On June 22, 1750 Jonathan Edwards was callously dismissed by the church that he had served for twenty-three years. Ten days later, on July 2, he preached his farewell sermon. Edwards did not have in mind any prospects for employment but he had a wife and eight dependent children. The congregation had no prospect in mind to replace the dismissed minister. Both minister and congregation had been too caught up in the bitter clash to think of the future.

The principal cause of the clash between the preacher and the congregation was Edward's change of mind as to the propriety of admitting people who had never been converted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. His grandfather and predecessor in the pulpit in Northampton, Solomon Stoddard, had instituted the practice of admitting to the supper all who desired it on the grounds that the Lord's Supper could prove a means of leading the sinner to a conversion experience. Edwards had come to believe that the Supper was a confessing ordinance rather than a converting ordinance. He wanted to restrict the Supper to those who were professing Christians and who had been admitted to membership in the visible church on the grounds of a conversion experience. He had also come to oppose the Half-Way Covenant, insisting that infant baptism should be administered only to the children of converted parents. The congregation considered Edwards a traitor to his grandfather.

Times had changed. Many, if not most, of the preachers and congregations of New England had little sympathy for Edward's more rigorous position. They were unwilling to give up the freedom and liberties granted by Stoddardism and the Half-Way Covenant. They were unwilling to recognize a difference in citizenship and church membership. For Edwards the old Puritan idea of a Holy Commonwealth with a "national covenant" had failed. The church had to take a stand against the world. He could no longer accept the old view of the total corporate errand into the wilderness as the plan of God. The town meeting and the church meeting could not longer be identified as one as his grandfather had believed. For Edwards the church had to be gathered out of the world.

The very slight attention given to Edward's dismissal outside of Northampton was a clear indication of how much the world had changed and of how the mind of New England was turning to other problems. Whether the Hampshire Association took any action on the situation in Northampton is not known for the pages covering the years from 1748 to 1751 were cut from the record and disappeared. When the record resumes in 1752 a meeting was held to determine the proper subjects for baptism. The next year the association discussed whether a church should hold Communion with a church or churches that tolerated members in rebellion against the government and what the duty was of a church toward its own members who rebelled against the government.

Edwards went to work immediately after his Farewell to seek new work.
The day after the Farewell he wrote his friend Thomas Gillespie in Scotland. He had little hopes of finding a place as desirable and prestigious as Northampton. Edwards remained in Northampton for most of the next year. Several times the pulpit committee asked him to fill the pulpit since they had no other preacher. When he preached the church paid him ten pounds for that Sabbath. He carefully avoided controversial issues. He preached several times in private services in the homes of his ardent supporters. On July 20, a month after his dismissal he petitioned for the right to continue to use the meadow pasture that he had used while serving the church. His request was refused. Rumors began to circulate that he and his supporters were planning to organize a second church in Northampton. The rumors aroused new bitterness. Edwards was charged with caring more for his own selfish interests than for the good of the church. One of his enemies declared it would be better if Mr. Edwards was seven feet underground. Edward's supporters drew up a formal protest against the accusations and declared they would no longer take Communion with those who had reviled their former pastor. Edward's enemies secured a motion that Edwards should never be allowed to enter their pulpit again.

Edwards received several offers from churches needing a pastor. He was invited to serve a church in Canaan, Connecticut. He received an offer from Lunenburg, Virginia. He also received a good offer from a church in Scotland. When John Sergeant, the missionary in Stockbridge, died, a formal call to come to Stockbridge to serve both whites and Indians was extended to Edwards. Joseph Bellamy (1719-90), a Yale graduate of 1735, had become one of Edward's most ardent admirers, had taken Edwards as his mentor and model, and had joined him in itinerating during the revivals. Bellamy had recommended Edwards as the best possible candidate for the work in Stockbridge.

Edwards wanted to do all things in the proper way and he requested a council to advise him on accepting the offer from Stockbridge. His critics took advantage of the opportunity to draw up a "Remonstrance" against Edwards that even his bitter enemy, Joseph Hawley considered "vile." Hawley did succeed in keeping the bitter critics from coming before the council; the council on May 19, 1751 advised Edwards to accept the invitation from Stockbridge.

