ARTICLE VI.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS.

[The subjoined epistle of President Edwards, is one of the latest communications which are preserved from his pen. It was written about six weeks before his conclusion to accept the presidency of "the college at Princeton," and about four months before his death. The meaning and force of the letter may be in some measure illustrated, perhaps, by a brief notice of the character of the gentleman to whom it was addressed. This man was Major Joseph Hawley. He was born at Northampton in 1724. He was grandson of the celebrated Solomon Stoddard, and his mother was sister of the mother of Pres. Edwards. He was graduated at Yale college in 1742. After leaving that institution he studied divinity, was for several years a preacher, but never an ordained pastor. He was for some time chaplain of the provincial army, and was present at the siege of Louisburg. He afterwards studied law with General Phineas Lyman of Suffield, then in Massachusetts, now in Connecticut. "Few Americans," says Dr. Dwight, "have a better claim to the remembrance of posterity, than this gentleman (General Lyman), and the history of few men who have been natives of our country can be more interesting." An affecting sketch of his life is given in Dwight's Travels, Vol. I. p. 307-316. His law-library, though small, contained some valuable ancient works, which came afterwards into the possession of Major Hawley. It was not far from the year 1749, that Major Hawley commenced the practice of the legal profession at Northampton. He soon acquired high distinction, as a counsellor and an advocate. Himself and Col. John Worthington of Springfield were, for many years, at the head of the old Hampshire bar, which included some of the worthiest citizens of Massachusetts. These two barristers exerted a perceptible influence in elevating the character of the legal profession, enlarging the circle of its studies, and reducing its practical details to a judicious system. Among the distinguished pupils whom Major Hawley instructed in the science of law was Caleb Strong, afterwards governor of Massachusetts. In the year 1767 or 1768, Hawley had the misfortune to be publicly censured by the Judges of the Superior Court, and was suspended from practice at their bar. His offence, however,
is understood to have been a merely political one, and to have reflected no discredit upon his general character. "He was counsel for some persons in the county of Berkshire, who had been indicted for being concerned in a riot. In the course of the trial, he made some observations, which the court considered as having too much of the spirit of liberty to be permitted to pass without animadversion."1 At the next term of the court, however, he was restored to his original standing. The motion for the repeal of the censure was made by Col. Worthington, with whom Major Hawley was associated on almost every important case which was presented for trial. "They were generally engaged on opposite sides at court; when they were united, a successful opposition to them rarely occurred."2 Major Hawley was chosen a member of the Legislature in 1764. "He was repeatedly elected a member of the Council, but refused in every instance to accept the office, as he preferred a seat in the House of Representatives, where his character for disinterested patriotism, and his bold and manly eloquence gave him an ascendancy which has seldom been equalled."3 In 1776 he became so severely afflicted with the hypochondriasis, to which he had for a long time been occasionally subject, that he retired from public life.4 He had discontinued the practice of law as early as 1774, but afterwards occasionally presided, as the oldest magistrate in the county, at the Court of Sessions. He died March 10, 1788, aged 64 years.

"Among his other studies," says Pres. Allen, "he attained to

1 See page 30 of "An Address to the Members of the Bar of the counties of Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden, at their Annual Meeting at Northampton, September, 1826. By Hon. George Bliss." From this address is derived much of the information contained in the present sketch.

