

Small Bookcase

Before Edwards could have been able to accumulate any furniture for a permanent study, he would have started, as early as his college years, collecting books. At his death, the size of his library was 837 items, plus 25 copies of books by Edwards himself. While not as large as the libraries of William Byrd II of Virginia or of Cotton Mather and Thomas Prince Sr. of Boston, which each numbered in the thousands, this was a very respectable collection, perhaps slightly larger than the ones kept by many New England ministers of the time.¹ In the seventeenth century, as Hugh Amory has found, a New England clergyman typically had “a few hundred titles” in his personal collection.² But that number was also growing with the generations and with the increased availability and affordability of printed matter. John Sergeant, Edwards's missionary predecessor at Stockbridge, was typical in the rate at which he grew his library: when he died in 1749 at only thirty-nine years of age, he owned more than 250 books and pamphlets. The library of Edwards's father Timothy, pastor of East Windsor, Connecticut, who died at the age of eighty-nine only a couple of months before his son, amounted to nearly seven hundred titles at the time it was inventoried.³

Much has been written on the nature and content of Edwards's library, the sources that influenced him, and those he used in his polemics.⁴ He had a desire to keep up with the most current authors, even if he did not agree with what they had to say. As he quipped to the Reverend John Erskine, his chief Scottish correspondent, after reading one of David Hume's works: “I am glad of an opportunity to read such corrupt books; especially when written by men of considerable genius; that I may have an idea of the notions that prevail in our nation.”⁵ He eagerly sought the most recent news, sending money to Boston with family members, parishioners, or traveling merchants to purchase the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* or *Boston Gazette*. In his Stockbridge years, he received copies of New York papers from Dutch merchant Abraham Fonda. As important as examining his reading habits are to understanding Edwards, however, exploring Edwards's relation to books as print media or as objects to

¹ See *A Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts which Formerly Belonged to the Reverend Thomas Prince . . .* (Boston, 1870); Julius Herbert Tuttle, “The Libraries of the Mathers,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 20, pt. 2 (April 1910): 269–356, esp. 269–351; Kevin J. Hayes, [ed.], *The Library of William Byrd of Westover* (Madison, Wis., 1997).

² Hugh Amory, “Printing and Bookselling in New England, 1638–1713,” in *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Amory and David D. Hall, vol. 1 of *A History of the Book in America*, ed. Hall (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007), 83–116, esp. 108–9 (quotation, 108). On reading and publishing in seventeenth-century New England, see Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia, 2007); Hall, *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text-Making in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Philadelphia, 2008); Matt Cohen, *The Networked Wilderness: Communicating in Early New England* (Minneapolis, 2010).

³ See inventory of John Sergeant estate, 1750, Northampton Probates, box 129, no. 19, Springfield Public Library, Springfield, Mass. Thanks to Rachel Wheeler for supplying her transcript of the inventory. For an annotated list of Edwards's father's books and book references, see Appendix A: “Timothy Edwards' Library and Reading,” in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 26, *Catalogues of Books*, ed. Peter J. Thuesen (New Haven, Conn., 2008), 363–415.

⁴ Thomas H. Johnson, “Jonathan Edwards' Background of Reading,” *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 28, *Transactions, 1930–1933* (Boston 1935), 193–222; Wallace E. Anderson, “Editor's Introduction” in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 6, *Scientific and Philosophical Writings* (New Haven, Conn., 1980), 1–143, esp. 1–136; William Sparkes Morris, *Young Jonathan Edwards: A Reconstruction* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1991); Thuesen, “Editor's Introduction” in *Works*, 26: 1–113.

