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BY THE SAME SPIRIT: EDWARDSEAN PNEUMATOLOGY
IN THE YOUNGER EDWARDS

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BY THE SAME SPIRIT: EDWARDSEAN PNEUMATOLOGY
IN THE YOUNGER EDWARDS

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Date _____

For the
glory of God,
my dear wife,
Abigail Joy,
who is a constant source of joy,
and our heritage from the Lord:
Adam, Noah, Jonah, Seth,
and
Anna

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAP1* William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit [...]*. Vol. 1. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857.
- AAP2* William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit [...]*. Vol. 2. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857.
- LDES1* Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles: January 1, 1769-March 13, 1776*. Vol. 1. Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.
- LDES2* Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles: March 14, 1776-December 31, 1781*. Vol. 2. Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.
- LDES3* Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles: January 1, 1782-May 6, 1795*. Vol. 3. Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.
- JEW1* Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Late President of Union College. With a Memoir [...]*. Vol. 1. Edited by Tryon Edwards. Andover, MA: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842.
- JEW2* Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Late President of Union College. With a Memoir [...]*. Vol. 2. Edited by Tryon Edwards. Andover, MA: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842.

PREFACE

I originally wanted to write about Joseph Bellamy because his biographers painted a more winsome character of him than his protégé Jonathan Edwards Jr. Yet while I had this alternative proposed in my mind, I am especially thankful for Dr. Michael A. G. Haykin, my research advisor, for encouraging me to give serious consideration to the “cornucopia” available to me in Edwards Jr. instead. After observing that Bellamy’s handwriting was in fact microscopic, and much of it, on water-smudged manuscripts, I agreed to go with Edwards Jr. Yet, even from the foggy beginning, Dr. Haykin patiently listened to my first topic suggestion “the theological trigger which caused the rise of the cults after the second great awakening” and led me to simply: “Edwards Jr.” Turning to the Edwards Jr. manuscripts I found that them to resonate with a sincere piety, which has profited me my own understanding of the third person of the Trinity. Further, I would like to mention my research fellow, Jonathan Swan, who provided kind words of encouragement at each mid-semester check-in.

I am also grateful to Edwards Jr., who wrote with a large script, and really, the only difficulty I experienced in my research was knowing how to narrow the great volume of his unpublished manuscripts located in four different libraries (Hartford Theological Seminary, Yale Divinity School, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and Princeton University). The staff at the Hartford Seminary Library provided me such hospitality and assistance—especially Marie Rovero who I’ve still not met in person. I would also like to thank Dr. Rev. Stephen Blackburn, the former Hartford Seminary Librarian, who graciously allowed me to visit him at the parsonage of Colebrook Congregational Church to review the records of the church when Edwards Jr.

was the pastor in the late 1790s. I am grateful to Joan Duffy and Kenneth Minkema of Yale Divinity School who assisted me in tracking down the Newton-Andover manuscripts en route to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

In my research, I have also just begun to uncover the connection that Edwards Jr. had in the planting and watering of the Whitestown, NY settlement churches during the great migration years in the mid-1780s. I would like to express my appreciation for Midge (Margorie) Bakos, a spry lady of nearly ninety-years and the church historian of the Stone Presbyterian Church in Clinton, NY. Midge pointed me to an early faithful copy of church documents Jonathan Edwards Jr. had brought with him in the founding of the first three churches in the Mohawk Valley. She was proud to reveal to me her own interest in Jonathan Edwards Jr. as she is apparently a descendent of the illustrious Edwards family. Harry Young, the historian of the New Hartford Presbyterian Church in New Hartford, is to be thanked as he was very helpful in providing photos of early church documents. He is also provides a wonderful historical walk through the church.

Last, I am very grateful to Peter Flowers, who I met at a regional Evangelical Theology Society meeting at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. He enthusiastically read each chapter I sent his way and then returned to me a copy with constructive red ink for my attention and revision. My wife would also like to thank him as it minimized her need to do so.

John S. Banks

Lake Ariel, Pennsylvania
December 2020

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: SPIRIT AND STYLE

The expectation, renown, and legacy of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) has cast a shadow so great¹ that even to this day the younger Edwards (1745–1801) is only now beginning to be measured—but even then—only slightly.² Tryon Edwards (1809–1895), the younger’s grandson and nineteenth-century memoirist, had the vexing task of extoling the natural abilities of Edwards Jr. without casting doubt upon the elder Edwards’ widely acclaimed genius. Tryon advises his readers that

the first President Edwards was a greater man than the second; but if the father had higher powers of invention, the son was perhaps the most acute and dexterous as a logician. If the former could dive deeper, and bring up more pearls from the bottom, he could not arrange them when procured with greater skill and advantage than the latter. If his eye was more excursive, it was not keener. If he could lift the telescope easier, we doubt whether he could manage the microscope so well.³

The pressure placed upon the namesake⁴ of a famous father often produces anxiety and insecurity in the successor to either plant their own flag or to hoist their parent’s flag

¹ While conducting research at Yale Divinity Library for this thesis, I was offered the opportunity to see a portrait of Jonathan Edwards the Younger; however, the professor was not quite sure where the artwork had been placed. After consideration, Edwards Jr.’s stern depiction was remembered to have been removed from display and relocated to a storage room with several other “dead white males.”

² Donald Weber does much to rehabilitate the image of Edwards Jr. as a capable revolutionary patriot in the pulpit with a thorough examination of his unpublished patriotic sermons at Harford Seminary to which I hope to bring additional insight into his sensitivity to the Spirit in his theology and pulpit work. Donald Weber, “The Edwardsean Legacy: The Example of Jonathan Edwards Jr. of White Haven,” in *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 72.

³ *JEW1*, xxxviii.

⁴ Jonathan was the second born boy (of three) in his parent’s already large household of girls (eight). The oldest boy (July 25, 1738) was named for Edward’s esteemed father, Rev. Timothy Edwards. Edwards Sr. named his youngest (April 8, 1750) in honor of the Pierpont family’s status at New Haven and perhaps a premonition that he was running out of time. Mr. Pierpont was a founder and trustee of Yale. This relationship would serve to advance the younger Edwards’ future career in New Haven. On naming patterns in New England, see Daniel Scott Smith, “Child-Naming Practice, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641 to 1880,” *Journal of Social History* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1985): 554. Also see David D. Hall on naming practices in *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment* (New

higher.⁵ When Edwards Jr. came of age he offered commentary on his father's "Improvements in Theology"⁶ as well as engrossed himself in the transcribing and preparation for publication of his father's works.⁷ Indeed, the pressure was transatlantic.

A decade after the death of the elder Edwards, William Gordon (1728–1807) expressed his hope in a letter to Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790), if not, a benediction over the "son of the late president Edwards" that "if possible a double portion of his father's spirit and abilities" might rest upon him.⁸ While the younger Edwards seems to have succeeded at the latter, the former prayer request for the same spirit as his father is widely assumed to have been unanswered. While he may have received double the ability, often Edwards Jr. is presented as having none of the same spirit, when in actuality, he had at least as much, in spite of his difficult start.

Having lost his parents at the age of just thirteen, his father's pupils took him under their wing to preserve the integrity of the theological brand.⁹ After graduation from

York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 10, 17.

⁵ The honor of a namesake often creates the unintended consequence of overlooking the unique contributions of the heir who bears the memorial of the father. For example, in a trans-Atlantic letter to Jonathan Edwards Jr. from John Ryland Jr. of "Northampton in Old England" dated June 29, 1787, Ryland asks Edwards Jr. whether he has any children of his own, adding "I wish there might be a Jonathan Edwards the 3rd for my poor motherless boy to correspond with." *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series V Edwards Family Correspondence, Jonathan Edwards 1745-1801 Incoming Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 26, Folder 1458).

⁶ "Improvements" is a clever pun considering the typical structure of a sermon that ended with either an "Improvement" or an "Examination." *JEW1*, 481–92.

⁷ Robert L. Ferm has a transcription of parishioner David Austin's letter to Roger Sherman (February 20, 1790) airing grievances over his pastor's (Edwards Jr.) misplaced time in preparing his father's sermons for publication in Hartford, and *The History of Redemption* to be sent to Scotland with an assortment of thirty-three other sermons. Austin felt that Edwards Jr. needed to spend more time so he might "win his people to the practice of virtue & religion." Robert L. Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger: 1745-1801* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1976), 141.

⁸ William Gordon was a well-known dissenting pastor in London. He would later emigrate to America. William Gordon, letter sent to Joseph Bellamy, July 14, 1769, *Bellamy Papers*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 188, Folder 2936, Item 81349).

⁹ Joseph A. Conforti describes how both Bellamy and Hopkins adopted the younger Edwards as a son to ensure that he followed in his father's footsteps. "When Hopkins sent Jonathan Edwards Jr., to study in Bethlehem, Connecticut, in 1766, he wrote Bellamy telling him the son of the great theologian 'will take it kindly if you converse with him particularly about his personal religion and act the part of a father to him, in freely giving him your best counsel and advice.'" Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins & The New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England*

the College of New Jersey in 1765, Joseph Bellamy in Bethlem, Connecticut and Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803) in Great Barrington, Massachusetts¹⁰ introduced him to the Edwardsean tradition in the haven of their respective homes. During the winter of 1765–1766, the younger Edwards had the privilege to spend time reading his father’s manuscripts with Hopkins. Hopkin’s biographer, William Patten, relates that the younger Edwards, in spite of his “amiable” disposition, demonstrated some youthful pride by objecting to his father’s “leading doctrines.”

However, after examining the arguments of his father, the Edwards Jr. found he needed to more deeply examine his own theories. As the story goes, after just a night’s reflection, the younger Edwards changed his tune in favor of the truth.¹¹ Robert L. Ferm also retells this moment but questions whether Patten’s account is accurate in the portrayal of the younger, or that the account was an easy way of “building [up] the character of his subject [i.e., Hopkins].”¹² The apocryphal flavoring accorded to the story by Ferm dissipates when comparing a brief journal of resolutions penned by Edwards Jr. while he was still a student. In his journal Edwards Jr. had pledged a willingness to acquiesce to the truth, at all times, regardless of its source.¹³

Between the Great Awakenings (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1981), 38.

¹⁰ “[Edwards Jr.] ever retained a filial respect and affection for Mr. H. [Hopkins], and contributed to his support when he feared he might be in want, and Mr. H. felt a kind of pride in him as a son. In the hearing of the writer, when someone was highly praising Dr. E., Mr. H. said, ‘Me make him;’ alluding to an aged Indian minister who used this expression on hearing a younger Indian preacher commended who was very popular, and who had been brought up under his instruction.” William Patten, *Reminiscences of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D. of Newport, RI [...]* (Providence, RI: I. H. Cady, 1843), 47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 45-47.

¹² Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 22.

¹³ “3. Always be open & attentive to receive truth from any, even from an adversary, or an inferior; however despicable. Let not pride, desire of mastery, shame of being taught, or anything blind the mind against truth.” Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Observations & Rules for Conduct in Private Life” (n.d.), 2, in the *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 24, Folder 1359).

While described by Patten as having an “amiable” disposition, no doubt Edwards Jr. must have exerted himself to create this effect. Edwards was conscious of the need to amend his tendency to be ‘peevish.’ In the same collection of resolutions, which he titled “Observations & Rules for Conduct in private life,” he states,

1. I observe it a common thing for men, ~~to~~ especially men of close application to study, to be peevish & fretful, especially towards those of y^t own familys, their wives, children & domestics, & y^t upon trivial occasions, upon very slight & same time no provocations at all. Theref. let it be a rule to guard against such a spirit as much as possible & never to indulge it; but calmly reprove & correct those things, y^t are amiss without spasim & peevishness.¹⁴

This irritability seems to have been a life-long struggle to overcome. Edward’s son-in-law, Calvin Chapin, gently describes him as self-aware of his innate “irritability,” which he freely admitted to others as a “besetting infirmity of his nature.”¹⁵

In contrast to Calvin Chapin, Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley’s description was less gentle. Having known Edwards Jr. while “a member of Yale,” Cooley recalled a less than flattering picture of his “impatient spirit” while on a visit together out-of-town. While on a northbound route, his horse’s shoe needed emergency attention and Edwards “lost all patience with the blacksmith, who had either made a blundering job of it, or in some other way had dissatisfied him.”¹⁶ Cooley also had opportunity to hear Edwards Jr. preach, which he shared with the editors of the nine-volume *Annals of the American Pulpit*. This biographical set became a standard resource for modern dictionaries and nineteenth century novelists.

¹⁴ There are only 4 observations and rules. The fourth comprises just the top third of the page with plenty of room to add more. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Observations & Rules” (n.d.), in the *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series IV Edwards Family Writings*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 24, Folder 1359), 1.

¹⁵ *AAPL*, 658.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 659.

A Tendency to Confuse Preaching Style with Spirituality

In the *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Cooley elaborates at length on Edward's preaching ministry as likely difficult to endure for the average parishioner. According to Cooley, Edwards Jr. was "too profound to be interesting, or always intelligible [unintelligible] to ordinary minds. His own mind was so trained to philosophical disquisition that he seemed sometimes to forget that the multitude whom he was addressing were not also metaphysicians."¹⁷ In what seems to be a feigned attempt to be gracious,¹⁸ Cooley concedes that "a portion of his preaching, however, was highly practical, and sometimes it was irresistibly impressive and even terrible [that is, convicting]." Nevertheless, he returns to the unattractive details of Edward's pulpit presence:

His manner was the opposite of attractive. In his voice there was a nasal twang which diminished the effect of his utterance. He had little or no gesture, looked about but little upon his audience, and seemed like a man who was conscious that he was dealing in abstractions. Nevertheless, he was uttering great and profound thoughts; and those who were capable of estimating them, went away admiring the power of his genius, and edified by the striking and original views which had been presented to them.¹⁹

As noted above, Edwards was conscious of his own stylistic faults such as, speaking too fast on "too high a key" while "neglecting the spirit in preaching, preaching legally [...] preaching metaphysically [...] and having too much of a sameness in the argumentative part of the discourse and in the application."²⁰

¹⁷ *AAP*, 659.

¹⁸ This detail is important to weigh when considering potential bias. Having matriculated into Yale at sixteen in 1788, Timothy Mather Cooley resided in town with some of the families of Dr. James Dana's congregation. During those years of residence, Edwards Jr. and James Dana were in sharp disagreement over a number of important New Divinity principles, such as, regenerate church membership and Edwards Jr.'s understanding of the will. Nathan Williams, John Smalley, and Benjamin Trumbull, eds., *The Congregational Quarterly*, vol. 2 (Boston: Edward L. Balch, 1860), 272-279.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 659-60.

²⁰ Edwards' seven-point critique of self is recorded in an undated document titled "Corrigenda" in *Shephard Family Collection*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Box and File are unavailable at this time due to transfer of documents.

At one time Edwards asked Nathan Strong for advice while they were together at a revival in Hartford.²¹ Edwards asked Strong,

‘Why does the influence of the Holy Spirit attend your preaching so much more than mine, when our congregations are so much alike, and we preach the same system of truth?’ Strong replied, “The reason is that you present Gospel truth as a proposition to be proved, and go on to prove it; whereas I endeavor to exhibit it as something already admitted and to impress upon the hearts and conscience.”²²

While certainly not advocating an enthusiast approach, Strong was advising Edwards Jr. to switch from argumentation to assertion—a style change—so as to see spiritual results.

A winsome preaching style was often considered a mark of spiritual endowment, especially by the Separates who put pressure upon the established Congregational churches.²³ C. C. Goen describes how Separate preachers were often uneducated and self-trained in elocution. This lack of preparation increased their perceived spirituality. To the Separates, a spiritual preacher would depend on the Spirit, in the moment, without the use of any prepared notes, even increasing the pitch of their voice to sound spiritual.²⁴ A pleasing style, especially in an evangelical context, might at times be confused with spirituality, or in the case of Edwards Jr., the lack thereof.

Further, the mood of the nation was changing with regard to clergy. Feeling the economic effects of the rampant inflation as the Revolution was coming to an end, many young men went west looking for the lands they had seen while marching against the

²¹ Of significance is a similar account of Nathan Strong and Joseph Bellamy. At an event hosted by Strong in Hartford, it was advised that perhaps Bellamy not preach as there were a number of people not pleased with his position on regeneration by the Holy Spirit, as that was “the great theological question at issue in that day” as some would see men as “regenerated by light.” Bellamy instead preached on the millennium, but then baited his audience by suggesting they come back later in the afternoon, if they wanted to hear how a change of character might take place in a man. Joseph Bellamy, *The Works of Joseph Bellamy*, vol. 1 (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1850), lxiii.

²² Rev. Thomas Robbins reported this account. *AAP2*, 38.

²³ At about the mid-point of Edwards’ preaching career in New Haven, the Separates officially became a denomination in 1781. C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1969), 172.

²⁴ C. C. Goen describes at length the characteristics of the Separates’ preaching and worship including the peculiarities of the “holy whine,” impressions, enthusiasm, and “improvement of spiritual gifts.” *Ibid.*, 174-84.

British. Eastern parishes became thinly populated. Nathan Hatch describes the era (1780s through 1820) as a time in which “ordinary folk came to distrust leaders of genius and talent and to defend the right of common people to shape their own faith and submit to leaders of their own choosing.”²⁵ During the Jacksonian era of the individualism Charles Finney becomes the ministerial standard. This ministerial shift in style did not occur overnight. The bloom does not appear but with the early shoot after the seeds of independence have been sown. The rhetoric of the revolution, of which Edwards Jr. was a part, all contributed to the shifting of authority from a singular community pulpit to an outright anticlericalism.²⁶ With pressure to compete for parishioners in an increasingly mobile and economically constrained time, a nation with a penchant for popular preaching might cast an intellectual pastor as one bereft of the Spirit. In the spirit of individualism, Edwards Jr. ought to be evaluated not merely by his nineteenth detractors; rather, Edwards Jr. ought to be evaluated on the evidence of his own writings on the Spirit.

A Nineteenth Century Caricature of Edwards Jr.

Both Cooley and Strong’s account of Edwards Jr.’s preaching are contained in *The Annals of the American Pulpit*. This anthology of biography and anecdotes was published a decade before Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *The Minister’s Wooing*. In her novel comprised of New Divinity era pastors, Stowe depicts Edwards Jr. and Samuel Hopkins as more concerned with preaching abstractions to their congregations than the souls they were hurting by their abstractions.²⁷ Stowe’s depiction is built upon a received perception of a

²⁵ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 14.

²⁶ “The fundamental religious quarrel of the late eighteenth century was not between Calvinist and Arminian, orthodox and Unitarian, evangelical and freethinker but between radically different conceptions of the Christian ministry. As respectable clergymen in these turbulent years reiterated their confidence in learning and civility, potent strains of anticlericalism welled up within the bounds of the church, challenging the right of any special order to mediate the gospel.” Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 44.

²⁷ “Hopkins sends to Edwards the younger his scheme of the universe, in which he starts with the proposition, that God is infinitely above all obligations of any kind to his creatures. Edwards replies with the brusque comment,—“This is wrong; God has no more right to injure a creature than a creature has

difficult preaching style coupled with a natural irritability. Undoubtedly these elements would conspire to create a portrait of Edwards Jr. that is much less inviting than his father—even to the point of becoming a fixed narrative of austerity.²⁸ Even in a more modern biography, *Dictionary of American Religious Biography* (1977), Edwards is described as losing his congregation of twenty-six years in New Haven to controversy over the half-way covenant *and* the preaching of

dry, abstruse sermons ... dispensed on controverted points of Christian belief. Questions raised by deistic critiques occupied much of his attention, and he informed audiences of proper rebuttals in an exhibition of truth destitute of verbal adornment. His reasoning ways always closely confined to the topic, following rigid demonstrations that resembled pure mathematics, a subject which fascinated him avocationally throughout life.²⁹

If Rev. Timothy Cooley or Nathan Strong's account had been the only record left, alongside Edwards' own list of self-improvements, then a preaching without a dependence or a sensitivity to the Spirit might be a warranted caricature.

A Need to Review the Inherited Caricature

However, contrary to the inherited caricature, the younger Edwards was actually a much sought-after preacher for ordinations, convocations, college chapel,

to injure God;" and each probably about that time preached a sermon on his own view, which was discussed by every farmer, in intervals of plough and hoe, by every woman and girl at loom, spinning-wheel, or wash-tub. New England was one vast sea, surging from depths to heights with thought and discussion of the most insoluble of mysteries." Stowe, *The Minister's Wooing*, 334–35.

²⁸ William Breitenbach opines that "[t]he first, and still the most common [betrayal interpretation], characterizes the Edwardsians as arid metaphysicians and austere hyper-Calvinists who systematized Edwards's thought, but in so doing drained it of its warm and vital piety." William Breitenbach, "Piety and Moralism: Edwards and the New Divinity," in *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 177.

²⁹ Henry Warner Bowden, *Dictionary of American Religious Biography*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1977), 143. Biographical dictionaries often provide handed-down characterizations without careful consideration. These dictionaries provide material for others who write on the period. For example, David Reynolds who wrote on John Brown, the abolitionist (and the terrorist of Harper's Ferry), describes Edwards Jr's religion as "perhaps even more severe than his father's, since he described the delights of salvation with less passion than had the elder Edwards, while he still emphasized sin and damnation." David S Reynolds, *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 25.

lectures before political bodies, and funerals for dignitaries.³⁰ Part of his popularity is likely a result of his printed disputations with elite theologians of the “Standing Order” in and around Boston like Charles Chauncey³¹ and Stephen West³²—and to a greater extent that his father was the venerable Jonathan Edwards of Stockbridge and Northampton. Had Jonathan Edward’s namesake received some of his esteemed father’s mantle in the pulpit as William Gordon prayed? The younger Edwards’ popularity as a public speaker alone challenges the inherited caricature that he was a legal, spiritless preacher *per se*.

Furthermore, while Ezra Stiles tended to be a critic of the New Divinity theology and pulpitering,³³ he was not above giving compliment to whom compliment was due. As the President of Yale from 1778 to 1795, he patronized the local congregations with his presence, and expressed from time to time his appreciation for Edwards sermonic effort on particular themes in his diary. Stiles records dozens of visits to the White Haven Church in which he participated in sacramental services, even filling

³⁰ In Edward’s *published* sermons are two sermons preached before a joint session of both houses of the Connecticut Legislature and the Governor, five ordination sermons including the very successful second great awakening revivalist Edward Dorr Griffin, four sermons for the General Association of Congregational Churches in Connecticut in *JEW2*. In addition, he spoke for commencement at Yale. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library holds an unpublished commencement address in the *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers Collection* (Gen Mss 781, Box 1, Folder 5). Edwards Jr. also preached from time to time at the college chapel as noted by Ezra Stiles in *LDES2*: 544, 577; *LDES3*: 87, 141, 152, 197, 204, 400, 422, 439. Notably, when a Junior at Yale College died in a failed inoculation for smallpox Edwards Jr. was elected by the students to give the funeral sermon. *Ibid.*, 27. Edwards also preached the funeral of the Mayor of New Haven on July 26, 1793 (*Ibid.*, 500-501), as well as the funeral of US Senator, Constitutional Framer and signer of the Declaration of independence, Roger Sherman. *JEW2*, 173-184.

³¹ Charles Chauncey’s *The Mystery Hid From Ages and Generations, Made Manifest by the Gospel-Revelation: Or, the Salvation of All Men the Grand Thing Aimed at in the Scheme of God* (1784) drew the younger Edwards to respond with *The Salvation of All Men Strictly Examined; and the Endless Punishment of those Who Die Impenitent, Argued and Defended [...]* found in the *JEW1*, 1-294.

³² Samuel West took exception to Edward Sr.’s position regarding the Sovereignty of God in Salvation in his work *The Freedom of the Will* and published the *Essays on Liberty and Necessity, in which the True Nature of Liberty is Stated and Defended; and the Principal Arguments used by Mr. Edwards and others, for Necessity are Considered* (1793). This drew Jonathan Edwards, Jr to publish a response which is found in, *JEW1*, 295-466. See also, Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 127-133.

³³ “Visited by Mr. Gemmil of Philad^a. He tells me that New Div^y has got into those parts, & makes Havock in 2 or 3 Chhs [Churches].” *LDES3*, 393; see also 273–74 for a full description of his ire for New Divinity theology. Stiles also believed that a “Coalition between New & old Div^y impracticable. After all the charitable Professions of the former they are determined to coalesce with none that are not in heart New.” *Ibid.*, 4-5.

the pulpit for Edwards when ill or occupied with heavy pastoral duties. For example, on a memorably cold day on January 23, 1780 (at sunrise the temperature “stood on Cypher—at Noon 17 above”), he attended White Haven all day and took in Edwards on Romans 3:24 on “the Doctrine of Justification which he handled well.”³⁴ Two months later, on March 19th Stiles attended all day at “Mr. Edwds’; he preached on 1 Pet. 1,12. Excellent Sermon!”³⁵ Then again a year later on June 24, 1781, he applauds, “Mr. Edwards preached an excellent sermon on Prov. iii.17.”³⁶ He was also there to witness the admission into full communion of a woman on January 19, 1783,³⁷ and a man and woman on February 22, 1784. The woman giving public assent to an “Ackn^o for Fornic^a and then was baptized after admission into full Commun. by votes of the Brethren.”³⁸ Stiles noted in his diary that Edwards Jr.’s topic was “Benevolence” at a crowded College chapel on November 14, 1784.³⁹ The private thoughts recorded in Ezra Stiles’ diary

³⁴ LDES2, 407. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 651 Jan. 23. 1780. Rom. 3.24,” *Jonathan Edwards, Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2740), 1-8.

³⁵ LDES2, 418. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 659. March 19. 1780 1 Pet. 1.12,” *Jonathan Edwards, Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2740), 1-8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 544. Sermon 648 was prepared on January 2, 1780 and preached in North Haven on April 30, 1780. This sermon was reused six times afterwards including at Yale in Ezra Stiles presence and also in Edwards Jr.’s second ministry at Colebrook on October 4, 1795. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 648. Jan. 2. 1780 Prov. 3.17 Her ways are ways pleasant & all her paths are peace,” *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, Jonathan Edwards, Jr.*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 4), 1-8.

³⁷ LDES3, 55. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 793 Jan. 19. 1783. Eph. 4.24,” *Jonathan Edwards, Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2742), 1-28.

³⁸ LDES3, 112. In the records of the White Haven Church is an account of the grounds of discipline taken by the church with Joseph Adams who was purported to have relations with a single woman who was niece and his housekeeper. The account gives recognition to the births of children through fornication. Perhaps after a period of time, they were accepted into the church again upon their public confession. This shows a considerable effort in pastoral relations if these are the same individuals brought back into communion. David Austin, “Communications and Actions of the White Haven Society Regarding the Discipline of Church Members: Joseph Adams, 1780,” in *White Haven Church Records, Series I*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 1, Folder U).

³⁹ LDES3,141. Edwards Jr.’s text for that occasion was from Matthew 5:46. He had previously preached this sermon at the Association at Guilford, CT on May 28, 1783 as well as Sheffield, MA on July 27, 1783, then in the morning of November 14, 1784 in New Haven. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. ____ Nov^r. 14, 1784. Mat. 5. 46,” *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 5): 1-30.

consist of his own subjective experience; however, should serve as a counter-balance to the negative storyline handed down as Stiles was equally able to give criticism.⁴⁰

These examples highlight the potential for an alternative view of Edwards Jr.'s capacity as a preacher. Edwards Jr.'s parishioners listening diet consisted of unpublished sermons preached Sunday after Sunday, rather than the occasional published sermons intended to create dialogue with other theologians in New England. Harry Stout points out that "the most accurate guide we have to what people actually heard are the handwritten sermon notes that ministers carried with them into the pulpit."⁴¹ Although Stout's *The New England Soul* was published in 1985, he presents a convincing case for a careful examination of Edwards Jr.'s handwritten sermon notes.

A decade after Stout's work, Mark Valeri also perpetuates the spiritless preaching caricature even as Valeri compares a few of Edwards Jr.'s manuscripts with his mentor Joseph Bellamy. Valeri states that while Edwards was "never an engaging communicator, [he] marveled at Bellamy's ability to make doctrine accessible to common folk."⁴² Yet there is evidence that Edwards could reach the common folk. After preaching in the rural outpost of Stockbridge, Massachusetts in April 1782 (Sermon No. 747 was preached two months earlier in New Haven), his father's successor, Stephen West (1735–

⁴⁰ Stiles criticizes New Divinity theology and tendency toward "divisiveness" with the Old Divinity. *LDES3*, 4–5. In a later place he ridicules the younger stock of New Divinity including "D^{rs} Edw^{ds}, Mr. Trumbul, Mr. Judson, Mr. Smally, Mr. Spring, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Strong of Hartford, Mr. Dwight, Mr. Emmons, &c. They all want to be Luthers. But they will none of them be equal to those strong Reasoners Presid^t Edw^{ds} & Mr. Hopkins." *Ibid.*, 274. In a very pungent critic of a Samuel Hopkins, Stiles lays out four scathing "remarks" concerning New Divinity teaching and preaching. *LDES2*, 504-505.

⁴¹ Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5.

⁴² Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 173. In addition, see Richard D. Shiels for another rendition of the "abstract, metaphysical preaching" caricature in, "The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut: Critique of the Traditional Interpretation," *Church History* 49, no. 4 (December 1980): 403-406. To be fair to Valeri, his essay titled "Jonathan Edwards, the New Divinity, and Cosmopolitan Calvinism" in *After Jonathan Edwards* recognizes Edwards Jr.'s attempt to balance intellectual rigor with the evangelical tradition which "stressed personal conversion in terms of union with Christ" and "the conviction that God worked especially to convict many of the unregenerate at the same place and time—in other words, through revival." Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney, eds., *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 19.

1819), sent him a letter to not only console Edwards Jr. after his wife's untimely death, but among other things, to thank him for his time with them.⁴³ West indicates that "the religious attention" produced a "visible" affect "among" them, "when you [Edwards Jr.] were here, [and religious attention] is greatly increased; and divine mercy is wonderfully magnified toward us."⁴⁴ Items like these suggest that the spiritless caricature of the biographical articles is unbalanced.

To this day, other than Donald Weber's chapter in *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England*,⁴⁵ not much has been done to disprove Nathan Strong's theory that all Edwards Jr. needed, in order to have revival, was to adjust his pulpit manner. Nathan Strong's advice to not prove propositions of gospel truth, if followed, may or may not have produced the desired responsiveness in New Haven. In other words, adapting one's style to accommodate an audience does not necessarily induce the Holy Spirit to do anything.⁴⁶ Indeed, Edwards Jr.'s unpublished manuscripts show that his style did not drastically change throughout his thirty-year ministry.

⁴³ Sermon 747 indicates that the same message delivered in New Haven on February 3, 1782 was reused in Stockbridge in April 1782, and then again in October 1782 in Northampton. This full manuscript is based on Isaiah 45:19 "I said not unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me in vain." Jonathan Edwards Jr., *Andover-Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (RG 295 Box 168, Folder 5).

⁴⁴ Stephen West [of Stockbridge, MA], letter sent to Jonathan Edwards Jr. July 16, 1782, *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series V. Edwards Family Correspondence, Edwards, Jonathan 1745-1801 Incoming Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 1, Folder 5); His brother Timothy, also mentions that "great things are taking place here, in the minds of some. The number has been gradually increasing ever since you was [*sic*] with us, in a manner and among persons and characters, which results great glory to God—at least one person if not more was [*sic*] first made to attend by your preaching. May God have the glory." Timothy Edwards, letter sent to Jonathan Edwards Jr. July 23, 1782, *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series V. Edwards Family Correspondence, Edwards, Jonathan 1745-1801 Incoming Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (GEN MSS 151, Box 26, Folder 1440).

⁴⁵ Weber, "The Edwardsean Legacy: The Example of Jonathan Edwards Jr. of White Haven," *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47-43.

⁴⁶ Toward the end of the Great Awakening, there were occasions of extreme excess. Joseph Bellamy's *Memoirist* relates an incident by one of his students that "So great was this power, that Bellamy, when he first began itinerating, in the time of the 'great awakening,' was himself astonished at the effect he produced, and for a long time regarded it as the immediate and almost miraculous work of the Holy Spirit applying divine truth. Returning home, however, after repeated experience of this kind, he sat down and devoutly inquired, 'Am I right? Is it possible that the Holy Ghost so regard me, as in connection with my words and voice, to bring up a crowded congregation to their feet, or prostrate them on the floor, with wailing or joy inexpressible? I have seemed able, at such moments of overwhelming excitement and

History does affirm that over twenty-six years at the White Haven church Edwards would see his congregants slip away to “competition” in town.⁴⁷ However, this slow bleed by itself does not necessarily affirm the spiritless preaching narrative *per se*. This slow bleed came from a variety of directions.⁴⁸ In spite of the loss of his congregation to other options in town, Edwards would live to see the Holy Spirit revive his listeners in the early days of the Second Great Awakening. Instead of changing styles, Edwards changed congregations. In his next ministry phase (December 1795–July 1799), and to his delight, this new flock in Colebrook, Connecticut responded sympathetically, if not enthusiastically, to some of the very same outlines which had been preached in New Haven⁴⁹—even producing appreciable revival and numerical growth.⁵⁰

agitation, to any thing I pleased with an audience. Can this be the work of the Holy Spirit? Can it be pleasing to Christ? Is it to salvation? No, I fear not. I feel that it must be mere animal excitement, and not the work of the Holy One. I will go out thus no more.” Bellamy, *Works*, lxii-lxiii.

⁴⁷ According to Stiles, Edwards had preached away his congregation with his “incessant Preach^g of his New Div^y & Rigidity in Chh. administrations.” *LDES3*, 344. Weber, “The Edwardsean Legacy,” 51.

⁴⁸ Mary Mitchell, historian of the United Church of New Haven (formerly the White Haven Church), in the bicentennial review notes that the formation of the Whitneyville Church contributed to a decrease in members as well. *History of the United Church of New Haven*, (New Haven, CT: The United Church, 1942), 29. C. C. Goen also describes the White Haven Church as always being a troubled work due to “patterns of dissidence” from its inception in 1742. New Haven was unique among the colonies, as most citizens of New Haven were permitted to choose the church to which they would belong, and a committee assigned persons who had no choice. “The voluntaristic plan marked the beginning of the end for the traditional parish pattern in Connecticut.” Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism*, 86-89. After Edwards Jr. was installed in 1769, the pattern of discord would continue with the formation of the Fair Haven Church nine months later.

⁴⁹ Edwards Jr. recorded at the top of the title page of his sermon the volume number, place of composition, place preached with its date. Many of his earlier sermons preached in New Haven have been noted to have been preached at Colebrook as well. For example, his earliest “recycled” sermon later to be used in Colebrook was No. 478 May 17, 1776 from Isaiah 45:7 “I form the light & create darkness: I make peace & create evil: I the Lord do all these things.” Preached for a Continental Fast in New Haven, he then again used it in Colebrook on April 6, 1798. Jonathan Edwards Jr., *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 2). This sermon was just five years into his ministry in New Haven when the congregation was still at least 480 strong. In 1772, Ezra Stiles estimates that his congregation was about 480. *LDESI*, 284.

⁵⁰ In 1798 Edwards admitted eleven members and by 1799 twenty-seven new members were added so that the membership had nearly tripled in size to over sixty members by the time of his departure. Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 151. Compare with Benjamin A. Dean, *History of the Colebrook Congregational Church 1795-1895: Centennial Address Delivered December 31, 1895* (Hartford, CT: Connecticut State Library, 1913), 23.

Since the communication of a sermon requires receptivity on the part of a hearer for results to occur, an argument which rests primarily upon the subjectivity of a perceived pulpit presence without the examination of the content of the sermon could be an assertion built on shaky ground. In addition, a collection of testimonials (while helpful) may create a distorted caricature based on the bias of the subjective experience of a few individuals.

In this thesis, I will argue that even though the younger Edwards engaged in debates *unrelated* to the Holy Spirit as did his father during the Great Awakening, a concern for the work of the Holy Spirit *pervades* his unpublished sermons. If not the direct object of his effort in the printing press, the younger knew how necessary the Spirit was for true religion to flourish in his congregation. Specifically, this research will show that Edwards Jr. was a worthy successor, contrary to the inherited caricature, in the reception of an Edwardsean pneumatology.

Since Edwards Jr. had challenges of personality which may be attributed to his early childhood, congregational difficulty, and loss of a spouse, I will first provide a biographical sketch highlighting several aspects which would have a bearing upon his style, and his otherwise, genuine spirituality. Secondly, I will demonstrate from forty-six sermons originating out of the Sermon on the Mount⁵¹ that Edwards Jr. had a pervasive sensitivity to the necessity of the Spirit's ministry. Lastly, I will show how Edwards Jr. had a common bond with his father's pneumatology as evident in the mentoring of students, occasional sermons, and weekly pulpit ministry.

⁵¹ All but three are unpublished handwritten full-manuscripts or note-form.

CHAPTER 2
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Hardship and Spiritual Nurture

Jonathan Edwards's namesake was born on a "sabbath-day night, May 26, 1745, between 9 and 10 o'clock" as his father was drafting *Religious Affections* for publication.¹ Two months later, when just a babe in mid-July, his family was visited in Northampton for a week by George Whitefield (1714–1770) and his bride.² Whitefield had visited the Edwards five years earlier and was persuaded by the observation of the Jonathan and Sarah's sweet marriage relations to cease bachelorship at the earliest opportunity.³ Edwards Jr. grew up in a nurturing and spiritual home. In spite of the benefits which come from a pious and nurturing family,⁴ difficulty on several fronts made parenting young Jonathan more difficult even if there were many helping hands. A large

¹ The younger's birth details are recorded in the Edward's family Bible in Edwards' own hand and published in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), cclxxiv.

² George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 310.

³ Whitefield's nineteenth century biographer relates from his journal that "a sweeter couple I have not yet seen. Their children were dressed, not in silks and satins, but plain, as becomes the children of those who in all things ought to be examples of Christian simplicity. She is a woman adorned with a meek and quiet spirit, talked feelingly and solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such a help-mate for her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers, which, for some months, I have put up to God, that he would be pleased to send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife. I find, upon many accounts, it is my duty to marry." Joseph Belcher, *George Whitefield: A Biography, with Special Reference to His Labors in America* (New York: American Tract Society, 1857), 179-80.

⁴ Samuel Hopkins described Jonathan Edwards Sr. as a caring husband who "kept a watchful eye over his children, that he might admonish them of the *first* wrong step, and direct them in the right way [...] instructing them in the principles of religion; in which he made use of the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism*" (emphasis original). Edwards Sr. religiously guarded the Sabbath, and monitored his children's friends, mandating a curfew of nine o'clock. All of these disciplines promoted a wholesome environment in which to grow up. Samuel Hopkins, *The Life of President Edwards* (1764; repr., in vol. 1, *The Works of President Edwards*, New York: S. Converse, 1829), 46-47.

family was the unintended but costly⁵ consequence of being spared of childhood mortality. Yet the family was not altogether spared, and in some ways, grieved harder when Edwards Jr. was about three-years. The death of his older sister Jerusha (1730–1747) became a significant cloud⁶ in a growing storm which would break when Edwards Jr. was only five years old. The other clouds had been gathering for several years. Pastoral relations in Northampton had been strained by a poorly timed reversal of his revered grandfather Solomon Stoddard’s half-way covenant and permissive policy on participation in the Lord’s Supper. Edwards Sr. further aggravated the peace of the church in a poorly executed church discipline case involving the bad behavior of several young men.⁷ The storm finally broke on June 18, 1750. A vote for the dismissal of Edwards Sr. would greatly unsettle the family.

The stress and joy of weddings would also weigh on the family, as Sally (Sarah Jr.) wed just eight days before that watershed vote. Mary would stay behind in Northampton with her new husband as well.⁸ The disconcerting uncertainty would persist for exactly a year from their father’s farewell sermon in July 1, 1750 until their relocation to Stockbridge. Added to the difficulty of parenting in turmoil, young Jonathan had an eye malady which persisted for several years.

⁵ “Edwards’ salary, while relatively generous, was not keeping up with the combination of rising prices and a growing family. Also, since money was scarce, payments were often slow.” Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 301-305.

⁶ In a letter to his friend, John Erskine across the Atlantic, Edwards Sr. revealed a melancholy which was lingering after about twenty months since the loss of his daughter. He thought that perhaps this was from the Lord “to teach me how to sympathize with the afflicted.” John Erskine had recently lost his father. Jonathan Edwards Sr., letter to John Erskine, October 14, 1748, *Letters and Personal Writings, in Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 16 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 265.