In the summer of 1751 Edwards began his work in Stockbridge. He left his family in Northampton. As he began his new work he was determined to put the whole Northampton affair behind him. Three years later, Joseph Hawley, who had been the leader in the dismissal of Edwards sent him a very humble letter, confessing the grave injustice he and the church had committed, and begged Edward's forgiveness. Edwards reluctantly but coolly replied that he had put the whole disagreeable scene from his mind and did not want to recall or revive it in paper or letter. He said that he prayed God that Hawley would come to view things as God viewed them and that he would act as would be best for his own peace, living or dying.

It was two years before the two parties in the Northampton church were able to agree on a minister. In September, 1753, the difficulties were finally adjusted and John Hooker was called to become the new pastor. He was ordained on December 5, 1753 with no one dissenting.

When Edwards began his work in Stockbridge, his oldest daughter, Sarah, and her husband, Elijah Parsons, were already living there. Edwards found two congregations in Stockbridge. There was a white congregation consisting
of twelve families. There were two hundred and fifty Indian families in the
Indian congregation. The Mission Church was the center of the town. Around
it were the wigwams of the Indians who neither spoke nor understood English.
They accepted the bounty of food, clothing, blankets and other gifts from
the whites but otherwise continued their old tribal life. The white settle-
ment was a separate village within the village. Stockbridge was a frontier
town. Beyond it was the wilderness always threatening danger.

In October, 1751, three months after he had begun his work in Stockbridge,
Edwards returned to Northampton to move his family and possessions to their
new home. On October 16 he drove his horses and wagon away from the
Northampton parsonage. He left behind in their new house next door, his
daughter Mary and her husband, Timothy Dwight, Jr. of Northampton. Sixty
miles of wilderness separated Stockbridge and Northampton.

Edwards found more troubles than peace in Stockbridge. The Stockbridge
Mission had been started by the Northampton church in 1734. Colonel Stoddard,
the leading man in both town and church in Northampton, was one of the few
New Englanders of his time who had a genuine interest in the Indians for their
own sake. Plans for the mission were formed in his own home. More conversant
with Indian affairs than any other man in Massachusetts he had suggested a
mission among the Housatunnocks because they were a tribe not under French
control. They were not Catholics. From the beginning Edward's cousins were
prime movers in establishing the mission. Israel Williams of Hatfield and
Stephen Williams of Longmeadow became leaders from the beginning. Stephen
Williams worked out the agreement with the Housatunnocks. John Sergeant and
Timothy Woodbridge became the missionary and schoolmaster. Ephraim Williams
moved his family to Stockbridge. They were one of the first four families
settled in Stockbridge to set the example of civilized living before the
Indians. Abigail Williams, daughter of Ephraim, soon married the missionary,
John Sergeant. From its beginning Ephraim Williams was kind of father to
both town and mission. When Edwards arrived the Mission had been in existence
for seventeen years. Two years had elapsed since the death of John Sergeant.
With no one in charge the affairs of the Mission were in sad condition.

The Mission was jointly sponsored and controlled by the London Society
for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Massachusetts Commissioners for
Indian Affairs. The London Societies furnished most of missionaries' salary.
The Boston Commissioners were more interested in profitable trade with the
Indians and in their serving as a buffer between Massachusetts and Indians
allied with the French in Canada, than they were in the spiritual welfare of
the Indians.

When John Sergeant died the Williams' choice for the vacant post was
Ezra Stiles, a young friend of the family and a tutor at Yale. He was
twenty-four. He refused the post to the great disappointment of the widow,
Abigail Sergeant. Jonathan Edwards knew he was second choice. He rejoiced
that he would have as close neighbors his good friend who had enthusiastically
recommended him for the post, Samuel Hopkins, minister at Great Barrington,
an hour's ride from Stockbridge, and also, his good friend, Joseph Bellamy,
minister of Bethlehem. His friendship with Hopkins and Bellamy was one of
his greatest joys of his years in Stockbridge.