⁵ Jonathan Edwards to John Erskine, Dec. 11, 1755, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 16, *Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. George S. Claghorn (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 679–81 (quotation, 679). Titles by David Hume in Edwards's “Catalogue of Reading” include *A Treatise of Human Nature . . .*, 3 vols. (London, 1739–40), *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1748), and *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (London, 1751). See *Works*, 26: 257, 302–4.

be obtained and produced also provides significant insights into his intellectual labor through the material life that shaped it.⁶

Seeking New Titles

As Peter J. Thuesen has recently shown in his study of Edwards's book-collecting, book-borrowing, and book-lending practices, Edwards constantly sought out titles, new and old, on a broad variety of subjects that reflected his vocations as pastor, theologian, philosopher, and educator. Titles for purchase or borrowing could be identified through several means. One way he found out about books was by conversations with colleagues and friends in the ministerial and political networks that he encountered in his travels and at college commencement exercises or that he entertained at his own house. Area ministers and longtime acquaintances, such as the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough, Edwards's cousin the Reverend Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, and his fellow laborer in the revival party, Thomas Prince Jr., recommended books to him. But Edwards also recorded conversations about books with individuals whom, one might assume, he would have avoided because of their suspected heterodoxy. These included, among others, Samuel Johnson, the controversial Yale tutor who in 1719 caused the Anglican defection of some in Edwards's undergraduate class and later turned Church of England missionary. Yet later in life, Edwards conversed with Johnson and borrowed books from him. Also, in an entry recorded in his "'Catalogue' of Reading" (a list of titles he had read or wanted to read) written at the height of the Connecticut River valley revivals, Edwards noted a work recommended by none other than Charles Chauncy, the leader of the antirevival party.⁷ Such social linkages made for strange bedfellows but demonstrate that, however much they may have clashed in some ways, members of the learned class relied on each other for intellectual fellowship. Finally, Edwards counted on his wife, Sarah Pierpont Edwards, to keep an eye out for potential purchases, such as when she picked up a "Catalogue of Books published in London" while traveling through New York City in June 1754.⁸

Another way a learned person such as Edwards discovered printed works, whether forthcoming or already published, was to consult advertisements, not only in newspapers such as the *New-York Gazette* but also in the back of periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where a page or two of notices of recently published or forthcoming titles regularly appeared. He then committed these references to his "Catalogue" or other notebooks. At their simplest, such entries read something like this: "Benson on the Epistles Advertisement at the End of Taylor on original sin." This example demonstrates the contemporary practice of using shorthand titles for works, in this case George Benson's *A paraphrase and notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* and John Taylor's *The Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin*. While reading Blaise Pascal's *Thoughts on Religion, And other Curious Subjects*, probably sometime in 1734 or 1735, Edwards came upon an advertisement that caught his eye and committed parts of it nearly verbatim to his "Catalogue": "The Life of Monsieur Paschal Collected from the Writings of Madam Perier his sister Greatly Commended in an Advertisemt at the End of Mons. Paschals thoughts with such Express[ions] as these that this single Life is [worth] more than an 100 sermons & would do more

⁶ See Hall, *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst, Mass., 1996); Amory and Hall, *Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*; Brown, *Pilgrim and the Bee*; Cohen, *Networked Wilderness*.

⁷ For the "'Catalogue' of Reading," see *Works*, 26: 117–318. For reading recommendations, see "Catalogue" entry nos. [632], [636] (*ibid.*, 26: 287–88; Reverend Ebenezer Parkman); [348] (*ibid.*, 26: 191–92; Reverend Stephen Williams); [597] (*ibid.*, 26: 273; Thomas Prince Jr.); [290] (*ibid.*, 26: 176–77; Samuel Johnson); [365] (*ibid.*, 26: 196; Charles Chauncy).

⁸ "Catalogue" entry no. [668], *ibid.*, 26: 299 (quotation); "Catalogue" entry no. [666], *ibid.*, 26: 299.

towards the Reforming the Libertines of the Present Age than if you should Let Loose twenty missionaries upon them.”⁹