⁷ Marsden argues that the episode of Timothy and Simeon Root might be described better as ‘the young folks’ Bible’ than ‘the bad book case.’ The kind of behavior which was being engaged in would be described today as sexual harassment. Additionally, Edwards also had to deal with three paternity disputes in the parish during the 1740s. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 296-301.

⁸ Sally (Sarah Jr.) would marry Elihu Parsons and Mary would marry Timothy Dwight Jr. *Ibid.*, 363.

As a toddler and lingering into boyhood, Edwards Jr. suffered from “an inflammatory weakness in his eyes.”⁹ According to a medical journal from the first half of the nineteenth century, his condition was probably a chronic conjunctivitis, which at that time was called “Serofulous Ophthalmy.”¹⁰ This inflammation is said to have resisted “applications”¹¹ until his parents shaved his head “repeated often, and for a long time.” Coupled with his eye condition were the difficulties of relocation and absence of a school in the settlement, his learning to read was delayed “until a much later period than is common in New England.”¹² While not having capacity to learn visually, his auditory aptitude was nevertheless evident as he became fluent in the Mahican tongue. Reflecting on his upbringing, Edwards Jr. wrote,

The Indians being the nearest neighbors, I constantly associated with them; their boys were my daily schoolmates and play-fellows. Out of my father’s house, I seldom heard any language spoken besides Indian. By these means I acquired the knowledge of that language, and a great facility in speaking it. It became more familiar to me than my mother tongue. I knew the names of some things in Indian that I did not know in English. Even all my thoughts ran in Indian; and though the true pronunciation of the language is extremely difficult to all but themselves, they acknowledged that I had acquired it perfectly, which, as they said, never had been done by any Anglo-American.¹³

⁹ Nathan Williams, John Smalley, and Benjamin Trumbull, eds., *The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, vol. 2 (Hartford, CT: Hudson & Goodwin, 1801), 377.

¹⁰ “Occurs most from the period of weaning to the age of nine or ten. There is a very watery state of the eye, and extreme intolerance of light; the redness is often slight, at first on the lids, and generally only partly on the eye; the enlarged vessels run in fasciculi towards the cornea, and terminate on it, or the sclerotia, or more frequently on the boundary between them, in phylctenulae or pustules, containing a clear or yellowish fluid. The disease is worse during the day.” John Fife and A. Taylor, eds., “On Diseases of the Eye (Continued),” in *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal (1844-1852)* 10, no. 17 (1846): 193.

¹¹ Williams, *Evangelical Magazine*, 378. In a later issue of the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, this condition is said to be treated with “fomentations and poultices” and in milder cases may be corrected by “tonics and good diet.” On Diseases of the Eye (Continued),” ed. John Fife and A. Taylor, in *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal (1844-1852)* 10, no. 20 (1846): 228–29.

¹² Tryon Edwards, “Memoir,” in *JEWI*, xiii.

¹³ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians; in which the Extent of that Language in North America is Shown [...],” in *JEWI*, 469.

Later in his life, Edwards Jr. would have the honor of supplying a copy of his linguistic study of Mahican to President George Washington for him to pass on to a “Society of Literati” in Europe.¹⁴

Growing up with the Indians, most certainly would have influenced young Jonathan’s disposition and demeanor. Edna Gerstner describes how Mahican children aged they would learn “not to show enthusiasm, or any expression” on their faces.¹⁵ This distant poker-face became a defining characteristic of Edwards Jr.¹⁶

A Traumatic Apprenticeship

When Edwards Jr. was about nine years old, a providential request for a ministry partner would further remove Edwards Jr. from his family and civilization. In a letter to Joseph Bellamy, Gideon Hawley—missionary to the Oneida Indians of Onohquaugh in the New York wilderness (Ouaquaga¹⁷ on the Susquehanna River)—described the need for a companion who could master the language.¹⁸ Bellamy was

¹⁴ George Washington, letter to Jonathan Edwards Jr. on August 28, 1788, in *Jonathan Edwards Jr. and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (MSS 151, Box 26, Folder 1461).

¹⁵ Although a historical fiction, this book is based upon the Edwards family journals and likely paints an accurate picture of life in Stockbridge. Edna Gerstner, *Jonathan and Sarah: An Uncommon Union, A Novel Based on the Family of Jonathan and Sarah Edwards (The Stockbridge Years, 1750-1758)* (Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria Publications, 1995), 5-6.

¹⁶ Timothy Mather Cooley relates that “[i]n his personal appearance he was far from being prepossessing, as any one must be convinced from the portrait of him that has been published with his works. He was rather short, of a dark complexion, a piercing eye, and a severe countenance, strongly marked with the lines of thought. In his manners he was somewhat distant, and I believe there were comparatively few who felt much freedom in conversing with him.” *AAP1*, 659.

¹⁷ In Kenneth Minkema’s dissertation on the three ministers of the Edwards family, he identifies the location as Unadilla, NY in *The Edwardses: A Ministerial Family in Eighteenth-Century New England*, (PhD diss., The University of Connecticut, 1988), 398; however, according to a hand-drawn map with latitude markings specifying N42°12’ and N42°10’, Gideon Hawley identifies a bend of river with islands and tributaries which better match Ouaquaga, NY. Gideon Hawley, letter to Jonathan Walter Edwards on March 14, 1803 in *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 27, Folder 1487). This map is also available in appendix 6.

¹⁸ “My companion has intended to quit the affair next Spring because among other reasons there [is] no prospect of his ever obtaining the Indian Language and where I shall [f]ind another I don’t know—I purpose to go to Boston in the Spring [a]nd perhaps I may make you a visit in April, tho’ I don’t look upon it likely that I shall have time.” Gideon Hawley, letter to Joseph Bellamy on February 3, 1755, *Joseph Bellamy Letters*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 190, Folder 2955).

probably already aware of young Jonathan's talents, and through correspondence with Edwards Sr. upon another matter, may have presented the idea of young Jonathan as Gideon's companion.¹⁹ In short order the pieces of Hawley's linguistic puzzle would come together. Did Edwards Sr. desire his son to be another David Brainard to the Indians? Perhaps, but not without a monetary encouragement from a Boston missionary society.²⁰

Mr. and Mrs. Edwards decided to send their nine-year old boy over two hundred miles away to minister among the Six Nations with Gideon Hawley on April 28, 1755.²¹ Even with a good start, they would not arrive until the fall, as they spent time at the Castle of Hendrick in Canajoharie where a renowned Mohawk chief resided.²² Timothy Edwards who was enrolled that year at the college of New Jersey also accompanied them. For reasons unknown, Hawley left Timothy and Jonathan there while he returned to Stockbridge. Once returned to Canajoharie, Hawley descended into Onohquaughe with Jonathan and Tommy Spencer (1749–1777)²³ in October. Timothy Edwards returned home.

¹⁹ Although the letter and pamphlet are unavailable, in the aforementioned letter to Joseph Bellamy, Gideon Hawley requests a pamphlet about the doctrine of the Moravians to be forwarded to Mr. Edwards on his behalf.

²⁰ In a return letter from Gideon Hawley to Joseph Bellamy, composed on April 18, 1755 in Stockbridge, Hawley indicates that the missionary society in Boston had granted funds to provide for a new companion. After visiting with Mr. Edwards, he presented them "20 £ sil[ver] for the encouragement of his son Jonathan who is to set out with me next Monday [April 28] for the Indian Country." Gideon Hawley, letter to Joseph Bellamy on April 18, 1755, in *Jonathan Edwards Collection*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 28, Folder 1535).

²¹ In a letter to Edwards Jr.'s son Jonathan Walter Edwards, Gideon in his older age (fifty years later), may have mistaken the date of the beginning of travel as being April 8 (leaving out the 2 which makes 28), Gideon Hawley, letter to Jonathan Walter Edwards on June 10, 1802 in *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 27, Folder 1487). "Mr. Hawley, and his young charge, set out on their journey in April 1755." Tryon Edwards, "Memoir," in *JEW1*, xiv.

²² Ibid.

²³ Thomas Spencer was an Oneida, the son of an Oneida woman and the Presbyterian missionary Elihu Spencer. He was born about 1749 at Onoquaga, the Tuscarora-Oneida-Mohawk settlement on the Susquehanna River where Gideon Hawley conducted his mission work with Edwards Jr. He learned to speak and write English, probably from Hawley and his father. Thomas Spencer lived as an adult in Cherry Valley and did "message running" for Sir William Johnson and later "spy running" in Canada. "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Spencer," Mary King Research Library, Madison County NY

A month after young Jonathan's departure, his father would write a touching letter dated on the day following his tenth birthday. In this letter, he comforts Jonathan with God's omniscience, while informing him that a playmate of his had died a week prior. Since his friend had not been much older than Jonathan, this death was a providential opportunity to examine his heart. Was there evidence that young Jonathan was "converted & become a new creature"?²⁴ The gravity of frontier life, coupled with the pressing need of continual self-examination, perhaps intensified young Jonathan's inherited introverted tendencies.

After Edwards Jr.'s death in 1801, Gideon Hawley would recount the thrilling tale of escape from the French-sympathetic Delaware Indians in two letters to Jonathan Walter Edwards (1772–1831).²⁵ Traveling in the dead of winter, Hawley relates that they had

encountered every danger and difficulty—once one of our horses broke thro' the ice & lay near an hour in a depth of water—Once we were benighted—twice we met with strange Indians, that I suppose were hostile—we lay on the ground all but one night; when we had a warm comfortable wigwam—we were well, but the burden of the hardship were heavy on me & my Jonathan could not mount his horse without assistance from me or Tommy.²⁶

They managed to get out with their horses through Cherry Valley leaving Thomas Spencer there. Hawley and young Edwards pushed on to Stockbridge arriving on January 21, 1756 to the warm embrace of the Edwards family.²⁷

Historical Society (File X00884).

²⁴ Jonathan Edwards, letter to Jonathan Edwards Jr. on May 27, 1755, *Jonathan Edwards Collection*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 22, Folder 1284).

²⁵ The detailed map of the river with Indian longhouses, wigwams, and fields with latitudinal ordinates is found in the second letter and a copy is made available in appendix 3. Gideon Hawley, letter to Jonathan Walter Edwards on June 10, 1802 and March 14, 1803 in *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 27, Folder 1487). In *AAP1* the Oneida's are said to have carried young Jonathan "on their shoulders many miles through the wilderness to a place which they supposed beyond the reach of danger," 654.

²⁶ Hawley, letter to Edwards, June 10, 1802.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Loss of Family and Awakening

During the year of his reunion with the family, Edwards Jr. found in his father's library *Locke's Essay on Human Understanding*, and according to Edwards Jr.'s son-in-law, had "read it over and over again [...] with increasing delight."²⁸ But time under the mentorship of his father would not be long. Late in 1757 Edwards Sr. received a request to fill the presidency at the College of New Jersey.²⁹ After consultation and deliberation, Edwards accepted the position on January 4, 1757, and at just thirteen years, young Jonathan would be unsettled again.³⁰ Unhappily for Edwards Jr. tragedy struck during this transitional year with the dramatic loss of his father, mother, *and* sister Esther Edwards Burr. These early-childhood experiences would have had a sobering affect upon young Jonathan, contributing to his perceived austere and stoic disposition.

Upon the death of Edwards Jr.'s parents, his eldest brother Timothy took leadership of the home in Stockbridge.³¹ Benefactors at Princeton would make sure that the younger Edwards was prepared for the College of New Jersey.³² After a year of preparatory school, Edwards Jr. enrolled in the fall of 1761 while Samuel Finley was President and a frequent chapel preacher.³³ Samuel Finley, a graduate of William

²⁸ *AAP1*, 658.

²⁹ John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey, from Its Origin in 1746 to the Commencement of 1854* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1877), 170.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

³¹ Edna Gerstner suggests that with the sudden loss of both parents and ill-equipped, Timothy was "often out of temper and spoke harshly to them [his siblings]." Gerstner, *Jonathan and Sarah*, 235.

³² From 1760-63, at the annual synod of the Presbyterian Church, inquiry was made into the care of the education of poor and pious youths specifically back to the year 1758. After the synod made request year after year, it was finally learned that approximately five hundred pounds at six percent interest had been set aside by the College of New Jersey for this purpose. With interest to be dispersed annually (about 30 pounds) for the "education of poor and pious youth," this may have been the means to assist young Edwards prepare for college and to attend through his graduation in 1765. William Tennent was a trustee of the College during this time, and during the call of Edwards Sr., and the care of Edwards Jr. *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Embracing the Minutes of the General Presbytery and General Synod 1706-1788, Together with an Index and the Minutes of the General Convention for Religious Liberty, 1766-1775* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1904), 299-323.

³³ Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, 19.

Tennent's "Log College," represented the New Side of Presbyterianism which emphasized the necessity of more than a mere subscription to doctrine and public worship. In the spirit of Whitefield, New Side preachers insisted upon a converted ministry in their revivalist preaching.³⁴

Young Edwards had not yet been converted and without a mother or father to return to during school vacations, found himself with too much freedom and a propensity for mischief. During these mid-year holidays, he would often stay at "Staddle Hill," the residence of Judge Seth Wetmore in Middletown, Connecticut. Rather than observe the evening of the Sabbath, Timothy Dwight and Jonathan would steal down to the kitchen early and then go out to "visit some young ladies, living in the neighborhood." On one such evening, the plan went painfully wrong as both boys spilled scalding pudding on themselves in their haste.³⁵ Perhaps the Spirit was beginning to speak loudly through pain for when Edwards Jr. would return to school, he would be caught up in an awakening.

According to William E. Schneck, in the fall of Edwards Jr.'s second year of college (1762), "it pleased God again to pour out his Holy Spirit with an uncommon power" in the college and neighboring community "lasting for about a year." This revival produced conversions in the freshman class spreading upward to the older students to a

³⁴ Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, 29.

³⁵ According to the tradition recorded in the Wetmore Family genealogy, one such escapade went humorously wrong. "The supper for Saturday night was invariably "hasty pudding" and milk, for host, guest and servant. The pudding was boiling in an enormous kettle, such as the old fashioned, capacious kitchen fireplaces of those days alone could hold. But the young men were impatient, stole into the kitchen (where the old negress "Membo" was the acknowledged mistress). Calling, in an undertone, "Membo, Membo, won't you give us our supper?" and then admitted her to their confidence. "De Lor bress you," says Membo, "de hasy puddin not done." "Never mind" (they replied), "we will eat it," and into the pantry they went, and brought out two large pewter plates, as bright as silver, and with the ladles which they had provided themselves with, they commenced dipping the pudding from the kettle. According to the custom of the time, they were dressed in short breeches, with long silk stockings and low-quartered shoes. Membo stood aside, quite grieved, that her authority was so unceremoniously interfered with, and particularly, to see her young favorites helping themselves. "Now massa Ed'ards. Now! massa Dwight, see what you gone and done." They had both dropped the boiling, tenacious pudding upon their silk hose, and were dancing around the floor with pain their impatience had caused them. Membo assisted them in removing the pudding, and applied a remedy to their burns, at the same time giving them a lecture upon being in a hurry, and the impropriety and sin of "gowin to see de girls on Saturday night, de beginnin ob de Lor's day." James Carnahan Wetmore, *Wetmore Family of America, It's Collateral Branches: Genealogical, Biographical, And Historical Notices* (Albany, NY: Munsell & Rowland, 1861), 283-85.

total of about fifty percent of the student body.³⁶ George Whitefield came to Princeton on the heels of this revival, preaching several times “with much approbation and success.”³⁷ Edwards Jr. was deeply affected by these outpourings of the Spirit that summer and early fall (1763), so that he penned a declaration of faith “to draw near to the Lord’s Table” for the first time.³⁸ In the coming year, Edwards Jr. would keep a private diary³⁹ in an effort to work out his salvation with fear and trembling demonstrating a great sensitivity to sin and the Spirit.

This diary was designed to prayerfully rout out besetting sin and stoke the fire of the Spirit in his soul. His diary begins the day before his nineteenth birthday and is carried through the New Year (May 25, 1764–January 13, 1765).⁴⁰ Contemplating God’s salvific mercy a year prior, he outlines his purpose this way:

Altho’ it is near a year since I hope God has showed me mercy, yet I find my life has been by no means answerable to my profession. But that I have been in general too careless & negligent about y^c concerns of my Soul & y^t I have sometimes been led into ~~some of y^e gaylong/guiley & folly~~ [heavily inked out] sin to the wounding of my soul especially that of machy anitauhauwongkon wonk anannahkaun

³⁶ The related account of Dr. Woodall, a freshman in 1762 while Edwards Jr. was a sophomore. Woodall reports that “every class became a praying society and the whole college met once a week for prayer” and that of the fifty students converted a large percentage “devoted themselves to gospel ministry.” John Frelinghuysen Hageman, *History of Princeton and Its Institutions*, 2nd ed., vol. 2. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1879), 82-83.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

³⁸ This declaration of faith will is located in appendix 4. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Confession of Faith September 17, 1763,” *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 24, Folder 1355).

³⁹ Tryon Edwards noted the existence of this diary; however, when Wesley Ewert curated the manuscripts at Hartford Seminary for his biographical dissertation in 1953, he claimed that “there was no trace of the diary.” Tryon Edwards, “Memoir,” in *JEWI*, xv.; Wesley Carl Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards The Younger: A Biographical Essay*, vol. 1 (PhD diss., Hartford Theological Seminary, 1953), 5.; Robert L. Ferm bypasses even a mention of this diary in 1976, but a decade later, Kenneth Minkema found it for his dissertation *The Edwardses: A Ministerial Family in Eighteenth-century New England* (1988). Donald Weber also interacted with the diary briefly in “The Edwardsean Legacy: The Example of Jonathan Edwards, Jr. of White Haven,” in *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47–73, 49.

⁴⁰ Each diary entry keeps pace at about once per week as reflection typically after corporate worship. Various texts are described as preached by Dr. Finley, Mr. Murray, Mr. Hadley (was a tutor under Edwards Sr.’s brief tenure), Mr. Thomson, Mr. Brainard, William Tennent (younger), and “The Doctor.” Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Diary,” *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 24, Folder 1357), 1-19.

[Mahican], which seem to be my thorn in ye flesh to buffet me & the sin which does most easily beset me & therefore needs more particularly to be guarded against. For this purpose; namely, ~~to keep my heart right with God~~ & to find out ye deceitfulness of my heart so as [???] the last appearance of evil & keep my heart right with God; I know begin a diary as some short account of the workings of it, & pray God he would assist me in searching into the deep recesses of it & enable me to be faithful to myself; y^t it may be a happy mean to reform my life & conversation & make me live more circumspectly for the future.⁴¹

In other places, he will specifically talk about a difficulty with anger, unbelief, laziness in corporate worship, pride, carnality, worldliness, and busyness. According to Carl Masthay and Ives Goddard, linguists familiar with Mahican, this phrase (*machy anitauhauwongkon wonk anannahkaun*) means “evil thoughts and deed.”⁴² As Edwards Jr. lay bare his inner thoughts, he uses this phrase three times in the diary.⁴³ The use of Mahican words interchangeably with English, is a testament that “all my [Edwards Jr.’s] thoughts ran in Indian,” was so.⁴⁴

Further, this passage is evidence of his sensitivity to the Spirit’s innermost workings. On June 17 he boldly declares his shame and regret over

some difference w^h happened in y^e week past between M. & myself has been a mean to set my heart at a greater distance fr^m God. I find in my heart so much corruption & depravity y^t I am carried away by y^e least tempⁿ to sin. Lord make to depend on thee alone for y^e future! [... June] 18) Lord God, when shall I gain ye conquest over every passion! Wilt thou O God suffer me to fill up the measure of my iniquity & heap up wrath against y^e day of wrath & the righteous judgement of God? Have I been all this while playing y^e hypocrite, deceiving myself & lying to God? Lord thou knowest what is in man! Do thou search my heart & purge out from these all the seeds of iniquity, every evil thought & idle imagination & inable [sic] me to live y^e religion I profess!⁴⁵

⁴¹ Edwards Jr., “Diary,” 1-2.

⁴² According to Carl Masthay, a Native American linguist, “‘Mahican’ is the single language, and ‘Mohican’ is an ethnic group and cultural fusion, now consisting of several Algonquian ethnic groups genetically mixed.” E-mail message on September 6, 2019 with Carl Masthay of St. Louis, Missouri. Carl and his associate Ives Goddard assisted me in the translation of this obscure Mahican phrase. In addition, Larry Madden of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohicans assisted me by creating a connection with Chris Harvey, a linguist from Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁴³ Also on August 19 and September 22, 1764. Edwards Jr., “Diary,” 15, 17.

⁴⁴ Edwards Jr., “Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians,” 469.

⁴⁵ Edwards Jr., “Diary,” 8-9.

The diary trails off after the New Year; however, later that May, on his twentieth birthday, Edwards Jr. would pen on a scrap of paper a prayer in Mahican, translated:

Oh my Lord, these things that you do for me are what you never again have to protect me from, by taking away sin, whether *I am doing it or thinking about it*. Now help me, oh my Lord God, so that I will not ever be in darkness. Jon^a.
Edwards. N. H. [New Haven] May 27, 1765.⁴⁶

The italicized words correspond to the Mahican phrase in his diary, and therefore suggests that God had given him confidence through “the special influences of his holy Spirit” in the completed work of Christ.⁴⁷

In spite of an objective faith in Christ’s work, the susceptibility to slip into the darkness was ever present for Edwards Jr. In a letter to his brother just over a decade later, he described a particularly dark season in which he “experienced much weakness, & great affliction from an utmost lowness of spirits during the summer season, the effect of a great relaxation of the whole system of nature.” Perhaps due to an illness, he fell into discouragement, and with gratitude he relates to Timothy that “as the cold weather came on, I began to obtain relief.”⁴⁸ Edwards Jr.’s son-in-law Calvin Chapin relates that throughout his life, he was self-conscious of his irritability; however, “[h]e watched, and prayed, and struggled, against it, as the besetting infirmity of his nature; and those who had an opportunity of observing, knew that his earnest efforts were not in vain.”⁴⁹ On

⁴⁶ Emphasis added. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Prayer in Mahican May 27, 1765,” trans. Carl Masthay (see note 32 above), *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 29, Folder 1596).

⁴⁷ Edwards Jr., “Diary,” 7.

⁴⁸ This letter was written just two years after the passing of his namesake Jonathan. Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to Timothy Edwards December 18, 1777, *Edwards Family Correspondence, Jonathan Edwards 1745-1801 Outgoing Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 26, Folder 1424).

⁴⁹ *AAP1*, 658. From Calvin Chapin’s viewpoint, Edwards suffered a “self-jealousy,” or what some might call morbid self-introspection; however, this trait may stem from the combination of genuine spirituality combined with the brilliance of his inherited introversion. George Marsden describes Edwards Jr.’s grandfather Timothy Edwards as “an intensely disciplined perfectionist, a worrier about details, a firm authoritarian who was nonetheless capable of good humor and warm affection toward his family.” In addition, there seems to have run a “psychosis” in the family through his great-grandmother, and mother of Timothy Edwards. Marsden relates that Jonathan Edwards Sr. “is sometimes criticized for having too dim a view of human nature, but it may be helpful to be reminded that his grandmother was an incorrigible profligate, his great-aunt committed infanticide, and his great-uncle was an ax-murderer.” This biological

September 2, 1764, he confessed to his diary, “I have been made to see, y^t I have generally been too careless about my natural temper, have not watched over so diligently as I sho’d have done, according to my Father’s last counsel to me.”⁵⁰ Nevertheless, in a letter to his grandmother shortly before he finished his diary, Edwards Jr. expressed his earnest desire that he would be “a guide & instructor to youth, &/make me to follow ye example my parents &/grand-parents.”⁵¹

At the end of his senior year (1765), Edwards “delivered ‘with great Propriety and Spirit’ a pre-commencement Latin oration ‘On the Evils to which a People is Liable, when involved in debt.’”⁵² After graduating that fall with a Bachelor of Arts, he was invited to spend the winter with Samuel Hopkins to review his father’s manuscripts. Hopkins then sent him on to study under Joseph Bellamy in Bethlem, Connecticut.⁵³

Early Ministry and Marriage Tragedy

The New England finishing school for preachers occurred under the roof of experienced pastors. Bellamy was a tough teacher, who through the Socratic method prepared a variety of questions to assist young preachers be ready theologically. In

background may have predisposed Edwards Jr. to have genius idiosyncrasy. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 22.

⁵⁰ Edwards Jr., “Diary,” 16.

⁵¹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to Esther Stoddard Edwards, 1765 April 12. MS, one leaf. *Shepard Family Collection*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Kenneth Minkema graciously shared his transcription of this document as the original was, at the time of my research, en route from the to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

⁵² James McLachlan, *Princetonians: A Biographical Dictionary 1748-1768* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 494.

⁵³ Bethlem later became Bethlehem. Samuel Hopkins sent the following introduction to Bellamy on July 7, 1766: “Sir Edwards will, I hope, get a great deal of good at your house. He will take it kindly if you converse with him particularly about his personal religion, and act the part of a father to him, in freely giving him your best counsel and advice. He is, I think, an honest, conscientious lad, and in consequence of my kind treatment of him, he trusts me as a father. He has a high taste for good speaking and will be of service to your pupils with respect to this, if you promote the matter” in William Patten, *Reminiscences of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D. of Newport, RI [...]* (Providence, RI: I. H. Cady, 1843), 45-47. However short his stay with Hopkins, as noted in the introduction above, the occasion proved to impress upon young Edwards’ mind his father’s theology.

addition to theological preparation, Bellamy also critiqued his apprentices on their pulpit presentation or the lack thereof.⁵⁴ In spite of the rigor of Bellamy's apprenticeship,⁵⁵ Edwards Jr. was successful and accordingly licensed to preach on October 22, 1766 by the Litchfield Association.⁵⁶ Returning to the College of New Jersey, he provided pulpit supply while tutoring.⁵⁷ According to a classmate of Edwards Jr., "Dr. Finley often submitted to be taught by him, especially in mathematics."⁵⁸ Edwards Jr. turned down his father's mission in Stockbridge in 1767, and later a professorship of Mathematics and Languages at Princeton in 1768.⁵⁹ Instead he pursued a pastorate in New Haven,

⁵⁴ According to Joseph Bellamy's memoirist, "after reading select experimental and practical discourses, [his students were] to prepare sermon on similar subjects, which he revised and corrected. And that his students might be trained, not only to prepare, but properly to deliver their discourses, it was his rule that those who were licensed should preach, in turn, at appointed stations in the outskirts of the parish. On these occasions, he rode, with all his students, to attend the service; on returning from which, he usually criticized the performance, generally with reference to the peculiar character of the speaker, and always in way not likely to be forgotten." The memoirist follows up with several humorous examples of critique. *The Works of Joseph Bellamy*, vol. 1 (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1850), lviii-lix.

⁵⁵ Edwards Jr.'s earliest sermon manuscript was completed under the watchful eye of Joseph Bellamy in August 1766. After his licensure, he would preach it at Samuel Hopkin's church in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. The sermon consists of an exposition of 2 Peter 2:22 in which a pig and a dog return to the mire and the vomit. Out of this text are the early formations of a New Divinity concern for "real religion & true piety." Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Sermon III. August 1766. 2 Pet. 2.22.," *Jonathan Edwards, Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2725), 3.

⁵⁶ According to Robert L. Ferm Edwards Jr. was licensed to preach on Oct 21, 1766 (*Edwards the Younger*, 23); however, according to the records of the Litchfield Association which met with the Consociation at Southbury, the examination began on the twenty-first and continued the following morning at "6^o Clock [...] according to our stated rules with respect to his knowledge in the Liberal arts & Sciences, & Acquaintance with matters of religion, doctrinal & experimental: And this Association approve, license & recommend him as a meet person to preach the Gospel, wherever God in his Providence shall call him hereto." Comprising his examination committee were John Graham, Joseph Bellamy, Thomas Canfield, Jonathan Lee, Nathaniel Taylor, Hezekiah Gold, Abel Newell, Cotton M. Smith, Sylvanus Osborn, Noah Wadhams, Noah Benedict, and Ammi R. Robbins. Litchfield Association Records, 1752-1852, in the *General Association of Connecticut Collection* (Boston: Congregational Library & Archives), 119-120.

⁵⁷ Wesley Ewert provides a variety of towns in which Edwards Jr. provided supply in his dissertation. Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, vol. 1, 15-16.

⁵⁸ McLachlan, *Princetonians*, 494.

⁵⁹ Somewhere in the fall of 1767 Edwards Jr. visited Stockbridge, and according to Stephen West in a letter to Andrew Eliot, Edwards communicated that he might have a greater usefulness at the college, yet he would eventually turn that opportunity down as well. Minkema, *Edwardses*, 447, n49. During that school year a concerted effort was made to advance Samuel Hopkin's name for professorship, but it would be to no avail. By the following year John Witherspoon would become the president of the college. James Caldwell, letter to Joseph Bellamy March 16, 1767, *Joseph Bellamy Letters*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 188, Folder 2935, Item 81332). According to Joseph A. Conforti, Witherspoon lost no time in purging New Divinity influence out of the school. Edwards Jr. resigned his tutorship, pursuing a pastorate in New Haven. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins & The New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England Between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids:

Connecticut. This pastorate would further challenge and shape the temper of the younger Edwards.

The White Haven Church in New Haven (today the United Church on the Green) had been formed in protest to the leadership of the First Church during the days of the Great Awakening.⁶⁰ In the heady days of the awakening, Joseph Bellamy demonstrated support of the separates by preaching to them,⁶¹ and consequently exercised an influence on their selection of a new minister. At the time of Edwards Jr.'s call, his uncle James Pierrepont was still active along with about forty-three others who remembered the first split.⁶² According to Samuel Dutton, trouble already was brewing in the church, as the church had readopted the half-way covenant in 1760, which they had eschewed back in 1742.⁶³ Then Samuel Bird, resigned the pastorate in January 1768 at only forty-four years because of 'bodily infirmities.'⁶⁴ Mr. Bird's departure signaled to some that unwelcomed changes were in the wind. After Edwards Jr. was introduced to the congregation through a lengthy pulpit supply, and finally given invitation to settle in September 1768, a dissatisfied minority⁶⁵ arose in opposition to the New Divinity

Christian University Press, 1981), 74.

⁶⁰ The story of the split is recorded by Samuel William Southmayd Dutton in an address honoring the hundredth anniversary of the church. *The History of the North Church in New Haven: From Its Formation in May 1742, During the Great Awakening, to the Completion of the Century in May 1842: in Three Sermons* (New Haven, CT: A. H. Maltby, 1842). The North Church was the amalgamation of the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches after Edwards Jr.'s pastorate.

⁶¹ Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 19.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁶⁴ Struck from the report is this line: "[...] and that the church look out for some suitable person to supply his place & that he is willing to assist them therein." In the "Committee Report of the Resignation of Samuel Bird, December 30, 1767," *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 1, Folder Q).

⁶⁵ A month after an invitation to settle in September 1768, on October 17th a petition with twenty-five names was submitted to the leadership of the White Haven church that Mr. Fisk of Stonington be considered for the position. "Petition Requesting the Calling of Mr. Fisk," *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 1, Folder Q).

principle of fully owning the covenant. Robert L. Ferm and Douglas Sweeney suggest that there is no evidence that Jonathan Edwards Jr. was involved in overturning the half-way covenant, but an anxious letter to Joseph Bellamy late in November suggests otherwise.⁶⁶ By December, the majority under Roger Sherman's leadership would overturn the half-way covenant, making way for Edwards Jr.'s ordination on January 4, 1769.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, sixty-eight people subscribed to a petition opposing his installation, which was delivered during the evening of the council meeting of ministers.⁶⁸ While sixty-eight signed, only twenty-five were eligible to vote and a calculation of the ratable estate was about one fourth of the society's financial capacity. After hearing the concerns, the council determined that after "mature deliberation, and after taking a large view of the affair were of the opinion that there was no sufficient objection against their proceeding to the ordination of M^r. Edwards according to the

⁶⁶ Robert L. Ferm suggests that there is no evidence that the half-way covenant was to be rescinded at Edwards Jr.'s request in *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, 73. Citing Ferm, Daniel W. Cooley and Douglas A. Sweeney suggest the same in "The Edwardseans and the Atonement," *A New Divinity: Transatlantic Reformed Evangelical Debates during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Mark Jones and Michael A. G. Haykin, Reformed Historical Theology Series, 49 (Gottigen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, 2018), 116; however, in a letter sent to Joseph Bellamy on November 31, 1768, Jonathan Edwards Jr. in coordination with Roger Sherman seems to be maneuvering in this direction. "I suppose M^r. Sherman has given you full information of w^t was done at our last society meeting. I had some tho^{ts} of riding up to Bethlem this week: but have concluded to defer it till next week. President Daggett & M^r. Trumbull are of opinion y^t the opposition, w^h has hitherto appeared is sufficient discouragement. The half-way covenant is now under consideration. They say there will be no great difficulty in the church. The danger is y^t the society will take it in dudgeon [a feeling of offense or deep resentment]—But time will well shew the event. They have not fixed any salary as yet; but have left it at large, only promising to support me; & Mr. Sherman seems to be of opinion y^t it is best it be left so. But it is contrary to the opinion of the above named gentlemen. I beg you will send me your opinion upon this head by Mr. Sherman, who I expect will return on Monday next, to be before the chh [churches] meeting. Or if you have an opportunity sooner please to embrace it. My mind is much agitated about the affair. And I am determined not to give any answer till I see you, if not some others of my friends at a distance—I hope you will be at home next week.—With kind regard to the family & the young gentlemen there, I am, Your most affect^d. Humble Servant, Jon^a. Edwards. Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to Joseph Bellamy, November 31, 1768, *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series V Edwards Family Correspondence, Jonathan Edwards 1745-1801 Outgoing Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 26, folder 1414).

⁶⁷ An invitation to the ordination went to Bellamy and a delegate to attend the examination at Mr. John Pierpont's home the day before at noon. White Haven Church, letter to Joseph Bellamy December 20, 1768, *Joseph Bellamy 1719-1790 Correspondence*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (MSS 151, Box 28, Folder 1531).

⁶⁸ "Narrative Recording the Formation of the Fair Haven Society, 1769-1772," *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 2, Folder B).

desire of the church and the society.”⁶⁹ Through the winter and spring, negotiations for a colleague pastor as a half-way solution came to naught. Finally, in July an “Ecclesiastical Counsel [*sic*]” was called two months prior to the split. In this council, three points of grievance were outlined:

1st that the Rev^d. M^r. Edwards was ordained to the Pastoral Care of the Society and Church while so many timely manifested their opposition thereto. 2nd that M^r. Edwards and the church under his care do not allow the admission of peoples to Baptism upon their owning the covenant without coming to Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and 3rd that M^r. Edwards’s Preaching on some particular Accounts, is not so much to their Satisfaction and Edification as they could desire—⁷⁰

Momentum toward independent worship finally took over and services began on September 19, 1769 under the discipline of the half-way covenant at the state house. Not surprisingly, the new church would be led by their former pastor Mr. Bird.⁷¹ The attendant consequences of a split coupled with the impressions of the disaffected would begin to create a narrative which would stick to Edwards Jr. in years to come; however, church documents show how the dissatisfied had already begun to resist New Divinity leadership a year before the split. In all likelihood, by the time of Mr. Bird’s resignation, a full two-years ahead of Edwards Jr.’s ordination, forces were already well in play. Even with this split, Ezra Stiles estimated that White Haven had four hundred and eighty, while the new church had two hundred.⁷²

The ensuing years would bring joy and grief to Edwards Jr. At the late age of twenty-five, Samuel Hopkins officiated his wedding of Mary Porter in Hadley, Massachusetts on October 4, 1770. Together they would have three surviving children:

⁶⁹ “The Result of the Council at Ordination of Mr. Edwards January 3, 1769,” *Connecticut Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (MS 149, Series III, Box 20, Folder 215).

⁷⁰ “Miscellaneous Records of the Fair Haven Society,” in *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 2, Folder A1).

⁷¹ “Narrative Recording the Formation of the Fair Haven Society, 1769-1772,” *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 2, Folder B).

⁷² *LDESI*, 284.

Jonathan Walter, Jerusha, and Mary.⁷³ According to Robert L. Ferm “the Edwardses had four children but we know little about them; the name of one child who died in infancy is even lost.”⁷⁴ Yet, this is not entirely true, as he would dedicate sermon 417 on April 2, 1775 for “the occasion of the death of my child Jonathan.”⁷⁵ For Edwards Jr., as much as for Mary, he chose John 14:1 “Let not your heart be troubled” as his text. Jonathan Walter, like his sister Jerusha, would perpetuate his father’s memory of a cherished sister and a lost son.⁷⁶

After twelve years of happy marriage, a remarkable tragedy would occur potentially toughening Edwards Jr.’s pulpit ministry before his people. On Monday, June 24, 1782, while on her way to conduct personal business, Mary Porter Edwards left Edwards Jr. at their hay lot and travelled on alone in a horse drawn carriage. Pausing at a pond to water the horse, she allowed it to step into the water misjudging the depth and grade.⁷⁷ The carriage descended quickly, and losing her balance, she struck her head.

⁷³ Birthdates are as follows: Mary, July 11, 1773; Jonathan Walter, February 26, 1775; Jerusha, February 4, 1776. Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 79 n7.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “417. April 2. 1775. John 14.1,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 166, Folder 2735), 1-4. Given the lateness of Jonathan Walter’s birth (Feb. 26, 1775) relative to the death of first Jonathan (March 1775), seems to indicate the loss of the eldest son at the age of two or three. Walter may have been his second son’s birth name with Jonathan added a few months later. In other words, See note 76 for additional rational. Also see appendix 1, figure 1 for a photo of this sermon title.

⁷⁶ There is no reason to think that the trend of naming children after deceased siblings was dramatically different in the rest of New England. For example, in a study of child-naming practices in Hingham, Massachusetts during the last half of the eighteenth century “necronymic succession occurred for nearly ninety percent of dying children with the same name as one of their parents and for over three-fourths of dying children not named for a parent.” Daniel Scott Smith, “Child-Naming Practice, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641 to 1880,” *Journal of Social History* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1985).

⁷⁷ Ezra Stiles describes the water depth as being fifteen feet and her body was believed to have been found about an hour later. *LDES3*, 28.

Unable to respond to her plight, Mary drowned.⁷⁸ The next day, Ezra Stiles would preside over the funeral which was held with a full meetinghouse.⁷⁹

Edwards would not speak on the following Sunday, but stepped into the pulpit the first Sunday of July, preaching twice from texts fitted to his loss.⁸⁰ This loss occurred at the highwater mark of Edwards Jr.'s ministry in New Haven when, according to Ezra Stile's calculations, White Haven had about eight hundred in its parish.⁸¹ Over the last thirteen years of his ministry in New Haven, Edwards Jr. would work through a number of pastoral challenges as he saw his congregation slip away; however, by his side he would have Mercy Sabin who became his loyal and loving wife and mother of his children. They would never have children of their own.⁸²

⁷⁸ Details of the event are preserved in a letter to his nephew Timothy Dwight and future president of Yale. Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to Timothy Dwight, July 18, 1782, *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 1).

⁷⁹ Stiles gives details of the funeral: his preaching text was from Philippians 1:21, Charles Whittelsey of the First Church made the first Prayer, Psalm 89 was sung, and Mr. Street prayed. Edwards Jr. was comforted by the presence of eleven other ministers of whom seven had lost their wives. In spite of his grief, Edwards Jr. spoke at the grave. *LDES3*, 28.

