

YALE COLLEGE AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

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ABSTRACT

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The Great Awakening turned the minds of people in the American colonies to religion as never before, but it also stirred great opposition and split apart many established religious institutions. All of the issues and actions that characterized the Great Awakening--separatism, enthusiasm, itineracy, lay-exhorting, disruption of the social order, and questioning the need for a learned ministry-- found full expression at Yale College.

This paper looks at the factors in the history and people of Yale that prepared the school for the Great Awakening. It then explores the various events that occurred on the Yale campus between the first visit of George Whitefield in October 1740, and his second visit in June 1745. These events lead to the polarization of the faculty and students as they act out the issues of the Great Awakening.

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YALE COLLEGE AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

George Whitefield, the foremost spokesman of the religious enthusiasm and revivalism then sweeping the American colonies, arrived in New Haven, Connecticut, late in October 1740, having just completed a successful tour of the Connecticut River Valley. He was well received during his three-day visit. He dined in the home of Yale's rector, Thomas Clap, lectured the college student body, spoke to members of the Connecticut General Assembly, then meeting in New Haven, and preached to large crowds in the town. Whitefield noted in his Journal soon after arriving that he had heard about "no remarkable Concern amongst them [the Yale faculty and students] concerning Religion." On the last day of his visit, though, he wrote of sensing "an especial Presence of God" in the people and "was refreshed to hear how the Children of God were revived under the Word preached."¹

What Whitefield noticed was Yale's entrance into that whirlwind of religious revival known as the Great Awakening. When he returned to New Haven in June 1745, he found the College transformed. By then the faculty stood adamantly opposed to Whitefield and his religious practices. Having threatened, fined, and expelled students overrun

with the revival spirit--even having suspended classes at one point to restore order to the campus--the faculty flatly denied him permission to speak on campus. The once indifferent student body, on the other hand, had become ardent advocates of the revival movement.

The Great Awakening turned the minds of the people in the colonies to Christianity as never before, but it also stirred great opposition and split apart many established religious institutions. All of the issues and actions that characterized the Great Awakening--separatism, enthusiasm, itineracy, lay-exhorting, disruption of the social order, and questioning the need for a learned ministry--found full expression within the Yale community. Yale stood at a crossroad of religious activity in Connecticut. Because New Haven was the cultural and commercial center of the colony, it drew both "New Light" proponents of the revival and "Old Light" opponents. This put Yale in the middle of the religious confrontation and strife occurring in the colony. The history of Yale between the visits of George Whitefield, then, is in many ways a microcosm of events throughout the colonies during the Great Awakening.

Few events occur spontaneously. Most are the result of many forces brought together and acted upon by a particular catalyst or cause. Such is the case of the Great Awakening at Yale. An examination of the history and character of Yale prior to the Great Awakening reveals

factors at work that may have played important roles in preparing Yale for the explosion of religious activity sparked by Whitefield and other itinerant evangelists in 1740 and 1741.

From its inception, Yale was steeped in religion. Thomas Clap, Yale's rector during the Great Awakening, noted in his history of Yale, that the overriding purpose of the school was "so the Interest of Religion might be preserved, and the Truth propagated to succeeding generations." The founding and governing body of Yale, known as the Trustees, was composed entirely of clergymen and most graduates became ministers.²

The history of Yale from its founding to the Great Awakening is marked by periods of controversy. During the first twenty years of its existence, the trustees, the faculty, the students, and members of the Connecticut General Assembly fought over where the school should be permanently located.³ After the school was settled at New Haven, controversy continued. The students staged a protest against food and service in the commons in 1721. Clap noted in his history that the students had "contracted such licentious and vicious Habits as were not wholly extirpated out of the College in several years." As a graduate student, Jonathan Edwards wrote that there were:

some monstrous improprieties, and acts of immorality lately committed in the Colledge, particularly stealing of hens, geese, turkies, piggs, meat, wood &c,- unseasonable nightwalking, breaking people's

windows, playing at cards, cursing, swearing, and damning and using all manner of ill language, which never were at such a pitch in the Colledge as they now are.

