The Life of Jonathan Edwards
(Philippians 3:7-11)

I. Jonathan Edwards:

A. Introduction.

1. **"**A scholar who specializes in American literature insists that Jonathan Edwards' most famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," is a rhetorical masterpiece. This is the same as saying that it is justifiably selected to illustrate Early American Literature in collegiate English composition courses. Nevertheless, it is not merely — if ever — for that reason that the selection is made. It is not because of its literary merit but as a supposed sermonic monstrosity that freshman read this celebrated sermon. God's displeasure with sinful mankind Edwards compares to a man holding a hideous spider over the fire. Today we assume — if we assume a God at all — that God is friendly to sinners. For the modern deity to be angry would be considered "odd of God." For him to detest, loathe, and hate sinners is beyond our proud comprehension. Even Evangelicals insist that God loves impenitent sinners and hates only their sins (though sending them and not their sins to hell).
2. "Consequently, to listen to Edwards (who is quite typical of the bygone century, and not without many echoes in our own), describe God as wrathful with sinners is more than the modern world in general will endure. Instead of being appreciative of this sermon as the people at Enfield, Connecticut, we consider its preacher a great "American tragedy." How is it possible that the same "saint of Stockbridge" can be called the greatest saint in Christian history and be seen by Yale's President Stiles, even in 1787, as obsolete? When posterity occasionally comes across his writings "in the Rubbish of Libraries, the rare character who may read & be pleased with them, will be looked upon as singular and whimsical. . . ." That statement led Nancy Manspeaker to say in 1981 that scholars "have now ceased to be haunted by the thought that they may be accounted singular or whimsical." But, she cautiously adds, "Presumably they have been reassured by the conviction that there is safety in numbers," alluding to the rash of modern researchers" (Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*).

B. Religious Climate, Birth, Early Life.

1. "It was a very decadent New England into which Edwards was born, on 5th October 1703. The religious fervor which the Puritan immigrants had brought with them into the New World had not been able to propagate itself unimpaired to the third and fourth generation. Already in 1678, Increase Mather had bewailed that "the body of the rising generation is a poor, perishing, unconverted, and (except the Lord pour down His Spirit) an undone generation." There were general influences operative throughout Christendom at this epoch, depressing to the life of the spirit, which were not unfelt in New England; and these were reinforced there by the hardness of the conditions of existence in a raw land. Everywhere thinking and living alike were moving on a lowered plane; not merely spirituality but plain morality was suffering some eclipse. The churches felt compelled to recede from the high ideals which had been their heritage, and were introducing into their membership and admitting to their mysteries

men who, though decent in life, made no profession of a change of heart. If only they had been themselves baptized, they were encouraged to offer their children for baptism (under the so-called "Half-Way Covenant"), and to come themselves to the Table of the Lord (conceived as a "converting ordinance"). The household into which Edwards was born, however, not only protected him from much of the evil which was pervading the community, but powerfully stimulated his spiritual and intellectual life. He began the study of Latin at the age of six, and by thirteen had acquired a respectable knowledge of "the three learned languages" which at the time formed part of the curricula of the colleges — Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (Warfield, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*).

2. "Mr. Edwards entered Yale College in the year 1716, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in September, 1720, a little before he was seventeen years old [graduating at the head of his class (Warfield)]. He had the character of a sober youth, and a good scholar while he was a member of the college. In his second year at college, and thirteenth of his age, he read Locke on the human understanding, with great delight and profit. His uncommon genius, by which he was, as it were by nature, formed for closeness of thought and deep penetration, now began to exercise and discover itself. Taking that book into his hand, upon some occasion, not long before his death, he said to some of his select friends, who were then with him, that he was beyond expression entertained and pleased with it, when he read it in his youth at college; that he was as much engaged, and had more satisfaction and pleasure in studying it, than the most greedy miser in gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some new discovered treasure.
3. "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, with that justness and accuracy of thought which was almost peculiar to him; yet Moral Philosophy or Divinity was his favorite study. In this he early made great progress.
4. "He lived at college near two years after he took his first degree, designing and preparing for the work of the ministry. After which, having passed the prerequisite trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel as a candidate. And being pitched upon, and applied to by a number of ministers in New England, who were instructed to act in behalf of the English Presbyterians at New York, as a fit person to be sent to them, he complied with their request, and went to New York the beginning of August, 1722; and preached there to very good acceptance about eight months. But by reason of the smallness of that society, and some special difficulties that attended it, he did not think they were in a capacity to settle a minister, with a rational prospect of answering the good ends proposed. He therefore left them, the next spring, and retired to his father's house; where he spent the summer in close study. He was indeed earnestly solicited by the people he had been among at New York to return to them again; but for the reason just mentioned, he could not think himself in the way of his duty to gratify them.
5. "In September, 1723, he received his degree of Master of Arts; about which time he had invitations from several congregations to come among them in order to his settlement in the work of the ministry; but being chosen tutor of Yale College the next spring, in the year 1724, being in the twenty-first year of his age, he retired to the college, and attended the business of tutor there above two years.
6. "While he was in this place he was applied to by the people at Northampton, with an invitation to come and settle in the work of the ministry there, with his grandfather

Stoddard, who, by reason of his great age, stood in need of assistance. He therefore resigned his tutorship, in September, 1726, and accepted of their invitation; and was ordained in the work of the ministry at Northampton, colleague with his grandfather Stoddard, February 15, 1727, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, where he continued in the work of the ministry till June 22, 1750, twenty-three years and four months.