⁸⁰ In the morning sermon, Edwards Jr. focused his heart in the pattern of "true religion" from the great commandment to love God and neighbor found in Matt 22:37-38. Love for God is observed in "patience under trials—/trials will be trials/designed sho'd be/not duty—not/to feel—/yet—may be pati/ent—not murmur/and if love—/see & believe right—no wonder—." Jonathan Edwards Jr., "N^o. 769 July 7. 1782. Mat. 22.37, 38.," *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2742), 4. In the second sermon that day, he spoke from Job 14:1 "Man y^t is born of a woman is of few days & full of trouble." His opening remarks place trials as an opportunity for "training for a [*sic*] better" and that we are "children at school" who do not always enjoy the experiences of life. Jonathan Edwards Jr., "N^o. 770 July 7. 1782. Job. 14.1.," *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2742), 1. Both of these sermon themes arise in his letter to Timothy Dwight. For example, "My trials are indeed great, but I hope I do not murmur [*sic*] against God or call into question his righteousness [...] I think I have some desire, that I may hereby be made a better man & a better minister & and I ask your prayers that that may be the case." Edwards Jr., letter to Dwight, July 18, 1782. Even after five years, in a letter to John Ryland Jr., Edwards Jr. reveals how affected he was by his beloved wife's death. He writes: "Your affliction in the loss of Mrs. Ryland is truly affecting! As you mention my "former affliction," I suppose you have heard, tho I know not how, of my peculiar trial, in the loss of a most amiable comfort. She was accidently drowned. A most surprising & afflicting scene! So that you see, I can feel for you. "May all things work together for your good"! – I have for near four years been agreeably resettled in married life but I have as yet no offspring by the 2^d. marriage.—I hope you continue to pray for me. You may be sure, that I do not forget you.—" Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to John Ryland Jr. October 2, 1787, *Edwards Family Correspondence, Jonathan Edwards 1745-1801 Outgoing Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (GEN MSS 152 Box 1, Folder 3), 1-2.

⁸¹ First Church numbered about nine hundred, White Haven numbered eight hundred, Fair Haven numbered nine hundred and fifty, and the Episcopal two hundred and fifty. *LDES3*, 14.

⁸² On December 18, 1783, eighteen months after his loss, at thirty-eight Edwards Jr. remarried the daughter of Hezekiah Sabin, a New Haven merchant who had originally been a subscriber in opposition to Edwards Jr.'s installation. "Signers Against Mr. Edwards Ordination, Dec. 16th, 1768," *Connecticut*

Defense of the Gospel and Displacement

This period of ministry is often the source for the negative caricature; however, the oft referenced difficult pastoral relations typically misses several factors. First, ministerial challenge came from several directions, and upon the heel of losing his beloved wife. Not least was the effect of the war upon New England and migration toward New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Vermont.⁸³ At about the time of the loss of his wife in 1782 with the stress of a young family, the nation also experienced a severe inflationary run. During this time, with expenses rising and need to manage his household, he asked his church to consider renegotiating his original contract. Later, in 1786 as difficulties began to present themselves, he felt compelled to give explanation as to how he had requested compensation four years earlier.

Referring to his request in 1782, he reminded them that he had been hired in 1769 as a single man on one hundred pounds, and that since then his circumstances had changed remarkably to provide for a family of seven. He goes on to say that “I presume that the society did not think my salary was too large before the war; or to be fare [*sic*], that it would have been too large had my family consisted then of the same number of persons, of w^h it now consists. Ye we all know, y^t the expenses of supporting a family now, are much greater than they were then.”⁸⁴ Inflationary pressure and mass migration created a significant pressure upon congregational churches throughout the state.

Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University (MS 149, Series III, Box 20, Folder 215).; Mary Hewitt Mitchell, *History of the United Church of New Haven* (New Haven, CT: The United Church, 1942), 164. Mary was twenty-five; however, they would not have children, but she would accept his children as her own. *LDES*3, 102; Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 81.

⁸³ “But the greatest emigration of all those directly following the Revolution took its way into New York, the more conservative element staying nearer the eastern boundary, the venturesome ones going out into the wilderness. A strong current set out in 1783-84 from the New England States, and speedily the western shore of Lake Champlain and the older towns on the Hudson felt the influence of the newcomers.” Lois (Kimball) Mathews Rosenberry, *The Expansion of New England* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin company, 1909), 153.

⁸⁴ Jonathan Edwards Jr., Letter Sent to the Society of White Haven January 31, 1786, *Connecticut Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection*. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (MS 149 Series III. Box 20. Folder 215), 2-3.

A greater pressure than migration and economics was, secondly, the theological pressures upon New Divinity pastors who were striving to be faithful to the Edwardsean tradition. As the inheritor of his father's manuscripts and name, Edwards Jr. felt compelled to answer the Universalist and Arminian. *The Salvation of All Men Strictly Examined* was published in 1790 and *Dissertation Concerning Liberty and Necessity* in 1797 in response to each error respectively. The former manuscript was prepared while at New Haven and the later in Colebrook. His literary efforts may have become a distraction to ministry in New Haven.

According to David Austin, a deacon at the White Haven Church, Edwards Jr. spent too much time answering theologians and not enough time "studying how he may win his people to the practice of virtue & religion."⁸⁵ In particular, chairing a committee to discover the absence of several parishioners, Austin had uncovered some malcontent leveled against Edwards Jr. by Ebenezer Beardselee. In a letter to Roger Sherman, Austin said that Beardselee had been prohibited from attending the Lord's Table for being a Universalist. In addition, Beardselee complained that Edwards Jr. accused him publicly instead of approaching him privately. Furthermore, he charged that Edwards Jr.'s sermons were unedifying for his family as they tended toward "idle distinctions of school Divinity, metaphysical, abstruse, unintelligible, and dangerous speculations, with perverse disputings [*sic*]."⁸⁶ Roger Sherman, on the other hand, defended Edwards Jr. as among the best preachers of his day, and furthermore, Beardselee was widely known to embrace Universalism.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ David Austin, letter to Roger Sherman February 20, 1790 in Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 141.

⁸⁶ "Committee Report on Enquiry of Several Brethren, August 20, 1789," *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 1, Folder U1).

⁸⁷ "You observe that I have been much absent & so have not had an opportunity to attend & be acquainted with his preaching in general of late years. I know that this has been the case but I have frequently attended his ministry had conversation with him on religious subjects to my great satisfaction. When I have been absent I have heard many good preachers which I esteem orthodox & pious, but I have found none that in all respects suits me better than Dr. Edwards" Roger Sherman, letter to David Austin

In 1782 John Cornwell, a former member of White Haven, wrote a reconciling letter stating that in time past he had been too rash in desiring to leave the church. In his rashness, he had asked permission to join the Separates⁸⁸ because Edwards Jr. “did not preach the necessity of the Spirit.”⁸⁹ In his letter, he acknowledges that

‘I then thought Mr. Edwards preaching wrong in that he did not insist & entry [*sic*] more, & more frequently on the views & exercises of the sinner under awakenings & convictions w^h take place before regeneration; & this is what I chiefly meant by remarking as I did in the chh meeting, y^t Mr. Edwards did not eno’ preach the Spirit. But I now see y^t the Scriptures insist much more on the exercise of true grace after regeneration, than on those affections which take place before it. And in general, I approve of that system of sentiments which are held & preached in this church, so far as I know them. This satisfaction I have obtained by a careful perusal the Scriptures, of the writings of the late President Edwards [Sr.], & by free conversation with the pastor of this church & by those sermons of his, which I have lately had opportunity of attending to.—And I cannot but recommend it to any who happen to view things, as I formerly did, to seek satisfaction in the same way.’⁹⁰

Cornwell recognized Edwards Jr. preaching as consistent in doctrinal manner with his father. However consistent with his father Edwards Jr. may have been, the slanderous actions of Cornwell and Beardselee would have created an atmosphere of doubt in the congregation’s mind toward their pastor.⁹¹

As difficulties mounted the unraveling relationship between pastor and congregation began to accelerate during this last half of his ministry in New Haven. When affected by vacant pews, the temptation to preach church attendance often works

March 1, 1790 in Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 143.

⁸⁸ C. C. Goen describes at length the characteristics of the Separates’ preaching and worship including the peculiarities of the “holy whine,” impressions, enthusiasm, and “improvement of spiritual gifts.” Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England*, 174-84. At about the mid-point of Edwards’ preaching career in New Haven (1781), the Separates officially became a denomination. *Ibid.*, 172.

⁸⁹ According to church records on December 23, 1777. Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, vol. 1, 31.

⁹⁰ John Cornwell, Letter to White Haven Church & Jonathan Edwards [Jr.], May 27, 1782, *White Haven Church Records, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 1, Folder U1).

⁹¹ Ezra Stiles noted in his diary that Edwards Jr.’s congregation had grown disgusted with how he carried out the Beardsley affair, but that the issues ran deeper into doctrinal discontent. “This is a pretext. In truth his incessant preaching of New Divinity and rigidity in church administration has disgusted them.” *LDES3*, 343.

against itself, and at different seasons Edwards Jr. yielded to this temptation. For example, in a sermon delivered in 1781 during the war, he makes leaving his church easy with “[p]erhaps you don’t like the preacher—if he does not deal in the truth, he should deal in it. If he does preach the truth, you ought to like it, and if you don’t, you can go elsewhere.”⁹² Wesley Ewert chronicles the seasons of bad and better feeling between Edwards and his people through this last decade.⁹³

By December 31, 1791, Ezra Stiles had begun to take notice, and he notes in his diary that “Dr. Edwards’ people are exceedingly alienated from him.”⁹⁴ Yet the relationship had not been altogether irreparable. Attempt had been made. Due to Edwards Jr.’s loyalty to his father’s position on the half-way covenant, he took a conservative view and avoided fellowship with mixed churches like First Church who were not zealous for true religion. In a letter to their pastor, about thirteen men privately expressed their desire that the White Haven Church participate with the two other churches in town. Yet, in their appeal, they decided that in the bonds of brother love to “quietly content ourselves with the ministrations of our Pastor: sincerely burying all animosities ... [and] if at the present or at any future time, our Pastor should find himself at liberty to join with us in opinion, that maintaining Christian communion with the other two congregational churches in this place, would be productive ... that he would please to signify it to us.”⁹⁵ In response, Edwards Jr. effusively expressed his love and gratitude toward his “brethren and friends” for their show of mature response to “bury all animosities, to forgive all injuries, real or supposed, & to forget all grievances. It also affords, a peculiar satisfaction to find you,

⁹² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “No. 710 June 3. 1781 Psal. 73.28.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2741), appendix.

⁹³ Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, vol. 1, 32-36.

⁹⁴ *LDES3*, 438.

⁹⁵ “Conciliatory Propositions in White Haven Between Dr. Edwards and Others, April 3, 1790,” *Connecticut Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (MS 149, Series III, Box 20, Folder 215).

my Christian brethren and friends, joining in strengthening my hands in the labours of the ministry.”⁹⁶ He assured them that if he felt liberty that he would proposed joining the other church in the furtherance of true religion. Nevertheless, over the next four years, the White Haven Society came to the conclusion that they could no longer pay Edwards Jr. adequately⁹⁷ as they had dwindled so, and that dismission to another church was the only alternative.

Loss of congregants might suggest that Ebenezer Beardselee’s metaphysical characterization, or a more spirited style as John Cornwell desired was the root of the problem; however, Leonard Bacon, historian of the First Church, notes that in James Dana’s congregation, and others, retention was not much better:

[T]he period immediately following the revolutionary war, when the disastrous and demoralizing influences of that long conflict were felt most powerfully in all the Churches [...] was just [at] the deepest—the period in which the ministry of so gifted and evangelical a divine as the younger Edwards, came to an end in this very town for want of success—the period just before the commencement of those great, successive, spreading religious awakenings, which characterized the last forty years of our ecclesiastical history.⁹⁸

As a testament to Bacon’s depiction of the spirit of the age, in 1788 a committee was formed by the General Association to draft an exhortation on the subject of the increasing neglect of “public Worship of God [...] to be publicly read, in the various Congregations, through the State.”⁹⁹ Bacon’s generous observation is likely true in the main and certainly

⁹⁶ Jonathan Edwards Jr., Letter Sent to David Austin April 3, 1790, *Connecticut Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (MS 149, Series III, Box 20, Folder 215), 1.

⁹⁷ Benjamin A. Dean’s records in his history of the Colebrook church the local speculation on how such an affluent church could not collect a hundred pounds for his salary when they could muster ninety plus wood. The conclusion was inferred that the half-way covenant controversy had reared itself up again. *History of the Colebrook Congregational Church 1795-1895: Centennial Address Delivered December 31, 1895* (Hartford: Connecticut State Library, 1913), 12-14; also see *AAPI*, 655. According to Kenneth Minkema, David Austin and Jeremiah Atwater had growing resentment to Edwards Jr.’s intolerance toward churches practicing the half-way covenant. In general, the mood of the town was changing toward rigid doctrinal standards. Minkema, *The Edwardses*, 549.

⁹⁸ Leonard Bacon, *Thirteen Historical Discourses, on the Completion of Two Hundred Years: From the Beginning of the First Church in New Haven, with an Appendix* (New Haven, NY: Durrie & Peck, 1839), 277-78.

⁹⁹ Lavalette Perrin, William DeL. Love Jr., and Charles H. Clark, eds., *The Records of the General Association of Y^e Colony of Connecticut: June 20, 1738-June 19, 1799* (Hartford, CT: The Case,

not symptomatic of Edwards Jr.'s ministry particularly; however, given the peculiarities of Jonathan Edwards Jr.'s on-going challenge of personality and predilection toward analytical theology would likely create a less pleasing narrative in the community.¹⁰⁰ No doubt, his older brother's wise words struck a chord with his younger brother, when Timothy wrote:

In this day of adversity it becomes you to consider. Enquire wherein you have failed of the wisdom of the serpent and harmlessness of the dove. If you are what you profess to be your heavenly Father sees that you want chastisement and inflicts it in infinite goodness to you. [...] Dwell not on the ingratitude of your people but on your own heart and life.¹⁰¹

In spite of being relieved from ministry in New Haven on May 19, 1795,¹⁰² Edwards Jr. would be the commencement speaker at Yale that September.¹⁰³ Taking leave of ministry in New Haven, Edwards Jr. began a new pastorate in Colebrook, CT until his call to the presidency of Union College in Schenectady, New York in 1799.

Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1888), 127.

¹⁰⁰ Timothy wrote in 1795 to warn and encourage his brother saying, "This is a great event and will effect your character in several ways. However fully you exonerate yourself or may be so by a counsel—It is therefore a frown of Providence a heavy chastisement." Timothy Edwards, letter to Jonathan Edwards Jr. May 18, 1795, *Series V. Edwards Family Correspondence*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (GEN MSS 151, Box 26, Folder 1440).

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Benjamin Trumbull was the chosen moderator, represented in the clergy by John Marsh, Thomas Bray, Samuel Eells, William Robinson, Willaim Lockwood, Benoni Upson, David Beebee. Delegates consisted of Solomon Tuttle, Josiah Hart, Joel Rose, Jonathan Russel, Timothy Clark, Daniel Buckingham, Amos Gridley, and Phinehas Peck. "Broadside, New Haven, May 19, 1795," *Jonathan Edwards, 1745-1801*, in *Edwards Family Collection*, Princeton University Library (AM 13472, Box 1, Folder 24).

¹⁰³ Edwards Jr. had rapport with the faculty. At one point, he had been considered for a professorship of divinity; however, political pressures would cause the appointment not to materialize. In Ezra Stiles' diary, he notes on May 16, 1788, the passing thoughts of someone who asked, "why not choose Dr. Edw^{ds}? Dr. W. replied [*in jest*] why not at once choose Dr. B[ellamy]—Pres^t., Mr. H[opkins]—Prof. Div^y., &c." *LDES3*, 317. Edwards Jr. would on occasion serve as an examiner. At these semi-annual examinations, Edwards Jr. would often interpose *haud rect* (not correct). Samuel Dutton relates: "The students on one occasion, not liking as the college phrase goes, 'to be screwed,' expressed their dissatisfaction with the Dr.'s mode of examination, by 'scraping.' 'Very well,' says he, 'young gentlemen, you may take your course, I shall pursue mine;' and screwed them tighter and tighter, till they concluded that their wisest course was, to be still. They gave him, however, the name of 'Old *haud recte*,' by which he afterwards went among the students." Dutton, *History of the North Church*, 72, note.

Before taking leave to Union College and Edwards's participation in the Second Great Awakening, recognition must be paid to a nearly forgotten aspect of his biography. Although Edwards Jr. had turned down the opportunity to pastor his father's missionary outpost in Stockbridge, he nevertheless put energy into the westward effort of Congregationalist expansion. While the constitution of the Connecticut Missionary Society formed in 1798 indicates that his tenure was short due to his coming relocation to Union, Edwards Jr. was named to the board of trustees on the basis of his prior involvement in the General Association.¹⁰⁴

Edwards Jr. was active in the promotion of missionary church development as early as the mid-1780s through his participation in the General Association. In a summer meeting of 1788 in the home of Nathan Perkins, Edwards Jr. participated in a committee to consider best practices for the advancement of churches in the new settlements of Vermont and New York.¹⁰⁵ At the June 21, 1791, meeting as the scribe, Jonathan Edwards Jr. recorded the resolution to study "the most proper and feasible mode of sending missionaries to new settlements, and communicate them to the next General Association."¹⁰⁶ And study, he did.

Within two months, Edwards traveled west to Oneida County, NY to survey and assist three fledgling congregations organize as congregational churches (New Hartford, Paris Hill, and Clinton). According to local records on "August 29, 1791, Dr.

¹⁰⁴ Nathan Perkins, ed., *The Constitution of the Missionary Society of Connecticut: with an Address from the Board of Trustees, to the Peoples of the State, and a Narrative on the Subject of Missions [...]* (Hartford, CT: Hudson and Goodwin, 1800), 4.

¹⁰⁵ Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, vol. 1, 54-56. Perrin, *The Records of the General Association*, 126.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 137-138. In a joint letter, responding to a disgruntled Vermonter who was offended that missionaries would come to his state, Edwards Jr. along with Ezra Stiles and Benjamin Trumbull assert that "there are very few new settlements in the northern and western parts of the United States, which on account of their infancy and other circumstances are unable to support the preaching of the gospel for themselves, is a matter of public notoriety: and the inhabitants of those settlements, in letters to us, abundantly attest this fact." Ezra Stiles, Benjamin Trumbull, and Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Letter to the Editor," in *The Connecticut Courant*, vol. 24, no. 1512 (Hartford, CT: Hudson and Goodwin, January 13, 1794).

Edwards came up the narrow trail through the forest, from another little settlement—now the village of Clinton” and assisted the residents of Paris Hill become “The Second Church of Christ in Whitestown.”¹⁰⁷ The ‘First Church,’ was formed in New Hartford (Whitestown) just a few days before on August 27 in the barn of Col. Jedediah Sanger.¹⁰⁸ On that day, he met with thirteen signers, and baptized eight children.¹⁰⁹ From New Hartford to Paris Hill, and from Paris Hill to Clinton proceeded Edwards on a course of about a week. To each of these churches he provided a similar confession of faith, covenant, and rules of admission. Of the three churches, only the Clinton and New Hartford church retain a copy of the original documents.¹¹⁰

Upon his return to New Haven, Edwards Jr. with his committee developed a strategy to provide pastors for these new settlements. At the meeting the following year (1792), at the General Association meeting, Edwards Jr. and Mr. Williams provided a report. This report was prepared for publication and over the next year (1793) the raising of money would commence.¹¹¹ Edwards Jr. would preside over Dan Bradley’s ordination and recommend him to the New Hartford church, as well as provide the recommendation of Asahel S. Norton to the Clinton church.¹¹²

Deacon David Austin’s letter to Roger Sherman in early 1790 suggesting that Edwards Jr. might be too preoccupied elsewhere may true to the extent that the

¹⁰⁷ Mary Head Wicks, *Historical Sketches of the Paris Congregational Church: 1791-1941* (Utica, NY: Paris Congregational, 1941), 2. See also, Henry J. Cookinham, *History of Oneida County New York: From 1700 to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1912), 298-299.

¹⁰⁸ *A Book Containing an Account of the Formation and Proceedings of the First Church in Whitestown*, trans. Harry Young (New Hartford, NY: *New Hartford Presbyterian Church*, n.d.), 1.

¹⁰⁹ According to this baptism record, these children were baptized earlier in the week on August 23, 1791. Kathy Last, “New Hartford Presbyterian Church Baptisms,” transcribed by Daughters of the American Revolution, n.d., accessed July 5, 2020, <http://oneida.nygenweb.net/towns/newhartford/NHbaptisms.htm>.

¹¹⁰ A faithful transcript of the statement of faith, covenant, and rules of admission are provided in appendix 5.

¹¹¹ Perrin, *The Records of the General Association*, 140-148.

¹¹² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “All Divine Truth Profitable,” in *JEW2*, 98, n.1.; *AAP2*, 332.

Whitehaven Church may not have had as an expansive vision as their pastor.¹¹³ During these several years, Edwards Jr. not only labored for the advancement of the congregational church's westward advancement, but upon his return from the Oneida County settlements, he preached an impactful sermon on "The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade, and of Slavery" on September 15, 1791 in New Haven.¹¹⁴ This sermon, in some ways, was the culmination of his efforts at previous General Association meetings dating back to 1788 when he had been appointed to a committee "to draw up an address and petition to the General Assembly, that some effectual Laws may be made for the total abolition of the Slave Trade, to be laid before this body."¹¹⁵

Second Great Awakening and Union

Edwards Jr. was a natural choice for the Colebrook congregation, for a number had been baptized and received into the church of his grandfather Timothy in Windsor, Connecticut. Windsor Township had laid out the new town of Colebrook, and the memory of the Edwards Family being now carried by the second generation.¹¹⁶ Nineteen ministers and fifteen delegates came together to install Edwards Jr. on December 31, 1795, including Edward Dorr Griffin¹¹⁷ whose ordination he had preached earlier that summer.¹¹⁸ According to a history of the town, Mr. Robbins who had known Edwards Jr. for over thirty years began the examination by saying, "Well, brethren, the sea is before

¹¹³ Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 141.

¹¹⁴ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade, and of Slavery," in *JEW2*, 75, n.1.

¹¹⁵ Perrin, *The Records of the General Association*, 126-127.

¹¹⁶ Dean, *History of Colebrook Congregational*, 11. "Sarah Pierrepoint's sister was also the aunt of one of the lady members of the church [by marriage to] Nathaniel Russell; whose father and grandfather were long pastors at Rocky Hill and doubtless were known to Dr. Edwards' father and grandfather." Dean, *History of Colebrook Congregational*, 12.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.5.

¹¹⁸ At New Hartford, Connecticut on June 4, 1795. *JEW2*, 210-223.

you, now dive, dive!”¹¹⁹ Although a short pastorate, due to a call to serve as the second president of Union College in Schenectady, New York (May 2, 1799), Edwards Jr. observed that in his time the “effusions of his Holy Spirit” had brought some in the church “to the saving knowledge of the truth, and to awaken and convince others.”¹²⁰ This was a modest appraisal of his time with them, for in 1798 Edwards admitted eleven members. By 1799 twenty-seven new members were added so that the membership had nearly tripled in size to over sixty members by the time of his departure.¹²¹ These converts were the first fruits of the Second Great Awakening.

Mr. Andrew Yates, member of Union’s board of directors, delivered the invitation to the Presidency in person, but Edwards Jr. was out of town at the time. Edwards Jr., like his father, deferred to a council of an association of ministers. The council then advised him to accept the position after due process.¹²² After departing his dear flock, he found the transition to be smooth. In his coming to Schenectady, contrary to the rumors, Edwards Jr. surprised all to be “mild and affectionate.”¹²³

Even while he increased the rigor and discipline of student life,¹²⁴ Edwards Jr. promised to be a very winsome leader for his young students. Thomas Palmer a graduate of 1803 recalled Edwards Jr. needing to dismiss his class because he “laughed so

¹¹⁹ Dean, *History of Colebrook Congregational*, 14.5.

¹²⁰ *JEW*2, 229.

¹²¹ Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 151. Compare with Dean, *History of the Colebrook Congregational*, 23.

¹²² Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 155.

¹²³ B. B. Edwards, ed., *The American Quarterly Register*, vol. 3 (Boston: American Education Society, 1836), 295.

¹²⁴ Edwards Jr. extended the required attendance at morning and evening prayers to a full seven days, adding Saturday morning instruction. English was added to the curricula to assist in writing and public speaking. Additional rules regarding billiards, gambling, and prohibition on keeping wine and liquors in rooms. Spring examination period was extended to four days from three. Wayne Somers, *Encyclopedia of Union College History* (Schenectady, NY: Union College Press, 2003), 251.

immoderately in his philosophy classroom.”¹²⁵ In spite of an unfortunately short tenure, Edwards did much for the school’s morale in settling student unrest,¹²⁶ securing state funds, and assisting interdenominational cooperation.

Edwards Jr.’s greatest contribution at the College came in the broader Presbyterian movement in which partnership with Congregationalists occurred in the Plan of Union (1801). This plan facilitated a mission partnership as the nation expanded westward. Sadly, in spite of his warm reception in the Albany area, six weeks after the passage of the Plan of Union, Edwards caught an “intermittent fever” and died on August 1, 1801.¹²⁷ The fever’s progression was just eight days. Both he and his father died shortly after accepting a college presidency. His last known words were “It becomes us cheerfully to submit to the will of God. He is wise and gracious. He orders everything for the best. The blood of Christ is my only ground of hope.”¹²⁸ On August 3, 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church at Schenectady, Robert Smith preached his funeral oration. Smith, had been the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Schenectady up to a month prior to Edwards Jr.’s death,¹²⁹ and had observed that people often mistook Edwards’s “composed eye” for a coldness of spirit, when “in fact, far from being a stranger to the tender charities of the heart [...] he has sometimes been known to have been melted into tears even by a plaintive tune sung by a worshipping assembly.”¹³⁰

The inherited caricature of Edwards Jr. being a spiritless preacher is certainly related to his reserved personality, upbringing, and pastoral sorrows. Nevertheless, in

¹²⁵ Somers, *Encyclopedia of Union*, 251.

¹²⁶ Edwards arrived in town as several student protests with regard to perceived partiality of teachers and incompetence. *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 169-70.

¹²⁸ Dutton, *History of The North Church*, 69-70; also, in *JEW1*, 514.

¹²⁹ George R. Howell and John H. Munsell, *History of the County of Schenectady, N.Y., from 1662-1886* (Schenectady: Munsell & Company, 1886), 101-102.

¹³⁰ *JEW1*, 512.

spite of Edwards Jr.'s idiosyncrasies, the congregational churches of the new nation experienced great pressure to respond to enlightenment thought while providing spiritual counsel to their respective flocks. As hard as New Divinity pastors may have tried, not all succeeded in balancing both of these concerns. Even then, both father and son found themselves at war with congregations over the infamous half-way covenant. In the next chapter, a survey of Edwards Jr.'s manuscripts from the Sermon on the Mount will show that he was a faithful inheritor of his father's concern for a regenerate church membership whose affection for God is nurtured by Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER 3

A SHARED RELISH FOR TRUE RELIGION

As a unique school of thought, The New England Theology¹ might have been cut short by Edwards' untimely death. But instead of fading away, the new theological brand was sustained and nourished by his primary pupils—Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790) and Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803)—who made a pact to preserve its integrity. With Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1745–1801) who had recently graduated Princeton in 1765, the three created an impressive intellectual triumvirate. However strong they may have been in their day,² pressure from diverse sources mounted during the pre-Civil War era to extricate Edwards from his successors. Conservatives at Princeton University began to question the origin of this received New England Theology,³ largely as a response to Charles G. Finney (1792–1875), who also claimed a theological lineage back to

¹ New England Theology, as a theological species, finds its origin deep in the Berkshire's wooded frontier during the mid-eighteenth century. The New England Theology, which originally had been called New-light Divinity and then New Divinity, began out of the close association of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) with young graduate students who sought his mentorship. New England's rock-bound coast was a natural rearguard for a hundred years, and then, the promising movement nearly disappeared. Oliver Crisp and Douglas Sweeney have noted that the New England Theology became “the most significant and enduring Christian theological school of thought to have originated in the United States” of which little is known except to a narrow slice of scholars. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney, eds., *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.

² According to Edwards Amasa Park (1808–1900), on the eve of the American Civil War over a hundred New England pulpits favored this variation on covenant theology, which he attributed to Jonathan Edwards himself. However, not all agreed with Park's genealogy. Edwards Amasa Park, “The New England Theology,” *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 9 (1852): 175.

³ *Ibid.*, 175–76.

Edwards.⁴ In 1852 Edwards Amasa Park responded to Princeton⁵ emphatically declaring: “Idle, idle is the late attempt to draw a line of demarcation between the elder Edwards, Bellamy, on the one side, and the younger Edwards, Emmons, West, on the other, with regard to these three principles.”⁶

While the conservatives were devouring themselves,⁷ emerging liberals like Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896) began to depict Edwards’ successors as terrifying New England with unnecessary metaphysical abstractions in her novel *The Minister’s Wooing*.⁸ In particular, she drew her sights upon Edwards Jr. and Hopkins for tilling up mysteries which should not be unearthed.⁹ *The Minister’s Wooing* (1859), published

⁴ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology, Embracing Lectures on Moral Government, The Atonement, Moral and Physical Depravity, Natural, Moral, and Gracious Ability, Repentance, Faith, Justification, Sanctification, &c.* (Oberlin, OH: James M. Fitch, 1846), 492. Also see Doug Sweeney and Allen Guelzo, *New England Theology: From Jonathan Edwards to Edwards Amasa Park* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 227-228.

⁵ Charles Hodge, “The New Divinity Tried,” in *Princeton V. The New Divinity: The Meaning of Sin, Grace, Salvation, and Revival*. (Cambridge, UK: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2001), 141–70. Edwards Amasa Park described the “incurSION of Dr. Hodge” of Princeton as an ill-informed and unskilled military maneuver into theological territory on par with Napoleon’s failed invasion of Russia. See Park, “The New England Theology,” 170.

⁶ The “three radical principles” related to (1) sin consisting in choice, (2) natural power equals, and (3) also limits duty. *Ibid.*, 175.

⁷ “The Princetonians, and those who succeeded them through Westminster Theological and Reformed Theological seminaries, could not avoid bowing in respect to the figure of Edwards, but it was an Edwards carefully sculpted to resemble Princeton Calvinism and an Edwards with no heirs.” Sweeney, *New England Theology*, 19.

⁸ Mary, the heroine of Stowe’s novel, desires to marry a bolder and more dashing suitor but has resigned herself to marry Samuel Hopkins, a stodgy minister in Newport, RI. In chapter 23 (“Views of Divine Government”), Stowe personifies in the Mrs. Marvyn the theological trauma inflicted by the logical conclusions of the New England Theology of ministers upon their congregations. Mrs. Marvyn, Mary’s potential mother-in-law, goes through a nervous break-down when she contemplates her own spiritual destiny in light of the extremes of Hopkin’s theology. However, the solution is not logic, but the simple love of the cross. This love is offered as a balm by her uneducated black slave Candace. After the love of the gospel is applied, Mrs. Marvyn is finally able to rest quietly. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Minister’s Wooing* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1859), 332-350.

⁹ “The task they proposed to themselves was that of reconciling the most tremendous facts of sin and evil, present and eternal, with those conceptions of Infinite Power and Benevolence which their own strong and generous natures enabled them so vividly to realize. In the intervals of planting and harvesting, they were busy with the toils of adjusting the laws of a universe. Solemnly simple, they made long journeys in their old one-horse chaises, to settle with each other some nice point of celestial jurisprudence, and to compare their maps of the Infinite. Their letters to each other form a literature altogether unique. Hopkins sends to Edwards the younger his scheme of the universe, in which he starts with the proposition, that God is infinitely above all obligations of any kind to his creatures. Edwards replies with the brusque comment,—“This is wrong; God has no more right to injure a creature than a creature has to injure God;” and each probably about that time preached a sermon on his own view, which

seven years after her wildly popular *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852),¹⁰ likely did much to sink both men beneath the waters of a spiritless preaching narrative.¹¹ Picking up cues from Stowe, and others unsympathetic¹² to the heirs of Edwards, “a line of demarcation between the elder Edwards” and the younger has prevailed.¹³ In spite of the inherited caricature from Stowe, and to a lesser extent by Princeton, recent scholarship has “begun to show that the older ‘decline and fall’ narrative often associated with the [New Divinity] movement is [...] mistaken.”¹⁴ Crisp and Sweeney’s *After Edwards* advances a

was discussed by every farmer, in intervals of plough and hoe, by every woman and girl at loom, spinning-wheel, or wash-tub. New England was one vast sea, surging from depths to heights with thought and discussion of the most insoluble of mysteries.” Stowe, *The Minister's Wooing*, 334–35.

¹⁰ James McPherson retells how President Abraham Lincoln greeted Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1862 with these words: “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war.” James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 90.

¹¹ Another example of mid-nineteenth century characterization of New Divinity preachers is found in *Doctor Johns* (1866). This novel, like the *Minister's Wooing*, depicted the country parsons of New England in those days as being “heavy-minded, right-meaning man; utterly inaccessible to any of the graces of life; no bird ever sang in his ear; no flower ever bloomed for his eye; a man to whom life was only a serious spiritual toil, and all human joys a vanity to be spurned; preaching tediously long sermons, and counting the fatigue of the listeners a fitting oblation to spiritual truth; staggering through life with a great burden of theologies on his back, which it was his constant struggle to pack into smaller and smaller compass, —not so much, we fear, for the relief of others as of himself.” Donald Grant Mitchell, *Doctor Johns: Being a Narrative of Certain Events in the Life of an Orthodox Minister of Connecticut*, Edgewood, vol. 8, The Works of Donald G. Mitchell (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 176.

¹² Two years before Stowe’s influential novel, Edward Jr.’s entry in the three-volume *Annals of the American Pulpit* (1857) depicted him as an arid, metaphysical preacher through the subjective experience of Rev. Timothy M. Cooley. “His manner was the opposite of attractive. In his voice there was a nasal twang which diminished the effect of his utterance. He had little or no gesture, looked about but little upon his audience, and seemed like a man who was conscious that he was dealing in abstractions. Nevertheless, he was uttering great and profound thoughts; and those who were capable of estimating them, went away admiring the power of his genius, and edified by the striking and original views which had been presented to them.” *AAP1*, 659–60.

¹³ These sentiments are carried into the nineteenth century by George Nye Boardman, *A History of New England Theology* (New York: A. D. F. Radolph, 1899); into the twentieth century by Frank Hugh Foster, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907); also see Joseph Haroutunian, *Piety Versus Moralism: The Passing of New England Theology from Edwards to Taylor* (1932; rep., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2006).

¹⁴ Crisp, *After Jonathan Edwards*, 5. See also Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 118–120. “Recent scholarship has begun to revise our understanding of Edwards’s New Divinity disciples. For too long scholars uncritically accepted Joseph Haroutunian’s magisterial neo-orthodox interpretation of the movement. In *Piety versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology* (1932), Haroutunian all but dethroned the New Divinity men as legitimate theological heirs of Edwards. Hopkins, Bellamy, and the arid scholastics who followed in their train and reproduced themselves, drone-like, in their students, corrupted Edwards’s theology and moralized his high Calvinism.” Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism*, 118–119. See also, William Breitenbach, “*Piety and Moralism: Edwards and the New Divinity*,” in *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout (New York:

corrective view in general;¹⁵ however, Edwards Jr. is neglected, as is typical, in most recent scholarship.¹⁶

This chapter will begin to amend the liberal narrative showing that between the younger and elder Edwards there can be no line of demarcation either. In particular, the younger shares his father and mentor's *relish* that *true religion* would flourish in his congregation.¹⁷ Since the Sermon on the Mount (hereafter SM) has been the traditional territory of theological liberalism,¹⁸ this research will focus on Edwards Jr.'s forty-six manuscripts from the SM. Aside from three published manuscripts, these forty-six are the only surviving texts from Matthew 5-7 spanning his thirty-year preaching ministry.¹⁹ As

Oxford University Press, 1988), 177-204.

¹⁵ Crisp, *After Edwards*, 5. Joseph A. Conforti also signals that New Divinity pastors were often characterized as "arid scholastics who overintellectualized the vital piety of the colonial awakening" in the mid-nineteenth century and that this assessment may not properly account for their role in the Second Great Awakening in *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 14.

¹⁶ Aside from Robert L. Ferm and an unpublished biographical dissertation by Wesley Ewert not much has been done to raise the awareness of Jonathan Edwards the younger. In recent scholarship Donald Weber's short essay in a collection of featured revolutionary pulpits is the only star in what is otherwise a dark sky. His alone begins to challenge the spiritless caricature as he shows Edwards Jr.'s rhetorical zeal for the glorious cause. Weber relates: "Edwards's language, both in the sermon fragments (which constitute the bulk of his extant performances) and a few fully penned discourses, emerges as plain and familiar." Donald Weber, "The Edwardsean Legacy: The Example of Jonathan Edwards, Jr. of White Haven," in *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47-73.; Robert L. Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger: 1745-1801* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1976); Wesley Carl Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards The Younger: A Biographical Essay*, vol. 1 (PhD diss., Hartford Theological Seminary, 1953).

¹⁷ The term 'relish' was typical of those New Divinity pastors who fell into the "taste" scheme rather than the "exercise" scheme. "Tasters held that a spiritual substance, 'taste,' 'relish,' or 'disposition,' lay behind the will and governed choice; such a depraved taste, which was sinful itself, also led sinners certainly to choose sin. Exercisers denied knowledge of a spiritual substance in back of the will; choice was the immediate exercise of the heart or will without an antecedent passive principle or taste." Joseph A. Conforti, *Edwards, Religious Tradition*, 127. See also Joseph Bellamy: "thro their [humanity's] exceeding great Depravity, intirely [*sic*] void of a right *Taste* and *Relish* for *true Beauty*, they could not but be even ravished with the divine Being." Joseph Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated; or, Experimental Religion*, [...] (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1750), 43.

¹⁸ Adolf von Harnack, *What Is Christianity? Lectures Delivered in the University of Berlin during the Winter-Term, 1899-1900*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 76-80.

¹⁹ There are over twelve hundred unpublished manuscripts. Hartford Theological Seminary houses the vast majority of manuscripts, followed by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, then Yale Divinity Library, and lastly, Princeton University Library. For a complete list of locations see Robert L. Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger 1745-1801: A Colonial Pastor* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 184-190. In Ferm's appendix, he refers to manuscripts at Andover-Newton; however, the collection was transferred to Yale Divinity Library in 2017.

typical of his unique style, Edwards Jr.'s sermon notes from the SM are non-sequential, occasionally recycled, yet represent a received New England Theology.²⁰ Through six major divisions in the SM, I will show Edwards Jr.'s vivid and practical theology as consistent with his mentors. The manuscripts will be considered canonically *not* chronologically.²¹

The Beatitudes (Matt 5:2-12)

Edwards Jr. began the SM with Matthew 5:3 (1788)²² emphasizing marks of spiritual poverty; whereas, eight years later, he reworked this outline to accent the gospel substance contained in Matthew 5:3 (1794).²³ Edwards Jr. warns of the tendency to misread blessedness in materialistic ways. Rather a blessed person will be conscious of being “destitute of holiness,”²⁴ and “groan under [this lack].”²⁵ In particular, a person will sense his *spiritual* poverty and

feel ems.[themselves] blind
[as] depravity brings
on blindness—
[they are] blind [to] the true beauty
of holiness—the divine
x[charac]ter.²⁶

²⁰ In appendix 1 is a brief discussion of his preaching and manuscripts with visual examples.

²¹ See appendix 6 for a list of Jonathan Edwards Jr.'s complete list of MSS derived from the Sermon on the Mount in *chronological* order of delivery.

²² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 1032. April 6. 1788. Mat. V.3,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 1-4.

²³ This sermon was prepared in 1794 for an undesignated purpose, but then preached in Colebrook on May 1, 1796. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] Aug^t. 24. 1794 Mat. V.3,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 1-4.

²⁴ Edwards Jr., “No. 1032,” 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁶ Edwards Jr., “No. 1032,” 3.

The awareness of a “native blindness—/thence forth become[s]/light in the L[ord]” brings desperation.²⁷ Bellamy is in the background as the sense of blindness is part of the awakening work of the Holy Spirit. According to Bellamy, all that is necessary to overcome our native blindness is for the Holy Spirit to impart a “spiritual taste [... so that] we may be awakened to a realizing Sight and Sense of *what God is*.”²⁸ Taste for spiritual beauty is an idea running back to Edwards Sr.’s *Religious Affections*. In the third test of a religious affection, Edwards Sr. introduces taste and relish as an analogy for spiritual apprehension. In particular, a taste for the “beauty of holiness” is something entirely outside of natural human experience.²⁹ This lineage back to Edwards Sr. comes naturally, since according to William Breitenbach, “the most important work in the development of the ‘new’ divinity” was *Religious Affections*.³⁰

Edwards Jr.’s later manuscript carries a definite revivalist tone, stressing the necessity of a poverty of spirit before conversion might occur. Poverty of spirit is a “deep humility” necessary “for the Spirit to awaken/to convert/to sanctify/for pardon/for salvation.”³¹ This emphasis bears significant resemblance to the contrasted legal and

²⁷ Edwards Jr., “No. 1032,” 3.