Bookshops were, of course, another option, whether for serendipitous or for prearranged purchases, though it took some effort for Edwards to get to one. Boston was a two-and-a-half-day trip on horseback from Northampton—a trip he made with surprising frequency—and New York City was at least an eight-day trek by coach and ship, but whenever in these or other cities Edwards doubtless sought out the bookshops, purchasing what caught his eye and what he could afford.¹⁰ Some coveted volumes, however, were only to be had by working through intermediaries, particularly merchants who sailed to England on business. In “Catalogue” entry no. [338], for example, Edwards cited Ephraim Chambers’s two-volume *Cyclopaedia*, a respected reference work of the time.¹¹ Apparently it was not to be had locally, so Edwards wrote to Boston merchant Jacob Wendell, asking him to arrange for a set to be brought from England. As it turned out, Wendell sent a set that he had had by him “for some time.”¹² And in early 1747, Edwards wrote to his former student, Joseph Bellamy: “I have thoughts of sending, myself, this year, to England for a few books, and have written to Mr. [Edmund] Quincy, a merchant in Boston, about it, to desire his advice and assistance, as to the course to be taken to obtain ’em. If I employ him to send for me, I shall be willing to serve you. . . . I am willing to take your money and put it with my own, and put your books into my catalogue and have the books all come as mine.”¹³

Ordering a book from overseas was also a possibility, but even in a time when cross-oceanic traffic was becoming faster and more frequent, it still involved a considerable investment of time and effort. Packages and crates had to be transferred from middleman to middleman, and items would often miscarry, a complaint Edwards voiced frequently. The application to Wendell occurred in 1737, still fairly early in Edwards’s career. As his social network grew, he increasingly relied on associates, students, and extended family to procure items on his behalf in their travels, be it to Boston, New Haven, New York, or Philadelphia, or on colleagues overseas in London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.

Borrowing and Lending

⁹ “Catalogue” entry no. [697], *ibid.*, 26: 310 (“Benson”); “Catalogue” no. [362], *ibid.*, 26: 195 (“Life of Monsieur Paschal”). See George Benson’s *A paraphrase and notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to Philemon, Ist Thessalonians, IId Thessalonians, Ist Timothy, Titus, IId Timothy. Attempted in imitation of Mr. Locke’s Manner* (London, [1731–]1734) and John Taylor’s *The Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin . . .* (London, 1740). For the advertisement that was Edwards’s original source for the second quotation, see [Blaise Pascal] *Thoughts on Religion, And other Curious Subjects*, trans. Basil Kennet, 2d ed. (London, 1727). The work referred to is [Edward] Jesup, *The Life Of the Celebrated Monsieur Pascal, Collected from the Writings of Madame Perier, his Sister*, in Jesup, *The Lives of Picus and Pascal, Faithfully Collected from the most Authentick Accounts of them . . .* (London, 1723). Edwards took some liberties with the text of the advertisement, which stated that the work “gives a more sensible Mortification” to Libertines rather than “Reforming” them, and would do more good than to “lose upon them a dozen of Missionaries” rather than “twenty.” *Ibid.*, b[v] (“gives”) and b2 (“lose”).

¹⁰ Available evidence shows he was in Boston in June 1723 (on two different occasions, totaling twelve days out of the month); July 1731; June 1733; January 1734; March 1735; October 1738; May 1739; April, August, and October 1742; May 1743; October 1745; May 1746; July 1749; August 1750; April–May and June 1752; October 1753; and June 1757.

¹¹ “Catalogue” entry no. [338], *Works*, 26: 188.

¹² Edwards to Jacob Wendell, Aug. 23, 1737, in *Works*, 16: 71 (quotation); Edwards to Wendell, Aug. 8, 1737, *ibid.*, 16: 70; See also Edwards to Joseph Bellamy, Jan. 15, 1746/7, *ibid.*, 16: 216–18, esp. 16: 217. The presence of cosmopolitan prorevival merchants such as Wendell, [Edmund] Quincy, and Edward Bromfield, at whose home Edwards sometimes stayed when in Boston, illustrates their importance to the evangelical learned community. On Bromfield, see Mark Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize: How Religion Shaped Commerce in Puritan America* (Princeton, N.J., 2010), esp. 173–76.

¹³ Edwards to Bellamy, Jan. 15, 1746/7, in *Works*, 16: 217.