7. "Between the time of his going to New York and his settlement at Northampton, he formed a number of resolutions, and committed them to writing: the particular time, and special occasion of his making many of them, he has noted in his Diary which he then kept; as well as many other observations and rules, which related to his own exercises and conduct. And as these resolutions, together with the things noted in his Diary, may justly be considered as the foundation and plan of his whole life, it may be proper here to give the reader a taste and idea of them: which will therefore be done in the following extracts" (Samuel Hopkins, *The Life and Character of the Late Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards*).
   a. "*Resolved,* That *I will do whatsoever* I think to be most to the glory of God and my own good, profit and pleasure, in the whole of my duration; without any consideration of the time, whether now, or never so many myriad of ages hence. Resolved to do whatever I think to be my *duty*, and most for the good and advantage of mankind in general. Resolved, so to do, whatever *difficulties* I meet with, how many soever, and how great soever.
   b. "*Resolved,* To be continually endeavoring to find out some *new contrivance*, and invention, to promote the forementioned things.
   c. "*Resolved,* If ever I shall fall and grow dull, so as to neglect to keep any part of these Resolutions, to repent of all I can remember, when I come to myself again.
   d. "*Resolved,* Never *to do* any manner of thing, whether in soul or body, less or more, but what tends to the glory of God, nor *be*, nor *suffer* it, if I can possibly avoid it.
   e. "*Resolved,* Never to lose one moment of time, but to improve it in the most profitable way I possibly can.
   f. "*Resolved,* To live with all my might, while I do live.
   g. "*Resolved,* Never to do any thing, which I should be afraid to do, if it were the last hour of my life.
   h. "*Resolved,* To act, in all respects, both speaking and doing, as if nobody had been so vile as I, and as if I had committed the same sins, or had the same infirmities or failings as others; and that I will let the knowledge of their failings promote nothing but shame in myself, and prove only an occasion of my confessing my own sins and misery to God. *Vid. July 30*" (Edwards, *Resolutions*).

C. Edwards' Ministry at Northampton (Gerstner).

1. "In many ways the life of Jonathan Edwards parallels that of his Lord. Until about thirty years of age he was little known beyond his family and immediate friends. However that period may have seen the unfolding of the greatest intellectual genius in the history of the human race. It depends. It depends on whether he wrote what he wrote at the age he is traditionally supposed to have written what he wrote. Today's researches have raised deep questions about, if they have not destroyed, the historic tradition. What is certain is that in these hidden years, Edwards learned by his 'sufferings' that God 'calls me to expect no other than to meet with difficulties and trials while in this world.' . . .

2. "The early part of the Northampton ministry may be considered Edwards' period of obscurity for he labored under the shadow of his famous grandfather. Though Stoddard died in 1729 this 'shadow' followed Edwards' twenty-three year ministry. The prestige of Edwards' office as pastor of Western Massachusetts' most distinguished parish accounts for his invitation to preach in Boston (1731), resulting in his first publication, the strong Calvinistic sermon, *God Glorified in the Work of Redemption By the Greatness of Man's Dependence upon Him, in the Whole of It*. The publication of his exposition of Mat. 16:17, *The Divine and Supernatural Light, Immediately Imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, Shown to be both a Scriptural, and Rational Doctrine*, (1734), was based on requests by his own Northampton people.
3. "Jonathan Edwards' 'year of popularity' began with the 'first' awakening under his ministry in 1734-35. The congregation listening to his deeply penetrating studies of scripture always full of searching 'application' or 'use' must have sensed that a greater than Solomon Stoddard was there. Whether they did or not God 'hit them over the head' when He Himself seemed to add heavenly power to His servant's fiery messages.
4. "Suddenly Northampton was ablaze and the flames were soon all over the adjacent area. After the revival fires were put out by his own uncle's suicide, Edwards himself was to tell the story of this forerunner of the first Great Awakening (1740-44). *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighboring Towns and Villages* was written in 1735 but not published until 1737. Edwards noticed the suddenly changed behavior of young and old, moral and loose, as the revival spread up and down the Connecticut River Valley. When the events interested Benjamin Coleman, pastor of the Brattle Street Church in Boston, Edwards obliged him with a correspondence account which when shown to excited readers in England led ultimately to the revised publication.
5. "From scientific observer, to philosopher-thinker, to expository preacher, Edwards now becomes historian. The same care and unvarnished but scrupulous attention to detail are distinguishing marks of this early work also. The tidy study that went into the habits of the balloon spider, the making of a rainbow, the nature of being, now is given to the changed life of Northampton's loosest woman and the searching spirituality of a four-year old convert, Phoebe Bartlett. With an eye for aberrations and an ear alert for criticisms, Edwards outlines the most remarkable work of God that had ever befallen his town and village after village round about.
6. "The rather purely historical account that was generally recognized as evidence of God's converting activity was followed — as the Awakening itself was — by later greater works of God and, on Edwards' part, better understanding of the nature of true conversion, and the characteristics of genuine 'experimental religion.'
7. "So in 1740, following the visit of George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennent, and other noted evangelists (including Edwards himself as itinerant), the Great Awakening brought much wider, though perhaps less profound, effects in their train as America's keenest psychologist of Christian experience probed the realities beneath the epiphenomena. *Some Thoughts concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* compares to *A Faithful Narrative* as the principle to the practice. The 'surprising work' having been described, it behooved Edwards to defend it as genuine, see how it came about, expose the human weaknesses in it more ruthlessly than the critics, call upon New England to champion even while correcting this demonstrated work of God, all the while warning

opposers that they were in danger of fighting against the God they themselves preached" (Gerstner).

D. The Great Awakening (taken from Murray, *Jonathan Edwards: A New Biography*).

1. Reflections on the Great Awakening:
   a. "Now, God is pleased again to pour out his Spirit upon us; and he is doing great things amongst us…. You have had your life spared through these six years past, to this very time, to another outpouring of the Spirit" (J E in December, 1740).
   b. "It was no 'superstitious panic', but a plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost (George Whitefield, 'A Vindication and Confirmation of the Remarkable Work of God in New England).
   c. "The apostolical times seem to have returned upon us: such a display has there been of the power and grace of the divine Spirit in the assemblies of his people, and such testimonies has he given to the word of the gospel" (William Cooper, November, 1741).