²⁸ Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 45.

²⁹ “[T]hose that are regenerated, a new supernatural sense, that is as it were a certain divine spiritual taste, which is in its whole nature diverse from any former kinds of sensation of the mind, as tasting is diverse from any of the other five senses, and that something is perceived by a true saint in the exercise of this new sense of mind, in spiritual and divine things, as entirely different from anything that is perceived in them by natural men, as the sweet taste of honey is diverse from the ideas men get of honey by looking on it or feeling of it; now this that I have been speaking, viz. the beauty of holiness, is that thing in spiritual and divine things, which is perceived by this spiritual sense, that is so diverse from all that natural men perceive in them: this kind of beauty is the quality that is the immediate object of this spiritual sense: this is the sweetness that is the proper object of this spiritual taste.” Jonathan Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 2, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 259-60.

³⁰ William Breitenbach, “*Piety and Moralism: Edwards and the New Divinity*,” in *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 183. Obbie T. Todd describes Bellamy as being dependent upon *Religious Affections* however changing the focus from love to law. “The Grammar of Revival: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards’s Teleological Language in *Religious Affections* (1746),” *Calvin Theological Journal* 54, no. 1 (2019): 35–56.

³¹ Edwards Jr., “Aug^t. 24. 1794,” 2.

evangelical humility his father described in *Religious Affections*.³² A profound evangelical humility sustains itself with the awareness that mercy is “infinitely more than deserve[d].”³³ An ability to respond to the gospel hinges upon a poverty of spirit. In other words, without a deep (evangelical) humility, it will be impossible to “exercise/repentance” toward Christ by faith.³⁴ A sinner will not repent (exercise) without first a *taste* provided by the Holy Spirit. Positively, a poverty of spirit causes one to *relish* or “enjoy [the prospect of] heaven.”³⁵ The enjoyment of heaven, as an Edwardsean concept, is inversely related to the dispelling of pride in an ever-increasing capacity.³⁶

Edwards Jr.’s next text (Matt 5:4) was preached a month after the White Haven Church in New Haven had issued a call to him as pastor on September 16, 1768. In some ways, this sermon is a call to a corporate self-examination. Are they a true, visible church—one in which a successor of Edwards Sr. could pastor?

Beginning with a theological examination of mankind’s natural thirst after happiness from Psalm 4:6 “Who will shew us any good,” Edwards Jr. queries if there

³² “Men may be legally humbled and have no *humility*; as the wicked at the Day of Judgment will be thoroughly convinced that they have no righteousness, but are altogether sinful, and exceeding guilty, and justly exposed to eternal damnation, and be fully sensible of their own helplessness, without the least mortification of the pride of their hearts: but the essence of evangelical humiliation consists in such humility, as becomes a creature, in itself exceeding sinful, under a dispensation of grace; consisting in a mean esteem of himself, as in himself nothing, and altogether contemptible and odious; attended with a mortification of a disposition to exalt himself, and a free renunciation of his own glory.” Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, 312.

³³ Edwards Jr., “Aug^t. 24. 1794,” 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁵ Edwards Jr., “Aug^t. 24. 1794,” 3. Bellamy writes that when the very temper of a person’s heart is touched by the Spirit, they “naturally feel as they do in Heaven, and naturally speak their Language, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts; the whole Earth is full of his Glory!*” Emphasis original. Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 43.

³⁶ In the *Miscellanies* Edwards Sr. notes that heaven’s happiness, joy and holiness consist in a continual increase. Jonathan Edwards, “Miscellanies,” No. 435, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 13., ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 483. Also, in a sermon titled “The Value of Salvation” (1722), Jonathan Edwards Sr. writes of heaven’s necessary increasing joy in this way: “If the saints in heaven were sure they should enjoy heaven some thousands of years, and after that it should be at an end, it would cast a great damp upon their joys and delights,” in “The Value of Salvation,” in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Sermons and Discourses 1720-23*, vol. 10., ed. Wilson H. Kimnach (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 324.

might be a tinge of blame in this question. If the celestial host has a “great an appetite for good, & relish the happiness of y^t blessed world, as much yea as much more, yⁿ mankind relish any good in this world,”³⁷ then any doubt is without excuse. This conclusion is parallel to Bellamy in recognizing human blindness as rebellion which is justly punishable by the Law.³⁸ Edwards Jr. continues:

That blindness, whereby men are doubtful concerning the true good is certainly criminal, & G. [God] might justly leave ‘em [them] in their blindness to suffer the just demerit of it. But, G. so loved the world y^t he gave his only begotten Son, y^t whosoever believeth on him, shall not perish but have everlasting life. He gave him to die y^t thro’ him the way might be opened for the enjoyment of true happiness.³⁹

This sermon begins on a dour note, giving the appearance that happiness is inaccessible; nevertheless, Edwards Jr. points his audience to the gospel as a means to find and enjoy true happiness in this pivotal passage. An evangelical impulse drives this sermon to the conclusion that *true happiness* comes via meekness because *all* the beatitudes connect to meekness. The poor in spirit cannot be other than meek and meekness necessarily goes before a merciful or peaceable outlook. The blessings are “annexed to each of these characters, w^h are not made to any but the godly, or true Xians [Christians].” Therefore “the sp^t of meekness is a distinguishing characteristic of true Christians.”⁴⁰

While logical in his approach, Edwards Jr. is not inaccessible to his listeners as he illustrates by metaphor the meek character which is woven into many biblical texts.

³⁷ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Sermon 24. Oct. 23. 1768. Matthew 5.5,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 1), 3.

³⁸ “We have Eyes to see, and Ears to hear, and his Glory shines all around us [...] and there is nothing hinders our seeing and hearing, but that we are rebellious Creatures. Our Contrariety to God makes us blind and spiritually dead. [...] And hence it is most evident, that the supreme Governour of the World has not the least Ground or Reason to abate his law, or to reverse the Threatening.” Bellamy, *True Religion Deliniated*, 108.

³⁹ Edwards Jr., “Sermon 24.,” 3-4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

Christians are described as lambs, sheep,⁴¹ doves,⁴² little children,⁴³ but most fittingly “all true X[Christ]ians resemble X [Christ] their L. [Lord] & master.”⁴⁴ Remarkably, these metaphors are borrowed directly out of his father’s eighth sign of a religious affection.⁴⁵ Improving upon his father is probably overstated; however, Edwards Jr. places meekness as the head or the tendency of every other Christian grace. All Christian virtue is to be found in or “immediately consequent upon” meekness.⁴⁶

Throughout this sermon the word *true* is an oft repeated descriptor of good, happiness, Christian, church, saints, grace, zeal, meekness, and most importantly, religion. This emphasis is likely calculated to highlight the need for regenerate church membership. Between the issue of a call on September 16, and his acceptance on December 15, 1768⁴⁷ the church would need to reconsider its eight-year experiment with the half-way covenant. This sermon, with on-going negotiations,⁴⁸ likely sealed the deal

⁴¹ Edwards Jr., “Sermon 24.,” 7.

⁴² “Now w^t can be more harmless, meek & gentle y^d a dove? W^t can be a more proper emblem of love & peace? Yet because the true church has such a meek, gentle, as I may say, dove like temper & disposition, (it is said Cant. 1.15, Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold thou art fair; thou hast dove’s eyes. And again, thou hast doves eyes within they locks. Again, speaking of the church it is said, O my dove, y^t art in the clefts of the Rock. Open to me my love, my dove, My dove, my undefiled is but one.” Ibid., 8.

⁴³ Ibid., 8-11.

⁴⁴ Edwards Jr., “Sermon 24.,” 11.

⁴⁵ “The same appears by the name by which Christ is so often called in Scripture, viz. THE LAMB. And as these things are especially the character of Christ; so they are also especially the character of Christians. Christians are *Christlike* [...] Christ the great Shepherd, is himself a lamb, and believers are also *lambs*: all the flocks are lambs; John 21:15, “Feed my lambs.” Luke 10:3, “I send you forth as lambs, in the midst of wolves.” [...] Christian affections, and a Christian behavior, is but the flowing out of the savor of Christ’s sweet ointments. Because the church has a *dovelike* temper and disposition, therefore it is said of her that she has doves’ eyes [...] ’Tis doubtless very much on this account, that Christ represents all his disciples, all the heirs of heaven, as *little children* [...]” Emphasis Added. Edwards, *Religious Affections*, 346-49.

⁴⁶ Edwards Jr., “Sermon 24.,” 19.

⁴⁷ Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, 72-75.

⁴⁸ Ferm suggests that there is no evidence that the half-way covenant was to be rescinded at Edwards Jr.’s request. Ibid., 73; however, in a letter sent to Joseph Bellamy on November 31, 1768, Jonathan Edwards Jr. in coordination with Roger Sherman seems to be maneuvering in this direction. Edwards Jr. writes: “I suppose M^r. Sherman has given you full information of w^t was done at our last society meeting. I had some tho’ts of riding up to Bethlehem this week: but have concluded to defer it till next week. President Daggett & M^r. Trumbull are of opinion y^t the opposition, w^h has hitherto appeared is sufficient discouragement. The half-way covenant is now under consideration. They say there will be no

bringing a decisive vote to return to practice regenerate church membership on December 6.

The third text comes from the Beatitudes is Matthew 5:6 and occurs in five different manuscripts from 1774-1789. These manuscripts advance a general thesis that God will bless those whose are endowed with a spiritual disposition for personal holiness. Holiness is an alternative gloss for righteousness. This being the case, in the last dated sermon (“1113 N^o.”), Edwards Jr. interprets the object of hunger as personal holiness rather than for imputed holiness.⁴⁹

Contrary to an antinomian interpretation, Edwards Jr. contends that a person may hunger for pardon but still not be filled with any grace. Rather “[t]he sincere de/sires of the Xian [Christian]/of increase in/grace—greater/conformity to G. [God]/more of the Spirit/of God.”⁵⁰ God does not give satisfaction to a person who merely has a carnal desire to escape damnation; rather, he gives eternal blessing to those who desire real holiness.⁵¹

Manuscript “N^o. 1113” was delivered during a lengthy discussion to renew relations with the First Church in town.⁵² The First Church made reconciliation more

great difficulty in the church. The danger is y^t the society will take it in dudgeon [a feeling of offense or deep resentment]—But time will well shew the event. They have not fixed any salary as yet; but have left it at large, only promising to support me; & Mr. Sherman seems to be of opinion y^t it is best it be left so. But it is contrary to the opinion of the above named gentlemen. I beg you will send me your opinion upon this head by Mr. Sherman, who I expect will return on Monday next, to be before the chh [churches] meeting. Or if you have an opportunity sooner please to embrace it. My mind is much agitated about the affair. And I am determined not to give any answer till I see you, if not some others of my friends at a distance—I hope you will be at home next week.—With kind regard to the family & the young gentlemen there, I am, Your most affect^d. Humble Servant, Jon^a. Edwards. Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to Joseph Bellamy, November 31, 1768, *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series V Edwards Family Correspondence, Jonathan Edwards 1745-1801 Outgoing Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 26, folder 1414).

⁴⁹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “1113. N^o. Nov^r. 8. 1789 Mat. V.6.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4) 1-4.

⁵⁰ Edwards Jr., “1113. No. Nov^r. 8. 1789 Mat. V.6.,” 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁵² Robert L. Ferm describes the question of renewing periodic communion worship in meetings which occurred in February, April, June, August, September and finally in November 1789 (the month of this sermon). Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger*, 135.

unlikely with the untimely installation of James Dana, an Old Light graduate of Harvard. Old Lights allowed a mixed membership and participation at the sacred table; whereas, New Lights required evidence of conversion in order to participate. This timely sermon may have buried any possibility of a shared communion with the First Church, as Edwards Jr. emphasized that “the converted only” hungers after this personal righteousness.⁵³ Earlier renditions are nearly identical with some slight variations.⁵⁴

Throughout these manuscripts Edwards Jr. draws frequently from *Religious Affections*. For example, a desire to be holy “for its own sake” creating a strong aversion to sin⁵⁵ draws upon the doctrinal thread of disinterested love.⁵⁶ Additionally, Edwards Jr. uses his father’s familiar analogy of honey which is used in *Religious Affections* to describe the difference between knowing about spiritual things and having a taste for them⁵⁷ (even if holiness requires a bitter pill).⁵⁸ Further, this desire for holiness increases

⁵³ Edwards Jr., “No. 1113,” 4.

⁵⁴ No. 803 adds two pages to further develop the object of the hunger and thirst. Here again, righteousness is defined as spiritual righteousness or holiness—and this righteousness is seen specifically as love to God, love to Christ, love for brethren, and repentance from all else. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 803. March 9. 1783. Mat. 5.6.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 1-3. In sermons N^o. 352 and N^o. 803, Edwards Jr. explores what is *implied* by hungering and thirsting for righteousness, and what is *implied* by having one’s appetite satisfied. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “No. 352. Feb. 27. 1774. Mat. 5.6.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 2), 1-4. Sermon N^o. 511 increases to seven points; whereas, N^o. 352 had only five points; and the later N^o. 803 drops back to four. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 511 Jan. 19. 1777. Mat 5.6.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 2), 1-4.

⁵⁵ Edwards Jr., “No. 511,” 2-3.

⁵⁶ Edwards, *Religious Affections*, 240-253.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2. “[T]hen it follows that the mind has an entirely new kind of perception or sensation; and here is, as it were, a new *spiritual sense* that the mind has, or a principle of new kind of perception or spiritual sensation, which is in its whole nature different from any former kinds of sensation of the mind, as tasting is diverse from any of the other senses; and something is perceived by a true saint, in the exercise of this new sense of mind, in spiritual and divine things, as entirely diverse from anything that is perceived in them, by natural men, as the sweet taste of honey is diverse from the ideas men get of honey by only looking at it, and feeling of it.” Edwards, *Religious Affections*, 205-206.

⁵⁸ Remarkably, Edwards Jr. uses the very same metaphor of a bitter pill [medicine] which his father had used in a sermon preached at Portsmouth in January 1737 from Matthew 5:6. Jonathan Edwards Sr., “418. Matt. 5:6,” *Sermons, Series II, 1737, in Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 52, ed. Jonathan Edwards Center (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

in men desire many things
that they have no proper appetite to. they

the prospect of heaven in the imagination as one “spurns those things w^h tend to prevent his increase in holiness.”⁵⁹

The logic of this inverse relationship was also noted by Bellamy in *True Religion Delineated* when he wrote that

it is evident from the Nature of Things, that such a love as this will effectually influence us to do so. As Self-love naturally causes us to set up Self and seek Self-Interest: So this Love to God will naturally influence us to set up God and seek his Interest. As delight in the World naturally makes us seek after the Enjoyment of the world, so this delight in God will naturally influence us to seek after the Enjoyment of God. [...] So Saints in Heaven love God perfectly, and so the good Man on Earth begins in a weak and feeble Manner to love God.⁶⁰

The pursuit of all things heavenly increases over time, and in some ways, the hunger and thirst intensifies with the anticipation of heaven.

The last Beatitude sermon, in which the blessed are pure in heart, is explicated by two manuscripts. The first of these texts prioritize the indwelling work of the Holy Spirit at a difficult time early in Edwards Jr.’s ministry. Nine months into Edwards Jr.’s first year of ministry in September 1769, a sizeable minority who had opposed his settlement finally decided to leave. Two months prior to the exodus, Edwards Jr. taught his congregation that no natural man can be pure in heart unless the Holy Spirit takes residence in their heart.⁶¹ Consequently, a pure heart is tender, full of affection, ravished with the beauty of God, filled with delight in the majesty of God so that the “whole soul

may desire a lance to Lay open a wound
or a bitter medicine to save their lives
but it cant be said that they have any appe
tite to ~~these lance and bitter medicine~~
because the desire of these things is not at
all for the things themse.
but for the sake of ~~something else~~ other
good thing they hope to obtain.

⁵⁹ Edwards Jr., “No. 511,” 3.

⁶⁰ Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 15.

⁶¹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 66. July 16. 1769. Mat. 5.8.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2727), 6.

wrapt up in delight & joy. [...] all things else tasteless.”⁶² Borrowing his mentor Joseph Bellamy’s analogy of a person not full of benevolence, Edwards Jr. describes these people as being caught in “the narrow circle of self.”⁶³ Bellamy used this phrase in *True Religion Delineated* (1750) demonstrating mentoring conversations with Edwards Sr. as the very phrase appears in *A Dissertation Concerning the Nature of True Virtue* (1765).⁶⁴ As Edwards Jr. pled with his congregation, he asked them to consider “W^t. an amiable/thing is true Xiani/ty! This purity is the very/essence of true religi/on.”⁶⁵ Since a portion of Edwards Jr.’s congregation apparently did not have “an ear/to hear...w^t. the Spirit saith un/to the chhs. [churches],”⁶⁶ the split would occur in spite of his attempt to woo his congregation. Edwards Jr. would not return to this text for another nineteen years.⁶⁷

Introduction (Matthew 5:13-20)

The salt metaphor in Matthew 5:13 is exegeted in two manuscripts. In the earliest sermon,⁶⁸ Edwards compares the character of salt with a spirited Christianity. His

⁶² Edwards Jr., “Volume 66. July 16. 1769 Mat. 5.8,” 3-4.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9. Compare with “But Hypocrites are confined within the narrow Circle Self.” Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 89.

⁶⁴ On the other hand, perhaps after reading Bellamy’s published work in 1750, Edwards added the footnote to include Bellamy’s analogy. “It may be here noted that when hereafter I use a phrase as “private system of beings,” or others similar, I thereby intend any system or society of beings that contains but a small part of the great system comprehending the universality of existence. I think that may well be called a “private system” which is but an infinitely small part of this great whole we stand related to. I therefore also call that affection “private affection” which is limited to so narrow a circle; and that “general affection” or “benevolence” which has Being in general for its object.” Jonathan Edwards, *Dissertation Concerning the Nature of True Religion, in Ethical Writings Ethical Writings*, vol. 8, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 554, n1.

⁶⁵ Edwards Jr., “Volume 66. July 16. 1769 Mat. 5.8,” 11.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁷ With some time and reflection, in Sermon “N^o. 1006,” he described the pure in heart as partakers of the divine nature allowing them to see God’s glory and enjoy him. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “No. 1006. Sep^r. 30. 1787 Mat. V. 8.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 168, Folder 2746), 1-2. Edwards Jr. also describes purity of heart as creating peace of mind as “turbulence is subdued by grace.” This inner grace produces a peace with God and man in the form of patience, contentment, hope, and courage. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁶⁸ The earliest sermon was delivered on December 21, 1783 just after he had been remarried on

first point highlights the peculiar flavor which encompasses a Christian's apprehensions, temper, motives, conduct, relations, and privileges. Edwards Jr. is thorough in describing the latent effect of the Spirit upon the Christian's disposition setting him in contrast with the world. For example, the world may see the character of God as great, omniscient, just, holy, but "not the glory [however] the disciple does."⁶⁹ The very temper of a Christian is quite different from the world because it has a "spirit of benevolence [...] spirit of holiness [...] spirit of kindness [...] a most amiable spirit."⁷⁰ These dispositions "give an agreeable relish to meats—the more the disciples/So divine grace renders/agreeable the characters of those to whom communicated."⁷¹ These themes are carried into the second manuscript at his second pulpit in Colebrook on March 31, 1797 with an even greater focus on the New Divinity theme of true religion. Specifically, the "true disciples" of Christ give "relish to the earth" by "spreading a/round true religi/on in the earth."⁷²

In "Grace Evidenced By Its Fruits" a published exposition of Matthew 5:15, Edwards Jr. observed that when divine grace takes residence in the heart it will produce a visible display (light) through holy practice.⁷³ Preached for the first time in 1769, this sermon bears a striking similarity to his first Beatitude sermon from Matthew 5:5 in 1768. Both sermons use biblical metaphors to illustrate abstract spiritual qualities. Just as meekness was described with vibrant metaphor, spiritual vitality of the divine nature is

Thursday of that week to Miss Mercy Sabin of New Haven. Edwards Jr.'s first wife, Mary Porter Edwards, died the previous June by drowning, a result of a tragic horse and carriage accident. Surprisingly, or not, his nuptial earlier in the week is not directly visible in this sermon. A detailed account of the accident was shared with his nephew Timothy Dwight in a letter. Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to Timothy Dwight, July 18, 1782, *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 1). Tryon Edwards, "Memoir," in *JEW1*, xxv.

⁶⁹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "No. 839. Dec. 21. 1783 Mat. 5.13 Ye are the salt of the earth &," *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 167, Folder 2743), 1-3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷² Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered] June 29. 1794 At Colebrook March 31. 1797 Mat. V.13," *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 169, Folder 2753), 1-2.

⁷³ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Grace Evidenced by Its Fruits [circa 1769]," in *JEW2*, 387-400.

compared to a seed, a fire, a precious ointment, a spring of living water, spirit (John 3:6), and the power of godliness (2 Tim 3:5).⁷⁴ Like other metaphors borrowed from his father, these are also found peppered throughout *Religious Affections*.⁷⁵ Edwards Jr. concludes that divine grace is the same in nature (temper) and tendency (act). His father is very much in the shadows when he states that “through the saving influences of the Spirit of God, there is a new inward perception or sensation of their minds [...] then the exercises of it are also entirely a new kind of perception or sensation.”⁷⁶ In other words, the Divine Nature will produce visible fruits including a “cordial belief” in the truth, a reliance upon God, true love to God, repentance, humility, love to men, gratitude, and hope.⁷⁷ On the other hand an absence of visible fruit is an indication of gracelessness. While the exact date of this sermon is uncertain (*circa* 1769), Edwards Jr. may in this sermon be issuing a warning to those ready to leave the White Haven Church, when he says,

Men who have no cordial consent to the truth, but whose hearts wholly oppose it, are continually raising objections against it. And by this means they frequently persuade themselves into disbelief of it; at least they render it less practical to themselves, and are much less influenced by it in their conduct. But a saving belief of the truth sweeps away all these objections, and receives the truth in all its practical power and efficacy.⁷⁸

In similar fashion, Bellamy argues that a “Sense of his infinite glory immediately imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, whereby the Heart is thus divinely established in the Belief of the truth, is therefore that *Unction from the holy One*, which all the Saints

⁷⁴ Edwards, “Grace Evidenced by Its Fruits,” 389-92.

⁷⁵ The Spirit of God is identified as being called “the power of godliness” and “fire.” Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, 100. In a later passage, Edwards Sr. compares the Spirit of God to living water, a precious anointing ointment, and a seed. *Ibid.*, 200-201.

⁷⁶ Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, 205.

⁷⁷ Edwards, “Grace Evidenced by Its Fruits,” 392-98.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 394-95.

have, whereby they are effectually secured from being finally led away by false Teachers.”⁷⁹

While certainly more metaphysical in orientation, even in the three manuscripts which highlight Christ’s fulfillment of the law (Matt 5:17-18), Edwards Jr. does not minimize the free grace of the gospel by the Spirit. Edwards Jr. deals with soteriological objections. In particular, he addresses the legality of imputed righteousness which justification without penalty creates. To answer this problem, he turned to the moral government theory of the atonement⁸⁰ in which Christ satisfied the justice in “support/[to] the honor of the law/equally supported/as if literally executed.”⁸¹ Therefore the Law is seen to be in “full force” with the only “condition of justification” having been realized in Christ.⁸² In lock-step with Bellamy, Edwards Jr. balances God’s justice while holding mankind responsible to obey the law of God.⁸³ Since Edwards Sr. had written such a glowing endorsement of Bellamy’s *True Religion Delineated* in the “Preface,” this backing, according to Obbie Tyler Todd, suggests that Edwards Sr. may have sown the

⁷⁹ Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 80.

⁸⁰ Historically, the substitutionary theory embodied “The Anselm Need” for satisfaction. This satisfaction came through the payment of the elect sinner’s debt. The need for satisfaction tended to create a God in man’s debt. Instead of indebting man to God, the New Divinity described sin as the offence against God’s moral government. This put man in God’s due, creating moral accountability. The atonement was necessary so that God could offer redemption to sinners in general while still having an efficacy for the elect. New Divinity thinking moved from a strict penal substitutionary toward a moral governmental theory by viewing the atonement as the restoration of the Godhead’s honor by securing justice (“so that [God] might be just and the justifier”). As a primary spokesman for the governmental theory, Edwards Jr. modified the analogy of penal substitution to the restoration of the happiness and glory of God primarily (moral government) by the punishment of sin in Christ. William Breitenbach, *New Divinity Theology and the Idea of Moral Accountability*, Dissertation Series (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), 137–46. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Thoughts on the Atonement,” *JEW1*, 493-507. Also, Edwards Jr.’s three sermons on the atonement in *JEW2*, 11-52.

⁸¹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o.753 March 3. 1782. Mat. 5, 17, 18.” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 3.

⁸² Accordingly, “the gospel does/not allow of pardon/but conditional/[upon] repentance [through] faith,” Edwards Jr., “N^o.753 March 3. 1782 Mat. 5,17, 18,” 1-2.

⁸³ Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 70–80. This explanation comes from Bellamy’s argument that man has natural capacity to carry out the duty of the Law, although the heart does not desire to until “A Sense of the infinite Glory of God, begets a Disposition in the Heart to conform to this Law and do this Duty.” *Ibid.*, 80.

seeds of the governmental theory of the atonement in his successors.⁸⁴ While at least half the sermon argues humanity's danger "under the [abiding] sentence of the law," he nevertheless implores his listeners to abandon all other "fallacious hope" by turning to Christ's free grace.⁸⁵ In a subsequent sermon (1793), the force of the Law's duty continues into the current day; however, the "free grace of the gospel consists/in this—may be/saved—live how/they will—/this the liberty of the/children of God."⁸⁶ Of the three sermons, the middle sermon (1786) is the most metaphysical.⁸⁷

If repetition of a sermon text is any indication of preference, then Matthew 5:20 could be seen as one of Edwards Jr.'s favorite texts as it was used in nine different locations. All three manuscripts bear the mark of the New Divinity revivalist rhetoric. His earliest manuscript (1771) highlights, like his father, how righteousness must exceed morality through the "inward temper."⁸⁸ In a sermon on the same text, Edwards Sr. recognizes the absolute necessity of a regenerate heart:

3. ~~we~~ If we would Enter into the K. of H we must exceed the Pharisees in this that we must not only give G. our outside but we must give him our Heart.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Obbie Tyler Todd, "Purchasing the Spirit: A Trinitarian Hermeneutic for Jonathan Edwards's Doctrine of the Atonement," *Puritan Reformed Journal* 10, no. 2 (July 2018): 165–67. Also see, Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Remarks on the Improvements Made in Theology by His Father, President Edwards," in *JEW1*, 486.

⁸⁵ Edwards Jr., "N^o.753," 4.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered] Aug. 4. 1793. Mat. V. 17.," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 3.

⁸⁷ Edwards Jr. recognizes that Christ's divinity, and thus equality with the Father, provides the necessary weight so that the atonement might be sufficient and just within the divine government. Further, this equality guarantees that the satisfaction and the greatest proof of the "displeasure of God against sin as the damnation of all men," Jonathan Edwards Jr., "N^o. 939. March 12. 1786. Mat. 5. 17, 18.," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 2–4. Also see, "Thoughts on the Atonement," in which a robust understanding of the Trinity is vital in holding an orthodox doctrine of the atonement. Edwards Jr., "Thoughts on the Atonement," 505–507.

⁸⁸ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Volume 124. Feb. 16. 1771. Mat. 5.20.," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 1), 2.

⁸⁹ Jonathan Edwards Sr., "418. Matt. 5:6," *Sermons, Series II, July-December 1740, in Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 56 (New Haven, CT: Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University, 2008). Also consider how *The Life of David Brainerd* puts into visual effect a person who has true religion, that is, those genuine marks of *Religious Affection*. In the closing remarks, Edwards Sr. shows how professing

The other two manuscripts are of similar concern. Like the original they were designed to awaken false professors to “rest not till your righteousness exceeds [the Scribes and Pharisees],” but be like the “young man in the gospel” and “flee to the mountain” like Lot.⁹⁰

The Law of Christ (Matt 5:21-48)

From Matthew 5:21-22 Edwards Jr. observed that the Jews were generally outward professors of the Law because they had not internalized the law (“thus lost the spirit”).⁹¹ Therefore his listeners needed to ensure they were true professors by practicing the spirit of the law. Edwards Jr. included adultery and false swearing as examples showing how the Jews interpreted the Law legally and not spiritually. This tendency produced a flat or superficial reading. Given this inclination, Edwards Jr. shows that Jesus’ teaching on degrees of punishment goes beyond the surface of this life.⁹² Four years earlier, Edwards Jr. had already concluded that reconciliation with one’s accuser in Matthew 5:25-26 had higher implications.⁹³ Edwards Jr. posits God as man’s primary

believers need an honest evaluation of their inward temper so as not to be hypocritical: “So, I doubt not, but there are many deluded people, if they should read the preceding account of Mr. Brainerd’s life, who, reading without much understanding or careful observation, would say without hesitation that some things which they have met with are of the very same kind with what he expresses: when the agreement is only in some general circumstances, or some particular things that are superficial, and belonging as it were to the profession and outside of religion; but the inward temper of mind and the fruits in practice are as opposite and distant as East and West.” Jonathan Edwards Sr., *The Life of David Brainerd, in Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 7, ed. Norman Pettit (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 518.

⁹⁰ Edwards Jr., “Volume 124,” 16.

⁹¹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 379. July 17. 1774. Mat. 5. 21, 22.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 2), 1.

⁹² “No; this the letter/besides a Spiritual mean/ing—/Illustrate the de/grees of punishment in hell.” Ibid., 3. Later on the same page, Edwards Jr. summarizes the following doctrine which he will develop in detail: “In hell there/will be an exact/proportion observed/between the demerit/of the sins which shall/be punished & the degree/of punishment which shall be inflicted.” Ibid. Edwards Jr.’s interpretation is unique; however, not outside of church history, as Hilary of Poitiers also saw the potential that God would be man’s ultimate adversary, if he refuse to be reconciled to his brother (Matt 5:23-24). David G. Hunter, ed., *St. Hilary of Poitiers Commentary on Matthew*, trans. D. H. Williams (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 67–68.

⁹³ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 130 Oct. 1770 Mat. 5. 25, 26.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 1), 1-8.

adversary and a dispute between men as secondary.⁹⁴ Inescapable consequences come to those who do not repent and therefore reconciliation with God is of utmost importance.⁹⁵ With great tenderness he encouraged his last congregation in Colebrook to heed God's mercy. "What a favourable opportunity is this/while in the way w^h/our adversary—!/W^t a mercy y^t are/yet in the way w^h him—!"⁹⁶ Rather than preaching the other legal aspects of Matthew 5:21-48, Edwards Jr. subsumes them generally as typical of how "the Jews had imbibed false ideas—taught false maxims."⁹⁷ Edwards Jr. shows how the Pharisees had corrupted the public judicial principle of "an eye for an eye." As a way of conducting one's private life, this principle tended to create more enemies than friends. For the Christian, "It is a law of the gospel, y^t we love our enemies" and is implied "in y^t/general love of being require/d of all men/if benevolent to/all men of course/to enemies—."⁹⁸

On November 14, 1784, Ezra Stiles recorded in his journal that Mr. Edwards had been to chapel and "preached on Benevolence."⁹⁹ More accurately, however, the sermon develops the theme of *Disinterested* Benevolence, a significant New Divinity doctrine, which excludes all motive of self-love.¹⁰⁰ Some have suggested that the concept

⁹⁴ "And as in this/case best to be re/conciled lest/be delivered to the/judge &c./So—to God lest/do far worse/1. All mankind have/an adversary [God]. 2. Have an oppor/tunity to be re/conciled. 3. Wise for 'em/to [agree] w^h 'im [God]." Edwards Jr., "Volume 130," 1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8. This greater reconciliation premise is refined and delivered twenty-four years later in a manuscript in New Haven. Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered] Aug^t 24, 1794 Mat. V. 25.," *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 11), 1-4.

⁹⁶ Edwards Jr., "Aug^t 24. 1794.," 4.

⁹⁷ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered] July 18. 1790 Mat. V. 43, 44," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁹ *LDESI*, 143. Jonathan Edwards Jr., "N^o. ____ Nov^r. 14, 1784. Mat. 5. 46," *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 5), 1-30. The following manuscripts are drafts of the November 1784 manuscript and may give insight into Edwards Jr.'s composition process. Jonathan Edwards Jr., "No. 805. March 23, 1783 Mat. 5.46," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 1-4.; Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered and Undated] Mat. V. 46 [fragments]," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 1-4 & loose page.

¹⁰⁰ "There is such an affection very common among men, as interested love or benevolence. This is when we love ~~men~~ a man, merely because he is instrumental ~~to~~ of promoting our good or happiness. ... Now on the same principle we may love God himself; because he hath done us good in temporal or

of disinterested benevolence is not part of Edward Sr.'s theology;¹⁰¹ however, in *Original Sin* (1758) he very clearly states:

Our esteem of God is fundamentally defective, if it be not primarily for the excellency of his nature, which is the foundation of all that is valuable in him in any respect. If we love not God because he is what he is, but only because he is profitable to us, in truth we love him not at all. If we seem to love him, our love is not to him, but to something else.¹⁰²

In the same sermon, Edwards Jr. also addressed the tendency of deists like Thomas Paine to reject divine revelation in favor of “the light of nature.”¹⁰³ Edwards Jr. objects that on the basis of an interested benevolence (“the light of nature”), the priest and Levite “were perfectly right in neglecting their half dead, perishing country-man.”¹⁰⁴ As the sermon progresses, Edwards Jr. concludes that “in loving ourselves only, we make ourselves our ultimate & supreme good.”¹⁰⁵ This reversal of goods creates a deleterious effect upon society because “self-love is so far from being the source of virtue, y^t in the inordinate

spiritual respects or because we expect or hope that he will do us good. This kind of love to God hath been & is now common in the world, & is the essence of the religion of many. Yet there is no real religion, no holiness, no true virtue in it, any more than there is in loving ourselves & in seeking our own private interest.” *Ibid.*, 3-4. Joseph Bellamy, “From this divine Benevolence, arises a free and genuine Disposition to dedicate, consecrate, devote and give up our selves entirely to the Lord forever; to walk in all his Ways, and keep all his Commands, seeking his Glory. [...] And if SELF be highest in Esteem, then Self-Interest will be the principal Motive and last End.” *True Religion Delineated*, 12-13.

¹⁰¹ Paul Ramsey is probably correct to say that in some senses Samuel Hopkin's expression of disinterested benevolence is outside of his mentor's thoughts. In other words, Edwards Sr. would not articulate a benevolence as that which creates the motive to be damned for the glory of God if He so wills. That being said, nonetheless, in this area there is a greater continuity of thought from the elder to the younger Edwards through Bellamy rather than Hopkins, “Appendix One: Joseph Bellamy's Copy of the Charity Sermons,” *Ethical Writings, in Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 8, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 648. n6.

¹⁰² Jonathan Edwards Sr., *Original Sin, in Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 3, ed. Clyde A. Holbrook (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 144.

¹⁰³ “The word of God is the creation we behold: And it is in *this word*, which no human invention can counterfeit or alter, that God speaketh universally to man.” Paine Thomas, “The Age of Reason,” in *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, vol. 4 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 45. Edwards Jr.'s introduction proposes the problem of looking to “the light of nature” for all necessary revelation regarding man's necessary benevolence but writers like Paine are placing “the whole of religion radically in self-love” and “they attempt to show y^t it is sufficiently plain by the light of nature.” Edwards Jr., “N^o. __,” 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

indulgence of it, it becomes the source of all vice.”¹⁰⁶ Vice breeds vice. Edwards Jr. deduces, based on the mathematical law of proportions, that an infinite injustice occurs against God’s universal system through even one individual sin. A divine necessity is created, and out of the “light of nature,” requires a disinterested benevolence toward God and neighbor from the Law as a reflection of the character of God. Accordingly, the infinite evil of sin requires an eternity of hellfire. Edwards Jr. recognizes that the age of reason is devoid of any gospel hope.¹⁰⁷ Thus an infidel lacks any advantage in the life to come, or in the present life¹⁰⁸—so, it would be wise to embrace the Christian system.¹⁰⁹

What then is the duty of man? In a sermon on the final verse in the Law of Christ section (Matt 5:21-48),¹¹⁰ Edwards Jr. considers the Christian calling to perfection (v. 48). In the last year of his ministry in New Haven (August 3, 1794), he defines divine perfection as a positive attribute which is by definition out of reach; however, because of man’s limited nature, freedom from sin (apophatic approach to perfection) is not just the goal, rather, is man’s duty.¹¹¹ While others might be tempted to slacken the requirement of the Law, Edwards Jr. does not; although he is a realist (“I speak of Xian [Christian] perfection— . . . not y^t we/shall ever do it—”),¹¹² he recognizes that the Law instills humility.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Edwards Jr., “N^o. __,” 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas, “Age of Reason,” 22.

¹⁰⁹ Edwards Jr., “N^o. __,” 30.

¹¹⁰ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] Aug^t. 3. 1794 Mat. V. 48.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 1-4.

¹¹¹ Edwards Jr., “Aug^t. 3. 1794,” 2.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

The Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:10-13)

Edwards Jr. likened the model prayer to timeless instruction for the church through its six petitions. Edwards Jr., like his father, desired that the visible church would be consistent with the true church. In other words, as he preached, he called his church to strive for a purity of membership so that the God's will (or kingdom) would be on earth as it is in heaven. Edwards Sr.'s scientific effort in *Religious Affections* to distinguish the true church within the visible church,¹¹⁴ is affirmed in *True Religion Delineated* and honed by the younger Edwards.

In Matthew 6:10, the first three petitions are distilled into aspects of God's kingdom.¹¹⁵ Specifically, the kingdom consists of the "whole society of true subjects of God" in this world. The "visible church" ought to consist only of those who have "the kingdom of grace in the heart." Specifically, these professors of God's kingdom have renounced Satan's kingdom and have taken "God's [kingdom]—[through] X [Christ]—[by] h[oly]. Spirit."¹¹⁶ Edwards Jr. goes on to lay out the "usual method" of entrance into the kingdom of God which consists of awakening, amazement over the wrath of God without a sense of resolution, leading to the saving knowledge of the truth and a new heart.¹¹⁷ Twenty years later, in a more concise way, Edwards says that praying for the kingdom will cause believers to desire the visible church to increase in genuine membership.¹¹⁸ However genuine membership may require a "renewal of profession" on

¹¹⁴ In the "Author's Preface" to *Religious Affections*, Edwards Sr. describes the seemingly indistinguishable mixture which exists in the visible church just "as it is with fruit trees in the spring; there are a multitude of blossoms [...] but many of 'em are but of short continuance, they soon fall off, and never come to maturity." Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, 85-86.

¹¹⁵ By collapsing these three petitions together, the sermon directed his congregation "to pray/much for the com/ing of God's king/dom." Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Vol. 211 March 1. 1772 Mat. 6.10," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 2), 1.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

¹¹⁸ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "July 1. 1792 Mat. VI.10.," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 3-4.

the part of his hearers.¹¹⁹ To be actively engaged in the promotion of the kingdom (church) is further evidence of being in the kingdom. Edwards Jr. implores his hearers to come to God's kingdom (that is, the true church) for it is

the happy state
of true Christians
You belong to
this kingdom—
to the family of God
of all holy beings
God your father
Christ redeemer—
Holy Spirit sanctifier.¹²⁰

The following year, Edwards Jr. picked up the bread petition to encourage prayer for rain during a drought. Far from the sermon being metaphysical, Edwards Jr. shows how dependent on God his parish was for “rain & shine.”¹²¹ With extended famine on the horizon, he reminds his congregation of the legitimacy of prayer in distress, but not to overlook dependence when all is well. While the kingdom is primary, Christians are also to be praying for “common good things” too.¹²²

On the other side of the Declaration of Independence, Edwards Jr. preached on deliverance from temptation with “some things especially tempted to in the present day.”¹²³ In this sermon, Edwards addresses various vices which entice, but notes that a heart which is “dead in sin—[desires] no holy acts.” Bellamy and Edwards Sr. reverberate in a brief subpoint on the voluntary nature of free agents.¹²⁴ Sinners who have

¹¹⁹ Edwards Jr., “July 1. 1792.,” 1.