2 Mr. Bliss's Address, p. 38. 3 Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

4 Soon after the commencement of the Revolutionary war, when Major Hawley was in a state of deep mental depression, he remarked to his young friend Caleb Strong, that the colonies ought forthwith to submit to the mother country; and that, if they persisted in the contest, all the leading men among the revolutionists would unquestionably be hung as rebels. "Mr. Strong, knowing the origin of this apprehension, veryadroiltly removed it by intimating, that whatever might be the hazards of such men as Hancock and Samuel Adams and other kindred spirits, who had acted a very prominent part during the war, he could not believe that the Major himself had any reasonable ground of fear! The remark immediately produced its desired effect, and the propriety of unconditional submission was never again adverted to; the vulnerable man seeming determined, that if he had not already exposed himself to the gallows by his unflinching patriotism, he would be careful to secure himself against any such exemption from hazard for the future." See Am. Quarterly Register, Vol. XII. p. 16.
such an eminence of knowledge in political history and the principles of free government, that during the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, he was regarded as one of the ablest advocates of American liberty.\textsuperscript{1} "He was," says Pres. Dwight, "one of the ablest and most influential men in Massachusetts Bay, for a considerable period before the Revolution: an event in which few men had more efficiency."—He "was a very able advocate. Many men have spoken with more elegance and grace; I never heard one speak with more force. His mind, like his eloquence, was grave, austere and powerful."\textsuperscript{2} "He was," says Mr. Bliss, "grave and solemn in his demeanor; he was strictly conscientious, and had an instinctive abhorrence of anything approaching to deceit. Juries had confidence in his assertions. Their opinion of his stern and undeviating integrity made them very readily listen to him. His opinions had with them great weight. It was said, and generally believed of him, that he would not engage in a cause, until he was fully persuaded his client had right and justice on his side. After he had engaged, if he discovered or believed that he was not on the side of justice, he would, in any stage of a case, abandon it. Sometimes it was found that he had done this prematurely, and without sufficient evidence." When he "was satisfied of the justice of his cause, his arguments were very powerful and convincing. When a point of law was to be taken, he would meet the case fairly, and reason upon it as a sound logician. Hawley's juridical science was profound. He was peculiarly attached to the old English black-letter law. He was very attentive to forms and tenacious of ancient English precedents."\textsuperscript{3} He was puritanic in his manners, and yet was a man of the people; destitute of the polish and courtliness which distinguished some of his contemporaries, yet eminently fitted to control the popular will. He was vigilant and faithful as a magistrate; and it is said both of him and of his associate Worthington, that "a dishonest unprincipled man would choose to keep out of their way; their piercing scrutiny he would if possible avoid."

It is well known to our readers, that Major Hawley was one of the most influential opposers of President Edwards in the church at Northampton. He was only twenty-six years of age, when his efforts for the dismissal of his pastor were crowned with success.

\textsuperscript{1} Allen's Biographical Dictionary, Art. J. Hawley.
\textsuperscript{2} Travels, Vol. I. p. 333.
\textsuperscript{3} Bliss's Address, pp. 37, 38.
He is thus described in a letter which President Edwards wrote on the subject of that melancholy dismissal: "The people in managing this affair, on their side, have made chief use of a young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities and a fluent speaker, of about seven or eight and twenty years of age, my grandfather Stoddard's grandson, being my mother's sister's son, a man of lax principles in religion; falling in, in some essential things, with Arminians, and is very open and bold in it. He was improved as one of the agents for the church, and was their chief spokesman before the council."—"There seems to be the utmost danger that the younger generation will be carried away with Arminianism as with a flood. The young gentleman I spoke of is high in their esteem, and is becoming the most leading man in the town; and is very bold in declaiming and disputing for his opinions; and we have none able to confront and withstand him in dispute; and some of the young people already show a disposition to fall in with his notions."

In about ten years after Pres. Edwards's dismissal from Northampton, Major Hawley published, in one of the Boston newspapers, his celebrated Confession of guilt for the injuries which he had inflicted on his former pastor. This confession, however, was not the first sign of penitence which he had exhibited. He had previously been engaged in a correspondence with Pres. Edwards, and his feelings were melted down by the plain and honest reproofs of the injured minister. The following letter is one portion of that correspondence. It contains an intimation, that the church at Northampton had publicly expressed a degree of contrition for their treatment of Mr. Edwards, and that Major Hawley had been forward in making his own private acknowledgments. The effect of this letter upon the sensitive spirit of Major Hawley was great. It is said to have been one occasion of the public testimony which he afterwards gave to the virtues of his reprover, and to his own guilt. It is interesting to compare the style of the subjoined reproof with the style of Hawley's subsequent Confession; particularly the last paragraph on the 425th page of Dwight's Memoir of Edwards with the reprimand which is found on pp. 590, 591 of the present volume. The whole of the following epistle reflects light upon many passages in the narrative of Pres. Edwards's ministry at Northampton. It breathes the same spirit of pure self-respect, just regard to personal honor, consciousness of rectitude, guilelessness, frankness, fearlessness and christian fidelity, which was so preeminent in the character
of its author. It also gives a striking development of the power, which was wielded by the clergy in former days over the aristocracy of the land.