Almost from the beginning there was growing hostility and troubles
between Edwards and his cousins, the Williamses. The roots of the troubles
went back to the old clashes and jealousies between the Stoddard sisters—one of whom married an Edwards and the other a Williams. Ephraim Williams was not about to relinquish his role as father to the town and Mission. To make matters worse, it was Solomon Williams of Lebanon, a nephew of Ephraim Williams, who had written the bitter answer to Edwards' Humble Inquiry. Ephraim was also uncle to Israel Williams of Hatfield, a formidable opponent of the revivals of Edwards and Whitefield, and Ephraim was also the uncle of Elisha Williams the tutor with whom Edwards had clashed in his Weathersfield days. About the time Edwards was appointed missionary at Stockbridge, the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had appointed Elisha Williams a member of the governing board of the mission. The Boston Commissioners appointed Major Joseph Dwight their resident deputy in Stockbridge for Indian Affairs. Shortly after his appointment Dwight married the widow, Abigail Sergeant, making him an ally of the Williams family.

From the beginning the Mission had not prospered. The Boston Commissioners had assigned the Mission a neutral spot equidistant between two small Housatunnock villages. In the fall the Indians moved to Stockbridge and set up their wigwams. They accepted winter supplies from the Mission, attended school, and on Sunday attended church. When spring came they returned to their farm lands, planted crops, quickly forgot all they had learned and returned to their old pagan ways. In the fall they traded their harvest for rum and after a big orgy returned to Stockbridge for more alphabet and more sermons. There was little permanent improvement. The Indians thought of winter as a time for preaching, prayer, Sabbath keeping and summer was for pagan freedom and drunkenness.

The Commissioners sought to rectify the mistake by trading the Housatunnock land nearer the Mission for their original lands. The Indians resented the trade and became more suspicious toward the missionaries.

Matters were made worse when the Commissioners decided to settle Mohawks fleeing from Canada at Stockbridge. Mohawks were French sympathizers and had been under the teaching of French Catholics. Mohawks were a terror to all other Indian tribes and were especially hated by the Housatunnocks. When the French and Indian wars began the Mission was in grave danger. One reason for inviting the Mohawks was that Isaac Hollis had offered an annual gift to establish a Mission boarding school for boys on condition that the Commissioners would guarantee twelve Indian boys would be housed in the boarding school. The Commissioners failed to find twelve Housatunnock boys willing to be separated from their families. The Commissioners sought to fill out the number with Mohawk boys only to find out that the two sets of boys would not peaceably mix.

Missionary work among the Indians was greatly hindered by the attitude of the white missionaries toward the Indians. They had little interest in the Indians except as souls to be saved. They looked on them as a low order of humanity, base, ungrateful, wicked barbarians, foolish and stupid. They had almost no understanding of Indian culture and traditions. The only way to win them from Satan's kingdom would be to make them give up all their own customs, to make them take up the white man's ways, to baptize them and make them keep the New England Sabbath. The school teachers had been most incompetent. Edwards found the school teacher requiring the Indian boy, Ebenezer Manumasett, to spend a whole day copying one sentence, "He that pities another thinks on himself," and following the quotation with the signing of the hybrid name the Christians had given him.
Edwards found himself most unprepared for his new task but he sought to faithfully pursue what he felt was God's calling to him. He did learn enough of the Indian language that privately he could converse but he could not preach in their language. He preached in English and used an interpreter. He tried to adapt his sermons prepared for Northampton to the Indians when he preached to them and to the whites when he preached to them. He faithfully sought to guide them spiritually. He found drunkenness among the Indians one of his greatest problems.

Edwards was greatly troubled when he found the Williamses and the Commissioners were more interested in exploiting the Indians in trade than in their spiritual welfare. Elisha Williams persuaded the London Society that a boarding school for Indian girls should be established. This greatly increased Edwards' load. The students constantly complained to Edwards about their teachers. Elisha Williams had secured the appointment of his relative and friend, Captain Martin Kellogg as schoolmaster. He was completely incompetent. The Dways shamefully wasted the school's funds. Dwight made his son the teacher in the boys' school and Dwight's wife became the mistress of the new girls' school. Dwight and his wife used much of the funds of the school on their own family.