¹²⁰ Edwards Jr., “Vol. 211,” 7.

¹²¹ His congregation had seen “by experience—of late/fields of corn/suffering—pastures burnt up/cattle pinched.” *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Vol. 305. July 25, 1773 Mat. 6.11,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 2), 1-4, 1.

¹²³ “1. Distrust of G [God].—/2. Murmurings ag. [against] G [God]. /3. Profaneness— /4. A renunciation of/the right. [righteous] cause. /5. Injustice—extortion.” Jonathan Edwards Jr., “N^o. 552. March 8.1778. Mat. 6.13,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 2), 8.

¹²⁴ Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 103-106. Jonathan Edwards Sr, *Freedom of the Will*, in

no heart for the good (“disposed/to sin—no heart to/good”) are still accountable. He asks rhetorically if “a man literally dead/[is] excusable[?],” and answers, “utterly inexcusable/voluntary—consents/to it—chooses—.”¹²⁵ Perhaps as a way to illustrate voluntary choice in hard times, Edwards Jr. addressed the need for Sabbath attendance in spite of the war (“our congrega. too/thin”).¹²⁶ His last use of this text produced a very practical multi-generational message exhorting dependency upon God in all kinds of temptation at every season of life.¹²⁷

God’s Superior Kingdom (Matt 6:19-33)

Just prior to the Revolutionary War, Edwards Jr. preached a sermon from Matthew 6:19-21 at a time when the American economy was very strong. In good times, sermon application that disassociates wealth from covetousness is easier. For example, illustrations of rich men like Abraham and David who loved God come easily. In his sermon, wealth is not the issue; rather, “it is to set our/hearts so on earthly/things as—supreme good—above Spirit.”¹²⁸ Yet covetousness and idolatry have deadly consequences, so Edwards Jr. shows how God “desires the/soul—formed for noble purposes—to glorify & enjoy God.”¹²⁹ In a later sermon (1787), delivered within a few years of the Continental Dollar’s collapse, Edwards Jr. is more free to contrast treasure in

Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 1, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 295-301.

¹²⁵ Edwards Jr., “No. 552.,” 3.

¹²⁶ Edwards Jr., “No. 552.,” 5.

¹²⁷ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] Feb. 6. 1791. Mat. VI.13,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Box 1, Folder 4), 1-6.

¹²⁸ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Vol. 276. Feb. 28. 1773. Mat. 6. 19, 20, 21.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Box 1, Folder 2), 1.

¹²⁹ Edwards Jr., “Vol. 276.,” 4.

heaven to that which has the risk of “melting away to nothing.”¹³⁰ Those who seek security and happiness in heaven will experience a greater security and happiness generated out of “a right ac/cording to the gospel.”¹³¹

From Matthew 6:33, Edwards Jr. issued another reminder of the human “propensity to covetousness” (within a few months preaching Matt 6:19-21 in February 1773).¹³² The sense of ultimate and infinite happiness is a just motivation to pursue “y^t great being, who/made—up/holds—governs—on whom depend/to his kingdom.”¹³³ Those who pursue God’s kingdom, instead of wealth, find “the end for w^h created” and find just “how graci/ous God.--/provided a kingd^m/in w^h alone happy.”¹³⁴ Twenty-two years later in a sermon “To the Young People,” he concisely stated that “w^t is of great value & importance--/shod [should] be sou’t [sought] first.”¹³⁵ In other words, whatever has the greatest value will not only bring the greatest joy but also the greatest reward.

¹³⁰ “We in these times had experienced this kind of treasure.” Jonathan Edwards Jr., “No. 988. April 15. 1787. Mat. VI. 20,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 4.; In an accounting ledger for the White Haven Society’s School Accounts the treasurer notes in 1781 that Continental Money received in 1778 just three years later is equal at “forty for one.” in “White Haven Society’s School Accounts Committed to the Care of Jeremiah Atwater, 1770-1802,” *The United Church Papers, Series 1*, New Haven Museum (MSS 9, Box 1, Folder K).; During the Revolution, the Continental Congress issued fiat money in the tens of millions to finance the war without a solid plan to finance the currency. Within a short period of time these bills, along with many of the states who printed their own, depreciated to nearly nothing. Farley Grubb, “State Redemption of the Continental Dollar, 1779–90,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 1 (2012): 147–80.

¹³¹ Edwards Jr., “No. 988,” 2. The gospel is the gateway to happiness: in particular, “by a compliance/w^h the gospel—& by any/progress in holiness.” This begins by faith in Christ, reconciliation to God, by repentance, by love to men, by forgiveness of enemies, and improvement of our talents for God. *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹³² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Vol. 308 August 15. 1773 Mat. 6.33.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 166, Folder 2733), 1. Edwards Jr. also connects covetousness with an “inconsistency with piety—v. 24.,” “vanity v. 27,” and “the exam.[example] of birds & grass lilies v. 26 [-] 30.” *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹³⁵ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] March 1795. Mat. VI. 33.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 169, Folder 2753), 3.

Seeking entrance into the kingdom of God is to seek a place in “the true church/to seek this is to seek/heaven—.”¹³⁶

The Invitation and Warnings of Christ (Matt 7:12-28)

On the Golden Rule, first preached a month before the issue of the Stamp Act in March 1774, could Edwards have been aware of just how relevant his illustration of rulers and subjects would be? Perhaps if king and subject were to trade places they both might better understand the effects of “mildness—severity” in the application of and submission to justice.¹³⁷ In the concluding thoughts, Edwards left an open door for further development as he concludes that since Christ’s rule summarized the law and the prophets it also reflects “the justice of God.”¹³⁸

The introduction and outline of the sermon from 1774¹³⁹ formed the backbone for his 1791 sermon¹⁴⁰ from the same text, preached before an anti-slavery society. This sermon is probably one of the most consequential sermons in American History. Unbeknownst to Edwards Jr., the published version of this sermon¹⁴¹ (“The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade, and of Slavery”) would fall into the hands of Owen Brown’s

¹³⁶ Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] March 1795,” 1. Also see Edwards Jr.’s brief notes prepared for several itinerate locations through the year 1800, in which he concludes, that the church is the kingdom of God by comparing Matthew 7:28 with Matthew 21:43, Mark 1:15; 9:1, Luke 17:21, and Rev 12:10. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] Oct. 10. 1798. Mat. VI. 33.,” *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 13), 1, 4.

¹³⁷ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “353. Feb. 27. 1774. Mat. 7.12.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 166, Folder 2734), 4.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Edwards Jr., “353.,” 1-4.

¹⁴⁰ Jonathan Edwards, “The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade, and of Slavery,” *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Late President of Union College. With a Memoir [...]*, ed. Tyron Edwards, vol. 2, 2 vols. (New York: Dayton and Newman, 1842), 75-97.

¹⁴¹ According to Joy Craun this sermon went through five reprints by 1854; see Joy Craun, “We Are Them: The Golden Rule as a Theological Impetus in the Anti-Slavery & Abolitionist Movement,” *Online Journal* 9, no. 1 (April 4, 2019): 25–48.

son John (of Harper's Ferry), thus causing Edwards Jr. to be responsible, although indirectly, for the start of the Civil War.¹⁴²

Edwards Jr. asks his listeners to imagine if they would “be willing, that the Africans or any other nation should purchase us, our wives and children, transport us into Africa and there sell us into perpetual and absolute slavery?”¹⁴³ After surveying the cost in human life which is required for slavery to exist, Edwards Jr. attacks various arguments for slavery. Toward the end, Edwards Jr. displays his great rhetoric ability. He argues from the lesser crime, in which Americans were willing to fight Great Britain “in her attempt to enslave America” (loss of a small part of property), to the greater crime of enslaving Africans (loss of all property and autonomy).¹⁴⁴ Edwards Jr. concludes with optimism that just thirty years earlier (1750s–60s), none considered slavery to be evil. In this regard, Edwards Jr. is significantly different from his father with respect to slavery, Edwards Sr. was undoubtedly wrapped up in the culture of his day. For example, in a theological brief for the Hampshire Association (1741), Edwards Sr. argued for “a narrow definition of ‘neighbor’—as limited only to those of the same religion and in close proximity, or to those identified typologically (and racially) as the new ‘children of Israel.’”¹⁴⁵ Perhaps Edwards Jr. was aware of his father’s growing uneasiness with the

¹⁴² See note 10 above. At one time Abraham Lincoln had referred to Harriet Beecher Stowe as the little woman who started “this big war.” Ironically, and contrary to Stowe’s caricature of Edwards Jr. and Samuel Hopkins as pre-occupied with metaphysical abstractions, they did much to create an abolitionist spirit in New England ahead of the Civil War. Indeed, maybe Lincoln ought to have expressed gratitude to the New Divinity theologians. For example, Owen Brown was persuaded of abolitionism after reading a published sermon of Jonathan Edwards Jr. on the matter. Owen Brown’s account of reading Jonathan Edwards Jr.’s sermon is preserved in *John Brown Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia: Life and Letters*, 4th edition; ed. F. B. Sanborn (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1910), 11. Also see James P. Byrd, “We Can If We Will: Regeneration and Benevolence” in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 63.

¹⁴³ Edwards Jr., “The Injustice and Impolicy,” 75-76.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁴⁵ Kenneth P. Minkema, “Jonathan Edwards’s Defense of Slavery,” *Massachusetts Historical Review*, vol. 4 (2002), 38.

slave trade as Kenneth Minkema has proposed.¹⁴⁶ In spite of the fact that his father's female slave Venus was treated well, the Hampshire brief on slavery seems to indicate a shifting stance in general toward trade. If sensing a change in his own father over a decade, then perhaps this led Edwards Jr. to conclude that within fifty years (1840s–50s) public opinion would finally tip and slave-owning might be “as shameful [...] as to be guilty of common robbery or theft.”¹⁴⁷

In a sermon published as “The Broad Way” (1768) from Matthew 7:13,¹⁴⁸ Edwards Jr. highlights the gravity of the gate metaphor because of an absent ‘middle way.’¹⁴⁹ If the narrow way is missed in this life, they must necessarily go through the broad way to destruction.¹⁵⁰ The broad way is easy to find “for all by nature already in that way; [...] Yea, further, this gate is so wide, that it can be easily found in the dark.”¹⁵¹ In the third point, Edwards briefly examines the proportion of those who will pass through this broad gate; however, the following year he will devote eighty-eight pages in a series, spread over two months, to the phrase “And few there be y^t find it” (Matt

¹⁴⁶ Minkema, “Defense of Slavery,” 42.

¹⁴⁷ Edwards Jr., “The Injustice and Impolicy,” 92-93.

¹⁴⁸ Jonathan Edwards, “The Broad Way,” in *JEW2*, 412-427.

¹⁴⁹ In another sermon on this text he will call it “an alarming/mortifying doctrine/that the way to heaven/is narrow.” Jonathan Edwards Jr., “No. 1095. July 19. 1789. Mat. 7.13, 14.,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 1.

¹⁵⁰ In the latest development of this text, Edwards Jr. essentially describes the gates in the same way with a slight variation. “The way & gate/not essentially different/both mean the Xter [character]/necessary to life/the one in the metaphor/ial sense naturally/precedes the other--/the way first—the gate/opens into heaven.” Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[Unnumbered] June 1. 1794. Mat. VII. 13,14,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 1. The image of the gate leading to heaven was developed six years earlier as “The gate, the gate of/heaven/called a city—/What hath foundation/the holy city/the new Jerusalem/all cities have/a way or ways leading to/them.” Edwards Jr., “No. 1095.,” 2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 414.

7:14).¹⁵² That his father begins *Religious Affections* with a reference to this verse is more than coincidence.¹⁵³

Edwards Jr. determines that the greatest obstacle and hindrance to finding the narrow gate “is the individual’s own heart, and the opposition which arises within.”¹⁵⁴ However, this obstacle is not insurmountable. In the later long sermon (Matt 7:14), he begins with Adam and passes through redemption history through the eighteenth century’s extraordinary out pouring of the Spirit noting along the way how relatively few truly find life.¹⁵⁵ But is man to blame? Edwards Jr. answers yes with a brief reiteration of his father’s *Freedom of the Will*;¹⁵⁶ therefore, none can blame their inherited depravity.¹⁵⁷

Twenty-eight years later, from this same text Edwards Jr. with a greater pointedness identifies the Spirit’s “regenerative and decisive influence” which is necessary to overcome “native depravity.”¹⁵⁸ Edwards Jr. also proposes, like his father

¹⁵² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 59. May & June 1769. Mat. 7.14,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 1), 1-88. This sermon series may have pushed the unrequited minority in opposition to Edwards Jr.’s pastorate in New Haven over the edge for its unusual length and focus on key New Divinity doctrines. The formation of the Fair Haven Church would occur just three months later.

¹⁵³ Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, 83.

¹⁵⁴ Edwards Jr., “The Broad Way,” 417.

¹⁵⁵ “[I]t has pleased G. frequently at different times & in different places in an extraordinary manner, to influence the minds of men & awaken ‘em to attention to divine truth. But can it be truly said y^t in these times of awakening, the greater part even of those who were the subjects of some degree of illumination, have been bro’t to the inheritance of life? Thence have indeed been great numb^{rs}. who have professed the Xian faith: but w^t reason do we have to believe y^t the greater part of ‘em have ever found life?” Edwards Jr., “Volume 59,” 47. Edwards also borrows the illustration of a child who hates his parents from Bellamy as being blamable on its own merit. *Ibid.*, 57-58. Cf. Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated*, 112-114.

¹⁵⁶ Edwards Jr. advocates strongly for “the freedom of our own will; & w^t ever we do, whether of good or evil we do freely & voluntarily. [... No one] is under constraint so to act, as to miss of life. [We are under ...] no constraint at all to live wickedly.” Edwards Jr., “Volume 59,” 54.

¹⁵⁷ “W^t. is your depravity? Is it not a temper of enmity & rebellion against G? And is this temper a mere calamity? So there no wickedness & guilt therein? And are we not to blame upon the account of it?—W^t. if we were born with it; how does y^t lessen or remove our guilt & blame?—I wo’d illustrate this by an example or two. When we see a man who is of a remarkable perverse, forward malicious temper of mind; & always was of y^t temper, was born with it, do we not always determine him to be to blame for y^t temper? Do we at all excuse him from blame, because he was born into the world?” Edwards Jr., “Volume 59,” 84-85.

¹⁵⁸ “Only [the] Spirit” can give “the love of heaven/the spiritu/al good.” Edwards Jr., “June 1.

and Bellamy,¹⁵⁹ a postmillennial return of Christ will occur after a broad out-pouring of the Spirit.¹⁶⁰ Later on for another audience, he urges compassionately to “be reconciled to/God repent believe” for this was the only way to “secure an/entrance,” while not neglecting “the use/of means by the/unregenerate,” as means would make entrance “more probable.”¹⁶¹

In a sermon warning to regard fruit from Matthew 7:20 Edwards Jr. desires his hearers to evaluate character in others and oneself.¹⁶² External acts of obedience display what is “internal—mental—/inaccessible—/external only are/visible.”¹⁶³ While outward display is necessary for Christian profession, nevertheless, “profession [is] part of the fruit/not mere profession [rather] both [works and profession]—together.”¹⁶⁴ Edwards reaches back to an earlier context of the SM to qualify his statement on the analysis of one’s own heart. Because of man’s innate sin nature, the potential to run in “argue in a/circle” is great. In other words, a person’s capacity to evaluate himself is dependent, to begin with, upon his having “a good heart.”¹⁶⁵

1794.,” 2-3.

¹⁵⁹ “Days, and months, and years, will hasten along, and one revolution among the kingdoms of the earth follow upon another, until the fulness of time is come; till all things are ripe for the event; and when the ministers of Christ will accomplish, in reality, what St. John saw in his vision.—“I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.”—And then shall it come to pass, that the veil of ignorance, which hath so long spread over all nations, shall be destroyed, (Isa. xxv. 7,) and [...] Babylon shall fall, Satan be bound, and Christ will reign, and truth and righteousness universally prevail, a thousand years.” Joseph Bellamy, *The Works of Joseph Bellamy*, vol. 1 (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1850), 554-55. Also see C. C. Goen, “Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology,” *Church History* vol. 28, no. 1 (1959): 25–40.

¹⁶⁰ Edwards Jr., “Volume 59,” 62-73. Cf. Edwards Jr., “No. 1095.,” 4.

¹⁶¹ Edwards Jr., “No. 1095.,” 8.

¹⁶² Jonathan Edwards Jr., “No. 917 Oct. 23. 1785. Mat. 7.20,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 1.

¹⁶³ Edwards Jr., “No. 917.,” 1.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

From the following verse, Edwards concludes his teaching from the SM by emphasizing that true religion alone has consistency of profession and fruit.¹⁶⁶ Building on his earlier exegesis of The Lord's Prayer, Edwards Jr. interprets that "generally—the gospel chh [churches]" reflect the kingdom of heaven ("on earth in heaven").¹⁶⁷ In two versions of this text (first and last), he develops the church-kingdom metaphor around the King, his laws, and his subjects. Because Christ embodies "every qualification of a king," he is worthy to rule over man as he has also "suffered in our nature."¹⁶⁸ His laws are plain, perfect, and suited to the glory of God. But not all professors of religion are true subjects. In *Religious Affections*, his father described the seal of the Spirit by a similar sovereign-subject metaphor:

That which is called the witness of the Spirit (Romans 8), is elsewhere in the New Testament called the seal of the Spirit [...] alluding to the seal of princes, annexed to the instrument, by which they advanced any of their subjects to some high honor and dignity, or peculiar privilege in the kingdom, as a token of their special favor.¹⁶⁹

It is possible that Edwards Jr. adapts this metaphor for his purposes illustrating true subjects as those who "love God" and "lead a holy life."¹⁷⁰ Examination of the heart is critical as externals "may be w^h out any real religion."¹⁷¹ The religion of the heart does not consist in self-preservation or a "natural compassion [or] natural affection"; rather, "obedience must proceed from sincere & supreme love to God."¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "No. 870. Oct. 1784. Mat. 7. 21.," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 3), 1.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1. Cf. Edwards Jr., "Vol. 211.," 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ Edwards Jr., "No. 870.," 2.

¹⁶⁹ Edwards Sr., *Religious Affections*, 230-31.

¹⁷⁰ Edwards Jr., "No. 870.," 7.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 8. In another manuscript on the same text used as late as August 3, 1800, he says, a person may have a perfectly orthodox confession; however, "may be alienated in/heart." Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered] July 15. 1792. Mat. VII. 21.," *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Yale Divinity Library (Box 168, Folder 10), 2.

¹⁷² Edwards Jr., "July 15. 1792.," 3.

Conclusion

Edwards Jr.'s last canonical manuscript from the SM (Matt 7:21)¹⁷³ is appropriately drafted on a folded *Proposal for Printing by Subscription [...] A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (Jan. 1787). The proposal suggests that his father's treatise "is the best to discriminate between true and false affections in Religion, of any thing that has ever appeared since the first promulgation of Christianity." That this manuscript is preserved on a proposal for *Religious Affections* bears tribute to how the elder Edwards' undying concern that the true church would have a "relish" for "true religion" carries over to the younger Edwards.¹⁷⁴ But even more significantly, this sermon was prepared during the beginning stages of the Second Great Awakening, in which the Colebrook Church experienced significant growth during his last pulpit ministry (1796-1799).¹⁷⁵ These SM manuscripts show a rich textual dependence by Edwards Jr. upon Bellamy and his father. Contrary to the mid-nineteenth century spiritless caricature, there can be no line of demarcation between Edwards Sr. and the reception of the New England Theology by Jonathan Edwards Jr.

¹⁷³ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "[Unnumbered] Aug^t. 28. 1796. Mat. VII. 21.," *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 4), 1-4; On reverse is a proposal for a reprinting of *Religious Affections* (from Carroll & Patterson of New York).

¹⁷⁴ Both of these words are lifted from this very manuscript. Edwards Jr. recognizes that in the visible church a Judas may exist "among us" and that "not all such the/subjects of true religion—/this necessary/otherwise not prepared accord/ing to divine con/stitution/nor relish." Edwards Jr., "Aug^t. 28. 1796.," 2.

¹⁷⁵ Two years after this sermon, church records indicate that since the beginning of his ministry in 1795 that Edwards admitted twenty-seven new members, so that by 1799 the membership had nearly tripled in size to over sixty members. Ferm, *Edwards the Younger*, 151.

CHAPTER 4

A RECEIVED EDWARDSEAN PNEUMATOLOGY

Benjamin Warfield (1851–1921) once described John Calvin as “*the theologian of the Spirit*” because the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, in his opinion, described the Holy Spirit’s role in making “God savingly known to sinful man, and bringing him into holy communion with God.”¹ Calvin may have spoken about the Spirit more than other magisterial reformer, yet he also would become a tributary in the broader reformed river of thought on the Holy Spirit.² By Jonathan Edwards’s day the river had become a floodwater.³ Rhys Bezzant, demonstrates that while Edwards himself was an original thinker, he is also a product of “classical and Protestant traditions of mentoring,”⁴ including less studied streams in the watershed like Peter van Mastricht. Edwards’s genius overflowed his bounds, watering successive generations, who continued to fine-tune Edwardsean thought. Edwards’s successors articulated a practical pneumatology in Edwards’s revivalist tradition. The tributaries of the Spirit, which became the floodwater in Jonathan Edwards’s day, did not dry up after his untimely death, rather they continued

¹ Emphasis added. W. Ross Hastings, *Jonathan Edwards and the Life of God: Toward an Evangelical Theology of Participation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), 2; Benjamin Warfield, “John Calvin the Theologian,” *Presbyterian Board of Education* (1909), Accessed January 25, 2020, <http://www.graceonlinelibrary.org/biographies/john-calvin-the-theologian-by-benjamin-b-warfield/>.

² Amy Plantinga Pauw recognizes that Edwards himself used this metaphor of a river to describe the “flow of human history.” Amy Plantinga Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All: The Trinitarian Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 1, n1.

³ Benjamin Carver surveys the various theological tributaries in reformed theology which influenced Edwards’s reformed world on the Holy Spirit. Specifically considered were Augustine, Owens, Turretin, and the Cappadocians. *The Development of the Redemptive Role of the Holy Spirit in the Reformed Trinitarian Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (ThM Thesis, Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary, 2010), 53-82.

⁴ Rhys S. Bezzant, *Edwards the Mentor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 5.

to flow through the younger Edwards. The received Edwardsean pneumatology shows up in the younger Edwards's mentoring of preachers, theological writing, and pulpit ministry. Edwards Jr. is himself a forgotten resource in the Edwardsean tradition. Subsequent evangelical concerns brought increased misunderstanding of the heirs of Edwards, especially, the younger Edwards.

Misunderstanding Edwards's Theological Heirs

The sweet raindrops of the Spirit longed for by pastors at the beginning of the long eighteenth century became a downpour in the 1730s and 1740s. This surprising work of the Spirit caught a sleepy New England off-guard, and pushed Edwards and his successors toward a more nuanced pneumatology. Edward's eminently popular book *Religious Affections* (1746), with its marks of true spirituality, was supplemented eventually by *Freedom of the Will* (1754) and *Original Sin* (1758). These additional volumes provided the biblio-philosophical categories for his successors to articulate a theology of the Spirit and navigate the pressures of Arminianism, Universalism, and Deism. Wanting to be in step with the Spirit's reviving work, while defending traditional Calvinism, the Edwards's mentees sharpened their mentor's thinking on the Spirit⁵ in such a way that subsequent readers would at times mischaracterize their position on the third person of the Trinity's role in regeneration.

As noted in the previous chapter, emerging liberals like Harriet Beecher Stowe and resolute conservatives like Charles Hodge (1797–1878) were drawing and quartering Edwards's theological heirs. On the one hand, the liberals marked Edwards Jr. as being metaphysically disconnected from the religion of the heart, while the Princeton scholars

⁵ “But according to Mr. Edwards, and those who adopt his views on the subject, regeneration consists in *the communication of a new spiritual sense or taste*. In other words, a new heart is given. This communication is made, this work is accomplished, by the Spirit of God. It is not their opinion, that *the intellect*, and *the sensitive faculties*, are not the *immediate* subject of any change in regeneration.” Emphasis original. *JEW1*, 490-492.

on the other hand claimed that the New England Theology detached the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration by allowing for a natural power of choosing right or wrong. For example, in the October 1850 edition of the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, Charles Hodge questioned Edwards Amasa Park's commitment to a received Edwardsean theology.⁶ Written as a response to the widely acclaimed Andover Convocation sermon preached earlier that year by Park, Hodge went so far as to suggest that the New England Theology was Pelagian. In Hodge's analysis, New England Theology was really an interrelated web of theological deductions that led back to a prioritization of the human will.⁷ Consequently, in Hodge's estimation, the doctrine of regeneration by the Holy Spirit was at risk of being lost due to the mismanagement of Edwards's theological heirs. Hodge shared this concern:

As the Scriptures nowhere tell men they can regenerate themselves, but expressly declare that the natural man cannot discern the things of the Spirit of God, so that blessed Agent, in leading men to a knowledge of themselves, uniformly convinces them of their entire happiness, i.e. that they cannot of themselves repent, believe, or even thing any good thought. It is not a surprise, therefore, that the doctrine of adequate power, or that men 'can by their own strength turn themselves unto God,' is repudiated as anti-Christian no less by Romanists than by Protestants.⁸

⁶ B. B. Warfield, following in Charles Hodge's footsteps, derided the inheritors of the Edwardsean tradition as being unfaithful to their mentor. "But the inheritance of the party from Edwards showed itself much more strongly on the practical than on the doctrinal side. [...] It is a far cry from Jonathan Edwards the Calvinist, defending with all the force of his unsurpassed reasoning powers the doctrine of a determined will, and commending a theory of virtue which identified it with general benevolence, to Nathaniel W. Taylor the Pelagianizer, building his system upon the doctrine of the power to the contrary as its foundation stone, and reducing all virtue ultimately to self-love." Benjamin B. Warfield, "Edwards and The New England Theology," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), 5: 226.

⁷ Charles Hodge, "Review of The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings. A Discourse before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of New England, in Brattle Street Meeting House, Boston, May 30th, 1850 by Edwards A. Park," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, vol. 22, no. 1-4 (1850): 655.; Charles Hodge, "Review of Remarks on the Princeton Review, vol. 22, no. 4., 7 by Edwards A. Park," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, vol. 23, no. 1-4 (1851): 308-312

⁸ Charles Hodge, "Unity and Diversity of Belief even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin; with Comments on a Second Article in the Princeton Review relating to a Convention Sermon," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, vol. 23, no. 4 (Philadelphia: Wm. H. Mitchell, 1851): 680-83.

While provocative, Hodge's use of the phrase "regenerate themselves" is an indirect reference to Charles G. Finney's adaptation of Nathanael Emmons's sermon "Duty of Sinners to Make Themselves a New Heart."⁹

Park's rejoinder to Hodge redressed the accusation of theological mismanagement, and boldly asserted continuity between the elder and younger Edwards. According to Park, the Princeton theologians were attempting to "draw a line of demarcation between the elder Edwards, Bellamy, on the one side, and the younger Edwards, Emmons, West, on the other." While there were variations in how human responsibility was articulated among the New England theologians, Princeton could not arbitrarily divide them between faithful and unfaithful adherents of Edwards. The "*commune vinculum* [common bond]" between the two groups was, according to Park, none other than Samuel Hopkins.¹⁰ In other words, according to Park, Hodge could not claim an essential difference between the older and younger Edwards with regard to the 'nature of sin' and 'a natural power of choosing right and wrong' because Hopkins held both groups together. Park is correct, as Edwards Jr.'s connection to his father's theology began in Samuel Hopkin's home in Great Barrington over the winter of 1765-1766. During this providential internship, Jonathan Edwards Jr. did not only commit himself to understand his father's theology, but also to honor his father's legacy.¹¹ A brief overview

⁹ Nathanael Emmons, "Duty of Sinners to Make Themselves a New Heart," in *The Works of Nathanael Emmons*, vol. 5., ed. Jacob Ide (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1842), 122-131; Charles G. Finney, "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts," in *Sermon on Various Subjects* (New York: Benedict & Co. Printers, 1834), 3-28.

¹⁰ Edwards A. Park, "New England Theology," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 9, no 33 (1852): 175. The two groups alluded to were those of the Exercise Scheme and the Taster Scheme. The key question which divided the two groups rested on the role of the Holy Spirit to either create a new taste or to prompt a new successive pattern of holy exercises in the soul.

¹¹ Edwards Jr. was very conscientious of his father. In his personal journal, Edwards Jr. upbraids himself for failing to follow his father's last bit of spiritual advice to him before he died. Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Diary," *Jonathan Edwards Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Gen MSS 151, Box 24, Folder 1357), 1-19, 16. Later, in a letter to his grandmother, he speaks of his desire to honor his parent's legacy. Jonathan Edwards Jr. to Esther Stoddard Edwards, 1765 April 12. MS, one leaf. *Shepard Family Collection, Special Collections*, Yale Divinity Library.

of the elder Edwards's theology of the Spirit is necessary in order to appreciate the *common bond* (*commune vinculum*), which exists between father and son's theology.

Jonathan Edwards's Pneumatological Legacy

Whether intentional or not, Park's use of the Latin for *common bond* is apropos as *commune vinculum* is an apt way to describe Edwards's pneumatological focus, even perhaps his whole theology, as some have suggested.¹² According to Edwards, the Holy Spirit, as common bond within the Godhead, is the living affection or volition arising out of the mutual love and delight of the Father and Son. As infinite repetition of this exercise, the Holy Spirit is that mutual self-repetition of affection and volition.¹³

While this definition arises out of platonic idealism, Amy Plantinga Pauw observed that Edwards had a "high toleration for theological tension" as he could not only conceive of the triune deity as the permutations of its own highest ideal, but also to incorporate Eastern and Western metaphysics. Edwards enjoyed alternating between a society of persons and essential unity within the Trinity whenever he thought useful for his theological purposes. Pauw shows how Edwards's dexterity in the use of a psychological and social model served his desire to do theology narratively instead of systematically.¹⁴ This observation does not mean that Edwards had no system of theology as his ninety theological questions, prepared for his pastoral interns, demonstrate otherwise.¹⁵ In spite of a blend of idealism and patristic thought, Edwards's demonstrates

¹² "I wish to make the modest proposal that union is a significant driving force in Edwards's Trinitarian theology, if not its overarching trope, and that his theology essentially tells a 'from eternity, to eternity' story of *three unions in the Spirit: the eternal union within the Trinity of the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit, the union in history of the human and divine natures of Christ by the Spirit, and the union of the saints with God by the Spirit.*" Emphasis original. Hastings, *Jonathan Edwards and the Life of God*, 2. Also see Robert W. Caldwell, *Communion in the Spirit: The Holy Spirit as the Bond of Union in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2006).

¹³ Jonathan Edwards, "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, vol. 21, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 121.

¹⁴ Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony*, 10-15.

¹⁵ Jonathan Edwards and Jonathan Edwards Jr., "The Theological Questions of President Edwards, Senior, and Dr. Edwards, His Son (1822 Questions)," *Church and Pastoral Documents*, in *Works*

a desire to elevate the significance of the third person. By accenting the role of the Holy Spirit as the “thing purchased”¹⁶ in the atonement, Edwards knowingly created his own problem of apparent inconsistency. Scripture, demurred Edwards, is absent of any apparent direct affection toward the Spirit by the Father and Son.¹⁷ In spite of this problem, Edwards made relevant application from the ontological to the economic relationship with humanity. William Danaher Jr. demonstrates how this dexterity aids Edwards in articulating a regenerative participation in “the idealist sense of identity and repetition” of the actual infinite beauty of God’s love being “added to the soul.”¹⁸ The application of this repetition or exercise by the Holy Spirit would become the basis of the intermural debate between Edwards’s successors known as the Taste-Exercise Controversy.

Edwards’s trinitarian dexterity is inherited from Peter van Mastricht. A dependence upon van Mastricht’s in the elder Edwards needs to be noted because out of a desire to honor his father’s legacy, the younger Edwards had also perused Van Mastricht not just once, but according to Edwards Amasa Park, seven times.¹⁹ Amy Plantinga Pauw rightly observes that Mastricht’s *Theoretico-practica Theologia* was very instrumental in the development of Edwards’s practical use of trinitarian doctrine. Van Mastricht seems to be Edwards’s source for a social trinitarian framework when Mastricht said that “the

of *Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 39, (New Haven, CT: Jonathan Edwards Center: Yale University, 2008).

¹⁶ “If we suppose no more than used to be supposed about the Holy Ghost, the concern of the Holy Ghost in the work of redemption is not equal with the Father’s and the Son’s, nor is there an equal part of the glory of this work belongs to him. [...] To be the love of God to the world is as much as for the Father and the Son to do so much from love to the world; and to be [the] thing purchased was as much as to be the price: the price, and the thing bought with that price, are equal.” Edwards, “Discourse on the Trinity,” 137-38.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁸ William J. Danaher Jr., *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2004), 38-39.

¹⁹ Park, “New England Theology,” 191.

holy Trinity consists in the most perfect society and communion of the divine persons.”²⁰ Adrian Neele also notes that “the communion and economy of the Three Persons thus draws one’s attention throughout [the theology of God].”²¹ Remarkably, Van Mastricht also employed Augustine’s psychological model to ascribe the inherent unity within the Godhead as a counterbalance to a social analogy.²² Van Mastricht’s sympathy with the Eastern position allowed both Edwards and himself to formulate the Holy Spirit’s role as the communicator of the grace of Christ and love of the Father.²³

Consequently, Edwards postulated that while each person of the Trinity embodies all perfections equally, each person nevertheless tends to appropriate unique characteristics *ad intra* and *ad extra*. In understanding the Holy Spirit as *common bond*, or bond of union, Edwards accented how the third person appropriates several characteristics in the act of communication to create a bond of union with humanity. Peter Reese Doyle observes that love, holiness, fullness, and glory are among Edwards Sr.’s favorite metonymies for the Spirit.²⁴ Doyle is not alone in this observation as Robert Caldwell also recognizes Edwards’s tendency to see the Holy Spirit as the person who brings an infinite perfection to the intra-trinitarian relations and impart these perfections *ad extra* to humanity. In Caldwell’s scheme, the Holy Spirit is divine love who brings to perfection the bond of union through the intensification of holiness, excellency,

²⁰ Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony*, 27-29.

²¹ Adriaan Neele, *Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706) Reformed Orthodoxy: Method and Piety*, vol. 35 in Brill’s Series in Church History, ed. Wim Janse (Boston: Brill, 2009), 253.

²² Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony*, 59. Peter van Mastricht also followed Augustine’s psychological model to ascribe an inherent divine unity of essence as counterbalance. *Ibid.*, 74-75.

²³ Neele, *Petrus van Mastricht*, 269.

²⁴ Peter Reese Doyle demonstrates from one passage in “Charity and its Fruits” how these four categories tend to resurface in Edwards’s writings to describe the person and work of the Holy Spirit. Jonathan Edwards on the New Birth in the Spirit: The Life, Times, and Thought of America’s Greatest Theologian (Durham, England: Torchflame Books, 2017), 102-115.

happiness, fullness, and grace.²⁵ These accents of the divine nature are used occasionally by Edwards as a reference to the Holy Spirit. If a reader of Edwards or his son is not familiar with the Edwardsean jargon for Spirit, then these poetic references to the Holy Spirit may be missed.

As much as these accents of the divine nature are communicable to one another *ad intra*, there is a creative work carried out by the Holy Spirit to bring a “communion” and a “partaking” to humanity *ad extra*.²⁶ Edwards seems to have picked up on this communion theme in van Mastricht’s *Theoretico-practica Theologia* as a means to practically articulate the equality of the Spirit *ad intra*.²⁷ Necessarily communion with the Holy Spirit is the only way humanity can partake in God’s excellent nature. The bond of union which exists within the Godhead was meant to be shared with his creation as surely as the bond of union brings delight to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The mystical union comes to humanity through the gift of the Holy Spirit provided through Christ in gospel union with humanity. According to Caldwell, Edwards views this union as occurring through illumination and infusion.²⁸ As two sides of the same coin, spiritual perception is caused by the presence of the Spirit. Edwards says in *The Threefold Work of the Holy Ghost*, an exposition of John 16:8, that “although Jesus Christ prepares the way for man’s salvation by his righteousness and sufferings, yet ‘tis the immediate work of the Holy Ghost actually to make men partakers of that salvation; ‘tis he that doth the finishing stroke.”²⁹ In this same discourse, he describes the Spirit as

²⁵ Caldwell, *Communion in the Spirit*, 49-54.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

²⁷ See Neele, *Petrus van Mastricht*, 276-77.

²⁸ Caldwell, *Communion in the Spirit*, 104-108. See also, Caldwell’s discussion of spiritual sight. *Ibid.*, 142-155.

²⁹ Jonathan Edwards, “The Threefold Work of the Holy Ghost,” in *Sermons and Discourses: 1723-1729, Works of Jonathan Edwards Online*, vol. 14, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 377.

dwelling in believers “as a principle. [...] as it were a principle of nature; thereby, they are of a new nature, and ‘tis by this means they are partakers of the divine nature.”³⁰ This principle, according to Edwards occurred through “physical infusion.” In *Charity and Its Fruits*, this physical infusion is described as “a principle of life which acts.”³¹

McClymond and McDermott recognize that physical infusion may be misunderstood as referring to the *material*, when in actuality, *physical* refers to “the change of nature (Greek, *phusis*) that came about through the agency of the Spirit.”³² In other words, within the natural capacity of a person, the only thing that changed was the moral disposition due to the presence of the Holy Spirit.³³ The regenerative act which leads to conversion is wholly a result of the physical infusion of the Holy Spirit.

Remarkably, and controversially, Edwards famously stated in his *Treatise on Grace* that “[w]e are not merely passive in it, nor yet does God do some and we do the rest, but God does all and we do all. God produces all and we act all.”³⁴ What is less often quoted is the broader context in which Edwards reflects upon the work of the Holy Spirit. This work is more properly referred to as the process of regeneration leading to conversion. Edwards continues:

For that is what he produces, our own acts. God is the only proper author and fountain; we only are the proper actors. We are in different respects wholly passive and wholly active. There the same things are represented as from God and us. So

³⁰ Edwards, “The Threefold Work,” 384.

³¹ Jonathan Edwards, “Charity and Its Fruits,” in *Ethical Writings, Works of Jonathan Edwards Online*, vol. 8, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 298.

³² Michael J. McClymond and Gerald R. McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 269-270.

³³ “Therefore it follows that saving grace in the heart, can't be produced in man by mere exercise of what perfections he has in him already, though never so much assisted by moral suasion, and never so much assisted in the exercise of his natural principles, unless there be something more than all this, viz. an immediate infusion or operation of the Divine Being upon the soul. Grace must be the immediate work of God, and properly a production of his almighty power on the soul.” Jonathan Edwards, “Treatise on Grace,” *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 21, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 165.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 251.

God is said to convert, and men are said to convert, or turn. God makes a new heart, and we are commanded to make us a new heart. God circumcises the heart, and we are commanded to circumcise [our hearts]. Not merely because we must use the means in order to the effect, but the effect itself is our act and our duty.³⁵

In this broader context, Edwards picks up the conundrum of the command, in the words of Hodge, to “regenerate themselves.”³⁶ Remarkably Edwards collapses infused grace into the visible response of the natural will. Yet, this capacity to synthesize regeneration and conversion as distinct but complementary aspects of redemption, is what makes Edwards’s legacy of the Spirit perpetual. In “A Divine and Supernatural” Edwards expands on this apparent contradiction as the work of the Holy Spirit as a “vital principle [... which] acting in the soul of a godly man, exerts and communicates himself there in his own proper nature. Holiness is the proper nature of the Spirit of God. The Holy Spirit operates in the minds of the godly, by uniting himself to them, and living in them, and exerting his own nature in the exercise of their faculties.”³⁷ This exercise of a believer’s moral faculties to respond to the gospel manifests as the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Holy Spirit continues to indwell and move a believing soul to delight and enjoy God.

The Younger Edwards’s Common Bond

Jonathan Edwards Jr. does reflect a common bond with his father’s theology of the Holy Spirit; however, this continuity is blurred by the sea of ink given to his governmental theory of the atonement, most recently described as a “*non-distributive*

³⁵ Edwards, “Treatise on Grace,” 251.