2. "'Immediately preceded by a long season of coldness and indifference, the Great Awakening', wrote one New England minister, 'broke upon the slumbering churches like a thunderbolt rushing out of a clear sky'. Even so, with the hindsight of the year 1740, we may see in 1739 the signs that America was on the threshold of a great revival. Preachers had been prepared. A spirit of prayer was present in various churches and in some places men were already showing the concern for the salvation of their souls which was to become so general.
3. "When George Whitefield reached Philadelphia from England, at the beginning of November 1739, it was his intention to stop only briefly before continuing to the Orphanage at Savannah, Georgia, where he intended to be 'above six months'. Events were to change these plans as he now made his first acquaintance with the Middle Colonies, meeting the Tennents and witnessing, at times, the same power present with the preaching of the Word as he had already seen in England. On November 13, 1739, while at New Brunswick with Gilbert Tennent, Whitefield wrote of their conversation in his *Journal,* 'He recounted to me many remarkable effusions of the blessed Spirit, which have been sent down among them'. The next day the two men journeyed to New York and there in the home of Thomas Noble, a wealthy merchant known to Edwards, Whitefield wrote his first letter to the parsonage at Northampton:

NewYork, Nov. 16,1739

Rev Sir,
Mr Noble, and the report of your sincere love for our dear Lord Jesus, embolden me to write this. I rejoice for the great things God has done for many souls in Northampton. I hope, God willing, to come and see them in a few months. The journal sent with this, will shew you what the Lord is about to do in Europe. Now is the gathering time. A winnowing time will shortly succeed. Persecution and the power of religion will always keep pace. Our Lord's word begins to be glorified in America. Many hearts gladly receive it. Oh Rev Sir, it grieves me to see people, everywhere ready to perish for lack of knowledge. I care not what I suffer, so that some may be brought home to Christ…. May the God of all grace give you all peace and joy in believing! May he increase you more and more, both you and your children! May you every day be feasted, and built up with fresh anointings of his blessed Spirit! And by your fervent prayers, may you be enabled to hold up the hands of, reverend Sir,

> Your unworthy brother, fellow labourer and servant in our dear Lord,
> G.W.

4. "'What the Lord is about to do' was a sentiment which had also been much with Edwards through the year 1739. His sermons on *A History of The Work of Redemption* included his expectation that 'The Spirit of God shall be gloriously poured out for the wonderful revival and propagation of religion…. The Gospel shall begin to be preached with abundantly greater clearness and power than heretofore' (1.605 Para. 9 "1. The…"). And in this grand redemptive purpose Edwards saw all the details of providence and history working together:

> God's providence may not unfitly be compared to a large and long river, having innumerable branches, beginning in different regions, and at a great distance one from another, and all conspiring to one common issue (1.617 Para. 4 "God's Providence…").

   The friendship of Whitefield and Edwards, which dates from this period, was certainly the joining of two hitherto separate 'branches' of this 'river'.

5. "In the event, more than 'a few months' were to elapse between Whitefield's letter to Edwards from New York in November 1739 and his visit to Northampton. When at length he arrived through the forest horse-trails on October 17, 1740, a general revival in the country had already begun. The Middle Colonies felt its strength first in the Spring and Summer. Ministers spoke in a new way of what they saw: 'God is present in our assemblies'; 'God's Spirit came upon the preacher and the people'. In places where it was not customary for anyone to be disturbed by preaching, 'Men saw hell opening before them and themselves ready to fall into it'. Before the end of May, 1740, it was being said that 'there was never such a general awakening and concern for the things of God known in America before'. When Whitefield reached Boston in New England in September, where he preached for ten days, there followed indications of awakening in the town, but signs were already present in the colony before that date. At Natick, a growing conviction had appeared among the people and elsewhere more than one minister was later to note that God was dealing personally with him at this period in an unusual way.
6. "Edwards' fullest account of Northampton's participation in the Great Awakening is contained in a letter he wrote to one of the ministers of Boston. In this letter he commences by speaking of the 'great and abiding alteration' in the town since 'the great work of God' in 1735. The youth of the community were more free of 'revelry, frolicking, profane and licentious conversation, and lewd songs' than they had been in sixty years. He continues:

> In the year 1740, in the spring before Mr Whitefield came to this town, there was a visible alteration: there was more seriousness and religious conversation, especially among young people; those things that were of ill tendency among them, were forborne; and it was a very frequent thing for persons to consult their minister upon the salvation of their souls; and in some particular persons there appeared a great attention, about that time. And thus it continued, until Mr Whitefield came to town, which was about the middle of October following (1.lvii Para. 1).

7. A page and-a-half in Whitefield's Journal describes this memorable visit which lasted from a Friday afternoon until Sunday evening. Writing of Friday, October 17, 1740 Whitefield says:

> We crossed the ferry to Northampton where no less than three hundred souls were saved about five years ago….
>
> Mr Edwards is a solid, excellent Christian, but, at present, weak in body. I think I have not seen his fellow in all New England. When I came into his pulpit, I found my heart drawn out to talk of scarce anything beside the consolations and privileges of saints, and the plentiful effusion of the Spirit upon believers…. In the evening, I gave a word of exhortation to several who came to Mr Edwards' house.

8. "The next morning Edwards had a programme arranged for his twenty-five-year-old visitor to the Parsonage. First, the guest spoke to the Edwards children (and perhaps to others invited in), then a five-mile ride to Hatfield for a sermon at the meetinghouse of the aged William Williams and finally a service at Northampton at four in the afternoon of which Whitefield writes: 'I began with fear and trembling, but God assisted me. Few eyes were dry in the assembly. I had an affecting prospect of the glories of the upper world and was enabled to speak with some degree of pathos.'
9. "Two sermons on the Sunday brought the visit to a conclusion: 'Preached this morning and good Mr Edwards wept during the whole time of exercise. The people were equally affected; and, in the afternoon, the power increased yet more. I have not seen four such gracious meetings together since my arrival'. Without referring to himself, Edwards confirms that 'the congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time'. And he adds, 'Mr Whitefield's sermons were suitable to the circumstances of the town.'
10. "With that memorable Lord's Day over, Whitefield, accompanied by Edwards, set off south by horse the same evening. On Tuesday afternoon they reached East Windsor, where Whitefield preached 'to a thronged congregation' before supper in the old family home. On Wednesday morning they parted, Whitefield headed for New Haven and Edwards back up the Connecticut. The same week Sarah Edwards wrote to her brother in New Haven, the Rev. James Pierrepont, to tell him of Whitefield's visit and to encourage him to welcome the preacher:

> It is wonderful to see what a spell he casts over an audience by proclaiming the simplest truths of the Bible. I have seen upwards of a thousand people hang on his words with breathless silence, broken only by an occasional half-suppressed sob. He impresses the ignorant, and not less the educated and refined. It is reported that while the miners of England listened to him, the tears made white furrows down their smutty cheeks. So here, our mechanics shut up their shops, and the day-labourers throw down their tools, to go and hear him preach, and few return unaffected…. He speaks from a heart all aglow with love, and pours out a torrent of eloquence which is almost irresistible. Many, very many persons in Northampton date the beginning of new thoughts, new desires, new purposes, and a new life, from the day on which they heard him preach of Christ and this salvation. Perhaps I ought to tell you that Mr Edwards and some others think him in error on a few practical points; but his influence on the whole is so good we ought to bear with little mistakes.

11. "Sarah Edwards' words were confirmed again many times even before her brother read the letter. Whitefield's sermon at East Windsor on the Tuesday night had been the sixth since he left Northampton forty-eight hours before. On Wednesday he preached at Hartford and Wethersfield. On Thursday the record of a farmer, Nathan Cole, gives some idea both of the interest now kindled in spiritual things and of the way great congregations could be gathered at brief notice:

> Now it pleased God to send Mr. Whitefield into this land and my hearing of his preaching at Philadelphia, like one of the old apostles, and many thousands flocking after him to hear the gospel and great numbers converted to Christ, I felt the Spirit of God drawing me by conviction…. Next I heard he was on Long Island and next at Boston and next at Northampton and then, one morning, all on a sudden, about 8 or 9 o'clock there came a messenger and said, 'Mr. Whitefield preached at Hartford and Wethersfield yesterday and is to preach at Middletown this morning at 10 o'clock'. I was in my field, at work, I dropped my tool that I had in my hand and ran home and ran through my house and bade my wife get ready quick to go and hear Mr. Whitefield preach at Middletown and ran to my pasture for my horse with all my might, fearing I should be too late to hear him. I brought my horse home and soon mounted and took my wife up and went forward as fast as I thought the horse could bear, and when my horse began to be out of breath I would get down and put my wife in the saddle and bid her ride as fast as she could and not stop or slack for me except I bade her, and so I would run until I was almost out of breath and then mount my horse again, and so I did several times to favour my horse… for we had twelve miles to ride double in little more than an hour.
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> On high ground I saw before me a cloud or fog rising, I first thought off from the great river but as I came nearer the road I heard a noise something like a low rumbling of horses feet coming down the road and this cloud was a cloud of dust made by the running of horses feet. It arose some rods in the air, over the tops of the hills and trees, and when I came within about twenty rods of the road I could see men and horses slipping along in the cloud like shadows and when I came nearer it was like a steady stream of horses and their riders, scarcely a horse more than his length behind another, all of a lather and some with sweat….
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> We went down with the stream, I heard no man speak a word all the way, three miles, but everyone pressing forward in great haste, and when we got down to the old meetinghouse there was a great multitude – it was said to be 3 or 4000 people assembled together. We got off from our horses and shook off the dust, and the ministers were then coming to the meetinghouse. I turned and looked towards the great river and saw ferry boats running swift, forward and backward, bringing over loads of people, the oars rowed nimble and quick. Everything, men, horses and boats, all seemed to be struggling for life, the land and the banks over the river looked black with people and horses. All along the 12 miles I saw no man at work in his field but all seemed to be gone.

12. "Despite such scenes as this it is clear that the revival in New England was only beginning at this date. When Whitefield returned to New York the following week, spiritual concern, far from diminishing, was steadily to increase. Speaking of Northampton, Edwards writes:

> Immediately after this, the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, showing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently for religious purposes, and to embrace all opportunities to hear the word preached. The revival at first appeared chiefly among professors, and those that had entertained hope that they were in a state of salvation, to whom Mr Whitefield chiefly

> addressed himself, but in a very short time there appeared an awakening and deep concern among some young persons, that looked upon themselves in a Christless state; and there were some hopeful appearances of conversion, and some professors were greatly revived. In about a month or six weeks, there was a great attention in the town, both as to the revival of professors and the awakening of others. By the middle of December a considerable work of God appeared among those that were very young; and the revival of religion continued to increase, so that in the Spring an engagedness of spirit about the things of religion was become very general amongst young people and children, and religious subjects almost wholly took up their conversation when they were together (1.lvii-lviii Para. 2 "In the…").

13. "The revival at Northampton was to continue throughout the year 1741. At a sermon preached by Edwards in a private house in May 'one or two persons, that were professors, were so greatly affected with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things' that it overcame their strength, 'having a very visible effect upon their bodies'. Such scenes were to become common. No meetings were held at night but sometimes, after services, people were 'so overcome that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night where they were'. The work was at its height in August and September, summarized by Edwards in the sentence, 'There was an appearance of a glorious progress of the work of God upon the hearts of sinners, in conviction and conversion, this summer and autumn, and great numbers, I think we have reason to hope, were brought savingly home to Christ'.
14. "Nothing was more encouraging to Edwards than the apparent influence of the gospel upon the children and the youth of the town. On one occasion, after public worship, young people under seventeen were gathered separately and as Edwards gave them 'some counsels proper for their age' the whole number were 'greatly affected'. Pressure for an immediate profession of Christ would have brought a universal response but their counsellor made no such appeal and a number were still crying as they made their way home. 'The like appearances', Edwards comments, 'attended several such meetings of children that were appointed. But', he continues, 'their affections appeared by what followed to be of a very different nature: in many they appeared indeed but childish affections, and in a day or two would leave them as they were before. Others were deeply impressed; their convictions took fast hold of them and abode by them'. Other meetings were held for young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six. The younger members of this age group, together with the children, were to provide the largest number of hopeful converts. Those who were already grown-up at the time of the work of the Spirit in 1735, and who had witnessed that revival without coming to the obedience of faith, 'seemed now to be almost wholly passed over and let alone'. It was a new generation, principally, says Edwards, which was now brought in: 'Now we had the most wonderful work among children that ever was in Northampton…. Many, of all ages, partook of it; but yet, in this respect, it was more general on those that were of the younger sort.'
15. "Besides there being more demand for preaching in Northampton than Edwards could well supply, calls for his help were multiplied through the summer of 1741 as, across New England, pastors witnessed what most of them had never seen before. In the words of Benjamin Trumbull: 'There began a very great and general concern among the people for the salvation of their souls. The awakening was more general and extraordinary than any ever before known'. In April of 1741, after three remarkable