As the Theological Review is designed to be a repository of all such documents as illustrate the character and history of theological systems, its pages will occasionally be occupied with previously unpublished manuscripts, which reflect light upon the faith and practical skill of our fathers in the ministry.—It is only needful to add, that the following letter was found, a few years since, among the papers of Major Hawley, by Geo. Bancroft, Esq., who has explored, with great painstaking, the records of eminent individuals, as well as the archives of States.—E. A. P.

DEAR SIR,

I now, as soon as I am able, set myself about answering your letter of Aug. 11, though I am still so weak that I can write but with a trembling hand, as you may easily perceive. I was taken ill, about the middle of July, and my fits have now left me a little more than a fortnight; but I have been greatly reduced by so long continued an illness, and gain strength very slowly, and cannot be so particular in my answer to your letter, as I might be, if I had more strength.

I rejoice in the good temper and disposition of mind, which seem to be manifested in your letter; and hope that, whatever I may have suffered, and however greatly I may think myself injured in that affair which is the subject of your letter, wherein you were so much of a leader, I have a disposition, in my consideration of the affair, and what I shall write upon it, to treat you with true candor and Christian charity. Nevertheless, I confess, that the thing you desire of me is disagreeable to me, viz., very particularly giving my judgment concerning your conduct in that affair; and it is with no small reluctance, that I go about answering such a request, upon two accounts: 1st, as it obliges me renewedly to revolve in my mind, and particularly to look over that most disagreeable and dreadful scene, the particulars of which I have long since very much dismissed from my mind, as having no pleasure in the thought of them. And 2dly, as it is, [and will be looked upon by you, however serious and conscientious you may be in your desires and endeavors to know the truth.] a giving a judgment in my own case, a case wherein I was concerned to a very
high degree; and therefore will be much more likely to be a giving of it in vain. Notwithstanding, seeing you desire it, and seem to desire it in so Christian a manner, I will give you my judgment plainly, such as it is, and as impartially as I am able, leaving the consequence with God.