The complaints Edwards tried to make to the Commissioners and to the London Society brought little or no change. Amidst great frustration and bitter hostility from his cousins Edwards faithfully devoted himself to the host of details that went into caring for the two congregations under his charge.

The French and Indian Wars greatly increased the dangers under which Stockbridge lived. Raids by hostile Indians were a constant threat. Early in the fall of 1754 several whites were murdered near Stockbridge. The Mission was turned into a fort for quartering troops. Edwards and his family proved equal to the challenge. From the very beginning Mrs. Edwards and the children had gracefully accepted their new home. Before and through the wars the Edwards' home was a haven of hospitality. It became a special fort where the people gathered in fear when an alarm was sounded of an Indian attack. Once Bellamy and his congregation at Bethlem received word that hostile Indians had attacked and murdered Edwards and all his family and most of the church. Bellamy's congregation was deeply grieved. When Bellamy learned that the Indians had been driven off and that the Edwards were safe, he urged Jonathan Edwards to move his family to Bethlem for safety. Edwards seemed to know no fear.

THE WRITINGS OF EDWARDS AT STOCKBRIDGE

With all the demands of the Mission Edwards found far more time for studying, thinking, and writing in Stockridge than in Northampton. The Stockbridge years became his harvest time. One of the first products from his new study was his devastating answer to Solomon Williams' reply to his Humble Inquiry. Edwards prepared and published his Misrepresentations Corrected and Truth Vindicated in 1752. It was such an able defense of Edwards' position on the authority of the church and the nature of the church and the sacraments that Solomon Williams did not attempt a reply.

Edwards turned his attention to a major philosophical problem with which he had been wrestling in his own mind for years. In spite of many distractions--
his enemies were showing their greatest open hostility to him, the boarding school burned, there was a bitter whispering campaign against him, there were bitter complaints against Colonel Joseph Dwight, there were the Indian wars, and Edwards was experiencing health problems—in spite of all of these Edwards concentrated on what would be one of his most original and most philosophically challenging of his works. He wrote feverishly. By October 17, 1754, he was able to publish his A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the modern prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will, Which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise, and Blame. It was a continuation of the study of the moral and religious life that he had begun in his Religious Affections. It was an attack on the spreading Arminianism and a defense of Calvinism. He sought to use Locke against the "enlightened" deists who had tried to claim Locke. Edwards believed that God would be shut out of the world unless contingency and the liberty of self-determination could be driven from men's minds. He declared that unless things have a cause there is no proof of the existence of God. Unless things have a cause all we can have is our own immediately present ideas and consciousness and all means of knowledge is gone. If things are not caused even God cannot know what will happen to his creation. He cannot know what the incarnation, death, resurrection and exaltation of his Son will accomplish. The human will is no exception to the general principle that all things have a cause. Human choice is determined by the motives that dominate the will. The motives are determined by man's nature. Human nature is corrupted and depraved by sin. Edwards was seeking to save both the dignity of man and the omnipotence of God. He gave a new definition to human liberty. Man has a freedom to carry out his choices but the choices are determined by motives outside his control. It is a modified Calvinism. Human freedom is qualified and conditioned. Actually the will is passive. It is God directed. It is God's sovereign will that man's nature controls his choices. Edwards acknowledged a larger sphere for human activity than the older Calvinism had been willing to grant, but without giving a place to Arminianism.

