, and of offending friends. Watch against it.

*Tuesday, July 23.* When I find those groanings which cannot be uttered, that the apostle speaks of; and those soul breakings for the longing it hath, which the psalmist speaks of, Psal. cxix. 20, let me humor and promote them to the utmost of my power, and be not weary of earnestly endeavoring to vent my desires. I desire to count it all joy when I have occasion of great selfdenial, because then I have a glorious opportunity of giving deadly wounds to the body of sin, and greatly confirming and establishing the new nature; to seek to mortify sin, and increase in holiness; these are the best opportunities, (according to January 14) to improve afflictions of all kinds, as blessed opportunities of forcibly bearing on in my Christian course, notwithstanding that which is so very apt to discourage me, to damp the vigor of my mind, and to make me lifeless; also as opportunities of trusting and confiding in God, habitually, according to the 57th Resolution; and of rending my heart off from the world, and setting it upon heaven alone; to repent of, and bewail my sin, and abhor myself; and as a blessed opportunity to exercise patience, to trust in God, and divert my mind from the affliction, by fixing myself in religious exercises. Also, let me comfort myself, that it is the very nature of afflictions to make the heart better; and if I am made better by them, what need I be concerned, however grievous they seem for the present?

*Friday, July 26.* To be particularly careful to keep up an inviolable trust and reliance, ease and entire rest, in God, in

all conditions according to the 57th Resolution ; for this I have found to be wonderfully advantageous.

*Monday, July 29.* When I am concerned how I shall perform any thing to public acceptance, to be very careful that I do what is duty and prudence in the matter.

*Wednesday, July 31.* Never in the least to seek to hear sarcastical relations of others' faults. Never to give credit to any thing said against others, except there is very plain reason for it ; nor to behave in any respect otherwise for it.

*Wednesday, August 7.* To esteem it an advantage that the duties of religion are difficult, and that many difficulties are sometimes to be gone through in the way of duty. Religion is the sweeter, and what is gained by labor is abundantly more precious ; as a woman loves her child the better for having brought it forth with travail. And even as to Christ Jesus himself in his mediatorial glory, (including his victory and triumph, and the kingdom which he hath obtained) how much more glorious, how much more excellent and precious, for his having wrought it out by such agonies !

*Friday, August 9.* One thing that may be a good help towards thinking profitably in time of vacation or leisure is, that when I light on a profitable thought, I can fix my mind in order to follow it, as far as possible to advantage.

*Sabbathday, after meeting, August 11.* Resolved always to do that which I shall wish I had done, when I see others do it. As for instance, sometimes I argue with myself, that such an act of good nature, kindness, forbearance or forgiveness, &c. is not my duty, because it will have such and such consequences ; yet, when I see others do it, then it appears amiable to me, and I wish I had done it ; and I see that none of these feared inconveniences do follow.

*Tuesday, August 13.* I find it would be very much to my 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 foundation I stand.

*Thursday, August 29.* The objection my corruptions make against doing whatever my hand finds to do with my

might is, that it is a constant mortification. Let this objection by no means ever prevail.

*Monday, September 2.* There is much folly, when I am quite sure I am in the right, and others are positive in contradicting me, in entering into a vehement or long debate upon it.

*Monday, September 23.* I observe that old men seldom have any advantage of new discoveries ; because these are beside a way of thinking they have been so long used to. Resolved, if ever I live to years, that I will be impartial to hear the reasons of all pretended discoveries, and receive them, if rational, how long soever I have been used to another way of thinking.

*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.

*Thursday November 26.* It is a most evil and penicious practice in meditating on our afflictions, to ruminate on the aggravations of the affliction, and reckon up the evil circumstances thereof, dwelling long on the dark side ; it doubles and trebles the affliction. And so, when speaking of them to others as bad as we can, and use our eloquence to set forth our own troubles ; we thus are all the while making new trouble, and feeding the old ; whereas the contrary practice would starve our afflictions. If we dwelt on the light side of things in our thoughts, and extenuated them all that possibly we could when speaking of them, we should then think little of them ourselves ; and the affliction would really, in a great measure vanish away.

*Thursday Night, December 12.* If at any time I am forced to tell persons of that wherein I think they are sometimes to blame ; for avoiding the important evil that would otherwise ensue, resolved not to tell it them in such a manner, that there shall be a probability of their taking it as the effect of little, fretting, angry emotions of mind.

*December 31, at night.* Concluded never to suffer nor express any angry emotions of mind more or less, except the honor of God calls for it, in zeal for him, or to preserve myself from being trampled on.

*Wednesday, January 1, 1724.* Not to spend too much time in thinking even of important and necessary worldly business. To allow every thing its proportion of thought according to its urgency and importance.

*Friday, Jan. 10.* [After short hand notes] Remember to act according to Prov. xii. 23. *A prudent man concealeth knowledge.*

*Monday, Feb. 3.* Let every thing 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?"

*Wednesday, Feb. 5.* Have not in time past, in my prayers, insisted enough upon glorifying God in the world, and the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, the prosperity of the church, and the good of men. Determined that this objection is without weight, viz. "That it is not likely that God will make great alterations in the whole world, and overturnings in kingdoms and nations, only for the prayers of one obscure person, seeing such things used to be done in answer to the united earnest prayers of the whole church; and if my prayers should have some influence, it would be but imperceptible and small."

*Thursday, Feb 6.* More convinced than ever of the usefulness of religious conversation. I find by conversing on natural philosophy, I gain knowledge abundantly faster, and see the reasons of things much clearer, than in private study. Wherefore, resolved earnestly to seek at all times for religious conversation; and for those persons that I can with profit, delight, and freedom so converse with.

*Sabbathday, Feb. 23.* If I act according to my resolution, I shall desire riches no otherwise than as they are helpful to religion. But this I determine, as what is really evident from many parts of scripture, that to fallen man they have a greater tendency to hurt religion.

*Saturday, May 23.* How it comes about I know not ; but I have remarked it hitherto that at those times when I have read the scriptures most, I have evermore been most lively, and in the best frame.

*Saturday Night, June 6.* This has been a remarkable week with me, with respect to despondencies, fears, perplexities, multitudes of cares and distraction of thought ; being the week I came hither (to Newhaven) in order to entrance upon the office of tutor of the college. I have now abundant reason to be convinced of the troublesomeness and perpetual vexation of the world.

*Tuesday, July 7.* When I am giving the relation of a thing, let me abstain from altering, either in the matter or manner of speaking, so much, as that if every one afterward should alter as much, it would at last come to be properly false.

*Tuesday, Sept. 2.* By a sparing diet, and eating what is light and easy of digestion, I shall doubtless be able to think more clearly ; and shall gain time, 1st, By lengthening my life ; 2dly, Shall need less time for digestion after meals ; 3dly, Shall be able to study closer without wrong to my health ; 4thly, Shall need less time to sleep ; 5thly, Shall more seldom be troubled with the headache.

*Sabbathday, Nov. 22.* Considering that bystanders always espy some faults which we do not see, or at least are not so fully sensible of ourselves ; for there are many secret workings of corruption which escape our sight, and others only are sensible of ; resolved, therefore, that I will, if I can by any convenient means, learn what faults others find in me, or what things they see in me that appear any way blameworthy, unlovely, or unbecoming."

### SECT. III.

*Some Account of his Conversion, Experience, and Religious Exercises, written by himself.*

THE foregoing extracts were written by Mr. Edwards when about twenty years of age, as appears by the dates.

The judicious reader, therefore, keeping this in mind, will make proper allowance for some things which may appear like the productions of a young Christian, both as to the matter, and the manner of expression. And indeed, the whole being taken together, these apparent blemishes have their important use. For hereby all appears more natural and genuine ; while the strength of his resolution, the fervor of his mind, and a skill in discriminating divine things so seldom found even in old age, appear the more striking. A picture of human nature in its present state, though highly improved by grace, cannot be a true resemblance of the original, if it be drawn all light, and no shades. In this view we shall be forced to admire his conscientious strictness, his diligence and zeal, his deep experience in some particulars, and his accurate judgment respecting the most important parts of true religion, at so early an age. Here we have, not only the most convincing evidence of his sincerity in religion, and of his engaging in a life devoted to God in good earnest, so as to make religion his one great business ; but also, through his great attention to this matter, how in many instances he acquired the judgment and experience of gray hairs.

Behold, reader, the beginning of a life so eminently holy and useful ! Behold the views, the exercises, the resolutions of a man who became one of the greatest divines of his age ; one who had the applause and admiration of America, Britain, Holland, and Germany, for his piety, judgment, and great usefulness. Behold here an excitement to the young, to devote themselves to God with great sincerity, and enter on the work of strict religion without delay, and more especially, those who are looking forward towards the work of the ministry. Behold then, ye students in divinity, our future preachers and writers, the most immediate and direct, yea the only way to answer the good ends which you profess to seek. "Go, ye, and do likewise."

It is to be lamented, that there is so much reason to think, there are few instances of such early piety in our day. If the protestant world abounded with young persons of this

stamp ; young men, preparing for the work of the ministry with such a temper, such exercises, and such resolutions, what a delightful prospect would this afford of the near approach of happier days, than the church of God has ever yet seen ! What pleasing hopes, that the great and merciful head of the church was about to send forth laborers, faithful, successful laborers into his harvest ; and bless his people with “pastors which shall feed them with knowledge and understanding !”

But if our youth neglect all proper improvement of the mind ; are shy of seriousness and strict piety ; choose to live at a distance from all appearance of it ; and are given to carnal pleasures ; what a gloomy prospect does this afford ! If they who enter into the work of the ministry ; from a gay, careless, and what may justly be called a vicious life, betake themselves to a little superficial study of divinity, and soon begin to preach ; while all the external seriousness and zeal they put on, is only from wordly motives ; they being without any inward, experimental acquaintance with divine things, and even so much as any taste for true divinity ; no wonder if the people perish for lack of spiritual knowledge.

But, as the best comment on the foregoing Resolutions and Diary ; and that the reader may have a more full and instructive view of Mr. Edwards's entrance on a religious life, and progress in it, as to the views and exercises of his mind ; a brief account thereof is here inserted, which was found among his papers, in his own hand writing ; and which, it seems, was written near twenty years after, for his own private advantage.

“I had a variety of concerns and exercises about my soul from my childhood ; but had two more remarkable seasons of awakening, before I met with that change by which I was brought to those new dispositions, and that new sense of things, that I have since had. The first time was when I was a boy, some years before I went to college, at a time of remarkable awakening in my father's congregation. I was then very much affected for many months, and concerned about the things of religion, and my soul's salvation ; and was abund-



ant in duties. I used to pray five times a day in secret, and to spend much time in religious talk with other boys ; and used to meet with them to pray together. I experienced I know not what kind of delight in religion. My mind was much engaged in it, and had much selfrighteous pleasure ; and it was my delight to abound in religious duties. I with some of my schoolmates joined together, and built a booth in a swamp, in a very retired spot, for a place of prayer. And besides, I had particular secret places of my own in the woods, where I used to retire by myself ; and was from time to time much affected. My affections seemed to be lively and easily moved, and I seemed to be in my element when engaged in religious duties. And I am ready to think, many are deceived with such affections, and such a kind of delight as I then had in religion, and mistake it for grace.

But in process of time, my convictions and affections wore off ; and I entirely lost all these affections and delights and left off secret prayer, at least as to any constant performance of it ; and returned like a dog to his vomit, and went on in the ways of sin. Indeed I was at times very uneasy, especially towards the latter part of my time at college ; when it pleased God, to seize me with a palsy ; in which he brought me nigh to the grave, and shook me over the pit of hell. And yet, it was not long after my recovery, before I fell again into my old ways of sin. But God would not suffer me to go on with any quietness ; I had great and violent inward struggles, till, after many conflicts with wicked inclinations, repeated resolutions, and bonds that I laid myself under by a kind of vows to God, I was brought wholly to break off all former wicked ways, and all ways of known outward sin ; and to apply myself to seek salvation, and practise many religious duties ; but without that kind of affection and delight which I had formerly experienced. My concern now wrought more by inward struggles and conflicts, and selfreflections. I made seeking my salvation the main business of my life. But yet, it seems to me, I sought after a miserable manner ; which has made me sometimes since to question, whether ever it issued in that which was saving ; being ready to doubt, wheth-

er such miserable seeking ever succeeded. I was indeed brought to seek salvation in a manner that I never was before ; I felt a spirit to part with all things in the world, for an interest in Christ. My concern continued and prevailed, with many exercising thoughts and inward struggles ; but yet it never seemed to be proper to express that concern by the name of terror.

From my childhood up, my mind had been full of objections against the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom he would to eternal life, and rejecting whom he pleased ; leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell. It used to appear like a horrible doctrine to me. But I remember the time very well, when I seemed to be convinced, and fully satisfied, as to this sovereignty of God, and his justice in thus eternally disposing of men, according to his sovereign pleasure. But never could give an account, how, or by what means, I was thus convinced, not in the least imagining at the time, nor a long time after, that there was any extraordinary influence of God's Spirit in it ; but only that now I saw further, and my reason apprehended the justice and reasonableness of it. However, my mind rested in it ; and it put an end to all those cavils and objections. And there has been a wonderful alteration in my mind, with respect to the doctrine of God's sovereignty, from that day to this ; so that I scarce ever have found so much as the rising of an objection against it, in the most absolute sense, in God's shewing mercy to whom he will shew mercy, and hardening whom he will. God's absolute sovereignty and justice, with respect to salvation and damnation, is what my mind seems to rest assured of, as much as of any thing that I see with my eyes ; at least it is so at times. But I have often, since that first conviction, had quite another kind of sense of God's sovereignty than I had then. I have often since had not only a conviction, but a delightful conviction. The doctrine has very often appeared exceeding pleasant, bright, and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God. But my first conviction was not so.