You know very well, that I looked on myself, in the time of the affair, as very greatly injured by the people in general, in the general conduct, management, and progress of it from the beginning to the end. That this was then my judgment was plain enough to be seen; and I suppose, no man in the town was insensible of it. And what were the main things wherein I looked on myself as injured, and what I supposed to be the aggravation of the injury, was also manifest. As particularly that the church and precinct had all imaginable reason to think, that in my receiving that opinion which was the subject of the controversy, and in the steps I took upon it, the declaration I made of it, etc., I acted altogether conscientiously, and from tenderness of spirit, and because I greatly feared to offend God; without, yea, to the highest degree, against all influence of worldly interest, and all private and sinister views. I think it was hardly possible for the affair to be attended with circumstances exhibiting greater evidence of this. I think, if my people therefore, when the affair was first divulged, had been actuated by a Christian spirit, or indeed by humanity, (though they might have been very sorry and full of concern about the affair,) they would, especially considering how long I had been their pastor, and they had always from the beginning, and from so long experience, acknowledged me to be their faithful pastor, and most of them esteemed me to be the chief instrument in the hand of God of the eternal salvation of their souls; I say, they would have treated me, if influenced by Christianity and humanity, with the utmost tenderness, calmness, and moderation, not to say honor and reverence; and would have thought themselves bound to have gone far in the exercise of patience. But instead of this, the town and church were at once put into the greatest flame: the town was soon filled with talk of dismissing and expelling me, and with contrivances how to do it speedily and effectually. And a most jealous eye, from this day forward, was kept upon me, lest I should do that slyly and craftily, that should tend to hinder such a design. And almost every step, that I took in the affair, was by their suspicious eyes looked upon in such a view; and therefore, everything served to renew and heighten the flame of their indignation. Even when I addressed
myself to them in the language of moderation and entreaty, it
was interpreted as a design to flatter the people, especially the
more ignorant, to work upon their affections, and so to gain a par-
ty, and prevent a vote for my dismissal, or at least to prevent
the people's being united in any full vote. And there was no
way that I could lead myself, nothing that I could do or say, but
it would have some such uncharitable construction put upon it.
As I began the affair in the fear of God, after much and long con-
tinued prayer to Him, so I was very careful in the whole progress
of it, and in every step, to act (undisguisedly) and to avoid any
unrighteous and underhanded measure; nor had I ever once
formed a design forever to establish myself at Northampton, and
impose myself on the people, whether we should remain differi-
s in our opinion on the point constant or not; nor did I ever take
one step with any such view. The things I aimed at were these
two: 1st, that the people should be brought to a calm temper be-
fore extremes were proceeded to; and 2dly, that they should, in
such a temper, hear what I had to say for myself and my opin-
on. But nothing could be done. The people most manifestly
continued in a constant flame of high resentment and vehement
opposition for more than two years together; and this spirit, in-
stead of subsiding, grew higher and higher, till they had obtained
their end in my expulsion. Nor indeed did it cease then, but
still they maintained their jealousy of me, as if I was fiercely do-
ing the part of an enemy to them, so long as I had a being in the
town; yea, till they saw the town well cleared of all my family.
So deep was their prejudice, that their heat was maintained, no-
thing would quiet them, till they could see the town clear of root
and branch, name and remnant.
I could mention many things that were said and done, in a
public manner, in meetings of the precinct, church, and their com-
mittee, from time to time, from the beginning, fully to justify and
support what I have said and supposed, till my dismissal, (be-
sides the continual talk in all parts of the town, in private houses,
and occasional companies). But I think this cannot be expected;
as it would be writing a history that would take up no less than
a quire of paper. I would only observe, that I was from time to
time reprehended by one that was commonly chosen moderator
of special and church meetings, and chairman of their committees,
in a very dogmatical and magisterial manner, for making so much
mischief, putting the church to so much trouble, and once he told
me, he did it by the desire and vote of the whole committees,
which was very large, consisting of all or most of the chief men of the town. I was often charged with acting only from sinister views, from stiffness of spirit, and from pride, and an arbitrary and tyrannical spirit, and a design, and vast expectation of forcing all to comply with my opinion. The above mentioned persons chiefly approved by the town and church, and set at their head in temporal affairs, once said expressly in a church meeting in the meeting-house, "that it was apparent that I regarded my own temporal interest more than the good of the church; that the church had reason to think I designedly laid a snare to ensnare the church; and that they had best by all means to beware and see to it, that they were not ensnared." And he said much more to the same purpose; and he was never frowned upon but smiled upon by the church, continuing in such a way of treatment of me, was still made much of, and set foremost in the management of the affair. There were multitudes of precinct and church meetings, many meetings of committees, and conferences with me about this affair. I am persuaded there was not one meeting but that this unreasonable, violent spirit was apparent, and as governing and prevalent. It seemed in the very beginning to govern in all proceedings, and almost every step that was taken. The people were so far from feeling any compassion, that it was often declared in the meetings, that if I would retain my opinion, though I should be convinced that continuing in it, I might go on in Mr. Stoddard's way, they would by no means have me for their minister, and their committee declared,—(here the manuscript is illegible).

It being thus, I think the whole management of the affair was exceeding provoking and abominable to God; as most contrary to what ought to be in public affairs, especially affairs of religion, and the (action?) of christian societies; and so contrary to the treatment due to me from that people; and especially in an affair so circumstanced, wherein they had such glaring evidence of my acting only from tenderness of conscience, and with regard to the account I had to give to my great Master, and wherein I so carefully avoided everything irritating, and never offered the people any provocation, unless yielding and condescending as I did to them, (in things which I supposed they insisted on merely from humor and prejudice,) in many instances for peace' sake was a provocation; an affair, wherein I with great constancy maintained a diligent watch over my own spirit; an affair, wherein I sought
peace and pursued it, and strove to my utmost, to avoid occasions of strife, and to treat every one in a christian manner.