months in New England, Gilbert Tennent informed Whitefield of more than twenty places known to him to which the revival extended, including Boston itself where there were 'many hundreds, if not thousands, as some have judged, under soul concern'. Thomas Prince, was soon to write of the town's unparalleled harvest:

> The more we prayed and preached, the more enlarged were our hearts, and the more delightful the employment. And O how many, how serious and attentive were our hearers…. Now was such a time as we never knew. The Rev Mr Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same as to the numbers who repaired to me. By Mr Cooper's letter to his friend in Scotland, it appears he has had about six hundred different persons in three months' time: and Mr Webb informed me, he has had in the same space about a thousand.

16. "As spring passed into summer in 1741 no one could well keep track of the number of places which were also witnessing the revival. Churches which in some cases had been cold and dry at the beginning of the year were transformed before the end. 'It is astonishing,' wrote Edwards, 'to see the alteration that there is in some towns, where before was but little appearance of religion.' Across New England there were great increases in church membership. In the parish of Suffield, also in Hampshire County, where the pastor died in April, 1741, Edwards appears to have given regular help and to have admitted ninety-five new members in the following months. At Hartford twenty-seven were added to the church in 1741; at North Stonington one hundred and four; sixty in six months at the Old South Church in Boston and one hundred and two in twelve months at the New North Church in the same town. Hingham had forty-five admissions in 1741-42, Plymouth eighty-four and Middleborough one hundred and seventy-four.
17. "In some instances interest and concern seem to have appeared gradually in congregations, but in others the change was so sudden that particular days were never to be forgotten. Jonathan Parsons was a man who had studied theology for a time under Edwards in the early 1730's. Under a sermon at Lyme on May 14th, 1741, 'Many had their countenances changed…. Great numbers cried out aloud in the anguish of their souls: several stout men fell as though a cannon had been discharged and a ball had made its way through their hearts.' At Middleborough, on November 23rd, 'Seventy-six that day struck and brought first to enquire what they should do to escape condemnation'. November 27th at Portsmouth was 'The most remarkable day that was ever known among us', and so on.
18. "Speaking of conditions in general at this date Benjamin Trumbull writes:

> There was in the minds of people, a general fear of sin, and of the wrath of God denounced against it. There seemed to be a general conviction, that all the ways of man were before the eyes of the Lord. It was the opinion of men of discernment and sound judgment, who had the best opportunities of knowing the feelings and general state of the people at that period, that bags of gold and silver, and other precious things, might, with safety, have been laid in the streets, and that no man would have converted them to his own use. Theft, wantonness, intemperance, profaneness, sabbath-breaking, and other gross sins, appeared to be put away. The intermissions on the Lord's day, instead of being spent in worldly conversation and

> vanity, as had been too usual before, were now spent in religious conversation, in reading and singing the praises of God.

19. It is no wonder that at such a time Edwards speaks of his physical exhaustion and of 'prodigious fullness of business'. While trying to assist in other churches he himself needed help, as he told Eleazer Wheelock in a letter on June 9, 1741. Wheelock, one of the leading preachers in the Awakening, had graduated from Yale in 1733, and was now minister of the Second Church at Lebanon. Edwards first appealed to him and Benjamin Pomeroy to go and preach at a settlement in the remote northern part of his father's parish where the people, spiritually, were in 'wretched circumstances'. 'If ever they are healed', he urged upon Wheelock, 'I believe it must be by a reviving and prevailing of true religion among them. By all that I can understand, they are wholly dead in their extraordinary day of God's gracious visitation.'
20. "'Old Mr Edwards' (as Whitefield called Timothy Edwards) was evidently beyond the journey and labour which was required, whereas it was said of Wheelock that 'he preached a hundred more sermons than there are days in the year'. The Edwards' letter continued:

> Another thing that I desire of you is, that you would come up hither and help us, both you and Mr Pomeroy. There has been a reviving of religion among us of late; but your labours have been much more remarkably blessed than mine. Other ministers, I have heard, have shut up their pulpits against you; but here I engage you shall find one open. May God send you hither, with the like blessing as he has sent you to some other places…. (1.lii)

21. "It would seem that following Edwards' June letter to Wheelock the latter agreed to visit Northampton. Certainly a month later the two men were together at Enfield, Connecticut. According to one tradition it was not intended that Edwards should preach at the Enfield meetinghouse on July 8 but he stood in as a substitute for another man. The district, apparently, was as yet untouched by the Awakening and indeed so unconcerned whether it should be, that neighbouring Christians had given a considerable part of the previous night to prayer lest 'while the divine showers were falling around them' Enfield would be passed by. Edwards took as his text Deuteronomy 32:35, 'Their foot shall slide in due time', repeating a sermon which he had given in his own church shortly before on the subject, 'Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God'. Wheelock reported to Trumbull how the people, whom he characterized as 'thoughtless and vain', were so changed before the sermon was ended that they were 'bowed down with an awful conviction of their sin and danger'. Stephen Williams, another eye-witness wrote the story the same day more graphically in his diary:

> We went over to Enfl- where we met dear Mr E- of N-H- who preachd a most awakening sermon from these words – Deut. 32:35 and before sermon was done – there was a great moaning and crying out through ye whole House – What Shall I do to be savd – oh I am going to Hell – Oh what shall I do for Christ &c. So yt ye minister was obliged to desist – ye shrieks & crys were piercing & Amazing – after Some time of waiting the Congregation were Still so yt a prayer was made by Mr. W. & after that we descend from the pulpitt and discoursd with the people – Some in one place and Some in another – and Amazing and Astonishing ye power God was seen – & Several Souls were hopefully wrought upon yt

> night, & oh ye cheerfulness and pleasantness of their countenances yt receivd comfort – oh yt God wd strengthen and confirm – we sung an hymn & prayd & dismissd ye Assembly.