Like other ministers and members of the learned elite, in addition to his personal library Edwards also borrowed books from a range of libraries, though he does not record these instances in any sustained way. First, he would have had access to private collections belonging to family and relatives. Surely he borrowed freely from his father, for his father borrowed freely from him. He no doubt also borrowed from his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, whom Edwards replaced as senior pastor of Northampton in 1729. In all likelihood, a portion of Stoddard's library remained in Northampton with his son John, a prominent local magistrate and militia commander.¹⁴ Similarly, Edwards would have been able to use his father-in-law the Reverend James Pierpont's library, another library associated with a long line of clerics. As an example of his borrowing, Edwards made the following reminder to himself: "Buy or borrow of dr Johnson or mr sergeant Dr Clarks Posthumous sermons which dr Johnson speaks of as explaining all Texts relating to Gods decree of Predestination."¹⁵ That he replicated this memorandum in two different notebooks was not merely to ensure he did not forget but because his notebooks shared subjects and sources in a cross-referential manner.

The existence of a public library in early eighteenth-century New Haven points to the increasing number of circulating and club or members-only, libraries in larger towns and cities in the British colonies, which Edwards would have also had at his disposal. But they were not only found in urban centers; one such organization, the Philogrammatican, was established in rural Lebanon, Connecticut, by Edwards's cousin, the Reverend Solomon Williams. Edwards would likely have had access to this collection until at least 1750 with his dismissal from Northampton, in which the Williams family played a significant role.¹⁶

In particular Edwards's home library was augmented by the books belonging to the local association of ministers of which he was a member. Ministerial associations were loosely organized venues for meetings of area ministers that arose in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Connecticut and Massachusetts. They usually met a couple of times a year at members' homes on a rotating basis, to hear a sermon, discuss current issues, address inquiries and appeals from churches and laity, or simply to socialize.¹⁷ Associations were generally organized by county, or by parts of a county.

¹⁴ See Norman S. Fiering, "Solomon Stoddard's Library at Harvard in 1664," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 20 (1972): 255–69, which tallies eighty books Stoddard possessed when he was a tutor. The inventory of Stoddard's estate (microfilm copy at Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.) mentions a "catalogue" of the library in the hands of Stoddard's son, Anthony, minister of Woodbury, Connecticut, but regrettably that list is lost. Elise Bernier-Feeley of the Hampshire Local History Room at Forbes Library provided this reference and spent much time attempting to locate the missing catalog.

¹⁵ The quotation appears in both "Efficacious Grace," bk. 2, *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online (WJEO)*, vol. 21, <http://edwards.yale/research/browse>, and "Book of Minutes of the Arminian Controversy," *WJEO*, vol. 37. This is the same Dr. Samuel Johnson, Anglican missionary at Stratford, Conn., and Reverend John Sergeant, the missionary at Stockbridge, Mass., referred to above. The work in question is Samuel Clarke, *Sermons on the Following Subjects*, 10 vols. (London, 1730–31), and the specific sermon is Sermon 12 on Rev. 3:4, "Of the Number of those that shall be saved," *ibid.*, 4: 271–95.

¹⁶ On a public library to which Edwards would have had easy access, see Franklin Bowditch Dexter, "The First Public Library in New Haven," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 6 (1900): 301–13. On the Philogrammatican, see, *Works* 26: 39–43. On the Williamses' conflict with Edwards, see George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven, Conn., 2003), 358–74; Philip F. Gura, *Jonathan Edwards: America's Evangelical* (New York, 2005), 135–64. Solomon Williams wrote *The True State of the Question Concerning the Qualifications Necessary to lawful Communion in the Christian Sacraments* (Boston, 1751), the official response to Edwards's *An Humble Inquiry Into The Rules of the Word of God, Concerning The Qualifications Requisite to Compleat Standing and full Communion in the Visible Christian Church* (Boston, 1749), Edwards's explanation of his change of position on qualifications for communion, a key text in the controversy that led to his dismissal from Northampton in 1750.