The first instance that I remember of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, 1 Tim. i. 17. *Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever 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 any thing 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 rapt up to him in heaven, and be as it were swallowed up in him for ever ! I kept saying, and as it were singing over these words of scripture to myself ; and went 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 any thing spiritual, or of a saving nature in this.

From about that time, I began to have a new kind of apprehensions and ideas of Christ, and the work of redemption, and the glorious way of salvation by him. An inward, sweet sense of these things, at times, came into my heart ; and my soul was led away in pleasant views and contemplations of them. And my mind was greatly engaged to spend my time in reading and meditating on Christ, on the beauty and excellency of his person, and the lovely way of salvation by free grace in him. I found no books so delightful to me, as those that treated of these subjects. Those words Cant. ii. 1, used to be abundantly with me, *I am the Rose of Sharon, and the Lilly of the valleys.* The words seemed to me, sweetly to represent the loveliness and beauty of Jesus Christ. The whole book of Canticles used to be pleasant to me, and I used to be much in reading it, about that time ; and found, from time to time, an inward sweetness, that would carry me away, in my contemplations. This I know not how to express otherwise, than by a calm, sweet abstraction of soul from all the concerns of this world ; and sometimes a kind of vision, or fixed ideas and imaginations, of being alone in

the mountains, or some solitary wilderness, far from all mankind, sweetly conversing with Christ, and wrapt and swallowed up in God. The sense I had of divine things, would often of a sudden kindle up, as it were, a sweet burning in my heart ; an ardor of soul, that I know not how to express.

Not long after I first began to experience these things, I gave an account to my father of some things that had passed in 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 walking there, and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came into my mind so sweet a sense of the glorious *majesty* and *grace* of God, that I know not 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 ; an 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 every thing was altered ; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost every thing. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in every thing ; 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 continuance ; and in the day, 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 scarce any thing, among all the works of nature, was so sweet to me as thunder and lightning ; formerly, nothing had been so terrible to me. Before, I used to be uncommonly terrified with thunder, and to be struck with terror when I saw a thunder storm rising ; but now, on the contrary, it rejoiced me. I felt God, so to speak, at the first appearance of a thunder storm ; and used

to take the opportunity, at such times, to fix myself in order to view the clouds, and see the lightnings play, and hear the majestic and awful voice of God's thunder, which oftentimes was exceedingly entertaining, leading me to sweet contemplations of my great and glorious God. While thus engaged, it always seemed natural to me to sing, or chant for my meditations ; or, to speak my thoughts in soliloquies with a singing voice.

I felt then great satisfaction, as to my good state ; but that did not content me. I had vehement longings of soul after God and Christ, and after more holiness, wherewith my heart seemed to be full, and ready to break ; which often brought to my mind the words of the Psalmist, Psal. cxix. 28. *My soul breaketh for the longing it hath.* I often felt a mourning and lamenting in my heart, that I had not turned to God sooner, that I might have had more time to grow in grace. My mind was greatly fixed on divine things ; almost perpetually in the contemplation of them. I spent most of my time in thinking of divine things, year after year ; often walking alone in the woods, and solitary places, for meditation, soliloquy, and prayer, and converse with God ; and it was always my manner, at such times, to sing forth my contemplations. I was almost constantly in ejaculatory prayer, wherever I was. Prayer seemed to be natural to me, as the breath by which the inward burnings of my heart had vent. The delights which I now felt in the things of religion, were of an exceeding different kind from those before mentioned, that I had when a boy ; and what I then had no more notion of, than one born blind has of pleasant and beautiful colors. They were of a more inward, pure, soul animating and refreshing nature. Those former delights never reached the heart ; and did not arise from any sight of the divine excellency of the things of God ; or any taste of the soul satisfying and life-giving good there is in them.

My sense of divine things seemed gradually to increase, until I went to preach at Newyork, which was about a year and a half after they began ; and 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 a burning desire to be in every thing 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. I had an eager thirsting after progress in these things ; which put me upon pursuing and pressing after them. It was my continual strife day and night, and constant inquiry, how I should *be* more holy, and *live* more holily, and more becoming a child of God, and a disciple of Christ. I now sought an increase of grace and holiness, and a holy life, with much more earnestness, than ever I sought grace before I had it. I used to be continually examining myself, and studying and contriving for likely ways and means, how I should live holily, with far greater diligence and earnestness, than ever I pursued any thing in my life ; but yet with too great a dependence on my own strength ; which afterwards proved a great damage to me. My experience had not then taught me, as it has done since, my extreme feebleness and impotence, every manner of way ; and the bottomless depths of secret corruption and deceit there was in my heart. However, I went on with my eager pursuit after more holiness, and conformity to Christ.

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 enjoyments there ; and living there in perfect holiness, humility and love : And it used at that time to appear 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 burden, that what I felt within, I could not express as I desired. The inward ardor of my soul, seemed to be hindered and pent up, and could not freely flame out as it would. I used often to think, how in heaven this principle should freely and fully vent and express itself. Heaven appeared exceedingly delightful, as a world of love ; and that all happiness consisted in living in pure, humble, heavenly, divine love.

I remember the thoughts I used then to have of holiness ; and said sometimes to myself, “ I do certainly know that I love holiness, such as the gospel prescribes.” It appeared to me, that there was nothing in it but what was ravishingly lovely ; the highest beauty and amiableness....a *divine* beauty ; far purer than any thing here upon earth ; and that every thing else was like mire and defilement, in comparison of it.

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 ; which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness and rapture to the soul. In other words, that it made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers ; 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 fragrancy ; 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. There was no part of creature holiness, that I had so great a sense of its loveliness, as humility, brokenness of heart and poverty of spirit ; and there was nothing that I so earnestly longed for. My heart panted after this, to lie low before God, as in the dust ; that I might be nothing, and that God might be ALL, that I might become as a little child.

While at Newyork, I was sometimes much affected with reflections on my past life, considering how late it was before I began to be truly religious ; and how wickedly I had lived till then ; and once so as to weep abundantly, and for a considerable time together.

On *January 12, 1725.* I made a solemn dedication of myself to God, and wrote it down ; giving up myself, and all that I had to God ; to be for the future in no respect my own ; to act as one that had no right to himself, in any respect. And

solemnly vowed to take God for my whole portion and felicity ; 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 ; engaging to fight with all my might, against the world, the flesh and the devil, to the end of my life. But I have reason to be infinitely humbled, when I consider how much I have failed of answering my obligation.

I had then abundance of sweet religious conversation in the family where I lived, with Mr. John Smith and his pious mother. My heart was knit in affection to those in whom were appearances of true piety ; and I could bear the thoughts of no other companions, but such as were holy, and the disciples of the blessed Jesus. I had great longings for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world ; and my secret prayer used to be, in great part, taken up in praying for it. If I heard the least hint of any thing that happened, in any part of the world, that appeared, in some respect or other, to have a favorable aspect on the interest of Christ's kingdom, my soul eagerly caught at it ; and it would much animate and refresh me. I used to be eager to read public news letters, mainly for that end ; to see if I could not find some news favorable to the interest of religion in the world.

I very frequently used to retire into a solitary place, on the banks of Hudson's river, at some distance from the city, for contemplation on divine things, and secret converse with God ; and had many sweet hours there. Sometimes Mr. Smith and I walked there together, to converse on the things of God ; and our conversation used to turn much on the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and the glorious things that God would accomplish for his church in the latter days. 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 food communicated, that I could not get along in reading ; often dwelling long on one sentence, to see the wonders contained



in it ; and yet almost every sentence seemed to be full of wonders.

I came away from Newyork in the month of April, 1723, and had a most bitter parting with Madam Smith and her son. My heart seemed to sink within me at leaving the family and city, where I had enjoyed so many sweet and pleasant days. I went from Newyork to Weathersfield, by water, and as I sailed away, I kept sight of the city as long as I could. However, that night, after this sorrowful parting, I was greatly comforted in God at Westchester, where we went as here to lodge ; and had a pleasant time of it all the voyage to Saybrook. It was sweet to me to think of meeting dear Christians in heaven, where we should never part more. At Saybrook we went ashore to lodge, on Saturday, and there kept the Sabbath ; where I had a sweet and refreshing season, walking alone in the fields.

After I came home to Windsor, I remained much in a like frame of mind, as when at Newyork ; only sometimes I felt my heart ready to sink with the thoughts of my friends at Newyork. My support was in contemplations on the heavenly state ; as I find in my Diary of May 1, 1723. It was a comfort to think of that state, where there is fullness of joy ; where reigns heavenly, calm, and delightful love, without alloy ; where there are continually the dearest expressions of this love ; where is the enjoyment of the persons loved, without ever parting ; where those persons who appear so lovely in this world, will really be inexpressibly more lovely and full of love to us. And how sweetly will the mutual lovers join together to sing the praises of God and the Lamb ! How will it fill us with joy to think, that this enjoyment, these sweet exercises will never cease, but will last to all eternity !....I continued much in the same frame, in the general, as when at Newyork, till I went to Newhaven as tutor to the college ; particularly once at Bolton, on a journey from Boston, while walking out alone in the fields. After I went to Newhaven I sunk in religion ; my mind being diverted from my eager pursuits after holiness, by some affairs that greatly perplexed and distracted my thoughts.

In September, 1725, I was taken ill at Newhaven, and while endeavoring to go home to Windsor, was so ill at the North Village, that I could go no further ; where I lay sick for about a quarter of a year. In this sickness God was pleased to visit me again with the sweet influences of his Spirit. My mind was greatly engaged there in divine, pleasant contemplations, and longings of soul. I observed that those who watched with me, would often be looking out wishfully for the morning ; which brought to my mind those words of the psalmist, and which my soul with delight made its own language, *My soul waiteth for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning, I say, more than they that watch for the morning ;* and when the light of day came in at the windows, it refreshed my soul from one morning to another. It seemed to be some image of the light of God's glory.

I remember, about that time, I used greatly to long for the conversion of some that I was concerned with ; I could gladly honor them, and with delight be a servant to them, and lie at their feet, if they were but truly holy. But, some time after this, I was again greatly diverted in my mind with some temporal concerns that exceedingly took up my thoughts, greatly to the wounding of my soul ; and went on through various exercises, that it would be tedious to relate, which gave me much more experience of my own heart, than ever I had before.

Since I came to this town,\* I have often had sweet complacency in God, in views of his glorious perfections and the excellency 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 shewing mercy to whom he would shew 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

\* Northampton.

to me, great part of his glory. It has often been my delight to approach God, and adore him as a sovereign God, and ask sovereign mercy of him.

I have loved the doctrines of the gospel ; they have been to my soul like green pastures. The gospel has seemed to me the richest treasure ; the treasure that I have most desired, and longed that it might dwell richly in me. The way of salvation by Christ has appeared, in a general way, glorious and excellent, most pleasant and most beautiful. It has often seemed to me, that it would in a great measure spoil heaven, to receive it in any other way. That text has often been affecting and delightful to me, Isa. xxxii. 2. *A man shall be an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, &c.*

It has often appeared to me delightful, to be united to Christ ; to have him for my head, and to be a member of his body ; also to have Christ for my teacher and prophet. I very often think with sweetness, and longings, and pantings of soul, of being a little child, taking hold of Christ, to be led by him through the wilderness of this world. That text, Matth. xviii. 3, has often been sweet to me, *except ye be converted and become as little children, &c.* I love to think of coming to Christ, to receive salvation of him, poor in spirit, and quite empty of self, humbly exalting him alone ; cut off entirely from my own root, in order to grow into, and out of Christ ; to have God in Christ to be all in all ; and to live by faith on the son of God, a life of humble, unfeigned confidence in him. That scripture has often been sweet to me, Psal. cxv. 1. *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake.* And those words of Christ, Luke x. 21. *In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes : Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.* That sovereignty of God which Christ rejoiced in, seemed to me worthy of such joy ; and that rejoicing seemed to shew the excellency of Christ, and of what spirit he was.

Sometimes, only mentioning a single word caused 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 made me have exalting thoughts of God, that he subsists in three persons ; Father, Son and Holy Ghost. 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 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.

My heart has been much on the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world. The histories of the past advancement of Christ's kingdom have been sweet to me. When I have read histories of past ages, the pleasantest thing in all my reading has been, to read of the kingdom of Christ being promoted. And when I have expected, in my reading, to come to any such thing, I have rejoiced in the prospect, all the way as I read. And my mind has been much entertained and delighted with the scripture promises and prophecies, which relate to the future glorious advancement of Christ's kingdom upon earth.

I have sometimes had a sense of the excellent fulness of Christ, and his meetness and suitableness as a Saviour ; whereby he has appeared to me, far above all, the chief of ten thousands. His blood and atonement have appeared sweet, and his righteousness sweet ; which was always accompanied with ardency of spirit ; and inward strugglings and breathings, and groanings that cannot be uttered, to be emptied of myself, and swallowed up in Christ.