22. "Edwards himself says nothing of the Enfield sermon although it proved, says Trumbull, 'the beginning of the same great and prevailing concern in that place with which the colony in general was visited'. There were, after all, many similar days in the year 1741. Writing, for example, of what happened at Wethersfield at the end of the same year, Wheelock reported to a friend, 'The whole town seems to be shaken…. Last Monday night the Lord bowed the heavens and came down upon a large assembly in one of the parishes of the town, the whole assembly seemed alive with distress, the groans and outcries of the wounded were such that my voice could not be heard'.
23. "The strong, sometimes even agonizingly overwhelming, conviction of sin so widespread at this date was nothing more than is common to all true revivals. Men suddenly, and in large numbers, are made to feel the real nature and danger of sin. In the words of W. G. T. Shedd, a later New Englander: 'All great religious awakenings begin in the dawning of the august and terrible aspects of the Deity upon the popular mind, and they reach their height and happy consummation in that love and faith for which the antecedent fear has been the preparation'. Yet such emotion, far from being the mere general movement of a crowd, is strikingly personal and individual. In the words of another writer: 'One of the prominent features of the great awakening was that the gospel was armed by the Holy Ghost with a tremendous and irresistible *individualizing* power. Man was made to come forth into the light and take his appropriate place before God as guilty and accountable'. The same author quotes the words of Isaac Taylor:

> Instead of that interchange of smiles which lately had pervaded the congregation while the orator was doing his part, now every man feels himself alone in that crowd. Even the preacher himself is almost forgotten; for an immortal guilty spirit has come into the presence of Eternal Justice.

24. "The nature of the preaching in the Great Awakening was often alarming, and intentionally so. The preachers knew, in Shedd's words, that it is the lack of a bold and distinct impression from the solemn objects of another world, and the utter absence of fear, that is ruining man from generation to generation'. But they also believed that neither they, nor even the truth itself, could induce the fear which leads to life. Only a *consciousness* of the presence of God can make the truth preached startlingly real to preachers and hearers alike. Then the fact of final judgment can be no more doubted than if it were already present. What a youth said of Edwards' preaching in 1739 was equally true of the speech of others at this date: 'He fully supposed that as soon as Mr. Edwards should close his discourse, the Judge would descend and the final separation take place' (1.clxxxix). . . .
25. The year 1742 was to prove the last year of the great revival both in Northampton and in most parts of New England. Speaking of his own congregation, Edwards says, 'In the beginning of the summer of 1742 there seemed to be an abatement of the liveliness of people's affections in religion' though in the fall and winter following there were still, at times, 'extraordinary appearances'. 'To this day', he wrote in his letter to Boston on December 12, 1743, 'there are a considerable number in town that seem to be near to

God, and maintain much of the life of religion, and enjoy many of the sensible tokens and fruits of his gracious presence.

26. "The ebb-tide of the revival brought issues to the forefront which have still to be considered. In the light of the above records how impossible it ought to be to regard the Great Awakening as a record of human achievement. The judgment of Alexander V. G. Allen, that Edwards 'stands forth as the originator, the director, the champion of the movement', is lamentable. Those who have looked for uniform causes on the human level to explain the similarity of results have singularly failed to deal with the known information. 'The overwhelming effects', say some, 'were produced by fear and by the preaching of terror'. But 'terror' was by no means the one message by which the multitudes were moved – witness Whitefield's preaching at Northampton – and Sarah Edwards, who was herself so much a subject of the Spirit's work in the revival, gives testimony to feelings which are the very opposite of fear. It was not any one doctrine which characterized the revival. Nor were the effects confined to any one group of people. Men and women of all ages and descriptions felt themselves to be in the presence of God. Unbelievers felt it with profound conviction, but so also did Christians with no less although different, effect. Some Christians rejoiced in full assurance, others, writes Edwards, 'passed under a very remarkable new work of the Spirit of God, as if they had been the subjects of a second conversion' (1.lix Para. 5 "The months…").
27. "This influence of the revival upon Christians is one which no modern critic has attempted to explain and yet it is clear that the experience which Sarah Edwards depicts was by no means uncommon. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, for instance, speaks of October 11th, 1741, as 'our Pentecost' when 'a considerable number trembled in the anguish of their souls', yet, simultaneously:

> Many more began to put on immortality, almost, in the look of their faces…. Their looks were all love, adoration, wonder, delight, admiration, humility. In short, it looked to me a resemblance of heaven…. Many old Christians told me they had never seen so much of the glory of the Lord, and the riches of his grace, nor felt so much of the power of the gospel before…. never been so sensible of the love of God to them…. they could not support themselves, many of them, under the weight of it, they were so deeply affected with it. Had not Christ put underneath his everlasting arms for their support, I know not but many would have expired under the weight of divine benefits.

28. "Nor does the diversity in the revival stop at the differing experiences of those who were its subjects. The preachers themselves, and the circumstances in which they were used, show no common pattern on the human level. Whitefield's visit to Boston and New England was well-publicized beforehand and therein, it has been suggested, lay a good part of his success. But Gilbert Tennent was yet more used in Boston and he arrived unheralded and comparatively unknown in December 1740 when the town was experiencing the heaviest snow- falls in living memory. In style Whitefield and Tennent had little in common. Whitefield had 'too much action', thought one Boston minister, whereas Tennent 'seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery'. The contrast between Whitefield and Edwards is still more marked. Whitefield, says Ola Winslow, had 'oratorical talents nothing short of amazing' and he employed them so effectively that 'those who followed him lost all sense of rational discrimination'. If this is the explanation of

Whitefield's usefulness how are we to account for the same spiritual results attending 'the ministry of the Rev Mr Edwards of Northampton: a preacher of low and moderate voice, a natural way of delivery, and without any agitation of body, or anything else in the manner to excite attention, except his habitual and great solemnity, looking and speaking as in the presence of God'?