¹⁷ See Paul R. Lucas, *Valley of Discord: Church and Society along the Connecticut River, 1636–1725* (Hanover, N.H., 1976), 144–46; Donald M. Scott, *From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry, 1750–1850*

Edwards belonged to the “Upper Part,” or northern section, of the Hampshire County Association, established in 1731.¹⁸ New members were required to give dues starting at ten pounds. Affluent members such as Edwards contributed more and so were given preference in the number of the books they could borrow, since borrowing was based on the value of the volumes. Dues were used, in part, to print books or to purchase them. We only know of thirteen titles in the Hampshire Association’s library, but several of these were expensive multiple-volume sets that individual ministers would have been hard-pressed to afford, such as Paul de Rapin’s *History of England* in fifteen volumes or the *Present State of the Republick of Letters*, published monthly from 1728 to 1736 and collected in eighteen volumes.¹⁹ Beginning in October 1741, Edwards would have had direct access to at least some of these, since the association voted at their meeting of that month “That Part of the Public Library in the Upper Part of the County Shall be Kept at Northampton by the Revd Mr Edws.” To ensure that books that were checked out were not exposed to the elements, the association had “convenient wooden boxes” made, “lined with paper or Cloth.”²⁰ As guardian of the association’s volumes, Edwards would have also been responsible for the containers.

In addition, Edwards could have availed himself of noncirculating college libraries, including that of his alma mater, Yale College, when in New Haven visiting family or attending commencements.²¹ On September 15, 1738, for example, Edwards attended the college ceremonies and dined with the Reverend Joseph Noyes, but the entire next day he spent in the college library. Less frequently, he could have used the Harvard College library when in Boston to deliver a lecture or conduct business. In his “Catalogue’ of Reading,” for example, he cites a book by Anglican divine Matthew Pilkington published in 1747 and advertised in the *Boston Gazette*, noting that a copy of it was “presented by the society for Propagation of the Gospel to Ha[r]vard College Library in the next year after it came out,” doubtless signaling his intention to consult the work at his next opportunity.²² Later in life, before becoming president of the College of New Jersey in Princeton, he was also able to utilize that college’s library, which had received 474 books from Governor Jonathan Belcher in 1750 and quickly became one of the largest collections in the colony.²³

(Philadelphia, 1978), 115–16, 127.

¹⁸ Stephen Williams, manuscript copy of order from Hampshire Association of Ministers, Oct. 13, 1741, in Edwards, manuscript sermon on Matt. 7:15 (no. 696, January 1743), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

¹⁹ For details of Edwards’s involvement, see “Hampshire Association of Ministers Records, 1731–1747,” manuscript photocopy, Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass. At the April 11, 1732, meeting, for example, the ministers voted to print Isaac Watts’ *Catechism* “for ye benefit of the people of our charge.” *Ibid.*, 3. See also, *Works*, 26: 38. In May 1739 Edwards received a sum from the association’s treasury to purchase *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*. Stephen Williams to Edwards, May 4, 1739, MS Receipt Waterston Autograph Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. For a list of titles procured by Edwards’s ministerial association, see “The Hampshire Association of Ministers’ Library,” in *Works*, 26: 357–60.

²⁰ “Hampshire Association of Ministers Records, 1731–1747,” manuscript photocopy, Forbes Library, 37 (quotations). Stephen Williams, manuscript copy of order from Hampshire Association of Ministers, Oct. 13, 1741, in Edwards, manuscript sermon on Matt. 7:15 (no. 696, January 1743) Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²¹ See W. H. Bond and Amory, eds., *Printed Catalogues of the Harvard College Library, 1723–1790* (Boston, 1996); James E. Mooney, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Catalogues of the Yale College Library* (New Haven, Conn., 2001).

²² “Catalogue” entry no. [578] in *Works*, 26: 266–67 (quotation, 26: 266).

²³ *Ibid.*, 26: 49–50. Edwards travelled to New Jersey in September or October of 1735; he visited his daughter Esther and her new husband, the Reverend Aaron Burr, president of the College of New Jersey (near Newark) and preached to the students there in August 1752; and he attended the college commencement in September 1755. See Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative*, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 4, *The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (New Haven, Conn., 1972), 144–211, esp. 155–56; manuscript sermon on Is. 9:6 (no. 926, March 1749; republished July 1752) Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library; Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker, eds., *The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr, 1754–1757* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 153, 156.