Once, as I rode out into the woods for my health, in 1737, 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 so calm and sweet, appeared also great above the heavens. The person of Christ appeared ineffably excellent with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception.....which continued as near as I can judge, about an hour ; which kept me the greater part of the time in a flood of tears, and weeping aloud. I felt an ardency of soul to be, what I know not otherwise how to express, 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 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 which 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 communications ; like the sun in its glory, sweetly and pleasantly diffusing light and life. And I have sometimes had an affecting sense of the excellency of the word of God, as a word of life ; as the light of life ; a sweet, excellent life giving word ; accompanied with a thirsting after that word, that it might dwell richly in my heart.

Often, since I lived in this town, I have had very affecting views of my own sinfulness and vileness ; very frequently to such a degree as to hold me in a kind of loud weeping, sometimes for a considerable time together ; so that I have often been forced to shut myself up. I have had a vastly greater sense of my own wickedness, and the badness of my heart, than ever I had before my conversion.\* It has of-

\* Our author does not say, that he *had* more wickedness, and badness of heart, since his conversion, than he had before ; but that he had a greater *sense*

ten appeared to me, that if God should mark iniquity against me, I should appear the very worst of all mankind ; of all that have been, since the beginning of the world to this time ; and that I should have by far the lowest place in hell. When others, that have come to talk with me about their soul concerns, have expressed the sense they have had of their own wickedness, by saying that it seemed to them, that they were as bad as the devil himself ; I thought their expressions seemed exceeding faint and feeble, to represent my wickedness.

My wickedness, as I am in myself, has long appeared to me perfectly ineffable, and swallowing up all thought and imagination ; like an infinite deluge, or mountains over my head. I know not how to express better what my sins appear to me to be, than by heaping infinite upon infinite, and multiplying infinite by infinite. Very often, for these many years, these expressions are in my mind, and in my mouth, "Infinite upon infinite.....Infinite upon infinite !" When I look into my heart, and take a view of my wickedness, it looks like an abyss infinitely deeper than hell. And it appears to me, that were it not for free grace, exalted and raised up to the infinite height of all the fulness and glory of the great Jehovah, and the arm of his power and grace stretched forth in all the majesty of his power, and in all the glory of his sovereignty, I should appear sunk down in my sins below hell itself ; far beyond the sight of every thing, but the eye of sovereign grace, that can pierce even down to such a depth. And yet it seems to me, that my conviction of sin is exceeding small, and faint ; it is enough to amaze me, that I have no more sense of my sin. I know certainly, that I have very little sense of my sinfulness. When I have had turns of weeping and crying for my sins I thought I knew at the time, that my repentance was nothing to my sin.

thereof. Thus a blind man may *have* his garden *full* of noxious weeds, and yet not *see* or be *sensible* of them. But should the garden be in great part cleared of these, and furnished with many beautiful and salutary plants ; and supposing the owner now to have the power of discriminating objects of sight ; in this case, he would *have* less, but would *see*, and have a *sense* of more. To which may be added, that the better the organ, and clearer the light may be, the stronger will be the *sense* excited by sin or holiness.

I have greatly longed of late, for a broken heart, and to lie low before God ; and, when I ask for humility, I cannot bear the thoughts of being no more, humble than other Christians. It seems to me, that though their degrees of humility may be suitable for them, yet it would be a vile selfexaltation in me, not to be the lowest in humility of all mankind. Others speak of their longing to be “ humbled to the dust ;” that may be a proper expression for them, but I always think of myself, that I ought, and it is an expression that has long been natural for me to use in prayer, “ to lie infinitely low before God.” And it is affecting to think, how ignorant I was, when a young Christian, of the bottomless, infinite depths of wickedness, pride, hypocrisy and deceit, left in my heart.

I have a much 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 very thought of any joy arising in me, on any consideration of my own amiableness, 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 selfrighteous spirit, much more sensibly than I used to be formerly. I see that serpent rising and putting forth its head continually, every where, 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 revealed in the gospel. On one Saturday night, in particular, I had such a discovery of the excellency of the gospel above all other doctrines, that I could not but say to myself, “ This is my chosen light, my chosen doctrine ;” and of Christ, “ This is my chosen Prophet.” It appeared sweet, beyond all expression, to follow Christ, and to be taught, and enlightened, and instructed by him ; to learn of him, and live to him. Another Satur-

day night, (*January 1739*) I had such a sense, how sweet and blessed a thing it was to walk in the way of duty ; to do that which was right and meet to be done, and agreeable to the holy mind of God ; that it caused me to break forth into a kind of loud weeping, which held me some time, so that I was forced to shut myself up, and fasten the doors. I could not but, as it were, cry out, “ How happy are they which do that which is right in the sight of God ! They are blessed indeed, they are the happy ones ! ” I had, at the same time, a very affecting sense, how meet and suitable it was that God should govern the world, and order all things according to his own pleasure ; and I rejoiced in it, that God reigned, and that his will was done.



### CHAPTER III.

#### *His general Deportment, particularly while at Northampton.*

IN the first chapter of these Memoirs, we have seen that Mr. Edwards, having taken his Master's degree, was very soon invited to be tutor of that college where he received his education, and which conferred upon him that degree ; a clear proof, that the managers had a high opinion of his talents and qualifications, when only in the twentyfirst year of his age. It must be owned, that this was an engagement of great consequence for so young a man ; especially, considering that no small portion of his time had been devoted to ministerial occupations, and the requisite preparatory studies which relate exclusively to that important business. But the strength of his mind overcame difficulties, which to the generality of students appear insuperable. It must be allowed, indeed, that our author was not in the highest class of *learned* men ; for his time, his means, and his duties, did not allow of such an attainment. We should recollect, however, what Mr. Locke some where very properly observes, that though men of much



reading "are greatly *learned*, yet they may be but little *knowing*." In some situations and circumstances, he might have been a great linguist, a profound mathematician, a distinguished natural philosopher ; but, (without any designed reflection on those who excel in these, or any other branches of literature and science) he was far more happily employed, both for himself and others. In fact, he has given proofs of a mind so uncommonly vigorous and enlightened, that it is rather a matter of joy it was not engrossed by studies, which would have rendered him only the admiration of a few, but prevented him from producing those works which are of universal importance, and in which he appears as the instructor of all. He had, in short, the best and sublimest kind of knowledge, without being too much encumbered with what was but little compatible with his calling.

We have also seen that Mr. Edwards resigned his tutorship at Yale College, when he had been there, in that capacity, a little more than two years, in consequence of an invitation from Northampton, in Massachusetts, in order to assist the aged and venerable Mr. Stoddard. In the present chapter we propose to detail his general manner of life more particularly while at this place ; which, in connexion with the uncommon revival of religion there, of which he was the happy and honored instrument, is a very interesting period of his life.

He who enters into the true spirit of our author's writings, and especially of the extracts we have given from his private papers, cannot question that he made conscience of private devotion ; but, as he made a secret of such exercises, nothing can be said of them but what his papers discover, and what may be fairly inferred from circumstances. It appears, by his Diary, that in his youth he determined to attend secret prayer more than twice a day, when circumstances would allow ; and there is much evidence that he was frequent and punctual in that duty, often kept days of fasting and prayer, and set apart portions of time for devout meditations on spiritual and eternal things, as part of his religious exercises in retirement.

This constant, solemn converse with God in these exercises, made his face, as it were, to shine before others. His appearance, his countenance, words and whole demeanor, though without any thing of affected grimace, or sour austerity, were attended with a seriousness, gravity, and solemnity, which were the genuine indication of a deep, abiding sense of divine things on his mind, and of living constantly in the fear of God.

Agreeably to his Resolutions, he was very careful and abstemious in eating and drinking ; as doubtless it was necessary for so great a student, and a person of so delicate a make as he was, in order to be comfortable and useful. When he had, by careful observation, found what kind, and what quantity of diet best suited his constitution, and rendered him most fit to pursue his work, he was very strict and exact in complying with it. In this respect he *lived by rule* ; and herein he constantly practised great selfdenial ; which he also did in his constant early rising, in order to redeem time for study. He accustomed himself to rise at four, or between four and five, in the morning.

Though he was of a tender constitution, yet few students are capable of more close application, or for more hours in a day, than he was. He commonly spent thirteen hours, every day, in his study. His most usual diversion, in 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 might be suggested, and which promised some light on any important subject. In the winter, he was wont, 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 spared no cost nor pains. He read all the books, especially books of divinity, that he could come at, 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 even took much

pains to come at the books of the most noted writers who advanced 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 upon it ; of which a more particular account will be given hereafter. He took his religious principles from the Bible, and not from any human system or body of divinity. Though his principles were *Calvinistic*, yet he called no man Father. He thought and judged for himself, and was truly very much of an original. Reading was not the only method he took to improve his mind ; he was much given to writing, without which, probably, no student can make improvements to the best advantage. Agreeably to Resolution 11th, he applied himself, with all his might, to find out the truth ; he searched for understanding and knowledge as for silver, and digged for it as for hid treasures. Every thought, on any subject, which appeared to him worth pursuing and preserving, he pursued as far as he then could, with a pen in his hand. Thus he was all his days, like the busy bee, collecting from every opening flower, and storing up a stock of knowledge, which was indeed sweet to him, as the honey and the honeycomb. And, as he advanced in years and in knowledge, his pen was more and more employed, and his manuscripts grew much faster on his hands.

He was thought by some, who had but a slight acquaintance with him, to be stiff and unsociable ; but this was owing to want of better acquaintance. He was not a man of many words indeed, and was somewhat reserved among strangers, and those on whose candor and friendship he did not know he could rely. And this was probably owing to two things. First, the strict guard he set over his tongue from his youth, which appears by his Resolutions, taking great care never to use it in any way that might prove mischievous to any ; never to *sin with his tongue* ; nor to employ it in idle, trivial, and impertinent talk, which generally makes up a great part of the conversation of those who are full of words in all compa-

nies. He was sensible that, in the multitude of words, there wanteth not sin ; and therefore refrained his lips, and habituated himself to *think* before he *spoke*, and to propose some good end even in all his words ; which led him to be, above others, conformable to an apostolic precept, *slow to speak*. Secondly, this was in part the effect of his bodily constitution. He possessed but a comparatively small stock of animal life ; his spirits were low, and he had not strength of lungs to spare, that would be necessary in order to make him what might be called an affable, facetious gentleman. They who have a great flow of animal spirits, and so can speak with less expense than others, may doubtless lawfully practise free conversation in all companies for a lower end, e. g. to please, or to render themselves acceptable. But not so, he who has not such a stock ; it becomes *him* to reserve what he has, for higher and more important service. Besides, the want of animal spirits lays a man under a *natural* inability of exercising that freedom of conversation, which those of more life naturally glide into ; and the greatest degree of a sociable disposition, humility and benevolence, will not remove this obstacle.

He was not forward to enter into any dispute among strangers, and in companies where there might be persons of different sentiments ; being sensible, that such disputes are generally unprofitable, and often sinful, and of bad consequence. He thought he could dispute to the best advantage with his pen ; yet he was always free to give his sentiments on any subject proposed to him, and to remove any difficulties or objections offered by way of inquiry, as lying in the way of what he looked upon to be the truth. 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 candor and friendship he had experienced, he threw off reserve, and was quite patient of contradiction, while the utmost opposition was made to his sentiments, that could be by any plausible arguments or objections. And indeed, he was, on all occasions, quite sociable and free with all who had any special business with him.

In his family, he practised that conscientious exactness which was conspicuous in all his ways. He maintained a great esteem and regard for his amiable and excellent consort. Much of the tender and kind was expressed in his conversation with her, and conduct towards her. He was wont frequently to converse freely with her on matters of religion; and he used commonly to pray with her in his study, at least once a day, unless something extraordinary prevented. The time for this, commonly was just before going to bed, after prayers in the family. As he rose very early himself, he was wont to have his family up betimes in the morning; after which, before they entered on the business of the day, he attended on family prayers: When a chapter in the Bible was read, commonly by candle light in the winter; upon which he asked his children questions according to their age and capacity; and took occasion to explain some passages in it, or enforce any duty recommended, &c. as he thought most proper.

He was thorough in the government of his children; and, as a consequence of this, they revered, esteemed and loved him. He took special care to begin his government of them in good time. When they first discovered any considerable degree of selfwill and stubbornness, he would attend to them till he had thoroughly subdued them and brought them to submit. Such prudent discipline, exercised with the greatest calmness, being repeated once or twice, was generally sufficient for that child; and effectually established his parental authority, and produced a cheerful obedience ever after.

He kept a watchful eye over his children, that he might admonish them of the *first* wrong step, and direct them in the right way. He took opportunities to converse with them in his study, singly and closely, about their souls' concerns; and to give them warning, exhortation, and direction, as he saw need. He took much pains to instruct them in the principles of religion; in which he made use of the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism*; not merely by taking care that they learned it by heart; but by leading them into an understanding of the doctrines therein taught, by asking them questions on each an-

swer, and explaining it to them. His usual time to attend to this was on the evening before the Sabbath. And, as he believed that the Sabbath, or holy time, began at sunset the evening before the day, he ordered his family to finish all their secular business by that time, or before ; when all were called together, a psalm was sung, and prayer made as an introduction to the sanctification of the Sabbath. This care and exactness effectually prevented that intruding on holy time, by attending to secular business, which is too common even in families where the evening before the Sabbath is pretended to be observed.