Edwards began work on The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended that was published the year of his death. He continued the study of the human motive, seeking an empirical and biblical basis for the doctrine of Man's sinful nature. Experience proved that sin and death were everywhere. He sought from both Old and New Testament evidence that through Adam sin had come into the world. It was Edwards' answer to John Taylor's The Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin Proposed to a Free and Candid Examination that for twenty years had exercised great influence in England and America. Edwards sought to establish that man's nature is an inner corruption that shuts him away from God. He is not blind to human goodness and the good acts it performs, but the best of men are in this state of inner corruption. Each new birth is not a new beginning because of Adam's sin. Edwards bases this inner corruption on the unity of the race. The race is one by the creative act of God. God preserves the race by a continued creation. Adam is the scriptural head of the race. The sin of Adam becomes the sin of each man. It is a property of the species. Edwards was seeking to exonerate God for all blame for sin. Man at creation was endowed with the principles of human nature and the image of God. When man broke God's law, the superior principles were withdrawn and corruption followed. The sin is man's. Punishment is just. God permitted but permission does not imply blame.

Edwards also completed two works that were not published until seven years after his death. These two works that were printed in 1765 were The Nature
of True Virtue and the Dissertation Concerning the End for which God Created the World. The Nature of True Virtue is a development of his Twelfth Sign in his Religious Affections. Virtue is the beauty of the qualities and acts of the mind that are moral. It is purely unselfish benevolence to Being in general. It is the exercise of good will toward Being in general that is the propensity and union of the heart to Being in General. The Dissertation Concerning the End for which God Created the World expounds the idea that the one end is "The Glory of God." The communication of the divine fulness consists in the knowledge of God, the love to God, and joy in God. It comes from God to the creature and the creature returns it to God in praise and rejoicing. The glory of God is exhibited and acknowledged. God's fulness is received and returned. God is the beginning, the middle and the end.

Edwards began planning what he thought would be his great master work. It would be A History of the Work of Redemption. He had preached a series of sermons on this theme in 1739. He had given a brief sketch of his developing ideas on the subject in a work, Union in Prayer, published in 1747. All the physical creation and all human history was moving toward an hour when truth and righteousness would finally prevail. In an hour chosen by and known only to God he would complete his Kingdom. A glorious day would dawn. When the sermons were finally published in 1774 they became very popular for they seemed to fit the old Puritan notion that the experiment in the wilderness was the establishing of the Redeemer Nation. The sermons strengthened the millennial hopes that flourished amidst the successful Revolutionary War, and the freedom of the new nation.

EDWARDS AT PRINCETON

Edwards' plans to write The History of the Work of Redemption were never carried out. Jonathan Edwards received an invitation to become the president of the College of New Jersey. In 1747 when Dickinson, the first president, died, Aaron Burr, who had just married Esther, the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, was chosen to be the second president. He first moved the college to his parsonage in Newark and then to Princeton. He was very successful in broadening the support for the college. He built Nassau Hall—at the time the finest college building in America. At Burr's untimely death in 1757, the trustees extended an invitation to Jonathan Edwards to become president. Some years earlier Edwards had ceased to attend the commencement of Yale and begun to attend the commencements of the College of New Jersey. He had been mentioned for the presidency when his son-in-law was chosen. He had followed the affairs of the college with great interest. On September 29, 1757, with seventeen of the twenty trustees present, the board voted to elect Edwards president. He replied in a letter of October 19, 1757, in which he declared that he was not fitted to be a college president. He was sluggish and low-spirited and not a good conversationalist. He lacked the alertness the office would demand. He was deficient in his knowledge of higher mathematics and the Greek classics. His Greek learning was mostly in the New Testament. He mentioned his plans to write the History of the Work of Redemption, further works against the Arminian errors, and a Harmony of the Old and New Testaments. He believed he was a better writer than speaker. Should he become president he did not want to teach all the languages and all branches of study. He wanted to limit his teaching to the work of the professor of divinity and a special class for the seniors in the arts and sciences. If the board approved such a program and if the Boston Commissioners would release him from his post
at the Mission, he would seek the advice of his friends in a specially called council. The long standing tensions in Stockbridge gave the Commissioners a long awaited opportunity to make a change. The special council consisting of Hopkins, Bellamy, and four other close friends, met on January 4, 1758, in Stockbridge and gave approval to his moving to Princeton to be president of the college. Edwards wept. Four days later, January 8, 1758 he preached his farewell to the Indians on the text "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation. Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and forever" (Heb. 13:7,8). His farewell sermon to the white church was on the text "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come" (Heb. 13:14).