Of course, Edwards himself inevitably reciprocated as a lender of books. The closest circle of borrowers from his library would naturally have been his family. Edwards's wife and daughters were well educated compared to most provincial gentry, with training in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew as well as broad interests in literature. In his will Edwards bequeathed to his wife "as many of my printed books as comes to Ten pounds."²⁴ If we had to guess, she may have chosen favorites such as Ralph Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets* and Isaac Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, which she quotes in her 1742 spiritual narrative; she also may have selected the works of François Fénelon, archbishop of Cambrai and defender of the mystic Madame Guyon, who was a favorite of Sarah's for his quietism. The eldest daughter, Esther, was a reader of Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding as well as other popular writers of the time whose works were in her father's collection.²⁵ Edwards's three sons would also have made use of the library as their parents prepared them for college.

Edwards's study operated as a part-time lending library for individuals outside of the family as well. As Thuesen shows in his examination of Edwards's book ownership, memorandums from Edwards's leather-bound "Account Book," reveal that Edwards lent books to fellow ministers—especially former students Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins—and to lay men and women nearly two hundred times between 1733 and 1757. The titles varied according to who was doing the borrowing; ministers tended to borrow works on theology and, interestingly enough, of fiction, while laypeople came to their minister for a mixture of religious, practical, and secular literature, ranging from martyrologies, to medical remedies, to diatribes against drunkenness. Interestingly, the work Edwards lent out most often at Northampton was *The Ladies' Library*, a conduct book from which he derived his own youthful "notes on style."²⁶ Edwards's study was also an entrépot for books being passed along from publishers to buyers. In 1736 he distributed two dozen books for a Mr. Marshfield. At Stockbridge his study became an outlet for Bibles. More than a dozen times he sold copies to locals: "great" Bibles for six pounds, five shillings, and "small" ones for one pound, ten shillings.²⁷ And, of course, he was continually giving away copies of his own publications, singly and in batches.

Maps

²⁴ E[dwards] A[masa] P[ark], ed., "Jonathan Edwards's Last Will, and the Inventory of his Estate," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1876, 438–47 (quotation, 441).

²⁵ For the text of Sarah Pierpont Edwards's "Narrative," see Sue Lane McCulley and Dorothy Z. Baker, eds., *The Silent and Soft Communion: The Spiritual Narratives of Sarah Pierpont Edwards and Sarah Prince Gill* (Knoxville, Tenn., 2005). On the radical self-denial of Sarah Pierpont Edwards's piety, see Julie Ellison, "The Sociology of 'Holy Indifference': Sarah Edwards' Narrative," *American Literature* 56, no. 4 (December 1984): 479–95; Stephen Post, "Disinterested Benevolence: An American Debate over the Nature of Christian Love," *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 14, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 356–68. For a study of women's reading and book-collecting habits, see Kevin J. Hayes, *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1996). The Edwardses were fast friends with the Princes, and their daughters, Esther Edwards Burr and Sally Prince, corresponded with each other. Writing on October 13, 1754, from Newark to Prince in Boston, Burr longingly imagined the get-together then occurring in the Prince home: "I imagine now this Eve Mr Burr is at your house. *Father* is there and some others. You all set in the Middleroom, *Father* has the *talk*, and Mr Burr has the *Laugh*, Mr Prince gets room to stick in a word once in a while. The rest of you set and see, and hear, and make observations to yourselves." Karlsen and Crumpacker, eds., *Journal of Esther Edwards Burr*, 54. For Sally Prince's writings, see McCulley and Baker, eds., *The Silent and Soft Communion*.

²⁶ *Works*, 10: 180 (quotation), 182–84. On book lending, see *Works*, 26: 28–36. For rules on style, see also *Works*, 6: 192–95.

²⁷ On Marshfield, see Edwards, MS "Account Book," [7], Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library; on Bible distribution, see MS "Account Book," leaf, n.d. [ca. February–October 1753], Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