He was a great enemy to young people's unseasonably associating together for vain amusements, which he regarded as a dangerous step towards corrupting and bringing them to ruin. And he thought the excuse many parents make for tolerating their children in it, (*viz.* that it is the custom, and others' children practise it, which renders it difficult, and even impossible to restrain theirs) was insufficient and frivolous ; and manifested a great degree of stupidity, on supposition the practice was hurtful and pernicious to their souls. And when his children grew up, he found no difficulty in restraining them from this pernicious practice ; but they cheerfully complied with the will of their parents. He allowed none of his children to be from home after nine o'clock at night, when they went abroad to see their friends and companions ; neither were they allowed to sit up much after that time, in his own house, when any came to make them a visit. If any gentleman desired acquaintance with his daughters, after handsomely introducing himself, by properly consulting the parents, he was allowed all proper opportunity for it ; but must not intrude on the proper hours of rest and sleep, nor the religion and order of the family.

He had a strict and inviolable regard to justice in all his dealings with his neighbors, and was very careful to provide things honest in the sight of all men ; so that scarcely a man had any dealings with him, that was not satisfied of his uprightness. He appeared to have a sacred regard to truth in his words, both in promises and narrations, agreeable to his

Resolutions. This doubtless was one reason why he was not so full of words as many are. No man feared to rely on his veracity.

He was cautious in choosing his *intimate friends*, and therefore had not many that might properly be called such ; but to them he shewed himself friendly in a peculiar manner. He was indeed a faithful friend, and able above most others to keep a secret. To them he discovered himself more than to others, led them into his views and ends, and to his conduct, in particular instances : By which they had abundant evidence that he well understood human nature ; and that his general reservedness, and many particular instances of his conduct, which a stranger might impute to ignorance of men, were really owing to his uncommon knowledge of mankind.

His conversation with his friends was always profitable. He was not wont to spend his time with them in scandal and backbiting, or in foolish jesting, idle chat, and telling stories : But his mouth was that of the just, which bringeth forth wisdom, and whose lips dispense 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 that none of his friends could enjoy his company without instruction and profit, unless it was by their own fault.

His great benevolence to mankind discovered itself, among other ways, by the uncommon regard he shewed to the poor and distressed. He was much in recommending charity, both in his public discourses and private conversation. He often declared it to be his opinion, that professed Christians in these days are greatly deficient in this duty ; and much more so than in most other parts of external Christianity. He often observed how much this is spoken of, recommended and encouraged in the holy scripture, especially in the New Testament. And it was his opinion that every particular church ought, by frequent and liberal contributions, to maintain a public stock, that might be ready for the poor and necessitous members of that church ; and that the principal

business of deacons is to take care of the poor in the faithful and judicious distribution and improvement of the church's temporals, lodged in their hands. And he did not content himself with recommending charity to others, but practised it much himself. He was forward to give on all public occasions of charity, though when it could properly be done, he always concealed the sum given. And some instances of his giving more privately have accidentally come to the knowledge of others, in which his liberality appeared in a very extraordinary degree. One of the instances was this ; upon his hearing that a poor obscure man, whom he never saw, or any of his kindred, was by an extraordinary bodily disorder brought to great straits ; he, unasked, gave a considerable sum to a friend to be delivered to the distressed person ; having first required a promise of him, that he would let neither the person who was the object of his charity, nor any one else know by whom it was given. This may serve both as an instance of his extraordinary charity, and of his great care to conceal it.\*

Mr. Edwards had the character of a *good preacher*, almost beyond any minister in America. His eminence as a preacher seems to have been owing to the following things :

*First*, The great pains he took in composing his sermons, especially in the first part of his life. As by his early rising and constant attention to study, he had more time than most others, so he spent more time in making his sermons. He wrote most of them in full, for near twenty years after he first began to preach ; though he did not wholly confine himself to his paper in delivering them.

*Secondly*, His great acquaintance with divinity, and knowledge of the Bible. His extensive knowledge and great clearness of thought, enabled him to handle every subject with great judgment and propriety, and to bring out of his treasure things new and old. Every subject he handled was instruct-

\* As both the giver, and the object of his charity are dead, and all the ends of the proposed secrecy are answered ; it is thought not inconsistent with the abovementioned promise, to make known the fact, as it is here related.



ive, plain, entertaining and profitable ; which was much owing to his being master of the subject, and his great skill to treat it in a most natural, easy and profitable manner. None of his composures were dry speculations, unmeaning harangues, or words without ideas. When he dwelt on those truths which are much controverted and opposed by many, which was often the case, he would set them in such a natural and easy light, and every sentiment from step to step, would drop from his lips, attended with such clear and striking evidence, both from scripture and reason, as even to force the assent of every attentive hearer.

*Thirdly,* His excellency as a preacher was very much the effect of his great acquaintance with his own heart, his inward sense and high relish of divine truths, and experimental religion. This gave him a great insight into human nature : He knew much what was in man, both the saint and the sinner. This helped him to be skillful, to lay truth before the mind so as not only to convince the judgment, but also to touch the heart and conscience ; and enabled him to speak out of the abundance of his heart what he knew, and testify what he had seen and felt. This gave him a taste and discernment, without which he could not have been able to fill his sermons, as he did, with such striking, affecting sentiments, all suited to move, and to rectify the heart of the hearer. His sermons were well arranged, not usually long, and commonly a large part taken up in the improvement ; which was closely connected with the subject, and consisted in sentiments naturally flowing from it. But no description of his sermons will give the reader the idea of them which they had who sat under his preaching.

His appearance in the pulpit was graceful, and his delivery easy, natural, and very solemn. He had not a strong, loud voice ; but appeared with such gravity, and solemnity, and spake with such distinctness, clearness and precision ; his words were so full of ideas, set in such a plain and striking light, that few speakers have been so able to command the attention of an audience. His words often discovered a great

degree of inward fervor, without much noise or gesture, and fell with great weight on the minds of his hearers.

Though, he was wont to read what he delivered ; he was far from thinking this the best way of preaching in general, and looked upon his using notes so much as he did, a defect and infirmity. And in the latter part of his life he was inclined to think it had been better, if he had never accustomed himself to use his notes at all. It appeared to him that preaching wholly without notes, agreeably to the custom in most Protestant countries, and what seems evidently to have been the manner of the apostles and primitive ministers of the gospel, was the most natural way ; and had the greatest tendency, on the whole, to answer the end of preaching : And supposed that none who had talents equal to the work of the ministry, was incapable of speaking *memoriter*, if he took suitable pains for this attainment from his youth. He would have the young preacher write his sermons, at least most of them, out at large ; and instead of reading them to his hearers, take pains to commit them to memory. Which, though it would require a great deal of labor at first, yet would soon become easier by use, and help him to speak more correctly and freely, and be of great service to him all his days.\*

\* Different preachers, like all other public speakers, are possessed of exceedingly different gifts ; and therefore one plan, however excellent on the whole, cannot be adopted advantageously by all. In one, clearness of understanding, and correctness of *judgment* are most prominent ; in another, a lively and fertile *imagination* prevails ; and a third excels in strength of *memory*. Some have a greater facility of expression at leisure, by the pen ; and others experience more freedom when their senses and feelings are roused by their appearance in public. The man who excels in a sound *judgment*, seldom possesses a lively imagination ; he therefore should write the more, with a view to give *animation* to his compositions. He should secure in his notes pertinent quotations of scripture, apt comparisons, scripture allusions, and historic facts. The preacher, whose *fancy* is active and excursive, should labor to secure a well digested *plan*, argumentatively just and naturally connected. This will prevent his running into a wordy, declamatory strain....As to *memory*, there are two sorts, the verbal, and the scientific or systematic. He who has the former, may soon preach *memoriter* ; ....after writing *all*, or without writing *any*. But let him ever watch, lest he enter into the temptation of plagiarism ; his quoting, how-

His prayers were indeed *extempore*. He was the farthest from any appearance of a form, as to his words and manner of expression, of almost any man. He was quite singular and inimitable in this, by any who have not a spirit of real and undissembled devotion ; yet he always expressed himself with decency and propriety. He appeared to have much of the grace and spirit of prayer ; to pray with the spirit and with the understanding ; and he performed this part of duty much to the acceptance and edification of those who joined with him. He was not wont, in ordinary cases, to be long in his prayers : An error which he observed was often hurtful to public and social prayer, as it tends rather to damp than promote true devotion.

He gave himself altogether to the work of the ministry, and entangled not himself with the affairs of this life. He left the particular oversight and direction of the temporal concerns of his family, almost entirely to Mrs. Edwards. He was less acquainted with most of his temporal affairs than many of his neighbors, and seldom knew when, and by whom his forage for winter was gathered in, or how many milk kine he had, or whence his table was furnished, &c.

He did not make it his custom to visit his people in their own houses, unless he was sent for by the sick ; or he heard that they were under some special affliction. Instead of visiting from house to house, he used to preach frequently at private meetings in particular neighborhoods ; and often call the young people and children to his own house, when he used to pray with them, and treat with them in a manner suited to their years and circumstances ; and he catechised the children in public every Sabbath in the summer. And he used sometimes to propose questions to particular young

ever, long passages from the holy scriptures, when apposite, will be always acceptable ; and occasionally, when avowed, the words of other authors. The scientific memory should guard against too much analysis in a sermon, and often choose for the subject of discussion historical passages, or any others which are best treated in the way of observation ; which in time will effectually counteract the opposite tendency to explain what is clear, and to analyse without profit.

persons in writing, for them to answer after a proper time given them to prepare. In putting out these questions, he endeavored to suit them to the age, genius, and abilities of those to whom they were given. His questions were generally such as required but a short answer ; and yet could not be answered without a particular knowledge of some historical part of the scripture ; and therefore led, and even obliged persons to study the Bible.

He did not neglect visiting his people from house to house because he did not look upon it, in ordinary cases, to be one part of the work of a gospel minister ; but because he supposed that ministers should, with respect to this, consult their own talents and circumstances, and visit more or less, according to the degree in which they could hope thereby to promote the great ends of the ministry. He observed, that some had a talent for entertaining and profiting by occasional visits among their people. He supposed such had a call to spend a great deal of their time in visiting their people ; but he looked on his own talents to be quite otherwise. He was not able to enter into a free conversation with every person he met, and in an easy manner turn it to what topic he pleased, without the help of others, and, it may be, against their inclination. He therefore found that his visits of this kind must be in a great degree unprofitable. It appeared to him, that he could do the greatest good to souls, and most promote the interest of Christ by preaching and writing, and conversing with persons under religious impressions in his study ; whither he encouraged all such to repair ; where they might be sure, in ordinary cases, to find him, and to be allowed easy access to him ; and where they were treated with all desirable tenderness, kindness, and familiarity.

In times, therefore, of the revival of religion among his people, his study was thronged with persons who came to lay open their spiritual concerns to him, and seek his advice and direction. These he received with great freedom and pleasure, and there he had the best opportunity to deal in the most particular manner with each one. He was a skilful guide to souls under spiritual difficulties ; and was therefore sought un-

to, not only by his own people, but by many who lived scores of miles off. He became such, partly by his own experimental acquaintance with divine things, and unwearied study of God's word, and partly by his having so much concern with souls under spiritual troubles ; for he had not been settled in the work of the ministry many years before the Spirit of God was wonderfully poured out on his people, by which a great concern about their souls became almost universal, and a great number were hopefully the subjects of saving conversion.

There was a very remarkable outpouring of God's Holy Spirit in this part of America, in the years 1740 and 1741, and in which Northampton largely partook. Mr. Edwards, at this time, had to deal not only with his own people, but with multitudes of others. The report that the same things were at Northampton some years before, and Mr. Edwards's fame for knowledge, piety, and great acquaintance with experimental religion, naturally led both ministers and people, from almost all parts of Newengland, to look to him for direction and assistance, in this extraordinary time. Being earnestly solicited by ministers and people to come and preach among them, he went to many ; though he was not able to gratify all who desired him ; and his preaching was attended with great success.

As many of the ministers and people in Newengland had been unacquainted with such things, they were greatly exposed to *run wild*, and (by the subtle temptations of the devil) actually did go into great extremes, both as opposers and friends to the work of God. Mr. Edwards was greatly helpful by his direction and assistance against the two opposite extremes, in conversation, preaching and writing. His publications on this occasion were of great and extensive service ; especially a sermon preached at Newhaven, Sept. 10th, 1741, on *The distinguishing marks of a work of the Spirit of God, &c.*...his *Thoughts concerning the present revival of religion in Newengland, &c.* and his *Treatise on religious affections*. All which might be justly considered by the church of Christ as a wise and friendly voice behind them saying, "This is the way, walk therein ;" especially the last mentioned Treat-

ise, which has been esteemed by many the best that has been written on that subject ; setting the distinction between true and false religion in the most clear and striking light. And to the same purpose is *The Life of the Rev. David Brainerd, with reflections and observations* ; published by Mr. Edwards in 1749. Mr. Edwards was, what some would call, a rigid Calvinist. Those doctrines of Calvinism which have been most objected against, and given the greatest offence, appeared to him scriptural, reasonable and important ; and he thought that to give them up, was in effect to give up all. He therefore looked upon those who, calling themselves Calvinists, were for softening down the truth, that they might conform it more to the taste of those who are most disposed to object against it, were really betraying the cause they pretended to espouse ; and were paving the way not only to Arminianism, but to Deism. For if these doctrines, were relinquished, he did not see, where a man could set his foot down, with consistency short of Deism, or even Atheism itself ; or rather universal Scepticism.....He judged that nothing was wanting, but to have these doctrines *properly stated*, and *judiciously defended*, in order to their appearing most agreeable to reason and common sense, as well as doctrines of revelation ; and that this therefore was the only effectual method to convince, or silence and put to shame the opposers of them. All will be able to satisfy themselves of the truth of this by reading his works ; and especially his books on *The Freedom of the Will*, and *Original Sin*.