Such an affair being so managed, I think no one should have put their hands to it, unless it were to check and restrain, and if possible to bring the people to an exceeding different temper and manner of conduct, and convince and show them how far they were out of the way of their duty. And till this could be done, I think not a step should have been taken, by any means to promote and forward their designs. Instead of this, I am persuaded, a judicious Christian, in a right temper of mind, being a bystander, would have beheld the scene with horror; especially considering the dreadful work that was making with the credit and interest of religion, by such a town and church as that of Northampton and of such a profession and fame.

And, therefore, Sir, I think you made yourself greatly guilty, in the sight of God, in the part you acted in this affair; becoming, especially, towards the latter part of it, very much their leader in it; and much from your own forswagleness, putting yourself forward as it were, as though fond of intermeddling and helping, which was the less becoming, considering your youth, and considering your relation to me. Your forwardness especially appeared on this occasion, that after you was chosen as one of a committee to plead their cause before a council, you came to me, and desired me to stay the church, on purpose that you might have opportunity to excuse yourself from the business, which was accordingly done, and you did excuse yourself, and was excused. But yet when the matter came to be pleaded before the council, you, [I think very inconsistently,] thrust yourself forward, and pleaded the cause with much earnestness, notwithstanding. 'Tis manifest, that what you did in the affair, from time to time, not only helped the people to gain their end in dismissing me, but much encouraged and promoted the spirit with which it was done; your candid, magisterial, vehemence manner had a natural and direct tendency to it.

As to your remonstrance to the last council, it not only contained things that were uncharitable and censorious, by which facts were misinterpreted and overstrained, but it was full of direct, bold slanders, asserted in strong terms, and delivered in very severe opprobrious language, merely on suspicion and surmise. As particularly therein, if I mistake not, was asserted, that I had said after my dismissal, "that I was still de jure and de facto the pastor of that church;" which was a false charge. Again, I was
charged with having a desire to be settled over a few of the members of the church, to the destruction of the whole; and that I set out once on a journey with a certain gentleman to procure a council to install me at Northampton, and that I contrived to do it at such a time, because I knew that the church was at that time about to send for a candidate, etc., that I might prevent their success therein, and that I was ready to settle in that place, and for the sake of it had refused an invitation to Stockbridge, that I had neglected this opportunity for the sake of settling over an handful. That I had a great inclination to continue at Northampton as a minister, at the expense of the peace and prosperity of the greater part of the town, yea, that I was greatly engaged for it. Here is a heap of direct slanders, positively asserted, all contrary to the truth of fact. I had not refused the invitation to Stockbridge, or neglected that opportunity. I had no inclination or desire to settle over those few at Northampton, but a very great opposition in my mind to it, abundantly manifested in what I continually said to them, on occasion of their great and constant urgency. It was much more agreeable to my inclination to settle at Stockbridge. And though I complied to the calling of a council to advise in the affair, it was on these terms, that it should not be thought hard that I should fully and strongly lay before them all my objections against it. My discourse, with particular ministers in their own houses, was chiefly in opposition to Col. D——t; and so was my discourse before the council when met. I earnestly argued before them, against their advising me to settle there, with hopes that what I said would prevail against it, and very much with that conclusion; and what I said against it was the thing that did prevail against it, and that only. I complied to the calling of the council, and with a view to these two things: first, to quiet the minds of those, who, in so trying a time, had appeared my steadfast friends; that they might not already think exceeding hardly of me; and secondly, the country having been filled with gross misrepresentations of the controversy between me and my people, and the affair of my dismissal, and the grounds of it, and the great wounding of my character at a distance, I was willing some ministers of chief note should come from distant parts of the country, and be upon the spot, and see the state of things with their own eyes. It was very contrary to truth, that I contrived to set out at that particular time, because just then the church were about to apply to a candidate, etc., that I might prevent their success; for I knew not of any such thing. I had then
no notice of that design or determination of the church. Nor was that true, that is suggested, that the procuring a council was the thing that occasioned our setting out on that journey. Each of us had other business, and should have gone, had no such thing as a council been projected; and therefore we went far beyond all parts where any of these ministers dwelt, and spent much more time there than with any of them. As to my seeking to disappoint and ruin the town, and destroy its peace, etc., I did not, in all this affair, take one step with any view at all to a disappointment of the town and church, in any of their measures for settling another minister. I might mention other things in the remonstrance, but I am weary.