Another feature of Edwards's study was maps. He owned at least a dozen of various sizes. Perhaps several were hung in the bits of wall space between furniture, bookshelves, and whatever windows were in the room. These maps were no doubt primarily for his own reference, particularly when he wanted to locate where revivals were taking place in the colonies or in Europe or where battles or other incidents occurred that he read about in the newspapers. But he also used maps for educating children and young people under his care. In a letter to Sir William Pepperrell written soon after assuming the Stockbridge mission post, Edwards laid out his pedagogical theory for the Indian children, advocating a dialogic or "familiar" method as opposed to rote learning and memorization.²⁸ In his draft notes for the letter, only recently made available, he wrote that he wanted the children to learn the "Extent boundaries Capital Cities &c of the several Countreys then teach em a little of the History & present state of Each of [the] Countreys."²⁹ He wanted students to learn not only current geography but ancient geography, particularly that of the Holy Land. Writing to his student and colleague Joseph Bellamy, minister of Bethlehem, Connecticut, in June 1756, after Bellamy had taken several of the Indian children into his home, Edwards urged the use of maps to teach the history of scripture. "I wish," he instructed, "you would send to [New] York to . . . get some plain maps of the land of Canaan, and places adjacent."³⁰ These examples highlight the visual nature of education for Edwards, not only in observing natural phenomena, such as spiders or thunderstorms, but for teaching history and geography, using maps. In a time when printed maps were still expensive, Edwards accumulated a small but what must have been for him a useful collection.³¹

In the final analysis, however, while Edwards was involved in local networks and institutions of learning, his orientation, like that of many of his peers in the clergy, was toward the London metropolis. Consider places of publication for the books he sought or owned as well as the intended audiences for his publications. Surviving books and pamphlets that contain Edwards's autograph or handwritten notes, for example, are overwhelmingly from European, and especially British, presses. Of the thirty-three titles, twenty-five (75.8 percent) were European imprints and only eight (24.2 percent) were published in North America, specifically in Boston. And while Edwards's own compositions, from *A Faithful Narrative of a Surprising Work of God* (1737) to *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit*

²⁸ Edwards to William Pepperrell, Nov. 28, 1751, in *Works*, 16: 406–14 (quotation, 16: 408). See Kenneth P. Minkema, "Jonathan Edwards on Education and His Educational Legacy," in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (Oxford, 2012), 31–50.

²⁹ See Edwards to Pepperrell, Nov. 28, 1751, letter A135, in *WJEO*, vol. 32. In a "Catalogue of Texts" that Edwards drew up for educating Indian children (*Works*, 26: 361–62), he recommended, among others, three titles: [Thomas] Salmon's *A New Geographical and Historical Grammar* . . . (London, 1749); John Fransham's *The World in Miniature: or, the Entertaining Traveller* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1740), which professed, by its lengthy title, to give "an Account of every Thing necessary and curious" of all the various countries of the world (*ibid.*, title page); and John Chamberlayne's *Magna Britannia Notitia: or, the Present State of Great-Britain* . . . , 22nd ed. (London, 1708), which also had "divers remarks upon The Antient State" of the kingdom and reflects Edwards's desire to anglicize the natives (*ibid.*, title page). On map production and map collecting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see R. V. Tooley, *The Mapping of America* (London, 1980). On maps as cultural and imperial expressions, see Karen Halttunen, "Grounded Histories: Land and Landscape in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 68, no. 4 (October 2011), 513–32.

³⁰ Edwards to Bellamy, [June 1756], *Works*, 16: 688–89.

³¹ Samuel Pepys was perhaps the premier map and chart collector in early modern Britain. His collection, donated to Magdalene College, amounted to more than eleven hundred items. See Sarah Tyacke, "Samuel Pepys as Map Collector," in *Maps and Prints: Aspects of the English Booktrade*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford, 1984), 1–30. Edwards himself tried his hand at cartography, drawing a map of western New England and eastern New York, circa 1751, with special attention to the trails connecting various towns. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (reproduced as the frontispiece of *WJEO*, vol. 25).

Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer (1748), clearly targeted readers in the revival party at home and abroad, the great philosophical pieces of the Stockbridge period, such as *Freedom of Will*, *The Nature of True Virtue*, and even *Original Sin*, were addressed to a wider audience including the more secular readers usually associated with the republic of letters.³²

³² For books with Edwards's notations, see "Appendix C: Books with Edwards' Autograph or Handwritten Notes," in *Works*, 26: 423–37. Places of publication for these titles include London (17); Boston (8); Geneva (3); and Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leiden, and Utrecht (1 each). Norman Fiering established the republic of letters as an intellectual framework for Edwards in Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), esp. 14–23.