In this view of things, he thought it of importance that ministers should be very critical in examining candidates for the ministry, with respect to their *principles*, as well as their religious dispositions and morals. And on this account he met with considerable difficulty and opposition in some instances. His opinion was, that an erroneous or unfaithful minister was likely to do more hurt than good to the church of Christ ; and therefore he could not have any hand in introducing a man into the ministry, unless he appeared *sound in the faith*, and manifested, to the judgment of charity, a *disposition to be faithful*.

## CHAPTER IV.

*His Dismission from Northampton, with the Occasion and Circumstances of it.*

WHATEVER belongs to man, or more correctly, whatever is properly his *own*, bears the mark of mutability. Mr. Edwards's labors at Northampton were crowned, at different periods of his ministry there, with eminent success. But a root of bitterness sprung up, and many were defiled. The transactions contained in this chapter, though unpleasant, may afford, to a serious and reflecting mind, much instruction. If that people were more depraved than Christian churches in common, after enjoying for so long a period the stated instructions and prayers of so eminent a pastor; how great the depravity of human nature, to be capable of such ingratitude and such a reverse! Thus it was with Ephraim of old; "When I would," saith God, "have healed Israel, then the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered, and the wickedness (or, the evils) of Samaria." But if the people in question were no more depraved than ourselves, let us learn caution, and beware of unreasonable and inordinate attachment to customs....let us contemplate with proper emotions the instability of all human affairs....the folly and danger of trusting in man....and remember that we depend on God for the preservation of the closest friendships....and that the best ministers, without the continued supply of the Holy Spirit on the minds of their people, have no sure interest in their affections; people, to whom they have been most useful, and who were long most attached to them.... Human nature has occasionally shewn itself in every age to be the same. After the most extraordinary manifestation of divine power and goodness, "The whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness. And after the most awful and impressive instructions, the Lord had to say to Moses, "Go, get thee down;

for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves."

For many years, Mr. Edwards was very happy in the love and esteem of his people, and there was during that period the greatest prospect of his living and dying so. Indeed he was almost the last minister in all Newengland that would have been thought likely to be opposed by his people. But the event proved, how incompetent *we* are to decipher those consequences which depend on human volitions....In the year 1744, about six years before the final rupture, Mr. Edwards was informed that some young persons in town who were members of the church, had books in their possession which they employed to promote lascivious and obscene discourse among the young people. Upon inquiry, a number of persons testified, that they had heard one and another, from time to time, talk obscenely ; as what they were led to by reading a book or books, which they had among them. Mr. Edwards thought the brethren of the church ought to look into the matter ; and in order to introduce it, he preached a sermon from Heb. xii. 15, 16. "Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled : Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person as Esau, &c." After sermon, he desired the brethren of the church to stay, and told them what information he had got ; and proposed, whether they thought proper to take any measures to examine into the matter. They with one consent, and much zeal, manifested it to be their opinion, that it ought to be inquired into ; and proceeded to choose a number of men, to assist their pastor in examining into the affair. Upon which Mr. Edwards appointed the time for their meeting at his house, and then read a catalogue of the names of young persons, whom he desired to come to his house at the same time. Some were the accused, and some witnesses ; but it was not then declared of which number any particular person was.

When the names were published, it appeared that there were but few of the considerable families in the town, to which some of the persons named did not belong, or were



nearly related. Whether this was the occasion of the alteration or not, before the day appointed came, however, a great number of heads of families altered their minds, and declared, that they did not think proper to proceed as they had done ; that their children should not be called to an account in such a way, &c. The town was suddenly all in a blaze. This strengthened the hands of the accused, some refused to appear, and others who did appear behaved with a great degree of insolence, and contempt of the authority of the church. And little or nothing could be done further in the affair.

This was the occasion of weakening Mr. Edwards's hands in the work of the ministry, especially among the young people, with whom by this means he greatly lost his influence. It doubtless laid a foundation, and will help to account for the surprising events which will be related. He certainly had no great visible success after this ; the influences of God's Holy Spirit were greatly withheld, and security and carnality much increased.\*

Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Edwards's grandfather and predecessor, was of the opinion, that unconverted persons, considered as such, had a right in the sight of God, or by his appointment, to the sacrament of the Lord's supper ; that therefore it was their *duty* to come to that ordinance, though they knew they had no true goodness, or gospel holiness. He maintained, that visible Christianity does not consist in a profession or appearance of that wherein true holiness or real Christianity consists : That therefore, the profession which persons make in order to be received as visible members of Christ's church, ought not to be such as to express or imply a real compliance with, or consent to the terms of the covenant of grace, or a hearty embracing of the gospel. He formed a

\* What an awful warning to all professors, and especially to young people ! Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth ! Little do the giddy and the gay think how their levities operate, and what seeds of distress and sorrow they are sowing for themselves and others. Woe unto you that *thus* laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep ! How desirable it should be *presently* here, and not *despairingly* hereafter !

short profession for persons to make, in order to be admitted into the church, answerable to this principle ; and accordingly persons were admitted into the church, and to the sacrament, on those terms. Mr. Stoddard's principle at first made a great noise in the country ; and he was opposed, as introducing something contrary to the principles and practice of almost all the churches in Newengland : And the matter was publicly controverted between him and Dr. Increase Mather of Boston. However, through Mr. Stoddard's great influence over the people at Northampton, it was introduced there, though not without opposition ; by degrees it spread very much among ministers and people in that county, and in other parts of Newengland. Mr. Edwards had some hesitation about this matter when he first settled at Northampton, but did not receive such a degree of conviction, as to prevent his adopting it with a good conscience, for some years. But at length his doubts increased, which put him upon examining it thoroughly, by searching the scripture, and reading such books as were written on the subject. The result was a full conviction that it was wrong, and that he could not retain the practice with a good conscience. He was fully convinced, 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 wherein real Christianity consists ; and therefore that no person who rejected Christ in his heart, could make such a profession consistent with truth. And as the ordinance of the Lord's supper was instituted for none but *visible* professing Christians, none but those who are *real* Christians have a right in the sight of God to come to that ordinance : And consequently that none ought to be admitted thereto, who do not make a profession of real Christianity, and so be received in a judgment of charity as true friends to Jesus Christ.

When Mr. Edwards's sentiments were known, (in the spring of the year 1744) it gave great offence, and the town was put into a great ferment : And before he was heard in his own defence, or it was known by many what his principles were, the general cry was to have him dismissed, as what

alone would satisfy them. This was evident from the whole tenor of their conduct, as they neglected the most proper means of understanding the matter in dispute, and persisted in a refusal to attend to what Mr. Edwards had to say in defence of his principles. From beginning to end, they opposed the measures which had the best tendency to compromise and heal the difficulty ; and with much zeal pursued those which were calculated to make a separation certain and speedy. He thought of preaching on the subject, that they might know what were his sentiments, and the grounds of them, (of both which he was sensible that most of them were quite ignorant) before they took any step for a separation..... But that he might do nothing to increase the tumult, he first proposed the thing to the church's standing committee ; supposing that if he entered on the subject publicly with their consent, it would prevent the ill consequences which otherwise he feared would follow. But the most of them strenuously opposed it. Upon which he gave it over for the present, as what in such circumstances would rather blow up the fire to a greater height, than answer the good ends proposed.

Mr. Edwards was sensible that his principles were not understood, but misrepresented through the country ; and finding that his people were then too warm calmly to attend to the matter in controversy, he proposed to print what he had to say on the point ; as this seemed to be the only way left him to have a fair hearing. Accordingly his people consented to put off calling a council, till what he should write was published. But they manifested great uneasiness in waiting, before it came out of the press ; and when it was published, it was read but by very few of them. Mr. Edwards being sensible of this, renewed his proposal to preach upon it, and at a meeting of the brethren of the church asked their consent in the following terms : " I desire that the brethren would manifest their consent, that I should declare the reasons of my opinion relating to full communion in the church, in lectures appointed for that end : Not as an act of authority, or as putting the power of declaring the whole counsel of God

out of my hands ; but for peace' sake, and to prevent occasion of strife." This was answered in the negative. He then proposed that it should be left to a few of the neighboring ministers, whether it was not, all things considered, reasonable that he should be heard in this matter from the pulpit, before the affair should be brought to an issue. But this also passed in the negative.

However, having had the advice of the ministers and messengers of the neighboring churches, who met at Northampton to advise them under their difficulties, he proceeded to appoint a lecture in order to preach on the subject, proposing to do so weekly till he had finished what he had to say. On Monday there was a society meeting, in which a vote was passed to choose a committee to go to Mr. Edwards, and desire him not to preach lectures on the subject in controversy, according to his declaration and appointment : Accordingly, a committee of three men, chosen for this purpose, waited on him. However, Mr. Edwards' thought proper to proceed according to his proposal, and consequently preached a number of sermons, till he had finished what he had to say on the subject. These lectures were very thinly attended by his own people ; but great numbers of strangers from the neighboring towns attended them, so many as to make above half the congregation. This was in February and March 1750.

The calling of a decisive council to determine the matter of difference was now more particularly attended to on both sides. Mr. Edwards had before this insisted, from time to time, that they were by no means ripe for such a procedure ; as they had not yet given him a fair hearing, whereby perhaps the need of such a council would be superseded. He observed, " That it was exceedingly unbecoming to manage religious affairs of the greatest importance, in a ferment and tumult, which ought to be managed, with great solemnity, deep humiliation, submission to the awful frowns of heaven, humble dependence on God, with fervent prayer and supplication to him : That therefore for them to go about such an affair as they did, would be greatly to the dishonor of God and religion ; a way in which a people cannot expect a blessing."

Thus having, without effect, used all means to bring them to a calm and charitable temper, he consented that a decisive council should be called without any further delay.

But a difficulty attended the choice of a council, which was for some time insuperable. It was agreed, that the council should be mutually chosen, one half by the pastor, and the other half by the church : But the people insisted upon it, that he should be confined in his choice to the county. Mr. Edwards thought this an unreasonable restraint, as it was known that the ministers and churches in that county were almost universally against him in the controversy. He indeed did not suppose that the business of the proposed council would be to determine whether his opinion was right or not ; but whether any possible way could be devised for an accommodation between pastor and people, and to use their wisdom and endeavor in order to effect it. And if they found this impracticable, they must determine, whether what ought in justice to be done had already actually been attempted, so that there was nothing further to be demanded by either of the parties concerned, before a separation should take place. And if he was dismissed by them, it would be their business to set forth to the world in what manner and for what cause he was dismissed : All which were matters of great importance to him, and required upright and impartial judges. Now considering the great prejudice a difference in religious opinions is apt to beget, and the close connexion of the point in which most of the ministers and churches in the county differed from him, with the matter to be decided, he did not think they could be reasonably looked upon so impartial judges, as that the matter ought to be wholly left to them. Besides he thought the case, being so new and extraordinary, required the ablest judges in the land. For these reasons, and some others which he offered, he insisted upon liberty to go out of the county, for those members of the proposed council in which he was to have a choice. The people strenuously and obstinately opposing him in this, at length agreed to leave the matter to a council, consisting of the ministers and messengers of the five neighboring churches ; who, after they had

met twice upon it, and had the case largely debated before them, were *equally divided*, and therefore left the matter undetermined.

However, they were all agreed, that Mr. Edwards ought to have liberty to go out of the county for *some* of the council. And at the next church meeting, (the 26th of March) Mr. Edwards offered to join with them in calling a council, if they would consent that he should chuse *two* of the churches out of the county, in case the council consisted of but *ten* churches. The church however refused to comply with this at one meeting after another repeatedly ; and proceeded to call a church meeting and choose a moderator, in order to act without their pastor. But, to pass by many particulars, at length, at a meeting of the church, convened by their pastor, May 3d, they voted their consent to his proposal of going out of the county for two of the churches that should be applied to. And then they proceeded to make choice of the ten ministers and churches, of which the council should consist. Accordingly the churches were applied to, and the council was convened on the 19th of June. After they had made some fruitless attempts for a composition between the pastor and church, they passed a resolution by a majority of one voice\* only, to the following purpose : “ That it is expedient that the pastoral relation between Mr. Edwards and his church be immediately dissolved, if the people still persist in desiring it.” And it being publicly put to the people, whether they still insisted on Mr. Edwards’s dismissal from the pastoral office over them ? A great majority, (above two hundred against twenty) voted for his dismissal ; and he was accordingly dismissed, June 22, 1750.

The dissenting part of the council entered their protest against this proceeding, judging that it was too much in a

\* One of the churches which Mr. Edwards chose did not see fit to join the council. However, the minister of that church being at Northampton, was desired by Mr. Edwards and the church to sit in council and act, which he did. But there being no messenger from the church, the council was not full, and there was a disparity ; by which means there was one vote more for an immediate dismissal, than against it.

hurry, considering the past conduct and present temper of the people. And some of that part of the council who were for the separation, expressed themselves surprised at the uncommon zeal manifested by the people in their voting for a dismissal ; which evidenced to them, and all observing spectators, that they were far from a temper of mind becoming such a solemn and awful transaction, considered in all its circumstances.