³⁶ Ibid. One can see how a Charles G. Finney might capitalize on Edwards’s intellectual dexterity; however, Edwards might prefer to err on the side of God’s sovereignty, whereas Finney seems to prefer error on the side of human responsibility.

³⁷ Jonathan Edwards, “A Divine and Supernatural Light,” *Sermons and Discourses, 1730-1733, The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 17, ed. Mark Valeri (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 411.

form of penal substitution”³⁸ or “Penal Non-Substitution.”³⁹ Continuity with his father’s pneumatology may be found in the younger Edwards’s mentoring, theological writing, and sermons.

Mentoring Preachers

The younger Edwards, like his father, continued the practice of bringing apprentices into his close acquaintance for the purpose of advancing the Edwardsean legacy. Among his pool of mentees are some significant preachers, theologians, and educators whose contributions in New England society outlive themselves.⁴⁰ Rhys Bezzant recognizes that often the first draft of Edwards’s books and sermons filtered through his students,⁴¹ and so we ought to expect that in the printed works of his students are aspects of Edwards. Edwards Jr. made theological preservation a display of his filial loyalty by adapting his own version of the theological questions for students out of his father’s ninety.

These questions, which are a largely overlooked resource for Edwardsean studies, were composed by father and son to facilitate meaningful conversation with students in their study.⁴² Both sets of questions begin with the existence of God and

³⁸ Emphasis original. Cooley, Daniel W. and Douglas A. Sweeney. “The Edwardseans and the Atonement,” *A New Divinity: Transatlantic Reformed Evangelical Debates during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Mark Jones and Michael A. G. Haykin, 109-125. Reformed Historical Theology Series, vol. 49, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Gottigen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage, 2018): 122..

³⁹ Oliver Crisp, “Non-Penal Substitution,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology*, vol. 9, no. 4 (October 2007), 415-433; Oliver Crisp, “Penal Non-Substitution,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 59, no. 1 (April 2008), 140-168; Oliver Crisp, “The Moral Government of God: Jonathan Edwards and Joseph Bellamy on the Atonement,” *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 78-90.

⁴⁰ Timothy Dwight (President of Yale), Samuel Austin (President of the University of Vermont), Jedidiah Morse (Father of American Geography), Edward Dorr Griffin (Minister of Park Street Church in Boston, and President of Williams College), Samuel Nott (Pastor in Norwich, CT and brother of Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College). See Robert L. Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger 1745-1801: A Colonial Pastor* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 87.

⁴¹ Bezzant, *Edwards the Mentor*, 120.

⁴² Jonathan Edwards and Jonathan Edwards Jr., “The Theological Questions of President Edwards, Senior, and Dr. Edwards, His Son (1822 Questions),” in *Church and Pastoral Documents, Works*

conclude with ecclesiology. For the most part they follow the basic outline of the *Westminster Confession* with just one notable exception. Both father and son start with necessity of God's existence and attributes, whereas the *Confession* begins with special revelation. The confessional Charles Hodge, in his paper war with Edwards Amasa Park would opine the Edwardseans for founding their theology on virtue ethics rather than the historical safety-net of scriptural confessionalism.⁴³

While impressive already at ninety questions, the younger Edwards added two hundred and twenty-three to his father's and thus rounding it out to a weighty three hundred and thirteen. A comparison of these questions reveals not that Edwards Jr. added "New Divinity" content,⁴⁴ but rather the additional questions systematize his father's theology in greater detail. These expansions indicate a robust reception of his father's pneumatology. While one might wish for the opportunity to sit and discuss these questions with Edwards Sr., or his son for that matter, remarkably a long-forgotten notebook from one of Edwards Jr.'s students is now more readily available.

Maltby Gelston's notebook, titled *A Systematic Collection of Questions and Answers in Divinity*, is a carefully written compilation of the answers to those questions asked of him in Edwards Jr.'s study.⁴⁵ Uniquely, this notebook not only holds the answers to the questions, but also has a valuable appendix of supplemental additions. Recently

of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 39 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁴³ Charles Hodge, "Review of The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings. A Discourse before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of New England, in Brattle Street Meeting House, Boston, May 30th, 1850 by Edwards A. Park," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, vol. 22, no. 1-4 (1850): 642.

⁴⁴ In the editor's introduction, Edwards Jr.'s additional questions are said to be those which "pertain to late eighteenth-century controversies and issues dear to the New Divinity." Jonathan Edwards and Jonathan Edwards Jr., "The Theological Questions of President Edwards, Senior, and Dr. Edwards, His Son (1822 Questions)," *Church and Pastoral Documents*, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 39 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁴⁵ Maltby Gelston, *A Systematic Collection of Questions and Answers in Divinity*, Yale University Manuscript and Archives Division (Misc. MSS Collection, MS 354, Series III. E-G, box 5, f. 499).

Gelston's notes have been transcribed afresh by S. Mark Hamilton;⁴⁶ however, unbeknownst to Hamilton, a faithful transcription had already been preserved in the second volume of Wesley Ewert's 1953 doctoral dissertation.⁴⁷ Wesley Ewert's dissertation is useful still as apparently the original manuscript available to Hamilton had deteriorated somewhat. At least one answer to a theological question was missing when Hamilton prepared his manuscript.⁴⁸ Throughout this section, reference will be made however, to the original handwritten copy by Maltby Gelston.

Those questions which directly deal with the subject of the person and work of the Holy Spirit are useful for an understanding of the Edwardsean pneumatology in subsequent generations. As previously indicated, Edwards Jr. modeled his expanded questions off his father's list. For example, when his father penned three questions (Sr. Qs. 9-11) directly relating to the Trinity, Edwards Jr., on the other hand, expanded them

⁴⁶ *New England Dogmatics: A Systematic Collection of Questions and Answers in Divinity* by Maltby Gelston (1766-1865), ed. Robert L. Boss, Joshua R. Farris, and S. Mark Hamilton (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publishers, 2019).

⁴⁷ Wesley Carl Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards The Younger: Theological Questions and Answers of Maltby Gelston*, vol. 2, (PhD diss., Hartford Theological Seminary, 1953). A microfiche copy of the original is also held at the Hartford Seminary Library.

⁴⁸ On page 40 footnote 72, Hamilton reveals that "Answer to Question 154 is regrettably missing in from Gelston's notebook. Question 154 reads [203] reads as follows: 'In what consists the essence of the atonement of Christ? In his obedience, or his sufferings, or in both?' Boss, *New England Dogmatics*, 40. Yet in Wesley Ewert's dissertation is the following answer:

"Answer. From the nature of an atonement, and that which rendered it necessary, it seems that the essence of Christ's o[a]tonement must have consisted in his sufferings. The idea of Christ's atonement is, that it is something received, as a substitute of that punishment which was justly deserved. It was necessary, to support the honour of the divine law, and the moral government of God.

This substitute for the punishment must not be that which is already due and may at anytime, be demanded: for it cannot be received in a double capacity; for itself and for something else. Now, the active obedience of Christ was due, the moment he became a creature. But his sufferings could never have been justly demanded without his consent; though he had assumed human nature. Or at least, they would not have been due, as his active obedience. The latter might have shown, he esteemed the law; and thought it worthy to be obeyed: but it would never have pointed out the evil and hazard of transgressing it. It never would have evinced the mischievous and destructive consequences of a violation of the law, with impunity, to the moral government of God. Some substitute, therefore was necessary, which should be similar in kind to the punishment, threatened in the law. Such were the sufferings of Christ.

It does not appear, indeed, that the active obedience of Christ was, properly speaking, any part of the atonement. It was necessary, that he should be without sin; at least while he was making atonement for others. But is [it] does not appear, but that were it possible for him previously to have been a sinner, and to have atonement for his own sins; he might still have made atonement for others. Indeed, had he appeared in a capacity for immediately suffering, and at once undergone the punishment due to our sins, merely the want of an active obedience could never have rendered the atonement ineffectual and inadequate." Ewert, *Jonathan Edwards The Younger*, vol. 2, 203-204.

to twelve (Jr. Qs. 62, 67-69, 71-79). Further down, more questions are generated, which have a direct bearing on pneumatology involving redemption, regeneration, sanctification, and assurance (Sr. Qs. 50-52, 61-62; Jr. Qs. 177-191, 228-229, 271-272). A brief analysis of these questions will show the consistency of a received Edwardsean pneumatology. Since these answers had passed by the eyes of Edwards Jr. himself, and have specific additions and corrections, Gelston's answers can be taken as consistent with Edwards Jr.'s own thinking on pneumatology.

Trinitarian Relations (Sr. Qs. 9-11 & Jr. Qs. 62-63, 67-69, 71-79). In those questions which deal directly with Christology (Jr. Qs. 62-63, 67-69), Edwards argues against the creatureliness of Christ on the basis of infinite evil of sin. A finite being could not support an "infinite load" which justice required (Jr. 63).⁴⁹ In faithfulness to his father's questions, regarding the infinite character of the Godhead, he demonstrates that the atonement must also be of infinite value. While the focus of this question tends toward an Anselm rejoinder, he also implies that the divine nature had to be present so that Christ had the capacity to provide "gifts of the spirit to his people."⁵⁰ In other words, the inter-trinitarian relations manifest an infinite quality, and thus the Spirit is of infinite quality so as to allow Christ to be "the object of their supreme delight and highest enjoyment."⁵¹ While the infinite nature of Christ is articulated in anticipation of the distinctive governmental atonement theory (Jr. Qs. 152-158, 171-175), the infinite nature of the godhead that is participating in infinite relationship is intended to be bring redeemed humanity into a common bond through the infinite character of the Spirit. This emphasis on the infinite is a definite aspect of reception of Edwards Sr's thinking.⁵²

⁴⁹ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 109.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

⁵² "When we speak of God's happiness, the account that we are wont to give of it is that God is *infinitely* happy in the enjoyment of himself, in perfectly beholding and *infinitely* loving, and rejoicing in, his own essence and perfections. And accordingly it must be supposed that God perpetually and eternally

Questions 67-69 continue to pursue Christology; however, are related nevertheless to the topic of the Spirit also. For example, later in Question 73 on “the tripartite distinction in the deity from eternity,” recognition is paid to how he had already answered this question by those necessary distinctions required in the eternal generation of the Son.⁵³ This reply means that the inter-trinitarian relations of the Spirit must necessarily be of the same nature as Father and Son. Specifically, since a distinction between Father and Son prior to the work of redemption exists, therefore a distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is also required.⁵⁴ Thus with regard to the eternality of the Spirit, the relation to the Father to the Son “exclude[s] the idea of time and to intimate that his existence, as Son, was without beginning or from eternity.”

This distinction of timelessness is a necessary nuance to distinguish the Son’s independence yet in a way so as not to imply a bringing into existence. Timelessness, or eternality, eases a tendency to view denominations as sequential generations within the Godhead. With time sequences a moot point, then denominations of first, second,⁵⁵ and therefore, third are of no pressing concern. While the term generation is a human construct, it is merely a way for humanity to carry out discourse with regard to the “eternal constitution” of the Trinity. Edwards Jr.’s observation seems to be built upon his father’s observation that the infinite character of each person is found in the infinite “end of the other two in their acting *ad intra*.”⁵⁶ By looking for the respect and honor of one another, the good that is enjoyed becomes “the end,” which eternally never ends.

has a most perfect idea of himself, as it were an exact image and representation of himself ever before him and in actual view.” Emphasis added. Edwards Sr., “Discourse on the Trinity,” 113. See also, *Ibid.*, 116, 131.

⁵³ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 122.

⁵⁴ Question 66. *Ibid.*, 112.

⁵⁵ Question 68-69. *Ibid.*, 115-116.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Edwards, “On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, vol. 21, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1957-2008), 141.

Building upon his father's metaphysical logic, Edwards Jr. agrees with his father that in regard to generation and procession, time sequences are not relevant with respect to the Trinity.

Question 71 directly asks how "the personality of the Holy Ghost" may be proved. This personality distinction is proved from the "three that bear record in heaven" (1 John 5:7), the baptismal formula in Matthew 28:19, and benedictions. Yet, moving toward the unity of the three persons (Question 72), he argues that since the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father (John 15:26) he must have a definite personality. Further along these lines, Christ himself claimed to proceed from the Father (John 8:24), requiring an essential oneness of the Son and the Holy Spirit.⁵⁷ This description of Spirit and Son as a double procession from the Father is very similar to his father's in *Discourse on the Trinity*. Specifically, his father says,

All three are persons, for they all have understanding and will. There is understanding and will in the Father, as the Son and the Holy Ghost are in him and proceed from [him]. There is understanding and will in the Son, as he is understanding and as the Holy Ghost is in him and proceeds from him. There is understanding and will in the Holy Ghost, as he is the divine will and as the Son is in him.⁵⁸

Yet, as a caution, Edwards Jr.'s student postulates the potential of "three Supremes" in the area of power and knowledge. Necessarily, then, adoration would have to be paid to all three in area of power and knowledge. By creating this caution, he is implicitly paying recognition to Edwards Sr.'s observation that each person must have a unity in understanding and will, which also comes out of the eternal processions from and in one another.

As a necessary addendum, Gelston's notebook has a supplement to Question 72 on the three persons of the Trinity as one. Perhaps Edwards Jr.'s hand is more directly

⁵⁷ Question 72. Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 120-121.

⁵⁸ Edwards, *Discourse on the Trinity*, 134.

seen as there is an added illustration suited to his childhood with the Mahican Indians. Thus, cautioning against mere procession as an indicative of unity, the student must observe that plurality cannot be proved by procession. The following illustrations are said to miss the mark: “The Indian illustrated the Trinity by three branches from one stump, St. Patrick by three clover leaves from one stock, and a woman by folding her apron in to three parts.”⁵⁹

Regeneration (Sr. Qs. 50-52; Jr. Qs. 177-191, 199). The elder Edwards’s first question (Sr. Qs. 50-51) on the Holy Spirit’s role in redemption is repeated in his son’s list. The second question (Sr. Qs. 51), which defines regeneration, is divided into two (Jr. Qs. 178-179) so that regeneration and conversion might be distinguished. The third question (Sr. Qs. 52), “Whence arises the necessity of it [regeneration]?” is broken out into twelve questions (Jr. Qs. 180-191) with a characteristic thoroughness, leaving almost nothing to mystery.

The work of the Holy Spirit in redemption is described as “making application” of that which Christ has “obtained,” but not limited to this act. For salvation to occur, there must be “a termination in real conversion.”⁶⁰ This observation brought Edwards Jr. to make a clear-cut distinction between regeneration and conversion. But before he moves into the second question, he asserts in brief that justification and sanctification, as well as “various exercises of grace” are part of the Spirit’s duty in redemption.⁶¹ Drawing out of the deep well of Peter van Mastricht, Edwards Sr. has been seen to follow van Mastricht over Calvin in this sharp distinction.⁶² Ironically, since Edwards Sr. is known to follow van Mastricht in other writings, Edwards Sr. does not

⁵⁹ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 383.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁶² McClymond, *The Theology of Edwards*, 377.

distinguish between regeneration and conversion in his theological questions however.⁶³ While Edwards Sr. does not distinguish between the two, in this instance Edwards Jr. demonstrates his effort to preserve his father's thinking by dividing the two questions, as it were, for him. Later in Question 179, Edwards Jr. will show again his desire to preserve his father's thought by showing that conversion is something continuing throughout one's lifetime.

Regeneration (Jr. Qs. 178) is defined as "an effect produced by the operation of the Holy Ghost in which there is an effectual change of the temper and disposition of the heart. In consequence of this, a foundation is laid for the exercise of holy and gracious affections, such as the subject of this change never before experienced." In the clarifying follow-up question (Jr. Qs. 179), regeneration is described as "the actual implantation of a principle [and is ...] but one act, and produced but once in life;" whereas, conversion (Jr. Qs. 179) is "the exercise and flowing out of the principle into various acts, and these acts are ascribed to him who is the subject of them [and ...] consists of a great variety of acts, and continues through life."⁶⁴ The use of the words "exercise and act" is at the heart of the taste-exercise controversy of which Edwards Amasa Park referred to in his dialogue with Charles Hodge. Those who followed Nathaniel Emmons in the exercise scheme potentially set the stage for a collapse of the Edwardsean distinction in the revivalist rhetoric and theology of Charles Finney; however, in this systematic presentation, if Gelston fairly represents his mentor, then Edwards Jr. indeed remains faithful to his father's nuanced position articulated in *Treatise on Grace*.

Edwards's short question (Sr. Qs. 52) "Whence arises the necessity of it?" suggests a short answer. To this short question, however, Edwards Jr. develops an additional twelve questions (Jr. Qs. 180-191) to coach his students through the intricacies

⁶³ McClymond, *The Theology of Edwards*, 386.

⁶⁴ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 243-244.

of the human heart, starting with native blindness and concluding with the logic required in his father's question of necessity (Sr. Qs. 52; Jr. Qs. 190) and free agency (Jr. Qs. 191).

Questions 180-181 show "native blindness" to be a symptom of depravity. While symptomatic, this blindness is fairly and frequently represented as criminal.⁶⁵ Blindness necessarily requires divine illumination (Jr. Qs. 182). Illumination is said not to be some "new truth conveyed to the understanding," rather in the process of regeneration the heart becomes affected so as to appreciate the truth. This affective turn very much corresponds to Edwards Sr.'s entry in his *Miscellanies* on "Conversion." A person's mental faculty may have access and ability to understand truth; however, an illumination must occur "causing such an alteration with respect to the mind's ideas of spiritual good."⁶⁶ In other words, the Holy Spirit is the energy which enlivens the heart to engage the faculty of understanding. Just as love is a visible corollary of light, so is knowing a result of illumination.⁶⁷ The heart, according to Edwards Jr., is "a faculty of the mind on the nature of which praise or blame is found."⁶⁸

Remarkably, these questions expand to take in those relating to the perception of spiritual beauty and glory (Jr. Qs. 184-187). In branching off, as they do, these questions further show that Edwards Jr. desired to preserve his father's legacy of the Spirit, which appear in *Religious Affections* and *Nature of True Virtue*. For example, Question 184 reveals that the ability to see spiritual beauty is "peculiar to the Christian" on the basis of 1 Corinthians 2:14-15; however, this is also evidentially true as there are many unregenerate people who nevertheless "possess an understanding, or pure intellect, far superior to some of the most eminent Christians. A man may reason accurately and

⁶⁵ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 243-244.

⁶⁶ Jonathan Edwards, "284. Conversion" in *The "Miscellanies." The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 13, ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 381.

⁶⁷ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 245-246.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 246.

have a clear and extensive speculative knowledge of divine truths without having the least taste or relish for them.”⁶⁹ Accordingly, the perception of spiritual beauty will not cause a person to become proud or hard-hearted.⁷⁰

Edwards Jr. recognized that the exercise of the heart is an indication of an implanted taste or a relish by the Holy Spirit. The next question (Jr. Qs. 184) addresses the possibility that the sight or appreciation of moral beauty may fall short if it is not coupled with love for moral beauty. In other words, a regenerate person who has an implantation of the Holy Spirit will not only see “the beauty and excellency of divine things [but] will also love and delight in them.”⁷¹ Evidently, when faith occurs through implantation, according to his father, “a spiritual taste and relish of what is excellent and divine” accompanies the Spirit.⁷² The unregenerate are devoid of this spiritual taste, and a necessary infusion of the Holy Spirit must occur so that the mind can move beyond nominal ideas of divine things. The Spirit “spiritualizes” the unregenerate with a “heavenly temper” for divine things.⁷³ Gelston proceeds to explain how the ability to see beauty of divine things is not attainable by natural understanding; however, “to determine wherein [the taste or will] differs from the exercise of action” will not be easy.⁷⁴

This answer recorded in Gelston’s notebook may shed light on how the move toward a non-nuanced psychology of the will would gradually come so easily in

⁶⁹ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 248.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 249-250.

⁷² Jonathan Edwards, *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 21, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 417.

⁷³ Jonathan Edwards, “A Spiritual Understanding of Divine Things Denied to the Unregenerate,” in *Sermons and Discourses: 1723-1729*, *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 14, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 78-81.

⁷⁴ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 250.

subsequent generations. With the coming nineteenth century individualism and romanticism, Charles Finney would state strongly that

in morals and religion [...] the willing is the doing. The power to will is the condition of obligation to do. [...] it is absurd and sheer nonsense to talk of an ability to do when there is no ability to *will*. Every one knows with intuitive certainty that he has no ability to do what he is unable to will to *do*. It is, therefore, the vilest of folly to talk of a natural ability to do anything whatever, when we exclude from this ability the power to *will*. If there is no ability to will, there is and can be no ability of the Edwardsean school is no ability at all...and nothing but an *empty name*, a *metaphysico-theological* FICTION.⁷⁵

The inability of Charles Finney to hold Edwards's nuanced premise that "God does all and we do all" found in *Treatise on Grace* caused him to collapse Edwards's position into something more acceptable to the Jacksonian era. Charles Hodge rightly had concerns about Finney's claim to Edwards; however, Hodge was wrong about Edwards Jr.'s claim to his father. Edwards Jr., like his father, unequivocally asserts that "to have a taste and inclination for holiness, or spiritual glory, must presuppose the existence of a holy principle."⁷⁶

While a taste must presuppose a movement of the will toward divine things, nevertheless, Edwards Jr. concludes that all moral beings (whether regenerate or not) are under obligation to be holy by necessity. Question 185 asks: "Is it a matter of duty to all men to see the spiritual glory of divine objects?" Even though his answer is brief, an impowered ability to do, can be derived out of his understanding of native blindness. Blindness does not exempt a person from responsibility as "all moral beings are under obligation to exercise a holy principle." In this regard, that moral aptitude or capacity to appreciate spiritual beauty is present.

⁷⁵ Emphasis original. Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology, Embracing Lectures on Moral Government, The Atonement, Moral and Physical Depravity, Natural, Moral, and Gracious Ability, Repentance, Faith, Justification, Sanctification, &c.* (Oberlin: James M. Fitch, 1846), 13-14.

⁷⁶ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 250.

The next two questions discuss to what degree any faculty of the mind is influenced by regeneration, or conversely, if mere light of truth has any bearing on regeneration (Jr. Qs. 186-187). To these questions, Edwards Jr. recognizes that if regeneration affected other aspects of the mind, then a definite class of superior intellectuals would be apparent among the regenerate; however, this is not the case for it is the heart that is under influence of regeneration. In other words, no new faculty of the mind is given to the regenerate. Regeneration is not produced by the light of truth, just as a description of “the taste of any of the productions of nature could not be excited by describing the nature and properties.”⁷⁷

If regeneration be not an addition of a new faculty of the mind, then what exactly is this new heart given? In other words, “What do you mean by the physical operation of the Spirit in regeneration?” (Jr. Qs. 188). Helpfully, Edwards Jr. reveals that the physical operation of the Spirit is applied to man’s moral nature, which is “represented as being by nature dead.”⁷⁸ With regard to means of grace, they provide an avenue of opportunity for the mind, but the actual change is produced “by the immediate operation of the Spirit.” Since the operation of the Spirit is immediate, man must necessarily be passive in the process of regeneration.

The following question (Jr. Qs. 189) explores the difference between active or passive regeneration. While not explicitly stated as such here, “active regeneration” tends to be associated with conversion and “passive regeneration” as actual regeneration. This nuance can be observed when he says that in “the moment he is regenerated, he may be active.” Further, regeneration is said to be nearly impossible to discover as a point in time; however, when “he puts forth holy exercises,” then one may deduct a prior

⁷⁷ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 252.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 253.

regenerative activity of the Holy Spirit has occurred.⁷⁹ Previously in an earlier question (Jr. Qs. 179), he clarified the difference between regeneration and conversion.

Finally, after an exhaustive approach to the question of regeneration, Edwards Jr. returns to his father's third question (Sr. Qs. 52), which queries what might cause the necessity of regeneration. This question is expanded into two (Jr. Qs. 190-191). Necessity for regeneration is caused by total depravity (Jr. Qs. 190). This depravity, according to Gelston's notebook, is not passive but actively "opposed to every holy exercise and inclined to evil continually. [...] Unless, therefore, he be regenerated, he never can be happy."⁸⁰ Interestingly, the following question (Jr. Qs. 191) was misunderstood by Gelston, and his mentor corrected his answer with this short supplemental answer: "This question was misunderstood. It respects the acts of the soul. They are doubtless free."⁸¹ Gelston had supposed that the physical operation of the Spirit, like the creation of Adam's soul indicated necessity rather than free agency; however, as is the case with his father's work *Freedom of the Will* the human soul is considered free. The physical operation of the Spirit plants a new principle of affections out of which the soul freely does what it wants to do on the basis of new affections.

Common and Special Grace (Jr. Qs. 199). This question clarifies theological jargon. All grace is said to be an operation of the Holy Spirit; however, special grace is the implantation of a new principle and the subsequent production of "new and holy exercises."⁸² A specific and essential difference exists between the two as common grace is more general. Those movements of "awakening, convincing and reforming the sinner"

⁷⁹ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 254.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁸¹ See Supplement. *Ibid.*, 385.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 265.

may be classified as common.⁸³ While not directly related to his father's questions, this clarification is consistent application of his father's thoughts in *Treatise on Grace*.⁸⁴

Sanctification by the Spirit (Sr. Qs. 61-62; Jr. Qs. 228-230). Questions 61-62 are repeated by Edwards Jr. exactly however with addition of Scripture verses to guide a desired answer. The intent of these questions is to examine the extent of human responsibility in light of the Holy Spirit's sanctifying influences. To some degree, these questions may exist to discover how much their students had absorbed his father's *Treatise on Grace*. In particular, the answer given to the first question (Jr. Qs. 228) demonstrates, again, the prior work of the Holy Spirit is necessary to influence the acts of man with "a new and holy principle." These acts consist of the two great commandments written upon their hearts.⁸⁵ Remarkably, the second question (Jr. Qs. 229) deals directly with the bone of contention between Charles Hodge and Edwards Amasa Park. By directing the answerer to explain the apparent conflict latent in the command to circumcise one's heart in Ezekiel 18:36, Edwards Jr. demonstrates an awareness of how controversial his father's position on the influences of the Holy Spirit might be.⁸⁶ Rather than reframing his father's position on pneumatology in *Treatise on Grace*, he propagated it with his own students. Gelston's lengthy answer is worth hearing:

⁸³ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 265.

⁸⁴ "[T]he phrase, *common grace*, is used to signify that kind of action or influence of the Spirit of God, to which are owing those religious or moral attainments that are common to both saints and sinners, and so signifies as much as common assistance; and sometimes those moral or religious attainments themselves that are the fruits of this assistance, are intended. So likewise the phrase, *special* or *saving grace*, is sometimes used to signify that peculiar kind or degree of operation or influence of God's Spirit, whence saving actions and attainments do arise in the godly, or, which is the same thing, special and saving assistance; or else to signify that distinguishing saving virtue itself, which is the fruit of this assistance. These phrases are more frequently understood in the latter sense, viz. not for common and special assistance, but for common and special, or saving virtue, which is the fruit of that assistance: and so I would be understood by these phrases in this discourse." Jonathan Edwards, "Treatise on Grace," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, Vol. 21, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 153-154.

⁸⁵ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 287.

⁸⁶ "God circumcises the heart, and we are commanded to circumcise [our hearts]. Not merely because we must use the means in order to the effect, but the effect itself is our act and our duty." Edwards, "Treatise on Grace," 251.

If volition be an act of our minds, however, it be produced, it still is ours. Nothing more is necessary to make the volition wholly ours, than for us to will to put forth an act. If we were operated upon, as a machine is by mere natural powers, volition would be no duty. But this is not the case. We are influenced by arguments and motives. It is our duty, therefore; to be influenced by the most proper motives. This appears from the express command of Scripture. "Circumcise therefore, the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked." Deut. 10:16. Here, those who are spoken to are commanded to do this, as if the act were their own, which also fully implies a duty. The same however, is said to be done by God. "And the Lord thy God will circumcise their heart, and the heart of thy seed." [Deuteronomy] 30:16. "Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart, and a new spirit!" Ezek. 18:31. "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." [Deuteronomy] 36.26. From these different passages, it appears evident, that the same things are a duty and performed by those who are the subjects of the duty, as their own personal act; and yet are also said to be performed by God.⁸⁷

The Spirit and Assurance (Jr. Qs. 266-272). In this series of questions, beginning with the perseverance of the saints, a conscientiousness about the Spirit's possessiveness is what makes assurance of faith in a believer possible. In the leading question (Jr. Qs. 266), a major proof of perseverance is the continuance of "the implanted principle in regeneration," which is none other than "the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as a sanctifier."⁸⁸ Assurance of one's election (Jr. Qs. 270) is said to come about due to the observance of the effects of grace. By this, a person might know that "he is actually possessed of grace."⁸⁹ The last two questions in this series reveal that in Edwards Jr.'s view the Witness of the Spirit (Jr. Qs. 271) and the Seal of the Spirit (Jr. Qs. 272) are essentially the same. The witness of the Spirit is not immediate; rather, it is mediated as if by the impression of a seal upon the Christian by those "several graces which are produced" by the Holy Spirit.⁹⁰ The distinction between mediate and immediate, again, reveals his father in the background. Edwards Sr. "had not patience with those enthusiasts

⁸⁷ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 288-289.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 326.

⁹⁰ Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 328.

who limited the testimony of the Spirit [to one's own salvation] to inward, invisible, 'impractical' flashes of assurance."⁹¹ Rather the Holy Spirit gives a temper and progressively sanctifies a person over time so that this quality comes to be viewed as "an evidence in favor of that man's good estate as infallible as the seal upon a deed is of the authenticity of that deed."⁹² Edwards Jr.'s puritan ancestors might simply have called this assurance "a clear title."

Published 'Occasional' Sermons

While a pastor in New Haven, he published a lengthy response (1789) to the universalism found in Dr. Charles Chauncy's *The Salvation of All Men* (1782). After his relocation to Colebrook in 1796, he submitted a *Dissertation Concerning Liberty and Necessity* (1797) in response to Samuel West's *Essays on Liberty and Necessity* (1795), written to refute Edwards Sr.'s *Dissertation on the Freedom of the Will* (1754). Both of these larger works demonstrate his inherited genius, yet this thesis focuses on the lesser known 'occasional sermons' that more directly touch on his received theology of the Spirit. Occasional sermons, so called, were designed for potential publication and were a familiar staple through New England on fast days, thanksgiving days, and election days.⁹³ This section will note the common bond in pneumatology shared between father and son in four occasional sermons, as well as a brief article in the *New York Theological Magazine*⁹⁴ on "The Promise of the Holy Spirit."

⁹¹ Conrad Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (1966; repf., Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 144. Also see, Jonathan Edwards, "Charity and Its Fruits," in *Ethical Writings, Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Vol. 8, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 168-170.

⁹² Gelston, *A Systematic Collection*, 328.

⁹³ Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 27-31.

⁹⁴ The New York Theological Magazine was a periodical, established in 1795 by Dr. Worcester, a graduate of Dartmouth College.

The earliest of these sermons originated at the beginning of his ministry and is entitled *Grace Evidenced by Its Fruits* (1769). Even though this sermon is evaluated in the previous chapter, the *Religious Affections*-like sermon will now be considered for its systematic value. The second arises from Dan Bradley's ordination sermon *All Divine Truth Profitable* (1792). The last two were prepared for the General Association meetings of the Congregational churches of Connecticut in 1786 (*Christ Our Righteousness*) and 1794 (*God the Author of All Good Volitions and Actions*).

"Grace Evidenced By Its Fruits." Prepared and preached early in Edwards Jr.'s ministry in New Haven, *Grace Evidenced By Its Fruits* bears the most similarity to *Religious Affections* on the basis several borrowed metaphors.⁹⁵ Not considered to this point, however, is how Edwards Jr. sees with his father an "infused grace" as the bond of union created by the Holy Spirit. This union is created by "a principle of divine grace." Following the pattern of empiricism, Edwards Jr. recognizes how the infusion of grace necessarily produces evidences, by which others are able to see the splendor of the Spirit in "holy practice."⁹⁶ Like his father, Edwards Jr. sees that the life of God is necessarily activity, energy, and power, so that by virtue of infusion of the divine nature, the Holy Spirit must have an observable effect. Without using his father's terms, he implies that the Holy Spirit produces a moral necessity by virtue of its "native tendency" toward holiness.⁹⁷ Through the biblical metaphors, which require a physical infusion of grace, Edwards Jr. repeatedly highlights an exercise of power that produce a "continued series of visible and gracious fruits."⁹⁸ This "implanted" power of godliness necessarily

⁹⁵ Please see the earlier discussion in chapter 3 for a detailed explanation of the parallels to *Religious Affections*.

⁹⁶ *JEW2*, 388.

⁹⁷ *JEW2*, 388-89.

⁹⁸ *JEW2*, 391.

produces fruit which are evident.⁹⁹ In dealing with the “great Christian grace [of] faith,” Edwards Jr. notes a dispositional change toward truth and Christ himself as a “cordial consent.” This affective change is foundational, which turns a person towards a gracious trust and love to God.¹⁰⁰ Throughout the remainder of the sermon, he shows how the Holy Spirit produces fruit by the bond of union created by infused grace.

“Christ Our Righteousness.” Thirteen years later Edwards Jr. prepared Christ Our Righteousness from 1 Corinthians 1:30 for the General Association of Connecticut. In this sermon, the Holy Spirit as bond of union is no less essential than it was in his early years of ministry. While the majority of the sermon deals with aspects of imputation, Edwards Jr. reveals his understanding of “a two-fold union which exists between Christ and believers.” He terms these as vital and relative: a vital union is both real and affective; however, the second is consequential. Without dwelling on the second, the importance of this distinction makes clear that the vital union is “the cordial and mutual love which subsists between Christ and all true believers. [...] He has the very spirit of Christ.”¹⁰¹ The use of the word subsist is particularly apt to describe the bond of union which exists between Father and Son as the mutual love of the Holy Spirit.

In the instance of the second distinction of a consequential or *relative* union, Edwards Jr. is deliberately advancing his unique view on non-imputation within a penal substitutionary atonement framework; however, it might be easy to miss the fine nuance on how Edwards Jr. views the bond of union applied to humanity based upon the intra-trinitarian relationship.

Edwards Jr. argues that on the basis of intra-trinitarian relations that in consequence of a vital union of shared subsistence of love by the Trinity that nonetheless

⁹⁹ *JEW2*, 392.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 393-94.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 259.

a believer is “as entirely distinct from Christ as from God the father or from the Holy Spirit.”¹⁰² In other words, a prior union with the Holy Spirit does not remove distinctiveness of the believer; rather, he is treated *as if* they are one. This trinitarian nuance is fundamental to Edwards Jr.’s understanding of union and is precipitated on his father’s understanding of Spirit bond of union. A bond of union does not erase distinction of person, nor does the bond of union by the Spirit do so in humanity.

“All Divine Truth Profitable.” *All Divine Truth Profitable* was preached at the ordination of Dan Bradley, a graduate of Yale College, on January 11, 1792 in Hamden, CT. Shortly afterward, Bradley and his wife Eunice migrated to Whitestown, NY (New Hartford near Utica in Oneida County) as a missionary-pastor in the Mohawk Valley.¹⁰³ In this sermon, Edwards Jr. challenged Bradley, as one of the first ministers of the congregational denomination in that region to “take care how he sowed,” for out of a profitable doctrine he would have influence on all the neighboring settlements for generations.¹⁰⁴ In this lengthy sermon, Edwards Jr. spells out ten divine truths which are profitable, two of which are directly applicable to a received pneumatology. These two leading doctrines are “*the divine existence and character* and the *mode of the divine subsistence*.”¹⁰⁵

During the long eighteenth century, the Trinity was deemed to be unprofitable in the practice of piety, as the ancient doctrine was the source of much turmoil in the

¹⁰² *JEW2*, 261.

¹⁰³ Donald Lines Jacobus, “Rev. Peter Buckley,” in *The Buckley Genealogy* (New Haven, CT: Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor, 1933), 529.

¹⁰⁴ *JEW2*, 119. Ironically, according to a family genealogy, Bradley led his people to form a Presbyterian church in New Hartford, NY. He resigned after three years to take up farming, but not before performing a remarkable fifty weddings. This according to the New Hartford Presbyterian Church Records. Kathy Last, “New Hartford Presbyterian Church Marriages,” transcribed by the Daughters of the American Revolution. n.d. Accessed July 5, 2020. <http://oneida.nygenweb.net/towns/newhartford/NHmarriages.htm>.

A further irony, is that the New Hartford Presbyterian Church would host Charles Finney as a visiting revivalist during the 1820s and 30s creating the legendary “burned-over district.”

¹⁰⁵ Emphasis Original. *JEW2*, 98-101.

church. Yet, in this sermon, Edwards Jr. finds that the Trinity, like his puritan forefathers is the “object and foundation of all piety; and the stronger will be the motive to the inward emotions.”¹⁰⁶ Once examining the biblical support for the divinity of Christ as Son of God, Edwards Jr. briefly argues the divinity of the Holy Spirit on the basis of the Spirit’s divine epitaph in the liturgy of baptism and evangelical blessing.¹⁰⁷ By highlighting the problems inherent in Sabellianism, he is able to elevate the need of clarity in the doctrine of the Trinity. Clarity on the Trinity, according to Edwards Jr. is necessary for a confidence in Christ’s mediatorial efficacy, and by necessary extension in the other relevant truth, the power of regeneration by the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁸

Underneath the head of “Regeneration,” Edwards Jr. shows that due to total depravity, the Holy Spirit is necessary for any and all holiness. In fact, he contends that there are “no natural or stated connection between any exercises, doings or strivings of the natural man and true holiness.”¹⁰⁹ While espousing the same view as his father, Edwards Jr. comes to it indirectly by addressing the Sandemanian view of a ‘bare belief of the bare truth.’¹¹⁰ Edwards Jr. emphatically denies that regeneration is simply having in one’s possession “proper information” or even a “supernatural and merely intellectual light” apart from holy affection. The light necessary cannot come through the intellect but passes into the heart through “the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 99. Puritan Lewes Bayly’s (d. 1631) influential *Practice of Piety* was one of the most reprinted works on spirituality and influential in John Bunyan’s spiritual development. This book begins with about sixty pages devoted to the Trinity. See Philip Dixon, *Nice and Hot Disputes: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 6-11.

¹⁰⁷ *JEW2*, 99.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 100-101, 109.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 110.

¹¹⁰ Michael A. G. Haykin, “Andrew Fuller and the Sandemanian Controversy” in *At the Pure Fountain of Thy Word’: Andrew Fuller as an Apologist*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Carlisle, England: Paternoster Press, 2004), 226. Edwards Jr. describes Sandemanism as “the bare light and motives exhibited in the gospel,” in “Remarks on the Improvements Made in Theology by his Father, President Edwards,” in *JEW1*, 491.

¹¹¹ *JEW2*, 111.

On the whole, Edwards Jr. is charitable in what this immediate influence might consist. He outlines three ways of looking at regeneration, which are within the main of the supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost to produce “holy acts, emotions or affections in the heart.”¹¹² While conscious of a variety of ways the same truth could be articulated, he subtly reveals his position by arguing that “a *physical* influence” (or, in his father’s vocabulary, infusion), is not less inconsistent with liberty.¹¹³ A master of definition, Edwards Jr. also differentiates regeneration from conversion.¹¹⁴ To both Edwards’s, regeneration occurs on the passive subject; whereas, in the act of conversion a man is active. In his father’s *Treatise on Grace*, regeneration and conversion are the two agreeing acts by which “God is the only proper fountain; we only are the proper actors. We are in different respects wholly passive and wholly active.”¹¹⁵

“God the Author of All Good Volitions and Actions.” While Edwards Jr. may have been more subtle in the articulation of Spirit implanting in regeneration in the previous sermon, he much more direct two years later in *God the Author of All Good Volitions and Actions* (1794). Preached before the General Association, he states that “all morally good dispositions are implanted in the heart in regeneration.” Out of Philippians 2:13 Edwards Jr. argues that God’s working is not only that of simple goodness of heart, but that which is sufficient “to do” according to his good pleasure. This is not simply arbitrary unpredictability, rather, while God is absolutely supreme, he always acts

¹¹² These three ways to articulate regeneration fall upon a spectrum: 1) an implanted principle in the heart that has existed much prior to the observation of affections, 2) immediate observable affections in consequence of implantation, 3) no new principle is implanted; however, the Holy Spirit immediately produces affections. *JEW2*, 110.