These things being so, I cannot think the church's "reflections" do, in any wise, impair their faults in this matter, and the injuries therein done to me. In these "reflections," they grant, that they used too strong terms, and language too harsh, that in some things they were too censorious, and had not sufficient grounds to go so far in their charges, that they should not have expressed themselves thus and thus, but had better have used other specified terms, which yet would have been to the hurt of my reputation. I confess, dear Sir, I have no imagination that such sort of reflections and retractions as these, will be accepted in the sight of God as sufficient, and all that is proper in such a case; and thus it will be found, that they that think so, do greatly deceive themselves. The church, in their remonstrance, seemed to contrive for the strongest, most severe, opprobrious and aggravating kind of terms, to blacken my character, and wound my reputation in the most public manner possible. In their reflections on themselves, a contrary course is taken; there, instead of aggravating their own faults, (which is the manner of true penitents,) they most manifestly contrive for the softest, mildest terms, to touch their own faults in the most gentle manner possible, by the softest language.

On the whole, Sir, (as you have asked my opinion,) I think, that that town and church lies under great guilt in the sight of God; and they never more can reasonably expect God's favor and blessing, till they have their eyes opened to be convinced of their great provocation of the Most High, and injuriousness to man, and have their temper greatly altered, till they are deeply humbled, and till they openly and in full terms confess themselves guilty, in the manner in which they are guilty indeed, (and what my opinion of that is, I have in some measure declared,) and openly humble and take shame to themselves before the world,
and particularly confess their faults and seek forgiveness where they have been peculiarly injurious. Such terms, I am persuaded, the righteous God will hold that people to; and that it will forever be in vain for them to think to go free and escape with impunity in any other way. Palliating and extenuating matters, and daubing themselves over with untempered mortar, and sewing fig-leaves, will be in vain before Him whose pure and omniscient eye is as a flame of fire. It has often been observed, what a curse persons have lived under and been pursued by, for their ill treatment of their natural parents; but especially may this be expected to follow such abuses offered by a people to one who, in their own esteem, is their spiritual father. Expositors and divines often observe, that abuse of God's messengers has commonly been the last sin of an offending, backsliding people, which has filled up the measure of their sin, and put an end to God's patience with them, and brought on them ruin. And 'tis also commonly observed, that the heads and leaders of such a people have been remarkably distinguished in the fruits of God's vengeance in such cases. And as you, Sir, distinguished yourself as a head and leader to that people in these affairs, at least the main of them; so, I think, the guilt, that lies on you in the sight of God, is distinguishing, and that you may expect to be distinguished by God's frown, unless there be true repentance, and properly expressed and manifested, with endeavors to be a leader of the people in the affair of repentance, as in their transgression.

One thing which, I think, aggravated your fault, was that you generally thought me in the right in that opinion, wherein I differed from my people. As to the nature and essence of true religion, my people and I, in general, were agreed. The strong point, wherein we differed, was, that supposing that our common opinion of the nature of true godliness to be right, a profession of it, or of those things wherein we supposed the essence of it consisted, was necessary to christian communion: In this, you agreed with me, and not with the people; so that, in effect, you owned my cause, or the thing which was the main foundation of the controversy, to be good; and yet in the manner before observed, set yourself as their head in their violent opposition to me. You say, that in all your disputes, you ever had a full persuasion of my sincerity and true sanctity. If so, then doubtless, what Christ said to his disciples takes hold of you. He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me. And take heed, ye
Lectures on Church Government.


We have heard it remarked that if this book had appeared ten years ago, much evil might have been prevented. This is said