Being thus dismissed, he preached his farewell sermon on the 1st of July, from 2 Cor. i. 14. The doctrine he observed from the words was this, " Ministers and the people that have been under their care, must meet one another before Christ's tribunal, at the day of judgment." It was a remarkably solemn and affecting discourse, and was published at the desire of some of the hearers. After Mr. Edwards was dismissed from Northampton, he preached there occasionally, when they had no other preacher to supply the pulpit ; till at length a great uneasiness was manifested by many of the people, at his preaching there at all. Upon which the committee for supplying the pulpit, called the town together, to know their minds with respect to that matter ; when they voted that it was not agreeable to their minds that he should preach among them. Accordingly, while Mr. Edwards was in the town, and they had no other minister to preach to them, they carried on public worship among themselves.

Every one must be sensible that this was a great trial to Mr. Edwards. He had been nearly twentyfour years among that people ; and his labors had been, to all appearance, from time to time greatly blessed among them : And a great number looked on him as their spiritual father, who had been the happy instrument of turning them from darkness to light, and plucking them as brands out of the burning. And they had from time to time professed that they looked upon it as one of their greatest privileges to have such a minister, and manifested their great love and esteem of him, to such a degree, that, (as St. Paul says of the Galatians) " if it had been possible, they would have plucked out their own eyes, and given them to him." And they had a great inter-

est in *his* affection : He had borne them on his heart, and carried them in his bosom for many years ; exercising a tender concern and love for them : For their good he was always writing, contriving, laboring ; for them he had poured out ten thousand fervent prayers ; in their good he had rejoiced as one that findeth great spoil ; and they were dear to him above any other people under heaven. Now to have *this people* turn against him, and thrust him out from among them, stopping their ears, and running upon him with furious zeal, not allowing him to defend himself by giving him a fair hearing ; and even refusing so much as to hear him preach ; many of them surmising and publicly speaking many ill things as to his ends and designs ! Surely this must come very near to him, and try his spirit. The words of the psalmist seem applicable to this case, “ It was not an enemy that reproached me, then I could have borne it ; neither was it he that hated me, that did magnify himself against me, then I would have hid myself from him. But it was THOU.....my guide and mine acquaintance. We took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company.”

Let us therefore, now *behold the man !*....The calm sedateness of his mind ; his meekness and humility in great and violent opposition, and injurious treatment ; his resolution and steady conduct through all this dark and terrible storm, 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.

Mr. Edwards had a numerous and chargeable family, and little or no income, exclusive of his salary ; and, considering how far he was advanced in years ; the general disposition of people, who want a minister, to prefer a young man who has never been settled, to one who has been dismissed from his people ; and what misrepresentations were made of his principles through the country, it looked to him not at all probable that he should ever have opportunity to be settled again in the work of the ministry, if he was dismissed from Northampton : And he was not inclined or able to take any other course, or go into any other business to get a living :



So that beggary as well as disgrace stared him full in the face, if he persisted in his principles. When he was fixed in his principles, and before they were publicly known, he told some of his friends, that if he discovered and persisted in them, it would most likely issue in his dismissal and disgrace ; and the ruin of himself and family, as to their *temporal* interests. He therefore first sat down and counted the cost, and deliberately took up the cross, when it was set before him in its full weight and magnitude ; and in direct opposition to all *worldly* views and motives. And therefore his conduct in these circumstances, was a remarkable exercise and discovery of his conscientiousness ; and his readiness to deny himself, and forsake all that he had, to follow Christ. A man must have a considerable degree of the spirit of a martyr, to go on with the steadfastness and resolution with which he did. He ventured wherever truth and duty appeared to lead him, unmoved at the threatening dangers on every side.

However, God did not forsake him. As he gave him those inward supports by which he was able in patience to possess his soul, and courageously row on in the storm, in the face of boisterous winds beating hard upon him, and in the midst of gaping waves threatening to swallow him up ; so he soon appeared for him in his providence, even beyond all his expectations. His correspondents and other friends in Scotland, hearing of his dismissal, and fearing it might be the means of bringing him into worldly straits, generously contributed a considerable sum, and sent it over to him. And God did not leave him without tender, valuable friends at Northampton. For a small number of his people who opposed his dismissal from the beginning, and some who acted on neither side, but after his dismissal adhered to him, under the influence of their great esteem and love of Mr. Edwards, were willing, and thought themselves able to maintain him : And insisted upon it that it was his duty to stay among them, as a distinct and separate congregation from the body of the town, who had rejected him.

Mr. Edwards could not see it to be his duty to stay among them, as this would probably be a means of perpetuating an unhappy division in the town ; and there was to him no prospect of doing the good there, which would counterbalance the evil. However, that he might do all he could to satisfy his tender and afflicted friends ; he consented to ask the advice of an ecclesiastical council. Accordingly, a council was called, and met at Northampton on the 15th of May, 1751. The town on this occasion was put into a great tumult. They who were active in Mr. Edwards's dismission supposed, though without any good ground, that he was contriving with his friends, again to introduce himself at Northampton. They drew up a remonstrance against their proceedings, and laid it before the council, (though they would not acknowledge them to be an ecclesiastical council) containing many heavy, though groundless insinuations and charges against Mr. Edwards, and bitter accusations of the party who had adhered to him : But refused to appear and support any of their charges, or so much as to give the gentlemen of the council any opportunity to confer with them about the affair depending, though it was diligently sought. The council having heard what Mr. Edwards and they who adhered to him had to say, advised, agreeably to Mr. Edwards's judgment, that he should leave Northampton, and accept of the mission to which he was invited at Stockbridge ; of which a more particular account will be given.

Many other facts relative to this sorrowful and surprising affair (the most so doubtless of any of the kind, that ever happened in Newengland ; and perhaps, in any part of the Christian world) might be related ; but as this more general history of it may be sufficient to answer the ends proposed, viz. to rectify some gross misrepresentations that have been made of the matter, and discover the great trial Mr. Edwards had herein, it is thought best to suppress other particulars. As a proper close to this melancholy story ; and to confirm, and further illustrate what has been related, the following letter from Joseph Hawley, Esq. (a gentleman who was very active in the transactions of this whole affair, and very much a leader in it) to the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Sutton, published in a

weekly newspaper in Boston, May 19th, 1760, is here inserted.

### 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 Rev. pastor, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, and the church here, whereof you were a member ; I say, Sir, I have often wished every one of them truly knew my real sense of my own conduct in the affairs that the one and the other of the said councils are privy to. As I have long apprehended it to be my duty not only to humble myself before God for what was unchristian and sinful in my conduct before the said councils, but also to confess my faults to *them*, and take shame to myself before them ; so I have often studied with myself in what manner it was practicable for me to do it. When I understood that you, Sir, and Mr. Eaton, were to be at Cold Spring at the time of the late council, I resolved to improve the opportunity fully to open my mind there to you and him thereon ; and thought that probably some method might be then 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 county. 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 upon 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 the divine aid ; and that I may be made most freely willing 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 whereof, therefore, you, Sir, and all oth-

ers who had knowledge thereof, had just cause to be offended at me.

And in the first place, Sir, I apprehend that, with the church and people of Northampton, I sinned and erred exceedingly in consenting and laboring 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 upon 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 the said church. He 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 sentiments with great moderation, and upon great deliberation, against all worldly motives, 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. These 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 candor, gentleness and moderation. How much of the reverse whereof appeared in us, I need not tell you, Sir, who were 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 enquire, whether, like the Pharisees and lawyers in John 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 published, about that time, in support of the same, whereby he being dead yet speaketh. But there were three things, Sir, especially in my own particular con-

duct before the first council, which have been justly matter of great grief and much trouble to me almost ever since, viz.

In the first place, I confess, Sir, that I acted very immodestly 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, wherein you were, if I do not forget, briefly exhorting them to a tender remembrance of the former affection and harmony that had long subsisted between them and their Rev. Pastor, and the great comfort and profit which they apprehended 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 want 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 writing, the drift whereof was to prove the reasonableness and necessity of Mr. Edwards's dismissal, in case no accommodation was then effected with mutual consent ; which writing, by clear implication, contained some severe, uncharitable, and, if I remember right, groundless and slanderous imputations on Mr. Edwards, expressed in bitter language. And although the original draft thereof 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 a wicked relish for perverse things : Which conduct of mine I confess was very sinful, and highly provoking to God ;

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 the said councils, (to all which I was consenting, and in the composing whereof 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 any thing, in that small part of it which was plainly expressive of the expediency of Mr. Edwards's resettlement here as pastor to a part of the church, which was very exceptionable. But as to all the residue, which was much the greatest part thereof (and I am not certain that any part was wholly free) it was every where interlarded with unchristian bitterness, sarcastical, and unmannerly insinuations. It contained divers 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 divers of Mr. Edwards's adherents, and some severe censures of them all indiscriminately; all of which, if not wholly false and groundless, yet were altogether unnecessary, and therefore highly criminal. Indeed I am fully convinced, that the whole of that composition, excepting the small part thereof abovementioned, 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 the said remonstrance against Mr. Edwards and the said brethren, which they demanded, was ever vindicated by all the subtle answers that were given to the 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 such charges against them before the said council, we necessarily so far gave that council jurisdiction;

and I own with sorrow and regret, that I zealously endeavored that the church should perseveringly refuse to appear before the 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 hereby declare my hearty sorrow, was my obstinate opposition to the last council's having any conference with the church; which the said council earnestly and repeatedly moved for, and which the church, as you know, finally denied. I think it discovered a great deal of pride and vain sufficiency in the church, and shewed them to be very opinionative, especially the chief sticklers, one of whom I was, and think it was running a most presumptuous risk, and acting the part of proud scorers, for us to refuse hearing, and candidly and seriously considering what that council could say or oppose to us; among whom there were divers, justly in great reputation for grace and wisdom.

In these instances, Sir, of my conduct, and in others (to which you were not privy) in the course of that most melancholy contention with Mr. Edwards, I now see that I was very much influenced by vast pride, selfsufficiency, ambition, and vanity. I appear to myself vile, and doubtless much more so to others, who are more impartial; and do in the review thereof, abhor myself, and repent sorely: And if my own heart condemns me, it behoves me solemnly to remember, that God is greater, and knoweth all things. I hereby own, Sir, that such treatment of Mr. Edwards, wherein I was so deeply concerned and active, was particularly and very aggravatedly sinful and ungrateful in me, because I was not only under the common obligations of each individual of the society to him, as to 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 against Mr. Edwards within the time of our most unhappy disputes with him, and especially in and about that abominable "remonstrance," I have so far symbolized with

Balaam, Ahitophel, and Judas, 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 abovementioned, I have the greatest reason to tremble at those most solemn and awful words of our Saviour, Mat. xviii. 6. "Whoso shall offend one of these," &c. and those in Luke x. 16. "He that despiseth you," &c. 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, cleanseth 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 mine 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 mine 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 thy Holy Spirit from me : Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit." Psal. li. 1....3, 9....12.

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 ; whether the said church were not guilty of a 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 till we cry to him for Christ's sake to pardon and save us from that judgment which such ungodly deeds deserve. And I most heartily wish and pray that the town and church of Northampton would serious-



ly and carefully examine whether they have not abundant cause to judge that 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 favor and blessing, till our eyes are opened, and we become thoroughly convinced that we have greatly provoked the Most High, and have 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 on account of it, 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 honor the memory of Mr. Edwards, and clear it 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 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, 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 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 he, from his great candor and charity, heartily forgave me and prayed for me : Yet because that was not generally known, I look on myself obliged to take further steps ; for while I kept silence, my bones waxed old,

&c. For all these my great sins therefore, in the first place, I humbly and most earnestly ask forgiveness of God ; in the next place 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 these matters.

I have no desire, Sir, that you should make any secret of this letter ; but that 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 cannot devise any other way of making known my sentiments of the foregoing matters to all who ought to be acquainted therewith, and therefore I think I ought to do it, whatever remarks I may foresee will be made thereon. Probably when it comes out, some of my acquaintance will pronounce me quite overrun with vapors ; others will be furnished with matter for mirth and pleasantry ; others will cursorily pass it over, as relating to matters quite stale : 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, toward 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, notwithstanding all our unworthiness, given us one to succeed Mr. Edwards, who, as I have reason to hope, is truly faithful.

I conclude this long letter, by heartily desiring your prayers, that my repentance of my sins abovementioned may be unfeigned 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 obedt. servant.

JOSEPH HAWLEY.

## CHAP. V.

*From his Mission to the Indians until his Death.*

## SECT. I.

*His Mission to the Indians at Stockbridge.*

IF we regard Mr. Edwards's deep acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the influence of divine truth on his own heart ; if we consider, also, his long experience in the work of the ministry, with his disposition to observe the operations of human minds and passions, and to improve such knowledge to the most profitable purposes, we may safely say, that there were but few men, if any, better qualified to conduct a mission among the Indians. But, on the other hand, it may be questioned, whether his recluse turn, his natural reserve, his contemplative habits, and the strong propensity of his mind closely to investigate abstractedly every difficult subject that presented itself, were not unfavorable traits for such a situation, however beneficial it might be for his own improvement. Mr. Edwards was qualified to shine in some departments of the seats of learning, and was afterwards called to preside over one ; but when he was delegated to instruct savage Indians, there was occasion to suspect there was not a perfect suitableness in the appointment. On this, however, different persons may form different opinions ; and it is our business now to give some account of this appointment.