¹¹³ Emphasis original. *Ibid.*, 111-113. Edwards Jr. describes his father’s articulation of regeneration as a tightening up of what had been a fairly loose understanding of the process of salvation. But, all in all, “regeneration consists in *the communication of a new spiritual sense or taste*. In other words, a new heart is given. This communication is made, this work is accomplished, by the Spirit of God,” in *Remarks on the Improvements Made in Theology by his Father, President Edwards*,” *JEW1*, 491.

¹¹⁴ *JEW2*, 110.

¹¹⁵ Edwards, “*Treatise on Grace*,” 251.

consistently with the general good of his “moral system” and the ends for which he has created the world.¹¹⁶ Apart from this explicit allusion to the Holy Spirit being implanted in regeneration, the rest of the sermon discusses how the “implanting” of the Spirit does not destroy agency, freedom, or accountability. Freedom of the will, of course, is a topic relevant to Spirit’s work of regeneration.

“The Promise of the Holy Spirit.” In an article submitted to the *New York Theological Magazine*, Edwards Jr. describes what a person means when they ask for the Holy Spirit in Luke 9:13. Most simply, according to Edwards Jr., the Father responds to the implanted desires of the Spirit which reside in the human heart. To arrive at this conclusion, in this short piece, he depicts regeneration from the opposite but complementary perspective of conversion. Edwards Jr. begins by making the case that God is in truth ready to give his Holy Spirit to the unregenerate provided that the object of the request is “to be sanctified, to be made holy, to be delivered from the dominion and from the love of sin, and to become the subject of the love of holiness and true virtue.”¹¹⁷ He observes that a person is wholly to blame should they ask with impure motive and thus not receive the Holy Spirit. A person remains unconverted because he does not have appropriate desires and therefore evidences his unregenerate heart. By asking out of a selfish desire, they are asking without a sincere love to God, true repentance, and ultimately, a lack of faith.¹¹⁸ So, from the equal but opposite perspective articulated by his father’s *Treatise on Grace*, there is no conversion because there has been no implanting of the Holy Spirit. While unstated in the article, the necessary conclusion would be that the Father must give what is asked for, which is, a new spiritual sense or taste for God himself through the gift of the Holy Spirit. In this short, and pithy article,

¹¹⁶ *JEW2*, 349-50.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 469.

¹¹⁸ *JEW2*, 470-71.

Edwards Jr. reinforces his father's perspective on physical implanting of the Holy Spirit as prerequisite to the exercise of holy desire.

Unpublished Weekly Sermons

Jonathan Edwards Jr.'s consistency with his father's pneumatology is most readily seen in the unpublished weekly sermons before his people in New Haven and Colebrook. Through the years, Edwards Jr. seems to have stayed consistent in his understanding of the person and work of the Holy Spirit, as this section will demonstrate.

"2 Peter 2:22, August 1766." The earliest extant sermon by Edwards Jr., prepared under the guidance of Joseph Bellamy in Bethlem during August 1766, indirectly refers to the Spirit's work to create an appetite for virtue and holiness. In comparing hypocrites to pigs and dogs (2 Peter 2:22), Edwards shows how natural it is for unbelievers to "act out their very nature in sinning [...]" as

they feel an intire [*sic*] complacency in sin considered in itself, so y^t nothing can please them better; they are also in their very element while they are practicing all manner of wickedness, & every abominable thing. They have not taste, bias, or inclination for virtue & holiness; but their whole souls are corrupted; they run greedily in the way of Sin, without any disrelish toward it, but with an intire [*sic*] & absolute relish, & satisfaction.¹¹⁹

Yet, most do not act out and refrain from "all kinds of open sins," not because they lack a "taste & inclination for them,"¹²⁰ rather, something outside is keeping them from their natural disposition. Toward the end of the sermon, he concludes "the necessity of true grace; or something beyond these external reformatations, legal repentance & terrors of conscience, viz. repentance towards God; & faith towards our Lord Jesus X [Christ], or w^t. is meant by the general SS [Scriptures] name charity or love; universal love of God & his creatures."¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Sermon 3. 2 Peter 2.22.," *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2725), 7.

¹²⁰ Edwards Jr., "Sermon 3. 2 Peter 2.22.," 9.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

This general name of “charity or love” is much like how his father would have referred to the Holy Spirit. As stated previously, a casual reading of Edwards Jr. will miss Edwardsean jargon like “true grace” or “love,” which is metonymy for the Holy Spirit. For example in his article in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Mark Valeri misses the significant spiritual conclusion at the end of this very sermon suggesting that moral law is Edwards Jr.’s main focus.¹²² Rather, Edwards Jr. is skillfully expositing the brief proverb in 2 Peter while rhetorically drawing the listener to the necessary solution. In a helpless position of spiritual depravity, “true grace” or “charity or love” is critically necessary, and the invitation to respond to the conviction of the Spirit is given.

“Philippians 1:18, January 1767.” Prior to his installation in New Haven, Edwards Jr. filled the pulpit as a potential candidate, preaching from Philippians 1:18 on the following theme: “That when X [Christ] is preached, it is ground of joy to all good men.”¹²³ After pointing out how the preaching of the gospel is the foundation on which joy is brought to desperate people, he develops how happiness is “proportionally increased” as one observes that the “true interest of others [is] promoted.” He argues that the “general principle of benevolence” is meant to be universally shared and enjoyed proportionally, that is on an ever-increasing scale by intellectual beings.¹²⁴ This scalable joy available through the preaching of the gospel is not only “according to the divine constitution,” but also a necessary prerequisite to “the transcendent beauty & excellency, & glory of all these.[...] to all holiness.”¹²⁵ Edwards Jr. follows his father in describing how the knowledge of Christ is communicated a spiritual, saving understanding of God

¹²² Mark Valeri, “The New Divinity and the American Revolution,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 4 (Oct 1989), 754, n23.

¹²³ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Sermon V. Phil. 1.18 Composed at Princeton, Jan. 1767.,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2725), 3-4.

¹²⁴ Edwards Jr., “Sermon V. Phil. 1.18,” 10.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

through the preaching. Specifically, this saving understanding “is the something [*sic*], a principle of holiness or true virtue.”¹²⁶ After accumulating a variety of Scriptural proofs, he concludes that

the true knowledge of X & his gospel, or true wisdom & holiness, being such an excellent, precious, beatific endowment, no wonder if benevolent principle reigning in the hearts of all good men, w^h seeks & rejoices in the happiness of all intelligences; no wonder, I say, y^t this principle is gratified, & so they made to rejoice in the prospect of such bliss to men in the preaching of X as the necessary & proper mean for y^t end. Surely a man, whose nature it is to rejoice in the happiness of others when he has a prospect of their becoming possessed of the greatest, & only true happiness, y^t is to be enjoyed upon the earth, will rejoice with exceeding joy.¹²⁷

While the Spirit is not named directly here in this sermon, the words *endowment* and *benevolent principle* are Edwardsean catch-phrases for the regenerative work of the Holy Spirit who provides true wisdom, holiness, and a beatific vision of joy and happiness. His second point is indeed metaphysical in nature. Yet, in descending into metaphysics, he nevertheless dips into the rational basis for infinite happiness and joy of God in the preaching of the gospel.

While Edwards Jr. could at times descend into metaphysics, as this sermon demonstrates, he does so only to develop the overall message in relationship to “the benevolent principle.” This *benevolent principle* is a categorical term, which not only refers to the characteristic of divinity, but also refers to the Holy Spirit.¹²⁸ As he concludes the doctrinal section of this sermon, Edwards Jr. states that the Holy Spirit is “conferring upon men the greatest & only true happiness to be enjoyed on earth; of conferring upon them eternal happiness hereafter, & of advancing the glory of God.”¹²⁹ In the exhortation, he encourages those who have been indwelt by the Spirit, to “indulge

¹²⁶ Edwards Jr., “Sermon V. Phil. 1.18,” 14.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹²⁸ In the Improvement section of the sermon, he states that “Surely, if we have one spark of y^t true, generous, noble-Spirited benevolence, in w^h all true virtue primarily & essentially consists, or in other words, if we have the least degree of holiness or true grace in our hearts.” *Ibid.*, 28.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

your benevolent souls to the full. Rejoice in the Lord, rejoice in the Lord always” as the gospel is preached.¹³⁰

“Revelation 22:17, October 15, 1769.” After his installation in New Haven, and just a few weeks after the church he inherited split, he preached from the last clause of Revelation 22:17 “And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.”¹³¹ In this sermon, he proposed that if the referent of “water of life” could be determined, then the meaning of the verse would be unlocked. Noted earlier in the context is the pure river of life proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. Moving on from this observation, Edwards Jr. uses *analogia Scripturae* from John 7:37-39 and Isaiah 44:3 to solve his advertised riddle.¹³² From both of these texts, he concludes that the water of life refers specifically to the Holy Spirit who is “the grand & highest blessing, or rather, as the sum of all the blessedness bestowed on true saints.” From Luke 11:13 the Spirit is described as the “grand gift,” that is “the great reward,” bestowed upon the Son to be given to “whosoever will” ask.¹³³

This exegesis is not necessarily original, but the parallelism to his father’s emphasis is clear. Edwards Jr. uses his father’s superlative ‘the sum of all blessedness’¹³⁴ as a descriptive reference for the Holy Spirit.¹³⁵ However, in spite of this potential

¹³⁰ Edwards Jr., “Sermon V. Phil. 1.18,” 32.

¹³¹ See appendix 2 for a full transcript of this sermon. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 79. Rev. 22:17 [Last Clause] Oct. 15, 1769,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2728).

¹³² *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³⁴ In England Edwards Jr.’s friend John Ryland uses this phrase as well in his exegesis of Luke 11:13. According to Michael Haykin, “[t]here is a similarity of tone between [Ryland and] ... Whitefield and Griffiths” as well. See “‘The Sum of All Good’: John Ryland, Jr. and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” *Churchman*, Vol. 103, No. 4 (Oct 1989): 332-353, 341.

¹³⁵ “The Spirit of God is the chief of the blessings, that are the subject matter of Christian prayer; for it is the sum of all spiritual blessings; which are those that we need infinitely more than all others, and are those wherein our true and eternal happiness consists. That which is the sum of the blessings that Christ purchased, is the sum of the blessings that Christians have to pray for; but that, as was observed before, is the Holy Spirit: and therefore when the disciples came to Christ, and desired him to teach them to pray (Luke 11), and he accordingly gave them particular directions for the performance of this duty.”

common phrase, Edwards Jr. shows continuity with his father in that he describes the Holy Spirit as “the spiritual good which Christ hath purchased, consisting not only of divine communications in this world; but especially in the inconceivable and unutterable joys of the world to come.”¹³⁶ Note how the Spirit who is “the sum” is stated to be that which is purchased by Christ. The association of Spirit with “the thing purchased” is nearly identical to how his father referred to the Spirit in the *Discourse on the Trinity*.¹³⁷

Further into this sermon, partaking of the Holy Spirit is said to be a measure of how “he is communicated in the world of light. In this consists the joys of heaven.”¹³⁸ In other words, while the same kind of pleasure and enjoyment is communicated, nevertheless it must be to a “lesser degree” due to the indwelling principle of sin.¹³⁹ Edwards Jr. expounds his doctrine as “eternal life, with its joys, & foretastes of it in this world are freely offered to everyone who will accept of em [them].” Through the remainder of the sermon, he argues along the lines of the Edwardsean doctrine of moral and natural necessity and calls for response to the gracious call of the gospel from the heart.

“John 3, Various Dates.” Early on in his ministry, Edwards Jr. seems to be concerned that his flock was unaware of the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration. Several sermons developed out of a study on John 3.¹⁴⁰ In an early 1770

Jonathan Edwards, “Part II: Motives to a Compliance with What Is Proposed in the Memorial,” *An Humble Attempt*, in *Apocalyptic Writings, Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 5, ed. Stephen J. Stein (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 347.

¹³⁶ See note 85 above. Edwards Jr., “Volume 79,” 5-6; in another sermon on Ezekiel 18:21 he equates Christ and Spirit as purchasing the pardon. Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Vol. 170., Ezek. 18.21., June 30, 1771,” *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Box 1, Folder 1), 1-8, 6.

¹³⁷ Edwards, “Discourse on the Trinity,” 137-38.

¹³⁸ Edwards Jr., “Volume 79,” 10.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁰ (1) Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 95. Joh. 3.6., Feb. 18, 1770,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2728), 1-31.; (2) Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Volume 147. Joh. 3.5., Feb. 3, 1771,” *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2730), 1-9; (3) Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Vol. 189., Joh. 3.8., Sep^r. 22. 1771.”

sermon from John 3:6 he distinguishes the new birth as necessarily distinct from the depravity inherent in the flesh. From Romans 8:7 he defines the new birth in contrast to the carnally minded. Spiritually minded people have by necessity “a temper of holiness” implanted within.¹⁴¹ Since the human condition prior to new birth is one of spiritual deadness, “the first thing is a principle of life--/then follows ac/tions.”¹⁴² Following his father’s earlier articulation of Spirit implantation, Edwards Jr. describes the divine act of regeneration as that which is necessary to all other acts as the principle of life.¹⁴³ “The principle of life” is another Edwardsean catchphrase for the Holy Spirit’s regenerative work; however, it comes from the deep reservoir of the old puritans.

In the 1770 version of the sermon from John 3, Edwards Jr. quotes at length from John Flavel, Samuel Willard, and Joseph Alliene, but first he argues that the principle of life produces temperamental changes. First, sinners are reconciled in their minds toward “the brightest glories” of God. Those qualities of God which ought to attract had formerly “disgusted” him like holiness and truth.¹⁴⁴ Out of the awareness of God’s holiness comes a sensitivity toward his own sinfulness. This process of growing humility causes a person to “desire nothing/so much as to/be delivered from it [iniquities]—not only from the/punishment—/but the power of/it—.”¹⁴⁵ The principle of life creates the conditions “whereby the mind/is prepared to/receive & close/w^h X—.” The conditions for conversion to occur necessitate a birth of life, that is, the implanted principle of life.

Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons), Hartford Seminary Library (Box 166, Folder 2731), 1-8.

¹⁴¹ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 1-3. Also, in Edwards Jr., “Volume 147,” 5.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴³ See earlier discussion on physical infusion and the “principle of life which acts” from his widely quoted *Charity and Its Fruits*. Edwards, “Charity,” 298.

¹⁴⁴ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

Three quotes from John Flavel occurring in this sermon are derived from the 1754 edition of *The Whole Works of the Reverend Mr. John Flavel [...] in Two Volumes*. Out of this immense collection, Edwards Jr. refers to “Sermon V: Opening that Work of the Spirit more particularly, by which the Soul is enabled to apply Christ.” By quoting the primary doctrine of Flavel’s sermon, which references “the supernatural principle of life,” Edwards Jr. shows that he stands in line, not only with his father’s “Divine and Supernatural Light” but also with the Puritans.¹⁴⁶ Edwards Jr. argues on the basis of Flavel’s reasoning that cause and effect in nature show that there is a spiritual cause and effect. Reflecting on this argument, Edwards Jr. proposes that some might suppose then, that on the basis of justification “in time” that death might perchance short-circuit the regeneration process of those for whom Christ died. Edwards Jr. shows that Flavel puts to silence this object by demonstrating that regeneration is more a “priority of nature, than of time, the nature and order of the work requiring it to be so.”¹⁴⁷ In other words, regeneration is more about change of the heart’s nature, than it is of time sequence.

To Flavel is added Samuel Willard’s prestige as “an eminent divine of the last century, who lived at Boston.”¹⁴⁸ Willard, who had served as the acting president of Harvard and pastor of Boston’s Third Church, produced *A Compleat [sic] Body of Divinity in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism*. On the thirty-first question, “What is Effectual Calling,” Edwards Jr. points to the necessity of a change “wrought, by creating a new principle of saving grace in the

¹⁴⁶ “Doct. That those souls which have union with Christ, are quickened with a supernatural principle of life by the Spirit of God in order thereunto.” Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 22. See John Flavel, “Sermon V: Opening that Work of the Spirit more particularly, by which the Soul is enabled to apply Christ,” in *The Whole Works of the Reverend Mr. John Flavel, Late Minister of the Gospel at Dartmouth in Devon, in Two Volumes* (Glasgow, Scotland: John Orr, 1754), 178-183, 179.

¹⁴⁷ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 9-10; Flavel, “Sermon V,” 182.

¹⁴⁸ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 10-11.

will and affections.”¹⁴⁹ This regenerating work of the Holy Spirit restores the mind so that the will “closes in with that light [...]. He never gives a new Understanding, but a new Will with it.” This process is “infused at once.”¹⁵⁰

By quoting Willard, Edwards Jr. argues for the immediacy of regeneration created by the supernatural light of the Holy Spirit. Light by itself is not sufficient as some would suggest the process of conviction is enough; however, conviction is insufficient to produce a saving faith, no matter how helpful. To this point, Edwards Jr. illustrates the problem by showing how Sandemanians taught that one is “regenerated by/light without the Sp./not by the immediate/ agency of G.” Edwards Jr. then moves to describe the difference between active and passive conversion, again from Willard. “Thus is the work wro’t in the Soul w^h belongs to passive conversion & by it the grace of faith, together w^h all other graces is implanted in the man.” This Edwards Jr. characterizes as passive regeneration; whereas, active conversion is the result.¹⁵¹

Moving from the distinction between passive regeneration and active conversion, he argues the need to distinguish these two from one another as regeneration is necessarily instantaneous.¹⁵² Many fall into the error of describing regeneration as “a gradual thing” in which a person is awakened and then “by & by enter/into cov^t.--/& then all done--/But when conver/ted?”¹⁵³ According to Edwards Jr., either extraordinary experience or protracted conviction over two or three months does not constitute

¹⁴⁹ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 22-23.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 24. In this quotation, Edwards Jr. footnotes these as coming from pages 155 and 156 of Willard’s *Body of Divinity*; however, in actuality, they come from pages 455 and 456. This mistake is repeated several times by not fully making a numerical four. Samuel Willard, *A Compleat [sic] Body of Divinity in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism* (Boston: Green, Kneeland, & Elliot, 1726).

¹⁵¹ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 9-10.; Willard, *Body of Divinity*, 456.

¹⁵² In another sermon about a year later: “The immediate ef/fect—these ex/ercises—/in this opera” of G. reconciled—enmity slain/Then a new ☉ into view.--/everything in a new light/a new eye given/ [...] all [gospel and Christ] in a most glorious light” Edwards Jr., “Volume 147.,” 2-3.

¹⁵³ Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 25-26.

conversion or regeneration. Conviction can occur over months or years; however, “the other [regeneration/conversion] in a moment.”¹⁵⁴ Returning to Flavel, Edwards Jr. builds his case to a crescendo by saying that “this infusion of spiritual life is done instantaneously; as all creation work is. [...] Even as it in the infusion of the rational soul, the body is long ere it be prepared & molded, but when it is prepared & ready, it is quickened w^h the Spirit of life in an instant.”¹⁵⁵ Earlier in the sermon, and along similar lines, Joseph Alleine’s *An Admonition to Unconverted Sinners* is appealed to as support for a *divine* light necessary for regeneration. “Without the application of the Spirit in regeneration we can have no saving interest in the benefits of redemption.”¹⁵⁶

In the “Improvement” section of his sermon, Edwards Jr. offers the following pithy line for his parishioners to take home and ponder: “faith a vital act/supposes a vital principle.”¹⁵⁷ This assertion, which he had defended throughout the sermon, follows his father’s observation that vital act and vital principle are necessarily complementary. Without directly saying so, Edwards Jr. is presenting key points from his father’s philosophical treatise *The Freedom of the Will*. According to Paul Ramsey, Locke began the process of deconstructing the divide between understanding and the will, whereas Edwards Sr. “abolished” the divide.¹⁵⁸ In other words, the will and the understanding cannot ever really oppose one another in regard to the same perception of thought.

This philosophical ‘non-distinction’ ought to be born in mind when considering Charles Hodge’s claim that the heirs of Edwards had distorted Edwards. In

¹⁵⁴Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 26.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 26-27.; Flavel, “Sermon V,” 181.

¹⁵⁶ Joseph Alleine, *An Admonition to Unconverted Sinners; in a Serious Treatise* (London: Millar, Law & Cater; and Wilson, Spense, & Mawman, 1793), 57.; quoted from an earlier but unknown edition of Alleine in Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 11-12.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 29. See similar in Edwards, *Religious Affections*, 201.

¹⁵⁸ Jonathan Edwards, *Freedom of the Will (1754)*, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 50.

one respect, Hodge's claim is correct regarding certain heirs like Charles Finney. Finney had indeed minimized the philosophical nuance of the vital principle necessary in regeneration. By collapsing the divide initiative in favor of human psychology, Finney tipped the argument in favor of human self-sufficiency. Yet, on the other hand, Hodge's claim that the heirs of Edwards wrongly represent their mentor is overstated due to Edwards's observation of how humanity responds to divine light. A divine and supernatural light 'physically infused' may indeed be observable in the conversion of a human soul. In other words, Edwards's heirs, especially his namesake, who were well-versed in *Religious Affections* and *Freedom of the Will*, were articulating along the lines of their theological mentor.¹⁵⁹ Familiarity with these works caused them to posit divine sovereignty as necessarily prior to the observable human response. This means that the Holy Spirit was "a vital principle" necessary so that the human will might move toward response.

Yet, according to Edwards Jr., this moral necessity does not displace human responsibility or "duty to repent and believe."¹⁶⁰ To show this unabating responsibility, he argues from the opposite starting point that the will is still free. Edwards Jr. shows how a drunkard will not do what he doesn't want to do. In other words, he will not break off drunkenness because he chooses otherwise, which on the one hand demonstrates depravity, and on the other, ought to cause him to move toward "self-abasement." Instead of humility and contrition, his innate depravity increases actual and felt guilt.¹⁶¹ Felt guilt,

¹⁵⁹ In another sermon, from this text, he described the Holy Spirit along the lines of those biblical metaphors in *Religious Affections* such as a fountain and a fire. To these examples, the Holy Spirit's vital action is described as "a principle of grace—/or a foundatⁿ. of/holy exercises&af/fections." Edwards Jr., "Volume 147.," 2.

¹⁶⁰ Edwards Jr., "Volume 95," 30.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 30-32.

instead of producing humility increases pride, exacerbating actual guilt. Choosing to remain a drunkard or a sluggard increases the need for “true light.”¹⁶²

About a year later, Edwards Jr. prepared another message from his earlier exegesis of John 3. This sermon accents the principle of grace necessary to cause one to be born again of the Spirit. After describing a new temper imbedded in a person, he argues that this does not occur “from instruction & cultivation.” Light is not enough, nor the “common influences of the Spirit.”¹⁶³ Edwards Jr. heightens the need for response to conviction while at the same time paying recognition that conviction is a kind of common grace. Conviction, as a common grace, ought not be confused with a special grace which is “positively by the supernatural agency of G.—sending his holy Spirit to act, live & abide.” To show that this positive movement is more than common, he shows from John 1:13 and 1 John 3:9 that from time to time the Scriptures will interchange the agency of new birth between God and the Holy Spirit, thus elevating the new birth above that of common grace.¹⁶⁴ So, from this difference, he points to the special work of the Spirit as significantly different from the gradual conviction of the Spirit. The special work of Spirit implantation is an instantaneous “turning point.”¹⁶⁵ In his doctrinal “Improvement,” he highlights the necessity of the Holy Spirit in order to persevere and produce fruit. The divine nature dwells so that “all the exercises/of grace fruits of the/Spirit—/all by the gift/of the Sprit.”¹⁶⁶

Many years later (June 1800), and toward the end of his life, Edwards Jr. returned to John 3 to preach the necessity of regeneration again.¹⁶⁷ This late manuscript

¹⁶² Edwards Jr., “Volume 95,” 31.

¹⁶³ Edwards Jr., “Volume 147.,” 5.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁶⁷ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “[No number] At Schenectady, Wednesday at The Hill, June 1800,

demonstrates that through his nearly thirty-year pulpit ministry that Edwards Jr.'s basic understanding of the Spirit's work remained consistent. For example, in noting what the phrase born again means, he is emphatic that it must be more than reformation of morals, nor simply the awakening conviction of the Spirit. Joy in religious activity is insufficient as new birth has to be an "essential change of the heart."¹⁶⁸ This essential change of heart moves a person from depravity to sanctification, from sin to holiness, so that the heart is submissive and filled with love for God whom they can now perceive.¹⁶⁹ The agent of regeneration is clearly ascribed to the Holy Spirit: "God by his Holy Spirit [...] is the efficient/cause/confers no new/faculty—/but a disposition/to use aright the fa/culties already." Like his earlier sermon, nearly thirty years earlier, he shows how the necessary consequence of the Spirit's action is that "the man himself becomes active/actively turns to God" in repentance, reconciliation, and faith.¹⁷⁰

Conclusion

The wide variety of evidence collected in the areas of systematic theology, occasional sermons, as well as his weekly sermons demonstrate that Edwards Jr.'s was a faithful inheritor of his father's pneumatology. Through the mentoring of theologians like Maltby Gelston, Edwards Sr.'s legacy can be seen as lasting into at least the early nineteenth century. While there were adaptations of Edwards's pneumatology by later revivalists like Charles Finney, Hodge's basic claim that Edwards Jr. broke the flow of the Edwardian tradition cannot be maintained. While Edwards Sr. wrote several treatises, which advanced his pneumatologically focus, Edwards Jr.'s major writings on

John III.7.," *Andover Newton Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, Johnathan Edwards, Jr.*, Yale Divinity Library (RG 295, Box 168, Folder 4): 1-8.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁷⁰ Edwards Jr., "[No number] At Schenectady," 4.

atonement and the will, often distract scholars from the common bond that does exist between father and son in their thinking on the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: IN STEP WITH THE SPIRIT

The evidence in this thesis seems to affirm that Jonathan Edwards Jr. is an inheritor of his father's pneumatology, which watered the New England Theology. Many in Washington's rag-tag militia drank from that robust New England Theology. In some ways, while the nation was fighting for its independence, the New England Theology preserved by men like Jonathan Edwards Jr. became a repository for the reformed ministers to return and rekindle another Great Awakening. The received Edwardsean desire for the supremacy of the glory of God and benevolence also sowed seeds for the coming abolition movement.¹ The Edwardsean influence upon his "New Divinity" followers was extensive. Even in "Old England" prominent evangelical Calvinists like Andrew Fuller, John Ryland, William Carey, and John Erskine had expressed an appreciation for the New England Theology.² In a letter on March 16, 1787 to his friend, John Ryland Jr. across the sea, Edwards Jr. spoke of the influence of his father and Dr. Bellamy's writings in his state:

I believe a majority of the ministers in Connecticut, mean to be on the plan of my father & Dr. Bellamy: & most of the young ministers & students in divinity are inclined to that plan.---There have been several places during the late war, & since

¹ New Divinity leadership of Edwards Jr. and Samuel Hopkins did much to create an abolitionist spirit in New England ahead of the Civil War. Unbeknownst to Jonathan Edwards Jr., a fateful passing of a sermon to Owen Brown, the father of John Brown, would cause Edwards Jr. to be responsible, although indirectly, for the start of the civil war. Owen Brown was persuaded of abolitionism after reading a published sermon of Jonathan Edwards Jr on the matter. Brown's account of reading Jonathan Edwards Jr's sermon is preserved in his own words. John Brown, *John Brown Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia: Life and Letters*, 4th ed., ed. F. B. Sanborn (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1910), 11.

² In England the "New England Theology" was called "The American Theology." Edwards Amasa Park, "The New England Theology," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 9 (1852), 174-75.

the war, general religious Awakenings, which have terminated in the hopeful conversion of a goodly number.³

In this brief excerpt is found not only a picture of Edwards Jr. attempt to keep in step with his father's divinity, but also a sincere desire for the Holy Spirit to be poured out on New England again. Within a few years, he would participate along with Timothy Dwight and others, in the early rains of the Second Great Awakening in 1790s.

Through this brief thesis, Edwards Jr. seems to be vindicated a faithful inheritor of his father's pneumatology, not only in his mentoring, but also in his occasional and weekly sermons. This similarity was more than just a learned theology as this thesis demonstrates. Father and son shared many circumstantial similarities. For example, one eerie biographical similarity is recorded by their progeny Tryon Edwards. He reports in a memoir that both men died shortly after accepting a college presidency, even preaching the same text on the first Sunday of the year of their decease: "This year thou shalt die" (Jer 28:16).⁴ While son outlived his father by one year, both were thoroughly sensitive to the Holy Spirit in their youth and both became prominent scholars. Both father and son, were men who were devoted to the religion of the heart, even though they were both gifted with such a strong intellect.

When Tryon Edwards recounts that his grandfather's "preaching became less metaphysical and argumentative, and more experimental and tender,"⁵ he likely alludes to the pastoral struggles he had with Ebenezer Beadeslee in New Haven. Yet, the evidence provided in this thesis demonstrates that a transition to Colebrook did not necessarily change the style or content of his preaching. Indeed, multiple manuscripts bear record of their provenience in New Haven and their reuse in Colebrook. While certainly a person's

³ Jonathan Edwards Jr., letter to John Ryland Jr., March 16, 1787, *Edwards Family Correspondence, Jonathan Edwards 1745-1801 Outgoing Letters*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (GEN MSS 152 Box 1, Folder 3), 4-5.

⁴ Tryon Edwards, "Memoir," in *JEW1*, xxxiv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxii.

disposition in preaching can change with a new context and a fresh audience, the primary documents show a remarkable consistency throughout his twenty-nine years of preaching. His doctrinal content and dependence upon the Holy Spirit seemed to have remained the same.

Much of the mid-nineteenth century biography of Edwards Jr. tends to be skewed toward the mood of the nation at the time. Nathan Hatch has demonstrated how the shifting current at the turn of the nineteenth century toward a Jacksonian philosophy of individualism produced strong fractures in the old clerical authority that Edwards Jr. would have assumed.⁶ The seeds of this anti-clericalism were very present in Edwards Jr.'s own White Haven Church in the generation that preceded him, and bloomed again in his own ministry. Coupled with the pressures of a post-Revolution inflationary crisis and a westward land boom, these and other pressures affected every church in Connecticut. Edwards Jr. was not exempt from these issues. Added to these cultural issues were those which molded his reserved personality through maturation. Loss and suffering, especially early in one's life, can steel one's personality. Some will internalize stress, and commune privately, as did Edwards Jr. Pushing through the trauma of the frontier violence, loss of nuclear family to the pox, and his young wife to drowning could impress upon others a kind of austerity. Yet, in spite of these challenges, those who knew him well understood that he battled the perfectionist tendency and that he was yet affable and gentle.

There is much more work that can be done in the comparative theology of Edwards Jr. Since his personal mission seems to have been to preserve his father's legacy, a case could be made that he did not change his father's view of penal atonement theory. In particular, more study could be done to discover how Edwards the younger refined his father's trinitarianism and atonement theory so as to safeguard the historic Calvinistic

⁶ Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 208-209.

penal substitution theory from the reaches of antinomianism and incipient Arminianism. The younger Edwards, like his father, was more than capable of holding two seemingly contradictory elements in view and reconciling them in a way that others after could not. And while this thesis cannot begin to explore this aspect, the potential for further study is now justified.

Again, while Edwards Jr. is more well-known for his governmental atonement theory, or his apologetic works against Universalism, these should not distract scholars from the younger Edwards's concern for the Spirit which *pervades* his unpublished sermons. Specifically, this research has attempted to show that Edwards Jr. was a worthy successor, contrary to the inherited caricature, in the reception of an Edwardsean pneumatology. If not the direct object of his effort in the printing press, the younger knew how necessary the Spirit was for true religion to flourish in his congregation and in his own theological production.

APPENDIX 1

THE NATURE OF EDWARDS JR.'S SERMON MANUSCRIPTS

The older established method¹ of verse-by-verse exposition through paragraphs was not Edwards Jr.'s typical approach; rather, he characteristically arranged a sermon around a single verse text or phrase and on the rare occasion strung two or three verses together. In reference to his father's sermonic pattern Owen Strachan observes how Edwards Sr. characteristically "focused his attention on a single phrase or sentence in the Bible." In his otherwise excellent essay, Strachan neglects to mention the more prominent mentor behind Edwards Sr.'s style.² Following the recommendations of Peter van Mastricht, both father and son produced dense expositions of otherwise very sparse texts.

A small slice of text would be selected each week, and an exposition of the next passage or verse on the following week was rare. Normally several seasons would pass before he would touch upon the same chapter, let alone the next verse. One notable exception occurred during his first year in New Haven in May and June 1769. During these months, he prepared an extended discourse consisting of eighty-eight pages from "Mat. 7.14 Last clause; And few there be y^t find it" (see Figure 2 below). In spite of the week-to-week series of which this sermon consisted the text did not change. This length

¹ In Harry Stout's *The New England Soul*, a survey of five generations (1600-1776) of sermons in New England, he describes how preachers would economize their study for two to three speaking engagements in a week by the 'sermon series.' That is, "[i]nstead of selecting scattered texts that would vary widely in theme and subject matter from week to week, they preferred to take a chapter or book of Scripture for long-term study, a verse at a time. Sometimes a single verse could occupy their attention for many weeks." Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 34.

² Owen Strachan, "Of Scholars and Saints: A Brief History of the Pastorate," in Kevin J. Vanhoozer and Owen Strachan, *The Pastor as Public Theologian: Reclaiming a Lost Vision* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 69-93, 84.

was also atypical as most of his full manuscripts were less than forty bound pages, and his note-form sermons were often shorter than a dozen pages.

Toward the end of his second year of regular preaching (1770), Edwards developed the habit of marking a line in the center of his page, jotting brief phrases to the left and right side of the line. If his notes were more than a quarto folded in half (making four pages), an insert was stitched into the center to add more pages. On occasion a thought might come to him, and not wanting to forget it, he would attach a slight scrap of paper with a tiny metal pin with the addition.³ The vast majority of his manuscripts from 1770s through 1801 are in note form (see Figure 1 below). Donald Weber is probably correct when he suggests that this tendency arose from a desire to be connected to the “extemporaneous mode of his New Light forebears who took their identity from the evangelical method of brief, shorthand notes.”⁴ While Weber may rightly conclude a desire to walk in the footsteps of his forebears, more likely however, is Edwards Jr.’s desire to follow the paradigm of his father’s favorite systematic theologian and pulpit instructor.⁵

Edwards Jr. had, according to Edwards Amasa Park, read through Peter van Mastricht’s *Theoretical-Practical Theology* seven times.⁶ The preface to the 1698 edition of Mastricht’s theology gave instruction to preachers to organize their sermons to be organized with just a few universal principles. These few would be able to be carried home in one’s memory to be discussed with their families. Furthermore, these principles

³ For an example of an addition with a metal pin see Sermon 5 on Phil. 1.18 composed at Princeton January 1767 and then preached throughout the next year in seven different towns, *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library (Box 165, Folder 2725), 36-37.

⁴ Weber, “The Edwardsean Legacy,” 52.

⁵ “For divinity in general, doctrine, practice and controversy, or as an universal system of divinity, [Mastricht’s *Theoretical-Practical Theology*] is much better than [Francis] Turretin or any other book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion.” Jonathan Edwards to Joseph Bellamy, January 15, 1746/7, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online, Letters and Personal Writings*, Vol. 16, ed. George S. Claghorn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957-2008), 217.

⁶ Edwards Amasa Park, “The New England Theology,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 9 (1852), 191.

would provide ease of memory for the preacher and be the bones on which application may hang.⁷ Most of Edwards Jr.'s sermons follow a three-stage progression. First, he begins with a text, providing its context and meaning. Out of this brief introduction and exegesis he proposes his Doctrine. After this first major section called the Doctrine, the Improvement followed providing the lock-proof argument demonstrating the consistency of the doctrine with the text. In listening to the Improvement, the hearer was left with a need to apply the text to their lives. This concluding application was typically called the Examination.

With van Mastricht as his guide, each section of his sermon flowed through the paradigm of “The Best Method of Preaching.” A modern reviewer of Edwards Jr.'s sermon notes will observe the absence much introduction except the immediate context development. Edwards Jr. follows Mastricht's recommendation to produce an introduction “derived from the coherence of the text.”⁸ Edwards Jr. was also religiously faithful to select short texts typically a verse or part of a verse. Mastricht advised preachers not to pick too long of a text. A lengthy text may not allow a proper argumentation, or a defense of the doctrine proposed.⁹ Edwards Jr. consistently took time to define key words out of which his doctrine will be argued and applied to his church. This might properly be called exegesis. In the majority of Edwards Jr.'s sermons he uses a two-point or three-point outline to exegete his Doctrine. From the doctrinal statement is the Improvement (what van Mastricht calls the argument¹⁰). The improvement is “the rationale of the deduction or consequence” so plainly rendered that the hearers are compelled to agree that the doctrine is “the word of God.” To make the connection from

⁷ Peter van Mastricht, *Theoretical-Practical Theology: Prolegomena*, vol. 1., trans. by Todd M. Rester, ed. Joel R. Beeke (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2018), 3-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

doctrine to the word of God may be carried out by appeal to parallel or equivalent passages and confirmed through reason.¹¹ Occasionally Edwards Jr. will sprinkle in apologetic argumentation, or what van Mastricht calls *eclentic*, taking care to not overtax his listeners.¹² From the Improvement Edwards Jr. moves into the application phase of the sermon called the Examination or Exhortation. Among the variety of options provided by van Mastricht, surprisingly and contrary to caricature of a harsh, metaphysical preacher, Edwards Jr. uses the exploratory or hortatory uses more frequently than the rebuking approach. “The ingredients of the exploratory use: motives, signs, and affections”¹³ are such that may be used by the Holy Spirit to cultivate a taste for virtue.

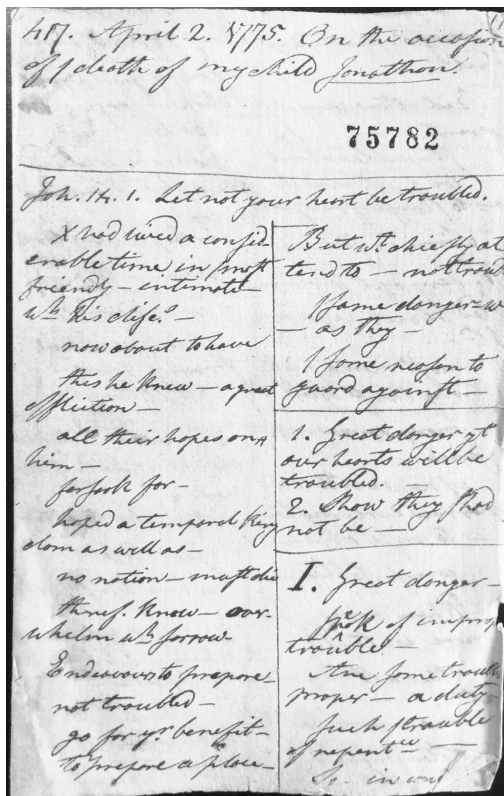


Figure A1. Example of a partial note manuscript
 Courtesy of the Hartford Seminary Library

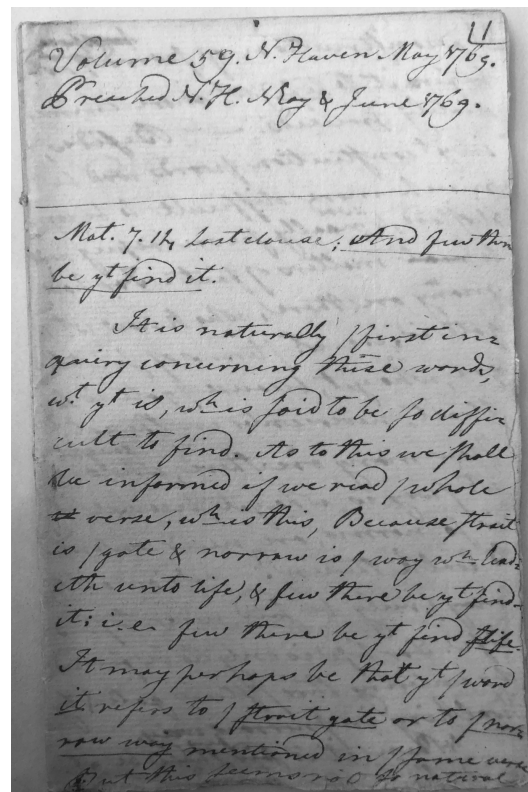


Figure A2. Example of a full note manuscript
 Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript

¹¹ Mastricht, *Theoretical-Practical*, 11-15.