29. "The common factor among the preachers of the Great Awakening did not consist in their possession of the same natural gifts. Their dissimilarity on the human level is plain to see and we are brought back to the same explanation: 'It is just as the Holy Spirit pleases', observed Thomas Prince, 'who hides occasions of pride from man.'
30. "The conviction that the Great Awakening was a glorious work of God had one very practical consequence upon the mind of Edwards and his brethren. It left them unconcerned to proclaim 'success' in terms of numerical results and, because they knew they could neither induce saving conversion nor infallibly register its existence in others, they made no claim even to know the results with any exactness. Edwards did give a figure in his *Narrative of Surprising Conversions* of 1736 but the mistake was not repeated in his maturer writings of the 1740's. He does not even state the number of new communicants although the figure was probably around 200. As C. H. Maxson says, 'It was not the custom of Whitefield or of the various pastors who published detailed reports of the course of the revival in their congregations to state the number of conversions. Any estimate, therefore, of the number of conversions in the Great Awakening is a mere guess'. Trumbull gives an estimate for the figure in New England as between 'thirty or forty thousand' – others have gone to 'fifty thousand' but, as Maxson says, it is mere conjecture and the latter figure is probably 'absurd'. Certainly the increase in church membership was impressive but much more so was the religious and moral change which the Awakening brought to the colonies in general. Speaking of this period, the cautious Samuel Miller of Princeton had no hesitation in writing in 1837, 'A revival of religion more extensive and powerful then ever occurred before or since, was vouchsafed to the American churches.
31. "A minister in the great Ulster revival of the last century wrote, 'It were worth living ten thousand of ages in obscurity and reproach to be permitted to creep forth at the expiration of that time and engage in the glorious work of the last six months of 1859'. That was precisely how Edwards felt in 1740-42, for God 'appeared so wonderfully in this land.'

E. Controversy at Northampton, Stockbridge, Princeton, Death (Gerstner).

1. **"**After the first great Awakening passed into history its greatest literary-theological monument, *A Treatise concerning Religious Affections*, was published in 1746. As Henry Rogers has remarked:

> The work on the "Religious Affections" is one of the most valuable works on practical and experimental piety ever published. It is more defective in point of style, as we have already had occasion to remark, than any other pieces put forth by Edwards himself. This renders its perusal tedious, and has perhaps detracted from its value by deterring many from its pages altogether. To those, however, whose robustness of mind or whose strength of piety, is not to be repelled by such defects, and who are never disgusted with truth, even when she comes forth divested of all her ornaments, there is no work of the same kind in the English language which will better repay a careful perusal.

2. "*Religious Affections* is ranked with *Freedom of the Will* as the two greatest products of Edwards' pen. Both are classics of analysis, the latter of the will itself and the former of the will engaged in true spirituality. Edwards' final work, *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended* analyzes to the bone the nature of false and spurious religious affections and their root in original sin.
3. "While *Religious Affections* showed what was the very essence of true religious experience it revealed at the same time what were the 'Qualifications Requisite to a Complete Standing and Full Communion with the Visible Christian Church.' Everyone could admire and agree with Edwards' well-nigh perfect and exhaustive definition of what conversion is but when that definition became the condition of church membership the application was too close for Northampton comfort. In general, *Religious Affections* was approved; in particular it was insufferable. The definition may be admitted but its definer-applier must go. As soon as this "Treatise" in simple form became a covenant of church membership Edwards had to leave. As a theorist the best, this troubler of Israel must find work elsewhere. . . .
4. Even *An Humble Attempt to Promote Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion* (1747) and *An Account of the Life of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd* (1749) could not save its author. Rising well above Northampton and New England, Edwards' writings were a powerful plea for the first great Protestant world ecumenical effort. Going deeply into a study of the doctrine and piety of the great father of American foreign missions, David Brainerd, could not save Jonathan Edwards from the fury of the locals whose carnal access to the Lord's Supper itself had been the heritage of the 'Pope' of Western Massachusetts, Solomon Stoddard, whose ghost rose to slay his nobler grandson. Samuel Hopkins describes this event:

> "At length," observes Dr. Hopkins, "a great uneasiness was manifested, by many of the people of Northampton, that Mr. Edwards should preach 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, and without any preaching, rather than invite him."
>
> "Every one must be sensible," remarks Dr. Hopkins, who was himself an occasional eye-witness of these scenes, "that this was a great trial to Mr. Edwards. He had been nearly twenty-four years among that people; and his labours had been, to all appearance, from time to time greatly blessed among them and a greater 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 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 interest 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, labouring; for them he had poured out ten thousand fervent prayers in their good 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, 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."