The Indian mission at Stockbridge, a town in the western part of Massachusetts's Bay, fifty miles from Northampton, being vacant by the death of the Rev. Mr. Sergeant, the honored and reverend commissioners for Indian affairs in Boston, who have the care and direction of it, applied to Mr. Edwards as the most suitable person they could think of to be entrusted with that mission. At the same time he was in-

vited by the inhabitants of Stockbridge ; and being advised by the council abovementioned to accept of the invitation, he repaired to Stockbridge, and was introduced and fixed as missionary to the Indians there, by an ecclesiastical council called for that purpose, August 8th, 1751.

When Mr. Edwards first engaged in the mission, there was a hopeful prospect of its being extensively serviceable, under his care and influence ; not only to that tribe of Indians which was settled at Stockbridge, but among the Six Nations, some of whom were coming to Stockbridge to settle, bringing their own, and as many of their neighbors' children as they could get, to be educated and instructed there. For this end, a house for a boarding school, which was projected by Mr. Sergeant, was erected on a tract of land appropriated to that use by the Indians at Stockbridge ; where the Indian children, male and female, were to be educated, by being clothed and fed, and instructed by proper persons in useful learning. The boys were to be taught husbandry or mechanic trades, and the girls all sorts of women's work. For the encouragement of this design, some generous subscriptions were made both in England and America. The general court of the province of Massachusetts Bay did much to promote the affair, and provided lands for the Mohawks who should incline to come. And the generous Mr. Hollis, to encourage the scheme, ordered twentyfour Indian children to be educated on the same footing, wholly at his cost. Also the society in London, for propagating the gospel among the Indians in and about Newengland, directed their commissioners in Boston to do something considerable towards this design. But partly by reason of some unhappy differences that took place among those who had the chief management of this affair at Stockbridge, of which a particular account would not be proper in this place ; and partly by the war breaking out between England and France, which is generally very fatal to such affairs among Indians, this hopeful prospect came to nothing.

Mr. Edwards's labors were attended with no remarkable visible success while at Stockbridge ; though he performed the business of his mission to the good acceptance of the in-

habitants in general, both English and Indians, and of the commissioners, who supported him honorably, and confided very much in his judgment and wisdom, in all matters relating to the mission. However, Stockbridge proved to Mr. Edwards a more quiet, and, on many accounts, a much more comfortable situation than he was in before. It being so much in one corner of the country, his time was not so much taken up with company, as it was at Northampton, though many of his friends, from almost all parts of the land, often made him pleasant and profitable visits. And he had not so much concern and trouble with other churches as he was obliged to have when at Northampton, by being frequently sought to for advice, and called to assist in ecclesiastical councils. Here therefore he followed his beloved study more closely, and to better purpose than ever. In these six years he doubtless made swifter advances in knowledge than ever before, and added more to his manuscripts than in any equal space of time. And this was probably as *useful* a part of his life as any. For in this time he wrote the two last books that have been published by him,\* (of which a more particular account will be given hereafter) by which he has doubtless greatly served the church of Christ, and will be a blessing to many thousands yet unborn.

Thus, after his uprightness and faithfulness had been sufficiently tried at Northampton, his Divine Master provided for him a quiet retreat, which was rendered the more sweet by the preceding storm ; and where he had a better opportunity to pursue and finish some important work which God had for him to do : So that when in his own judgment, as well as that of others, his usefulness seemed to be cut off, he found greater opportunities of service than ever.

\* His Treatise on "The Will," and on "Original Sin."

## SECT. II.

*His being chosen President of Newjersey College.*

WHILE at Stockbridge, Mr. Edwards appears to have given full scope to his propensities and genius, stimulated by his ardent love of truth, and under the control of a correct judgment. While at Northampton his avocations were unavoidably numerous, and scarcely compatible with a profound attention to subjects he might be disposed to investigate ; but at Stockbridge he found himself more at liberty in that respect. After having been so long in the ministry elsewhere, his pulpit preparations would require less time than before.... His studies were less interrupted by company and calls.... Former anxieties were now removed ; his mind was drawn more closely to God, from his past experience of the fickleness of men ; and thereby his mind became more composed, more enlightened, and more elevated. Here he was led to investigate subjects of radical importance in morals and theology, and to trace them to their first principles. And here he published his master piece of inquiry and close reasoning, his *Treatise on the Will*, which completely established his character as an adept in metaphysical science, and a profound divine. The celebrity he obtained by this work, and very deservedly obtained, had, doubtless, no small influence on the trustees of Newjersey College, among other considerations, in looking to Mr. Edwards to become their President, on the death of Mr. Burr, his son in law.

The Rev. Aaron Burr, President of Newjersey college, died on the 24th of Sept. 1757 ; and, at the next meeting of the trustees, Mr. Edwards was chosen his successor ; the news of which was quite unexpected, and not a little surprising to him. He looked on himself in many respects so unqualified for that business, that he wondered that gentlemen of so good judgment, and so well acquainted with him, as he knew some of the trustees were, should think of *him* for that place. He

had many objections in his own mind against undertaking the business, both from his unfitness, and his particular circumstances ; yet could not certainly determine that it was not his duty to accept it. The following extract of a letter which he wrote to the trustees, will give the reader a view of his sentiments and exercises on this occasion, as well as of the great designs he was deeply engaged in, and zealously prosecuting.

*Stockbridge, 19th October, 1757.*

REV. AND HON. GENTLEMEN,

“ I WAS not a little surprised on receiving the unexpected notice of your having made choice of me to succeed the late President Burr, as the head of Nassau Hall. I am much in doubt whether I am called to undertake the business, which you have done me the unmerited honor to choose me for. If some regard may be had to my outward comfort, I might mention the many inconveniencies and great detriment which may be sustained, by my removing with my numerous family, so far from all the estate I have in the world (without any prospect of disposing of it, under present circumstances, but with great loss) now when we have scarcely got over the trouble and damage sustained by our removal from Northampton, and have just begun to have our affairs in a comfortable situation for a subsistence in this place ; and the expense I must immediately be at to put myself into circumstances tolerably comporting with the needful support of the honor of the office I am invited to ; which will not well consist with my ability.

But this is not my main objection : The chief difficulties in my mind, in the way of accepting this important and arduous office, are these two : First my own defects, unfitting me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known ; besides other, which my own heart is conscious of. I have a constitution, in many respects peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids ; vapid, sily and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits ; often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence, and demeanor ; with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness, much unfitting me

for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college. This makes me shrink at the thoughts of taking upon me, in the decline of life, such a new and great business, attended with such a multiplicity of cares, and requiring such a degree of activity, alertness, and spirit of government ; especially as succeeding one so remarkably well qualified in these respects, giving occasion to every one to remark the wide difference. I am also deficient in some parts of learning, particularly in algebra, and the higher parts of mathematics, and in the Greek classics ; my Greek learning having been chiefly in the New Testament. The other thing is this ; that my engaging in this business will not well consist with those views, and that course of employ in my study, which have long engaged and swallowed up my mind, and been the chief entertainment and delight of my life.

And here, honored Sirs, (emboldened, by the testimony I have now received of your unmerited esteem, to rely on your candor) I will with freedom open myself to you.

My method of study, from my first beginning the work of the ministry, has been very much by writing ; applying myself in this way, to improve every important hint ; pursuing the clue to my utmost, when any thing in reading, meditation, or conversation, has been suggested to my mind, that seemed to promise light, in any weighty point ; thus penning what appeared to me my best thoughts, on innumerable subjects for my own benefit. The longer I prosecuted my studies in this method, the more habitual it became, and the more pleasant and profitable I found it. The further I travelled in this way, the more and wider the field opened, which has occasioned my laying out many things in my mind to do in this manner, if God should spare my life, which my heart hath been much upon : Particularly many things against most of the prevailing errors of the present day, which I cannot with any patience see maintained (to the utter subverting of the gospel of Christ) with so high a hand, and so long continued a triumph, with so little control, when it appears so evident to me, that there is truly no foundation for any of this glorying and insult. I have already published something on one of the main



points in dispute between the Arminians and Calvinists ; and have it in view, God willing (as I have already signified to the public) in like manner to consider all the other controverted points, and have done much towards a preparation for it. But besides these, I have had on my mind and heart (which I long ago began, not with any view to publication) a great 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 a 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 to be of all others the grand design of God, and the *summum* and *ultimum* of all the divine operations and decrees ; particularly considering all parts of the grand scheme in their historical order. The order of their existence, or their being brought forth to view, in the course of divine dispensations, or the wonderful series of successive acts and events ; beginning from eternity and descending from thence to the great work and successive dispensations of the infinitely wise God in time, considering the chief events coming to pass in the church of God, and revolutions in the world of mankind, affecting the state of the church and the affair of redemption, which we have account of in history or prophecy ; till at last we come to the general resurrection, last judgment, and consummation of all things ; when it shall be said, *It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end.* Concluding my work, with the consideration of that perfect state of things, which shall be finally settled, to last for eternity. This history will be carried on with regard to all three worlds, heaven, earth and hell ; considering the connected successive events and alterations in each, so far as the scriptures give any light ; introducing all parts of divinity in that order which is most scriptural and most natural ; a method which appears to me the most beautiful and entertaining, wherein every divine doctrine will appear to greatest advantage, in the brightest light, in the most striking manner, shewing the admirable contexture and harmony of the whole.

I have also for my own profit and entertainment, done much towards another great work which I call the *Harmony of the Old and New Testament* in three parts. The first considering the prophecies of the Messiah, his redemption and kingdom ; the evidences of their references to the Messiah, &c. comparing them all one with another, demonstrating their agreement, true scope, and sense ; also considering all the various particulars wherein these prophecies have their exact fulfilment ; shewing the universal, precise, and admirable correspondence between predictions and events. The second part : Considering the types of the Old Testament, shewing 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 part, considering the harmony of the Old and New Testament, as to doctrine and precept. In the course of this work, I find there will be occasion for an explanation of a very great part of the holy scripture ; which may, in such a view, be explained 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 their proper use and improvement. I have also many other things in hand, in some of which I have made great progress, which I will not trouble you with an account of. Some of these things, if divine providence favor, I should be willing to attempt a publication of. So far as I myself am able to judge of what talents I have, for benefiting my fellow creatures by word, I think I can write better than I can speak.

My heart is so much in these studies, that I cannot feel willing to put myself into an incapacity to pursue them any more in the future part of my life, to such a degree as I must, if I undertake to go through the same course of employ, in the office of a president, that Mr. Burr did, instructing in all the languages, and taking the whole care of the instruction of one of the classes in all parts of learning, besides his other labors. If I should see light to determine me to accept the place offered me, I should be willing to take upon me the work of a president, so far as it consists in the general inspec-

tion of the whole society ; and to be subservient to the school, as to their order and methods of study and instruction, assisting myself in immediate instruction in the arts and sciences (as discretion should direct and occasion serve, and the state of things require) especially the senior class : And added to all, should be willing to do the whole work of a professor of divinity, in public and private lectures, proposing questions to be answered, and some to be discussed in writing and free conversation, in meetings of graduates and others, appointed in proper seasons for these ends. 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.

On the whole, I am much at a loss, with respect to the way of duty in this important affair : I am in doubt, whether, if I should engage in it, I should not do what both you and I would be sorry for afterwards. Nevertheless, I think the greatness of the affair, and the regard due to so worthy and venerable a body, as that of the trustees of Nassau Hall, requires my taking the matter into serious consideration. And unless you should appear to be discouraged by the things which I have now represented, as to any further expectation from me, I shall proceed to ask advice, of such as I esteem most wise, friendly and faithful : If after the mind of the commissioners in Boston is known, it appears that they consent to leave me at liberty, with respect to the business they have employed me in here."

In this suspense he determined to ask the advice of a number of gentlemen in the ministry, on whose judgment and friendship he could rely, and to act accordingly. Who, upon his, and his people's desire, met at Stockbridge, January 4, 1758 ; and, having heard Mr. Edwards's representation of the matter, and what his people had to say by way of objection against his removal, determined it was his duty to accept of the invitation to the presidency of the college. When they published their judgment and advice to Mr. Edwards and his people, he appeared uncommonly moved and affected with it, and fell into tears on the occasion, which was very unusual for

him in the presence of others : And soon after said to the gentlemen, who had given their advice, that it was matter of wonder to him, that they could so easily, as they appeared to do, get over the objections he had made against his removal.... But as he thought it his duty to be directed by their advice, he should now endeavor cheerfully to undertake it, believing he was in the way of his duty.

Accordingly, having had, by the application of the trustees of the college, the consent of the commissioners to resign their mission ; he girded up his loins, and set off from Stockbridge for Princeton in January. He left his family at Stockbridge, not to be removed till spring. He had two daughters at Princeton, Mrs. Burr, the widow of the late President Burr, and his oldest daughter that was unmarried. His arrival at Princeton was to the great satisfaction and joy of the college.

The corporation met as soon as could be with convenience, after his arrival at the college, when he was by them fixed in the president's chair. While at Princeton, before his sickness, he preached in the college hall, sabbath after sabbath, to the great acceptance of the hearers ; but did nothing as president, unless it was to give out some questions in divinity to the senior class, to be answered before him ; each one having opportunity to study and write what he thought proper upon them. When they came together to answer them, they found so much entertainment and profit by it, especially by the light and instruction Mr. Edwards communicated in what he said upon the questions, when they had delivered what they had to say, that they spoke of it with the greatest satisfaction and wonder.