¹² *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹³ Van Mastricht suggests the following approaches in the application phase of the sermon depending on the need: consolatory, rebuke, exploratory, and hortatory. *Ibid.*, 18-28.

APPENDIX 2

SERMON 79 (REV. 22:17): A TRANSCRIPT

Jonathan Edwards Jr., "Volume 79," *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, Hartford Seminary Library. Box 165, Folder 2728. Transcript permission by the Hartford Seminary Library, 77 Sherman St., Hartford, CT 06105-9509.

Volume 79. N.H. Oct. 1769 ~ (1)

Preached ~~before~~ Oct. 15. 1769 N.H.

Oct. 1769, Rev. 22:17 (Last Clause)

1.

[last clause]

Rev. 22. 17 ^ And whosoever will,

Let him take of | water ~~of~~ life freely.

This chap. in w^h our text is con=
tained is | last ch. In | whole bible
& doubtless it is of great importance
a book
yt we take careful notice how ^ so se=
rious, so instructive & so replete
with divine truth, as | the bible is,
concludes. And if we read | whole
of this ch. we shall find y^t it con=
tains, besides some severe & awful
threatenings, many gracious pro=
mises & precious encouragements

broken-hearted
to weary & heavy laden ^ sinners.
text view
Among others, our ^ is in this ^ es=
pecially worthy of our notice. The
whole v. is this; And | Sp. & | bride
say come. And let him y^t hear=
eth say come. And let him y^t
is athirst come: And whosoever
take
will let him ^ | water of life freely

(2)

All y^t needs to be explained in
these last words in order to | right
understanding of em, is | water
of life. If we can find out w^t |
inspired writer intended by these
words, | whole will be plain. In |
first place, it will not be amiss
to observe y^t in these words, he
doubtless refers to w^t. he had just
before said in | first v. in | ch.
w^h is as follows: And he showed
me a pure river of water of life, clear
as crystal, proceeding out of | throne
of G. & of | lamb. This is | water of

life of w^h we are oft¹ invited in
our text to partake. But inquiry
still remains, w^t. is meant by
this pure river of water of life
proceeding out of | throne of G. &
of | lamb.

And for a solution of this in=
I (3)
quiry ^ shall refer you to two pas=
37,
sages of S. The first is Joh. 7.^38,
39. In | last day &c.----

Here we are expressly told y^t by
~~Sp~~ living water, w^h Seems to be
w^t in our text
of | Same import with ^ is expressed
| holy Sp.----- The other text is in
IS. 44. 3 For I will pour water -----
Here again water & | Spt. Seem
to be used as signifying one & | same
thing. ----- But | Sp. m. b. is spo=
ken of in S. as being | grand & highest
blessing, or rather, as | sum of all |
blessedness bestowed on true Saints.

Luk. 11. 13. If ye then being evil, know

¹ This word is obscured due to moisture damage to the document.

how to give good gifts unto your chil=
 dren; how much more shall your
 a
 he^venly father give | holy Sp. to
 of
 em, y^t ask him.----- The meaning ^ this
 seems to be as if it had been Said, How
 much more does your heavenly fa=
 ther know how to bestow all Sp. gifts
 on ~~yr~~ 'em, y^t ask him. ----- Again,
 God ~~he~~ gave
 | Sp. is | grand gift wh ^ to his † Son
 J. X. as we read in Joh. 3. 34. For
 he whom G. hath sent speaketh |
 words of G. For G. hath not given |
 Sp. by measure unto him. ---- Again
 we read Heb. 1. 9. Thou hast loved
 righteousness, & hated iniquity; there=
 fore G. ^ thy G. hath anointed the w^h
 | oil of gladness above thy fellows:
 Which words are spoken of X. And in
 'em we are told w^t. is | great reward
 w^h | father bestows on | Son for his
 love of righteousness & hatred of ini=
 quity expressed in his life & death;
 & y^t is, y^t he anointed him with |

(4)

oil of gladness. But oil it is well

known, under | Mosaic dispen=
as
sation was used ^ a type & Sym=

(5)

bol of | holy Sp. So y^t in this text

we are taught y^t | grand reward bes=

towed upon X for his faithful obedi=
in
ence to his father ^ his painful life,

& ignominious death, w^h com=

prehended all | joys & blessedness to

w^h he was exalted; consisted in |

plentiful bestowm^t. of | holy Sp.

If then these things be so; if water

in our text, & in all such like passa=

ges in | bible signifies | holy Sp.

bestowed to believers
& if | holy Sp ^ comprehends all |

Sp. good w^h is ever given to them;

yea all y^t good w^h was given as

a reward to X hims. for his obe=

dience & death; then | meaning

of our text is plain, viz. this; Who=

soever will, let him come & freely

take ~~of~~ to hims. abundantly of ~~yr~~ all

y^t Sp.^l good w^h X hath purchased, ~~for~~

his true & faithful consisting not
only
^ of divine communications in this
in
⊙; but especially of | inconceivable
&

(6)

& unutterable joys of the ⊙ to come.
of
This I apprehend to be | true sense ^
our text, w^h exhorts to take | water
of life freely.

its
Doct. Eternal life, with †^ joys, &
| foretastes of it in this ⊙ are freely
offered to every one who will accept
of em.---- In speaking on this doct.

1. I shall endeavor to show w^t. eternal
life is, & wt. its joys, & | foretastes
in
of it ^ this ⊙ are.

2. W^t. it is to accept of these things.

3. That they are freely offered to | ac=
ceptance of all.

~~4. That yet but few accept em.~~

I. W^t. eternal life, its joys & for=
tastes are----

As to this I wo'd observe, y^t eter=
nal life in is not merely to live for

ever, or to continue forever in ex=
in
istence. For^this sense all mankind
love²
good & bad, shall enjoy eternal life.

All will necessarily exist forever;
nor will it be possible for em to
cease from their existence.

(7)

Many will indeed seek death; ma=
ny will wish not to be; but death
shall for ever flee from em.

But eternal life may be considered
as consisting of two things, deliverance
from misery, & enjoym^t of positive
holiness.-----The misery from ^{w^h}
^
we are therein delivered is dread=
ful & inconceivable. The represen=
tations given of it in S. are most
stiking³ to | imagination. The place
wherein | wicked are to be tormented
is represented to be a lake of liquid
fire & brimstone. This is | place
y^t G. hath prepared for | execution

² This word seems to be written in pencil at a later date by another hand.

³ [sic] "Striking" is the most likely intended word.

of his enemies. Tophet is ordained
of old: the pile thereof is fire & much
wood; & | breath of | L. like a stream
kindle
of brimstone doth ^ it.⁴ Even G. himS.
all
with ^ his omnipotence will exert
hims. for | punishm^t & most aw=
ful destruction of his enemies. He
will make bare his arm for their
of his enemies. Tophet is ordained
of old: the pile thereof is fire & much
wood; & | breath of | L. like a stream
kindle
of brimstone doth ^ it.⁵ Even G. himS.
all
with ^ his omnipotence will exert
hims. for | punishm^t & most aw=
ful destruction of his enemies. He
will make bare his arm for their
destruction; he will whet his glit=
tering sword, & his hand shall take
hold on vengeance; yea he will make
all his arrows drunk in their blood.
eye
Neither will his ^ pity em, or his

(8)

⁴ Isaiah 30:33

⁵ Isaiah 30:33

hand spare em. But he will pour
upon em
out ^ | vials of his wrath, & | cup of

his fury even to | very dregs.

This misery not only consists in
suffering | divine wrath & displeasure

??? at | same time the soul is wholly
sunk
^in sin & wickedness: & no small part

of these sufferings proceeds from this
of | suffers
wicked temper in their ~~own~~ hearts.

Hence we read in S. of | worm y^t di=
as is not
eth not, as well ^ of | fire y^t cannot

n
Re queched.--- The soul y^t suffers
^

this destruction is wholly given up
to its own wicked lusts & affections,
God
to its enmity against ^ w^h imme=

diately breaks out into rage & blas=

phemy. And this perhaps appears
the
to be ^ mostly dardful part of this

sufferings to one who is under |

influence of a holy taste &

(9)

temper of the mind.--- The soul who
suffers this destruction is also to be

intirely⁶ banished from all friendly
intercourse with | deity or with any
holy beings w^t.soever. And ~~if~~ is
to be left in | the company of none but
those, who exactly resemble him.
in Xter & outward circumstances.
not
But etern. life consists ~~^out~~ only
in being delivered from these evils
but also in being admitted to | grea=
test positive enjoym^{ts}. These enjoy=
ments consist in being admitted
into | immediate presence of G.
admitted
in being ^ to see kind as he is, & to be=
hold his glory; in loving ~~it~~ & being
beloved of G; in praising & glori=
fying him, & in this way having
communion with | father & his
son J. X. And not only with these
also
but ^ with | saints & angels in
glory.---In short eter. life consists
in ~~so~~ being perfectly conformed

(10)

⁶ sic

God
 to G. & image in | temper & frame
 ^
 of our mind, & in all those acts &
 exercises w^h are implied in & conse=
 w^t. is meant
 quent upon it: this is ^ by being
 made partakers of | holy Sp. in
 y^t perfect measure in w^h he is
 communicated in | ☉ of light.—
 In this consists | joys of heaven;
 this is to drink of | the pure river of
 water life, clear as crystal, proceed=
 ing out of | throne of G. & | lamb; w^h.
 in Ps. 36.8 is called | river of G's plea=
 sures. See | place: They shall be abun=
 dantly satisfied with | fatness of thy
 house: & thou shalt make em drink
 of | river of thy pleasures.

As we observed of | destruction
 of | wicked y^t they will be delivered
 up to their ~~th~~ own wicked lusts &
 affections, & ~~th~~ that therein will a
 great part of their misery consist
 so I wo'd observe concerning | sal=
 vation of | righteous y^t it will in

a great measure consists in

(11)

being made perfectly holy ems. & in

being intirely delivered from sin

whether in ems. or others. And | very

& glory

excellency ^ of y^t | heavenly state will

is a state

be y^t will it is so holy of such

^

perfect holiness, where no sin ever

will or can enter.

Thus I have endeavoured brief=

ly to unfold wt. we are to under=

be

stand to ^ meant by eternal life & its

enjoyments.--- Now altho' these

enjoyment^s are chiefly & most em=

inently to be had in | ☉ to come; yet

G. is pleased to give to his saints

some foretastes of em in this ☉.

And these foretastes are of | very

r

same kind, tho less in degees,

^

with those w^h are to be had in

heaven itself: they consist in some

degree of | communication of |

& same blessedness

same Sp. ^ w^h is ~~w~~ called (in our

text by | name of | water of life.)

According to | originally

(12)

proposed we come now to consider,

II. W^t. it is to accept of eternal

life, its joys & foretastes.--- Now

This methinks cannot be difficult

for us to understand, if we consider

w^t. it is to accept of any other good

when freely offered to us. Let us take

a S. example, See Luk 11.11, 12 If a

son shall ask bread of any of you y^t

is a father, will he give him a

stone? or if he ask a fish, will

he for a fish, give him a serpent?

Or if he ask an egg, will he give

him a scorpion? ---- Now to apply this

to | case before us, I ask w^t. is ^{it} ^ to ac=

cept of bred, when we stand in great

need of it, & it is freely offered to us?

In w^t. ~~h-w^t~~ manner & with ^{w^t} ^ temper

does | hunger child accept y^t bread

w^h he had most earnestly asked of ^{his} ^

father?---Does he accept it with

coldness, with indifferency & luke=

warmness, ~~h~~ as if he hardly know

whether it were best to accept

(13)

it at his father's hands or no?

Or does he accept it in such a man=

ner & with such a temper ~~as~~ ^ plain=

ly indicates great haughtiness of

Spirit & y^t he really thinks

father
within him. y^t his ^ is greatly

obliged to him for taking ~~of~~ it,

& not he to his father for giving
is it

it? Or ~~if~~ he wont to accept & eat ^
^

without any relish of it or satis=

faction in | participation?--- I

Say, is this | way & this | temper w^h

w^h an hungry child is wont to ac=

cept of bread at | hand of his father?

The~~s~~ contrary of this you all know

be
to ^ fact: you all know y^t such a

child in want to accept | bread given

it, with eagerness, with joy &

delight, with a thoro' relish of it,

as according to its proper nature

he is
 as a good: & not only so, but ^ also
 it
 wont to accept ^ with humility, be=
 ing
 ing sensible of his dependence (14)
 on his father; & also with grati=
 tude & thankfulness, being fully
 sensible of | good bestowed upon
 him.---- Now by this example,
 we are taught by our L. himself who
 spoke as never man spoke, w^t. it is
 really & truly to accept of eternal life.
 For he hims. brings this example
 to illustrate this very point as you
 may see in | following v. If ye then
 being evil, know how to give good
 gifts unto your children: how much
 more shall your heavenly father
 give | holy Sp. to em y^t ask him?
 this
 By ^ he plainly teaches us, y^t to ask
 of
 for | Sp. in | gift ^ w^h consists |
 good & blessedness of eternal life,
 in
 with | same manner in w^h a child
 ^
 asks bread of his parent; & to ac=
 it
 cept ^ with | same temper, with w^h

when it
 | child accepts | bread y^t is given,
 ^
 is | ~~true~~ very asking & accepting
 of | true saint. And whosoever
 accepts
 w^h
 it, or in | same thing, is ready to
 ^ (15)
 accept it in this manner, shall
 certainly be admitted to | enjoym^t of
 it.

But perhaps some may be ready
 to say, if this be | true † acceptance
 of eternal life, even y^t to w^h | in=
 heritance is promised; if this be
 all y^t is necessary in order to have
~~w^h~~ a sure title to eter. life, then
 &
 doubtless I have it & not only I S,
 also
 but most men under | gospel
 ^
 t̄̄ Fear who is there of such who do
 not
 desire eter. life as eagerly as | hun=
 ^
 gry child desires bread, & who is not
 as
 ready to accept it? If then these
 ^
 things be so, it seems y^t we may
 set our hearts at ease & be sure
 of eter. happiness.----But to this

I would briefly answer. Altho most
 who
 men enjoy | light of | gospel have
 ^
 some very an earnest desires res=
 pecting eter. life yet if they be ex=
 amined they will be found to be very
 different from those w^h a child
 when hungry has for food. Such
 a child not only desires a deliver=
 ance from | pain & disagreeable
 sensation of hunger; but also has
 be
 a clear idea of | good to enjoyed in |
 ^
 participation of wholesome food & in
 this view he correctly desires it.
 But | case is very different with
 respect to those desires w^h most
 men under | gospel have ~~of~~ res=
 pecting eter. life. For if | matter
 be searched to | bottom, they will be
 found not to desire eternal life in
 a view of | true Sp. good to be enj=
 oyed in it, but quite in another
 view. as a means of escaping
 misery & in general of obtaining

(16)

happiness. They are ~~perh~~ perhaps
 in a measure sensible y^t they
 are exposed to eter. misery; & they
 have heard y^t | gift of | holy Spirit
 is necessary in order to escape. Theref.
 i
 in this vew, they in some sense de=
 ^
 desire it. But to desire | Sp. in (17)
 this manner is very different from
 | manner in w^h an hungry child
 desires food. For he desires food be=
 is
 cause it good & for its own sake de=
 ^
 sireable; agreeable to | exhortation
 of | wise man; My son eat thou
 honey because it is good, & | honey
 comb because it is sweet to thy taste.⁷

Again men in general under
 | gospel have heard y^t there is great
 happiness to be enjoyed in | gift of
 | holy Sp. & happiness in general
 they desire. But as to y^t peculiar
 kind of happiness w^h there is to be
 had in Sp. enjoym^{ts}, of this they

⁷ Proverbs 24:13

are intirely⁸ ignorant & have no
this
taste or relish for it. In then there
^
is another essential difference be=
tween these desires of | Sp. & those
with w^h | hungry child desires its
proper food. For | child not only ~~en~~=
ly desires good in general, but that
peculiar kind of good w^h is to be had
in eating its proper food.-----
if
And sinners did thus desire | gift
^
of | Sp. & were ready to accept of it
with this temper, it is not to be
doubted, but y^t G. wo'd fulfill his
promise & bestow it upon em, &
make em heirs of eter. life.---But
this brings me to | consideration
of our 3^d general head, w^h is,
III. That eter. life with its joys &
foretastes are freely offered to | ac=
ceptance of all.---- The way is
now perfectly prepared for all to
infinitely

(18)

⁸ sic

come to | enjoymen^{ts} of these good
things y^t will. Observe | words
of our text (whosoever will let him
come & take ~~of~~ | water of life freely)

--- The way into | most holy is

not
opened by J. X. Had he entered in

once for all & offered up his own
for an
blood atonem^t.: had he not thus

led | way before us; we must for

ever have been excluded. Had he

not been appointed to be our redee

mer, all access to | father wo'd
been ever

have for shut. For no works of
righteousness wro't by us; nor any

prayers, cries or tears; no sacri=

fices of beasts; not thousands of

rams nor ten thousands of rivers of

oil, wo'd have sufficient to make
an atonem^t. for our sins. In this

miserable & wretched condition must

& perished
we have forever remained, had not

| son of G. undertaken to make

(19)

an
atonem^t. But he had compassi=
[^]
on on us & freely offered him^s.
to become our surety & propitiation
& not only he, but | father also had
commissioned
compassion on us & ~~became our~~
his son for | great work to w^h
he offered him^s. And he who knew
no sin became sin for us in order y^t
we might become | righteousness
of G. & G. gave his only begotten
Son y^t whosoever believeth on his
his name might not perish but
have everlasting life.

And now, since X has become (20)
incarnate, & Suffered & died, | fa=
ther is become intirely⁹ well pleased
^u
for his righteo sness sake; & an a=
[^]
atonemen^t is made; | divine wrath
is appeased; G. is become recon=
cilliable to sinners, yea even to
| most guilty & vile & a pardon

⁹ sic

of all sins, justification in |
sight of G. a title to eter. life, to

its joys & foretastes are offered
freely
^
to all who will ~~of~~ accept of em.—
And thus | way is intirely prepared
a wide door is opened, & all thing
on | part of G. are ready: every
obstacle is removed. G. can now
consistently with his own honour
& | dignity of his governm^t. give
eter. life to all who will accept
of it.--- And this he ~~o~~ offers
to do freely; i.e. without money &
without price. G. requires no
price ~~of~~ for such an infinite good
as eter. life of those who will ac=
cept of it on | terms offered in |
gospel. All yt he requires
of em is, to come for all things
are ready.--- Thus having spoken
upon | several heads of discourse
at first proposed, nothing re=

(21)

mains but some~~em~~

Imprv^t:---1. Hence we may

learn | only reason any of mankind
why
^

are not saved. The only reason is, y^t

they will not accept of salvation or

eternal life as it is freely offered

to em in | gospel. Were they willing

to accept it upon | terms of | gos=

pel, they wo'd certainly & infallibly

all ready
be saved. For G. is ~~already~~ to save em.
^

He is naturally full of goodness & com=

&
passion, ~~who~~ delights not in | mi=
^

sery of his creatures: but he delights

in their good; in their happiness;

in their salvation. And from his

goodness & mere mercy & because

in
he delights not their ruin, he was
^

influenced to provide a way for y^r

escape. Yea he has provided this

way, altho' it cost him as it were

infinitely dear. And he by his

(22)

life & death has removed every ob=

stacle out of | way, w^h wo'd otherwise

prevent his acceptance of | sin=
 ner. Since then every obstacle
 on | part of G. is removed out of |
 way, | only thing w^h prevents | sal=
 vation of the sinner is his not ac=
 cepting, or not coming to G. in the
 way proposed. And this is | true &
 the
 only reasons w^h prevents his sal=
 ^
 vation of all those of mankind who
 finally perish.----This is | only
 reason even with | greatest of sin=
 G.
 ners. For is equally wiling in this
 ^
 way to accept of | greatest sinners
 Sinners are wont to
 as of | least. ~~Some perhaps may be~~
 flatters & to justify 'ems. in their
 own eyes, by this consideration; y^t
 they on their part are exceedingly
 desirous of salvation, & altogether
 if
 ready to accept of it G. wo'd but bes=
 ^that
 tow it upon em: but this he is
 ^ that
 not willing to do; ~~But~~ he is deter=
 ^
 mined upon their final & eternal
 ruin; although they are ready to

(23)

comply with any reasonable terms
 of salvation. Thus by their own self,
 flatteries they cast all | blame of
 their ruin upon ~~ems.~~ G. & utterly
 clear & justify 'ems.---But this
 is interely contradictory to | truth †
~~truth~~. It is contradictory to | whole
 tenor of | gospel, w^h every where in=
 vites & calls upon sinners to return
 to their & rightfull sovereign, & pro=
 salvation as a
 mises em eternal rewards. How
 it ^
 contrary is to our text & a thous^d
 ^
 & other texts y^t might be metio=
 ned? How contrary to facts? to | giv=
 God
 ing of his son, & all y^t he has done
 ^ return
 to make all things ready for | ~~com~~=
 ing of | sinner? May we not justly
 argue y^t since he has given us
 his only begotten Son, how shall he
 not with him also freely gives
 us all things?

may born
 2. Hence also we | exceeding great=
 ^
 ness & freeness of | grace of | gospel

H W^t. ground had we to expect
 the
 any merely at hand of G. after we
 ^
 had apostatized from him? Was

 it a light thing y^t we had offended
 against
 & rebelled | king of heaven, a being
 ^
 infinitely great & glorious, our cre=
 ator & rightful proprietor? Had we
 any reason to believe we y^t he wo'd
 ever pass over our grievous offence?

 Might he not most justly have for
 ever rejected us? And w^t. else co'd
 we reasonable have expected at
 his hand?---- But behold, when
 we had | greatest reason to expect
 wrath & indignation, w^t. a most
 of
 wonderful display mercy & this
 ^
 † not confined in | offer to this
 a
 or y^t man or to few particulars
 ^
 but extended to all who will accept

 of it. Nor # is it offered only to
 those who are small sinners; but is
 equally offered to | greatest. W^t.
 all
 And this all free! all without
 ^

(24)

money & without price! W^t. a won=
 derful & rich display of mercy is
 this!—O | depth of | riches (25)
 both of | wisdom & knowledge of G!
 how unsearchable are his judgm^{ts}.
 & his ways past finding out!

3. I wo'd briefly improve this in a
 way of exhortⁿ to all.---Here you
 see, m. d. f. & b.¹⁰ is eternal life with
 all | joys & blessedness of it, freely
 offered to you? And will you not
 accept of it? Will you catch at |
 offer?---You do certainly all of you
 dread misery & desire to avoid it.
 But | way to avoid this is to ac=
 cept | offer of | gospel. ---Let me
 intreat you to consider---

1. How intirely reasonsable are | terms
 upon w^h eternal life is offered to
 you. It is offered to you | bare term
 of your acceptance; whosoever will
 let him take ~~of~~ | water of life free=

¹⁰ my dear friend and brother

ly.--- To accept of eter. life is to re=
 turn to G. in | way of | gospel or
 in & thro' J. X. But is it not a rea=
 sonable thing y^t we sho'd thus re=
 turn?
 W^t. can we say in justification
 of our conduct, if we refuse to
 return? Was there of first any
 good reason why we sho'd revolt
 from G.? Had G. treated us in a
 manner y^t justly provoked ~~him~~
 us ~~so~~ to rebel against. Had he ex=
 ercised tyranny over us, or trea=
 ted in | last cruelly & unjustly
 So y^t we co'd not endure his govern=
 ment? Were not all | requirem^t.
 of | original constitution per=
 fectly reasonable & just?---If
 so, then it was perfectly reason=
 able y^t we sho'd have continued in
 our allegiance to our heavenly ~~king~~
 sovereign. And for | same reason
 it
 is perfectly reasonable y^t we sho'd
 return to our allegiance again.

(26)

But especially is it thus reason=
able considering y^t he hath done
so much to prepare | way & to
open a wide & effectual door for
our return' & y^t upon such easy
terms.

2. Consider also How unreasonable

(27)

your conduct will be in contin=
uing to refuse an acceptance of
eternal life upon | terms of | gos=
pel. G. does not require of you y^t
you sho'd perform some work w^h
will put you to exceeding great
expence & labour. You have not
this excuse to make viz. Who shall
ascend into heaven? y^t is to bring
X down from above; or who shall
descend into | deep? i.e. to bring
up X again from the dead. But
| word is nigh thee, even in thy
mouth & in thy heart: i.e. | word
of faith w^h we preach.—You re=
member | foolish conduct of Na=

amon | leper. When he came to |
 prophet to be healed of his leprosy
 because | prophet prescribed so ea=
 sy a remedy as to go & wash in jor=
 dan seven times; he was wroth
 & went away & said, ~~& said~~, Behold
 I tho't, he will surely come out to
 me & stand & call upon | name of
 | L. his G. & strike his hand (28)
 over | place & recover | leper.----
 So he turned, & went away in a rage.
 ---- But his servants, wo appear to
 have been much more ~~&~~ wise & pur=
 dent than him. came near & spake
 unot him & said, My Father, if | pro=
 phet had bid thee do some great thing
 wo'dst thou not have done it? How
 much rather then, when he saith
 to thee wash & be clean?--- So also
 you, m. d. f.¹¹ if G. had prescribed some
 great thing as | term of salvation,

¹¹ my dear friend

such as | giving of all your goods
to fee | poor or your body to be
y^t you sho'd give
burned; or | fruit of your body for
^
| sin of your soul; wo'd you not have

done it? How much more then

when he saith, whosoever will---

On | whole let me lay before you y^t

gracious invitation of our L. in Mat.

22. 2. And again he sent forth other
servants

Saying, tell 'em w^h are bidden, Behold
^

I have prepared my dinner; my oxen

& my fatlings are killed, & all

things are: come unto | marriage.

APPENDIX 3

GIDEON HAWLEY'S HAND-DRAWN MAP OF ONOHQUAUGHE

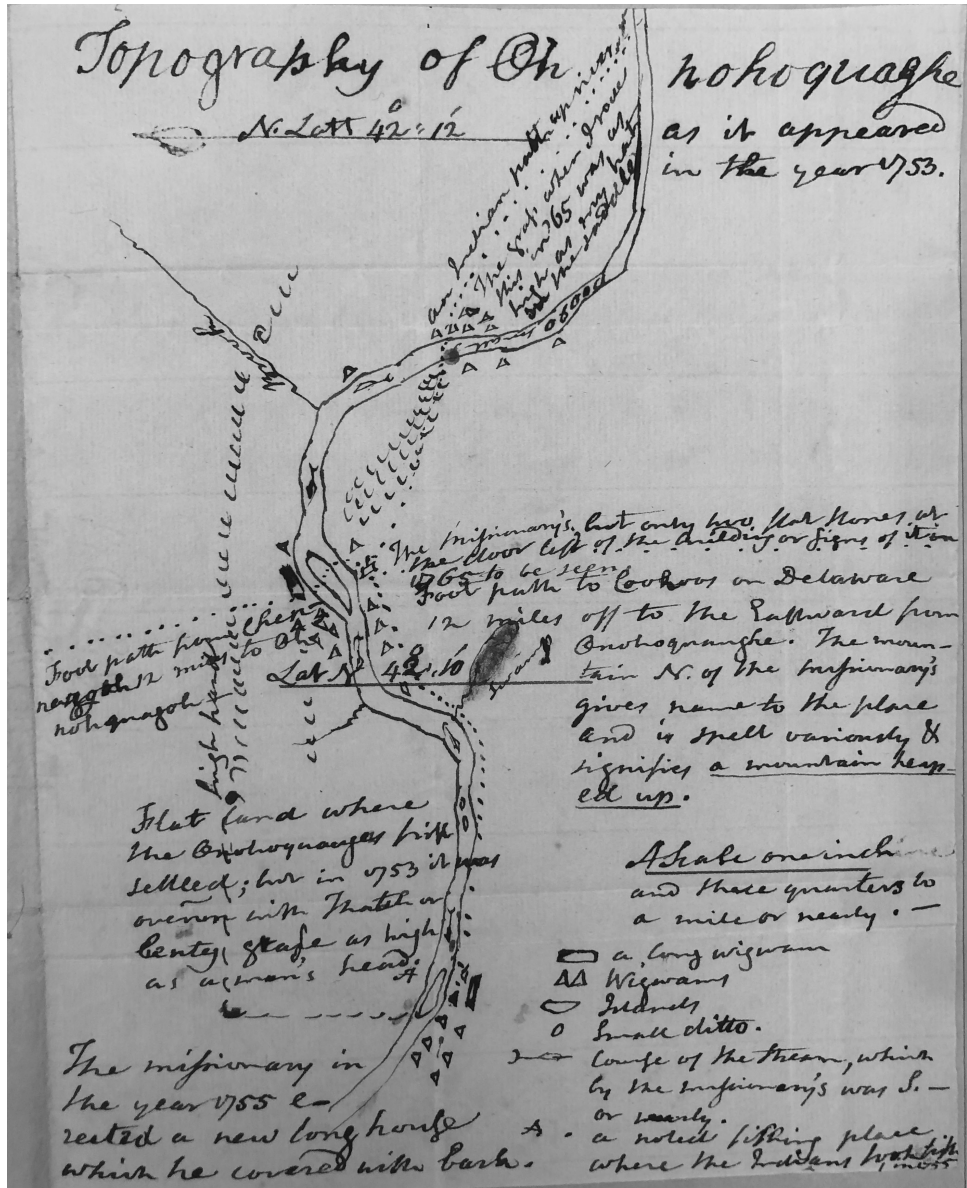


Figure A3. Gideon Hawley's Hand-Drawn Map of Onohquaughe
 Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

APPENDIX 4

“CONFESSION OF FAITH”¹

Below is a transcript of Jonathan Edwards’s public “confession of faith” to be read publicly at the Lord’s Table the following day. He had been affected during an awakening at the College of New Jersey, and at the age of eighteen, he was now ready to enter into covenant with the Lord Jesus Christ.

Nassau Hall September 17, 1763

I Jonathan Edwards, Student of the College in N. Jersey on this seventeenth Day of September 1763, being the Day before the first Time I Propose to draw near to the Lord’s table; after much Thought and due consideration, as well as Prayer to almighty God, for his Assistance, resolved in the Grace of God, to enter into an express Act of Self Dedication to the Service of God; as being a thing highly reasonable in its own Nature, and that might be of eminent Service, to keep me steady in my Christian course, to rouse me out off [sic] Sloth, and Indolence, and uphold me in the Day of Temptation.

Eternal and ever-blessed God! I desire with the deepest Humiliation and Abasement of Soul to come, in the Name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, and present myself before thee, especially on such an Occasion as this; to enter into a Covenant with thee. But notwithstanding my sins have made such a Separation between thee and my soul, I beseech thee thro’ Christ thy Son to vouchsafe thy presence with me, and Acceptance of the best Sacrifice which I can make.

I do O Lord! In Hopes of thy assisting Grace, solemnly make an entire and perpetual Surrender, of all that I am and have unto thee, being determined in the Strength, to renounce all former Lords who have had Dominion over me, every Lust of the Eye, of the Flesh and of the Mind, and to live entirely devoted to thee, and thy Service. To thee do I consecrate the Powers of my Mind, with whatsoever Improvements thou has already or shalt be pleased hereafter to grant me in the literary way, purposing if it be thy good Pleasure, to pursue my Studies assiduously that I may be better prepared to act in any sphere of Life, in which thou shalt place me.

¹ Jonathan Edwards Jr., “Confession of Faith September 17, 1763,” *Jonathan Edwards Papers, Series IV. Edwards Family Writings*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 151, Box 24, Folder 1355.

I do also solemnly dedicate all my Possessions, my Time, my influence over others, to be all used for thy Glory. To thy Direction I resign myself, and all that I have trusting all future Contingencies in thy Hands, and may they Will in all things, and not mine be done. Use me, O Lord! As an Instrument of thy Service! I beseech the[e] number me among thy People; may I be clothed with the Righteousness of thy Son; ever impart to me thro' him all needful Supplies of thy purifiing [sic] and chearing [sic] spirit! I beseech thee O Lord! That thou wouldst enable me to live according [to] this my vow constantly avoiding all Sin, and when I shall come to die in that Solemn and awful hour may I remember this my covenant, and do thou O Lord remember it too, and give my departing Spirit an abundant Admittance into the Realm of Bliss! And if when I am laid in the Dust, and surviving Friend should meet with this my memorial [...] may it be of Good to him, and do thou admit him, to partake of all the Blessings of thy Covenant of Grace, thru Jesus the great Mediator, to whom, with thee O Father, and they Holy Spirit, be everlasting Praises ascribed by Saints and Angels!

APPENDIX 5
ONEIDA COUNTY, NY CHURCH DOCUMENTS

Confession of Faith

Art. 1st I believe that there is one only living & true God, infinite, eternal and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth; and that this God subsists in three persons The Father, The Son and The Holy Ghost, the Same in essence and equal in glory.

2. That the Scriptures of the old and new testaments are a revelation from God and a perfect rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him.

3. That God hath foreordained and worketh all things according to his eternal purpose and the counsels of his own will. That he created all things & preserves and governs all creatures and all their actions in a manner consistent with man's free agency and the use of means; so that the sinfulness of actions is imputable to creatures, and not to God, who is holy in all his works.

4. That God made man after his own Image in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness; but that mankind by transgression soon fell from this holy and happy state and are by nature the subjects of that propensity or disposition, which universally leads them to actual sin as soon as they are capable of moral action.

5. That God of his mere good pleasure elected some of mankind to everlasting life, & gave his only begotten Son to assume human nature and die for sinners; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life; and thereby hath laid a foundation for the offer of pardon and salvation to all mankind in the Gospel, and does

by his special grace & Holy Spirit regenerate, sanctify and enable to persevere in holiness all who shall be saved.

6. That Jesus Christ, who is God and Man in one divine person arose from the dead on the third day, and ever lives to make intercession for his people, and govern all things for their good; and by the virtue of his atonement as the only meritorious cause, procures their justification, adoption and final salvation in consequence of their repentance and faith in himself.

7. That a Church is a congregation of Christians professing faith in Christ and obedience to him, & joined in covenant for ordinary Communion in all his ordinances; and that those, who are sincere in their profession are real Saints. That a Church hath power to choose its own officers, but to admit members and to exercise government and discipline according to the rules of the Gospel is the province of the Session of the church.

8. That the Sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism and The Lord's Supper are holy ordinances instituted by Christ; that Baptism is a sign & seal of the believer's faith and union with Christ; and acceptance and participation of his benefits, and the obligation of the subjects to be the Lord's; and that the infants of members of the visible Church are to be baptized. That in the Lord's Supper Christ's death is shown forth and commemorated; and the worthy receivers are by faith made partakers of all his benefits to their growth in grace.

9. That the souls of believers are at their death made perfectly holy and immediately taken to glory.

10. That at the end of this world there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a final judgement of all mankind, when the righteous shall be publicly acquitted [*sic*] by Christ the judge, and admitted [*sic*] to everlasting life and glory; and the wicked shall be condemned to go away into everlasting punishment.

Covenant

I do this day publicly avouch the one only living and true God to be my God; and as far as I know my own heart I love him supremely, am pleased with his whole character and law, and with the way of Salvation by Jesus Christ revealed in the Gospel; and by the assistance of divine grace I resolve to make his law the rule of my life, and I hope I do sincerely repent of all my sins, and receive the Lord Jesus as my only Saviour, trusting in the mercy of God through his atonement as the only ground of my justification and salvation. I also think I have a cordial love of benevolence to all mankind, sincerely wishing their best good and happiness and a special love of complacency in those, who appear to be real Christians -- And through Christ's strengthening me, without whom I can do nothing, I resolve to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, & to give myself to the Lord Jesus Christ to be taught & governed by him in all things. I also bind myself in his strength to walk with this Church in all the ordinances of Christ, and with the members thereof as becometh a member according to the requirements of the Gospel.

Rules for the Admission of Members

1st It is agreed that the same qualifications are necessary for admitting persons to receive baptism for themselves or children as for admission to full communion; and that none ought to be admitted but those, who make a credible profession of real Christianity.

2. That Candidates for admission known to the Pastor, or in case there be no Pastor, to the Moderator of the Church; and the Pastor or Moderator, besides private conversation with the Candidates shall call a meeting of the Church, and that in such meeting there by a free Christian conversation and communication of Sentiments, views and motives to Christian conduct between the brethren and Candidates; and when the brethren shall have obtained satisfaction, the Candidates shall be propounded to the congregation, and shall stand propounded for a fortnight at least before their admission.

3. That persons, who are recommended to this Church from other Churches shall in like manner as is expressed in the preceeding [*sic*] article afford the Church an opportunity of free Christian conversation and inquiry; and shall give their assent to the articles of faith, to the rules of admission and to the Church covenant of this Church.

APPENDIX 6

JONATHAN EDWARDS JR.'S SERMONS DERIVED FROM THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

These sermons are organized in chronological order by date of preparation or deliver rather than by canonical or alphabetical order. At the beginning of his ministry, the head word on the manuscript was 'Sermon.' This lasted until about the end of his first year of preaching when the head word became 'Volume,' changing again in time to the word 'Number' (N^o). In the 1790s his choice heading word changed again. This time, he classified them by date. To these unpublished sermons are added three published sermons from the Sermon on the Mount. These three were published in the two-volume set, titled *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Late President of Union College. With a Memoir [...]*, edited by Tyron Edwards, the grandson of the author.

Edwards, Jonathan, Jr. "The Broad Way [*circa* 1768]," in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Late President of Union College. With a Memoir [...]*. Edited by Tyron Edwards, 412-427. Vol. 2. New York: Dayton and Newman, 1842.

_____. "Sermon 24. Oct. 23. 1768. Matthew 5.5." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 1: 1-28.

_____. "Volume 59. May & June 1769. Mat. 7.14." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 1: 1-88.

_____. "Grace Evidenced by Its Fruits [*circa* 1769]," in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Late President of Union College. With a Memoir [...]*. Edited by Tyron Edwards, 387-400. Vol. 2. New York: Dayton and Newman, 1842.

_____. "Volume 66. July 16. 1769 Mat. 5.8." *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, 1-12. Hartford Seminary Library. Box 165, Folder 2727.

_____. "Volume 130. Oct. 1770 Mat. 5. 25, 26." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, 1-8. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 1.

_____. "Volume 124. Feb. 16. 1771. Mat. 5.20." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, 1-16. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 1.

_____. "Vol. 211. March 1. 1772. Mat. 6.10." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, 1-8. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 2.

_____. "Vol. 276. Feb. 28. 1773. Mat. 6. 19, 20, 21." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers.*, 1-4. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 2.

_____. "Vol. 305. July ~~19~~ 25, 1773. Mat. 6.11." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, 1-4. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 2.

_____. "Vol. 308 August 15. 1773 Mat. 6.33." *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, 1-8. Hartford Seminary Library. Box 166, Folder 2733.

_____. "N^o. 352. Feb. 27. 1774. Mat. 5.6." *Jonathan Edwards and Calvin Chapin Papers*, 1-4. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. GEN MSS 781, Box 1, Folder 2.

_____. "N^o. 353. Feb. 27. 1774. Mat. 7.12." *Jonathan Edwards Jr. Papers (Sermons)*, 1-4. Hartford Seminary Library. Box 166, Folder 2734.

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ABSTRACT

BY THE SAME SPIRIT: EDWARDSEAN PNEUMATOLOGY IN THE YOUNGER EDWARDS

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Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1745–1801) is often portrayed as a spiritless preacher who drove away his congregation with metaphysical abstractions. Accordingly, this received caricature describes Edwards Jr. as distorting the Edwardsean legacy. This negative caricature of Edwards Jr. was produced by the early liberalism of the civil war era and has stuck to Edwards Jr. for nearly two hundred years. This thesis provides a greater interaction with the sources, taking into account his upbringing, awakening, tragedy, and pastoral challenges. Notably, Edwards Jr.'s Sermon on the Mount Manuscripts, which cover his whole thirty-year pulpit ministry, are found to be strongly reliant upon his father's *Religious Affections*. Furthermore, Edwards Jr.'s systematic theology of the Holy Spirit demonstrates a received pneumatology which is essentially the same as his father's system. From primary documents this thesis demonstrates how the younger Edwards's place is relevant to Edwardsean study.

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