Edwards departed for Princeton, accompanied by his daughter, Lucy. After they had prepared the President's home, the other members of the family would follow in the spring.

Jonathan Edwards arrived in Princeton on February 16, 1758, and was formally inducted into office the same day. He was given a warm welcome by the whole college. That week he preached one sermon in the college hall and met once with the seniors to answer questions and to ask questions about the study of divinity.

On February 23rd, a week after his arrival, he and Esther Burr were inoculated for small pox. His daughter, Lucy, had contracted small pox at Princeton the preceding summer and had been very ill for weeks. There was great fear that a new outbreak would come in the spring. The board thought it would be wise for Edwards to be inoculated. On March 22, 1758, less than a month after he was inoculated, he was dead. Two weeks later Esther Burr also died from the inoculation. Both had taken small pox from the vaccination. Jonathan Edwards was fifty-four at his death. His Grandfather Stoddard had lived to eighty-five, his Grandmother Stoddard to ninety-eight, and his father had died only two months before him at the age of eighty-nine.

Shortly before Jonathan Edwards died he spoke to Lucy:

"Dear Lucy, it seems to me to be the Will of God that I must shortly leave you, therefore give my kindest Love to my dear Wife and tell her that the uncommon union that has so long subsisted between us has been of such a Nature as I trust is Spiritual and therefore will continue for ever: and I hope she will be supported under so Great a trial and submit cheerfully to the will of God; And as to my Children you are now like to be left Fatherless which I hope will be an Inducement to you to seek a Father who will never fail you."

Edwards asked for a very simple funeral that what was saved from the usual expense on such an occasion be given to charity.

When Sarah Edwards learned of her husband's death she wrote to her daughter, Susannah:

"O my very Dear Child
What Shall I say. A holy and Good God has Cover'd us with Dark Cloud. O that we may all kiss the rod and Lay our hands on our mouthes, tho heas Done it. He heas made me adore his Goodness that we had him
So Long, but my God lives, and he heas my heart. O whatt a Legacy my Husband and your Father heas Left us.

We are all given unto God, and their I am and Love to be--

Sarah Edwards.

The children were shocked but bowed to their training and quickly triumphed in their submission to what they considered to be the will of God.

Edwards had made his Will five years earlier. The inventory of his possessions consisted of his best beever hat and a poorer one, his Best Wigg and a poorer one, one Great Coat and two poorer ones, one good pair of Specticles and a poorer one, a pocket compass and a pair of knee buckles, 229 books, 536 pamphlets, 25 volumes of his own works and his notebooks, manuscripts, and sermons. He had saved a small sum of money that he hoped would enable the boys to attend college or serve an apprenticeship to law or medicine. Should one of the boys turn to the ministry the library should be his.

The newspapers carried only a very brief announcement of his death.

At his death Pierrepont was only eight. Timothy had just graduated from Yale. Esther set out from Stockbridge for Philadelphia for Esther's two children, Sally aged four and Aaron, two, intending to take them back to her home in Stockbridge. On her arrival in Philadelphia she became ill with dysentery and died on October 2nd. She was buried beside her husband in Princeton.

With Edwards' death the Great Awakening was over. Many were tired of the religious confusion and controversy. Politics and war were capturing the minds of the colonists. Adamic sin and total depravity were losing their attraction as the minds of the colonists turned more and more to liberty and freedom to build a new world. Hopkins and Bellamy were determined to carry on the work of Jonathan Edwards but even they would move on beyond him in their modifications of Calvinism as Edwardsism turned into "New England Theology" and with the generation of Jonathan Edwards, Junior, and Timothy Dwight and their associates developed into "New Haven Theology," of the Post-Revolutionary period.

Across the years as pieces of Edwards' works have been discovered in various collections they have been published. The rise and decline of Neo-Orthodoxy between the two great wars was accompanied by renewed interest in Calvin and Edwards' interpretation and defense of Calvinism. Yale was provoked to attempt a complete bibliography and new edition of the Works of Jonathan Edwards.