During this time, Mr. Edwards seemed to enjoy an uncommon degree of the presence of God. He told his daughters he once had great exercise, concern and fear, relative to his engaging in that business ; but since it now appeared, so far as he could see, that he was called of God to that place and work, he did cheerfully devote himself to it, leaving himself and the event with God, to order what seemed to him good.

The small pox had now become very common in the country, and was then at Princeton, and likely to spread. And as Mr. Edwards had never had it, and inoculation was then practised with great success in those parts, he proposed to be inoculated, if the physician should advise to it, and the corporation would give their consent. Accordingly, by the advice of the physician, and the consent of the corporation, he was inoculated February 13th. He had it favorably, and it was thought all danger was over; but a secondary fever set in, and by reason of a number of pustules in his throat, the obstruction was such, that the medicines necessary to check the fever, could not be administered. It therefore raged till it put an end to his life on the 22d of March, 1758, in the 55th year of his age.

After he was sensible that he could not survive that sickness, a little before his death, he called his daughter to him, who attended him in his sickness, and addressed her in a few words, which were immediately taken down in writing, as near as could be recollected, and are as follows :.....“ 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 subsisted between us, has been of such a nature, as I trust is spiritual, and therefore will continue for ever: And I hope she will be supported under so great a trial, and submit cheerfully to the will of God. And as to my children, you are now like to be left fatherless, which I hope will be an inducement to you all to seek a Father who will never fail you. And as to my funeral, I would have it to be like Mr. Burr’s; and any additional sum of money that might be expected to be laid out that way, I would have it disposed of to charitable uses.”\*

He said but very little in his sickness; but was an admirable instance of patience and resignation to the last. Just at

\* President Burr ordered, on his death bed, that his funeral should not be attended with pomp and cost. He ordered that nothing should be expended but what was agreeable to the dictates of Christian decency; and that the sum which must be expended at a modish funeral, above the necessary cost of a decent one, should be given to the poor, out of his estate.

the close of life, as some persons who stood by, expecting he would breathe his last in a few minutes, were lamenting his death, not only as a great frown on the college, but as having a dark aspect on the interest of religion in general; to their surprise, not imagining that he heard, or ever would speak another word, he said, "Trust in God, and ye need not fear." These were his last words. What could have been more suitable to the occasion! And what need of more! in these is as much matter of instruction and support, as if he had written a volume. This is the only consolation to his bereaved friends, who are sensible of the loss they and the church of Christ have sustained in his death; God is all sufficient, and still has the care of his church.

He appeared to have the uninterrupted use of his reason to the last, and died with as much calmness, and composure, to all appearance, as that with which ones goes to sleep. The physician who inoculated and constantly attended him in his sickness, has the following words in his letter to Mrs. Edwards on this occasion: "Never did any mortal man more fully and clearly evidence the sincerity of all his professions, by one continued, universal, calm, cheerful resignation and patient submission to the divine will, through every stage of his disease, than he. Not so much as one discontented expression, nor the least appearance of murmuring through the whole! And never did any person expire with more perfect freedom from pain; not so much as one distortion; but in the most proper sense of the words, he really fell asleep."



## CHAPTER VI.

### *His Publications, Manuscripts, and Genius as a Writer.*

MR. EDWARDS was greatly esteemed, and indeed celebrated, as an author, both in America and Europe. His publications naturally raise in the reader of judgment and

moral taste a high opinion of his greatness and piety. His books met with a good reception, in Scotland especially, and procured for him great esteem and applause. A gentleman of note there has the following words concerning Mr. Edwards, in a letter to one of his correspondents in America : “ I looked on him as incomparably the greatest divine and [moral\*] philosopher in Britain or her colonies ; and rejoiced that one so eminently qualified for teaching divinity was chosen president of Newjersey College.” And in another letter, the same gentleman says, “ Ever since I was acquainted with Mr. Edwards’s writings, I have looked upon him as the greatest divine this age has produced.” And a reverend gentleman from Holland observed, “ That Mr. Edwards’s writings, especially on the *Freedom of the Will*, were held in great esteem there ; and that the professors of the celebrated Academy presented their compliments to President Edwards.” This gentleman further observes, that “ Several members of the Classes of Amsterdam gave their thanks, by him, to pious Mr. Edwards, for his just observations on Mr. Brainerd’s Life ; which book was translated in Holland, and was highly approved by the University of Utrecht.”

As these Memoirs are introductory to a complete edition of Mr. Edwards’s Works, a professed enumeration of all his publications must be needless. Yet, as it is not desirable, on many accounts, to observe a chronological order in their arrangement, a view of those works which were published by himself, and the chief of his posthumous productions according to the order of time, may be acceptable to many. For this the reader is referred to the note below.†

\* This must have been the writer’s meaning.

† 1731 A Sermon preached at Boston, on 1 Cor. i. 29, 30.

1734 Do. at Northampton, on Matth. xvi. 17.

1736 A Narrative of the work of God, &c.

1738 Five Discourses, at Northampton,

1741 A Sermon preached at Enfield.

1741 Do. at Newhaven, on 1 John iv. 1.

1741 Do. at Hatfield.

1742 Thoughts on the Revival.

Viewing Mr. Edwards as a writer of sermons, we cannot give him the epithet *eloquent*, in the common acceptation of the term. We see in him nothing of the great masters of eloquence, except good sense, conclusive reasoning, and the power of moving the passions. Oratorical pomp, a cryptic method, luxurious descriptions presented to the imagination, and a rich variety of rhetorical figures, enter not into his plan. But his thoughts are well digested, and his reasoning conclusive ; he produces considerations which not only force the assent, but also touch the conscience ; he urges divine authority, by quoting and explaining scripture, in a form calculated to rouse the soul. He moves the passions, not by little artifices, like the professed rhetorician, but by saying what is much to the purpose in a plain, serious, and interesting way ; and thus making reason, conscience, fear and love, to be decidedly in his favor. And thus the passions are moved in the most profitable manner ; the more generous ones take the lead, and they are ever directed in the way of practical utility.

From what has been said, it is easy to conjecture, that close discussions were peculiarly suited to Mr. Edwards's talents.

1746 Religious Affections.

1747 On Prayer for a Revival.

1749 Ordination Sermon.

1749 Life of the Rev. David Brainerd.

1749 On Qualifications for Communion,

1752 A Reply to S. William's Answer.

1752 A Sermon preached at Newark, on James ii. 19.

1754 On the Freedom of the Will.

1758 On Original Sin.

N. B. This last was in the press when the author died. All his other works were collected from his papers after his decease ; the principal of which were published in the following order.

1765 Eighteen Sermons, with his Life prefixed.

1774 The History of Redemption.

1788 On the Nature of Virtue.

1788 God's Last End in the Creation.

1788 Thirtythree Sermons.

1789 Twenty Sermons.

1793 Miscellaneous Observations.

1796 Miscellaneous Remarks.



And as a further evidence to shew which way his genius had its prevailing bent, it is observable, that his style improves in proportion to the abstruseness of his subject. Hence, generally speaking, the productions, especially those published by himself, which enter into close, profound, metaphysical distinctions, seem to have as much perspicuity as the nature of the case will admit. To be convinced of the propriety of this remark, the reader need only consult the *Treatise on the Will* ; a work justly thought by able judges to be one of the greatest efforts of the human intellect. Here the author shews such force and strength of mind, such judgment, penetration, and accuracy of thought, as justly entitles him to the character of one of the greatest geniuses of his age. We may add, that this treatise goes further, perhaps, towards settling the main points in controversy between Calvinists and Arminians, than any thing that had been written. Herein he has abundantly demonstrated the chief principles on which Arminians build their whole scheme, to be false and most absurd. Whenever, therefore, this book comes to be generally attended to, it will doubtless prove fatal to Arminian and Pelagian principles.

Though the work now mentioned afforded the fairest opportunity for metaphysical investigation ; yet, the same penetrating turn, the same accuracy of discrimination, and the same closeness of reasoning, distinguish many of his other productions. Among these we might mention, particularly, his book on Original Sin, his Discourse on Justification, his Dissertation on the Nature of true Virtue, and that concerning the End for which God created the world. If the advocates of selfish virtue, and of universal restoration, will do themselves the justice to examine these Dissertations with candor and closeness, they may see cause to be of the author's mind. His other discourses are excellent, including much divinity, and tending above most that are published to awaken the conscience of the sinner, as well as to instruct and quicken the Christian. The sermon (preached at Enfield, 8th July, 1741) intitled "Sinners in the hand of an angry God," was attended with remarkable impressions on many of the hear-

ers. In his treatise intituled "An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement, and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion," he shews great acquaintance with scripture, and a remarkable attention to the prophetic part of it.

Mr. Edwards left a great number of volumes in manuscript, which he wrote in a miscellaneous way on almost all subjects in divinity. This he did, not with any design that they should ever be published in that form, but for the satisfaction and improvement of his own mind, and that he might retain the thoughts, which appeared to him worth preserving. Some idea of the progress he had made, and the materials he had collected in this way, he gives in his letter to the trustees of the college, when assigning his reasons against accepting the Presidentship. He had written much on the prophecies concerning the Messiah, on justification, the divinity of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments. He wrote much on the Bible, in the same way; penning his thoughts on particular passages, as they occurred to him in reading or meditation.

As the method he took to have his miscellaneous writings in good order, so as to be able with ease to turn to any particular subject, is perhaps as good as any, if not the best that has been proposed to the public; some account of it is here given, for the use of young students who have not yet adopted any method, and are disposed to improve their minds by writing. He *numbered* all his miscellaneous writings. The first thing he wrote is No. 1, the second No. 2, and so on. And when he had occasion to write on any particular subject, he first set down the number, and then wrote the *subject* in large character, that it might not escape his eye, when he should have occasion to turn to it. For instance, if he was going to write on the happiness of angels, and his last No. was 148, he would begin thus....149. ANGELS, their happiness. When he wrote what he designed, he would turn to his alphabetical table, and under the letter A, he would write, Angels, their happiness, if this was not there already, and then set down the number 149, close at the right hand of it. And if he had occasion to write any new thoughts on the same sub-

ject ; if the number of his miscellanies were increased, so that his last number was 261, he would set the number 262, and then the subject as before. And when he had done writing for that time, he turned to his table, to the word angels ; and at the right hand of the number 149, set down 262. By this means he had no occasion to leave any chasms ; but began his next subject where he left off his last. The number of his miscellaneous writings ranged in this manner, amounts to above 1400. And yet by a table contained in a sheet or two of paper, any thing he wrote can be turned to at pleasure.

A just picture of this eminent servant of God, is given in the following expressive lines, taken from *The Triumph of Infidelity*, an ingenious, satirical poem ascribed to Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College.

“ But, my chief bane, my apostolic foe,  
In life, in labors, source of every woe,  
From scenes obscure did heav'n his *Edwards* call,  
That moral *Newton*, and that second *Paul*.  
He, in clear view, saw sacred systems roll,  
Of reasoning worlds, around their central soul ;  
Saw love attractive every system bind,  
The parent linking to each filial mind ;  
The end of heaven's high works resistless shew'd,  
Creating glory, and created good,  
And in one little life, the gospel more  
Disclos'd, than all earth's myriads knew'd before.\*  
Beneath his standard, lo ! what numbers rise,  
To care for truth, and combat for the skies !  
Arm'd at all points, they try the battling field,  
With reason's sword, and faith's ethereal shield.”

\* The reader will consider this proposition as *poetically strong*, but not as *literally accurate*.

The Inscription upon the stone which is over the grave of Mr. Edwards in Princeton, composed originally by President Finley, has been very obligingly sent on by a particular friend, and is here gratefully inserted as the close of these Memoirs.

M. S.

Reverendi admodum viri,  
JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M. Collegii novæ Cæsariæ  
Præsidis.

Natus apud Windsor, Connecticutensium, V Octobris,  
A. D. MDCCIII. S. V.

Patre Reverendo Timotheo Edwards oriundus,  
Collegio Yalensi educatus,

Apud Northampton Sacris initiatus XV Februarii,  
MDCCXXVI—VII.

Illinc dimissus XXII Junii MDCCCL,

Et munus Barbaros instituendi accepit,

Præses Aulæ Nassovicæ creatus XVI Februarii MDCCCLVIII.

Defunctus in hoc vico XXII Martii sequentis, S. N.

Ætatis LV, heu nimis brevis !

Hic jacit mortalis Pars.

Qualis Persona quæris, Viator ?

Vir, Corpore procero, sed gracili,

Studiis intensissimis, Abstinencia, et Sedulitate  
Attenuato.

Ingenii Acumine, judicio acri, et Prudentia,  
Secundus nemini Mortalium.

Artium liberalium et scientiarum Peritia insignis,  
Criticorum sacrorum optimus, Theologus eximius,

Ut vix alter æqualis ; disputator candidus.

Fidei Christianæ Propugnator invictus,

Concionator Gravis, Solennis, Discriminans ;

Et, Deo favente, Successu

Felicissimus.

Pietate præclarus, moribus suis severus,

Ast aliis æquus et benignus,

Vixit dilectus, veneratus—

Sed ah ! lugendus

Moriebatur.

Quantos Gemitus discedens ciebat !

Heu Sapia tanta ! heu Doctrina et Religio !

Amissum plorat Collegium, plorat et Ecclesia :

At, eo recepto, gaudet

Cælum.

Abi, Viator, et pia sequere Vestigia.