5. "The actual dismissal of Jonathan Edwards from his Northampton pastorate came about in this way. Suspicious from the beginning of the 'Converting Ordinance' doctrine of Solomon Stoddard, Edwards gradually became convinced that the Lord's Table was only for the Lord's children, not for the unconverted. That is, only those who in addition to orthodox belief and outwardly Christian behavior (Stoddard's criteria), could give some credible claim to inner grace as well could be properly members of the visible church welcome to receive communion for themselves and baptism for their children. With this clear departure from his grandfather Stoddard and without the protection of his most powerful friend and defender, Colonel John Stoddard, Solomon's son recently deceased, Jonathan Edwards was set upon by an enraged parish (its feelings aroused by no other than the son of the suicide victim of the earliest awakening), viewing itself and its children as suddenly unchurched and exposed. Its male members voted ten to one that the greatest preacher ever to adorn an American pulpit be ignominiously dismissed.
6. "Now, as the grey champion of God, Edwards moved through the crucifixion of his last months as if utterly untouched by all the clamor except as his farewell sermon revealed deep concern that those who now hated him so, not hurt themselves and their and his dear children as well.
7. "So went the years of obscurity, popularity, opposition. The exile-burial was fifty miles west on the brink of civilization with Indians as the bulk of his congregation and their arrows often flying around him, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Its tiny church with its few white colonists, who belonged largely to the same family that drove him from Northampton, was about all that was practically available for Edwards and his 'numerous' family.
8. "From this grave outside the city wall came the greatest theological achievement in the western hemisphere. The definition of a church and church membership was settled with *Misrepresentations Corrected, And Truth Vindicated, In A Reply to the Rev. Mr. Solomon Williams' Book, Entitled, The True State of the Question Concerning the Qualifications Necessary to Lawful Communion in the Christian Sacraments* (1752). Arminianism was set back a century by *The Freedom of the Will* (1754). *An Essay on the Nature of True Virtue* (1755), at first opposed in the house of its reformed friends is still rising in esteem while *A Dissertation on God's Last End in Creation of the World* (1755) though still under-appreciated brings definition to the meaning of meaning.
9. "A kind of resurrection came in Edwards' becoming President of the College of West Jersey (Princeton) which was the belated recognition by the struggling young American church of her spiritual father. As if to show that He disapproved of Edwards' willingness to leave the ideal isolation of Stockbridge, God himself removed His servant before his star could rise again and his long contemplated Summa Theologica, *A Rational Account,* be completed. After a few months of earthly glory, Jonathan Edwards went to heaven, March 22, 1758" (Gerstner).

10. "When Edwards' new routine was interrupted by an innoculation against smallpox on February 23, 1758, it caused no great attention. Smallpox being prevalent at the time, and having reached Princeton, it was judged advisable that as Edwards had never had the disease he should be inoculated. The vaccine took successfully and 'it was thought all danger was over' when postules in his mouth and throat began to prevent his swallowing. Unable now to drink sufficiently to prevent a secondary fever, his condition quickly deteriorated and recovery became increasingly unlikely.
11. "A little before his death, in speaking briefly to his younger daughter, he said: '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.'
12. "Shortly after leaving these messages for absent members of the family, 'he looked about and said, "Now where is Jesus of Nazareth, my true and never-failing Friend?"' Then when those at his bedside believed he was unconscious and expressed grief at what his absence would mean both to the College and to the church at large, they were surprised when he suddenly uttered a final sentence, 'Trust in God, and you need not fear'."
13. "From Princeton, Edwards' physician wrote to Sarah Edwards on the same day, March 22, 1758,

    This afternoon, between two and three o'clock, it pleased God to let him sleep in that dear Lord Jesus, whose kingdom and interest he has been faithfully and painfully serving all his life. And 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 each stage of his disease, than he…. Death had certainly lost its sting, as to him.

14. "The death of the fifty-four-year-old President, so soon after that of his son-in-law [Aaron Burr, president of Princeton, married to his daughter Esther, whose death was the occasion of Edwards' call to the presidency of that college], was broken to the world in a Philadelphia newspaper of March 28. His old friend, Gilbert Tennent began a tribute with the words:

    On Wednesday the 22nd instant, departed this life, the reverend and worthy Mr. Jonathan Edwards (formerly of Northampton, in New-England, but lately of Stockbridge), president of the College of New Jersey; a person of great eminence, both in respect of capacity, learning, piety, and usefulness; a good scholar, and a great divine…. Divinity was his favourite study, in the knowledge of which he had but few, if any, equals and no superior in these provinces.

15. "When the news reached Stockbridge Sarah Edwards was suffering so much from rheumatism in her neck that she could scarcely hold a pen, but brief lines written to

Esther on April 3 epitomize the spirit in which she had sought to live with her husband for more than thirty years:

> What shall I say? A holy and good God has covered us with a dark cloud. O that we may kiss the rod, and lay our hands on our mouths! The Lord has done it. He has made me adore his goodness, that we had him so long. But my God lives; and he has my heart. O what a legacy my husband, and your father, has left us! We are all given to God; and there I am, and love to be" (Murray).

16. "As Edwards was passing to the next world, this volume was passing through the presses as his final will and testament to this one: *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin defended; Evidences of its Truth produced, and Arguments to the Contrary answered*. (1758)" (Gerstner).
17. His actual will reads as follows: "I Jonathan Edwards of Stockbridge, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England… first of all, I give and commend my soul into the hands of God that gave it, and to the Lord Jesus Christ its glorious, all-sufficient, faithful and chosen Redeemer, relying alone on the free and infinite mercy and grace of God through his worthiness and mediation, for its eternal salvation; and my body I commend to the earth, to be committed to the dust in decent Christian burial, at the discretion of my executrix hereafter named; hoping, through the grace, faithfulness, and almighty power of my everlasting Redeemer, to receive the same again, at the last day, made like unto his glorious body" (March 14, 1753).
18. "On an inconspicuous tombstone in Princeton, NJ, these words (in Latin) constitute his memorial:

> Wouldst thou know, oh Traveller, what manner of person he was whose mortal part lies here? A man indeed, in body tall yet graceful, attenuated through aciduity and abstinence and studies most intense; in the acuteness of his intellect, his sagacious judgment and his prudence second to none among mortals; in his knowledge of sciences and the liberal arts remarkable, in sacred criticism eminent, and a theologian distinguished without equal; an unconquered defender of the Christian Faith and a preacher grave, solemn, discriminating; and by the favor of God most happy in the success and issue of his life. Illustrious in his piety, sedate in manners, but toward others friendly and benignant, he lived to be loved and venerated, and now, alas! to be lamented in his death. The bereaved college mourns for him, and the church mourns, but Heaven rejoices to receive him: Abi, Viator, Et Pia Sequere Vestigia. (Go hence, oh traveller, and his pious footsteps follow.) (Murray).