While the nature of these actions varies dramatically from that of student actions during the Great Awakening, they do show a historical precedent for problems between students and faculty at Yale.⁴

The removal of Timothy Cutler from the rectorship in 1722 also upset the college. The religious faith of Yale was Calvinism. When Cutler, along with tutors Samuel Johnson, a 1714 graduate of Yale and later President of Kings College, and Daniel Browne declared their conversion to Anglicanism, Yale was thrown into an uproar. All three were dismissed or resigned from their positions in October 1722. The Trustees passed new regulations stipulating that future rectors and tutors should "particularly give Satisfaction to them [the Trustees] of the Soundness of their Faith in opposition to Armenian & prelatical Corruptions or any other Dangerous Consequence to the Purity & Peace of our Churches. . ." ⁵ This incident shows how Yale dealt with religious dissent. It established a precedent for handling matters of religion that did not conform to the tradition of Calvinism that existed at Yale.

In addition to the historical precedents for controversy at Yale, the people associated with the school--students, trustees, faculty, clergymen, and alumni--brought with them experiences and ideas which surely influenced the

school and prepared it for the Great Awakening. Yale alumni such as Jonathan Edwards, Eleazar Wheelock, Benjamin Pomeroy, James Davenport, and Joseph Bellamy were some of the most prominent proponents of the Awakening. Samuel Cooke, Anthony Stoddard, and Benjamin Lord were trustees who signed the public statements in support of the Great Awakening in the summer of 1743. At least two of the tutors prior to 1740, Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Lord, were supporters of the Awakening.⁶

Students at Yale in 1740 had been involved in revival experiences before coming to school. Periodic "refreshings" had occurred throughout the history of Connecticut, the most significant being the "Little Awakening" which occurred in the period around 1735-36. Benjamin Trumbull, Yale graduate and Connecticut historian of the early 1800's, noted several Connecticut towns, including New Haven, where the revivals of 1735-36 brought "unusual concern for the salvation of the soul," and "a flocking in to the church."⁷ Trumbull lists several towns where this revival had a significant impact. By comparing this list with a list of students and their hometowns, it can be stated that at least a quarter of the students who attended Yale between 1740 and 1745 came from a town that had experienced significant revival in 1735-36. In all probability, this number is larger.⁸ Clearly, there was a core group of students at Yale familiar with revival.

In addition to experience with revival, students may have brought a sense of pietism and revival spirit imbibed from those who had prepared them for college. A young man wishing to enter Yale had to have some proficiency in classical languages and other subjects. This necessitated a period of schooling under some person with knowledge in this area, usually a pastor. The spirit and propensities of the pastor probably influenced the students. Some of the students at Yale between 1740 and 1745 were trained for Yale by pastors who supported the Great Awakening. One example is Samuel Hopkins. Hopkins was trained for college, along with others, by John Graham, a pastor at Woodbury, Connecticut.⁹ Graham was later an itinerant preacher and supporter of the Great Awakening. Hopkins supported the revival as a student at Yale and later became a disciple of Jonathan Edwards and a theologian of the "New Divinity" that emerged after the Awakening. How many others were similarly influenced is not known.

Student pietism was an important factor that prepared Yale for the Great Awakening. Examples of this pietism exist both in individuals and groups of students. The writings of Jonathan Edwards reveal this pietism on the individual level. Describing an experience in 1720, his last year as an undergraduate at Yale, Edwards said:

The first that I remember that ever I found any thing of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things, that I have lived much

in since, was on reading those words, I Tim. i. 17. 'Now unto the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever, Amen.' As I read the words, there came into my soul, and was as it were diffused thro' it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being.¹⁰

David Brainerd, a student at Yale during the Awakening and later a missionary to the Indians, described a similiar experience while at Yale. Walking and praying alone in a field off campus just prior to the coming of the Awakening to Yale, Brainerd "found such unspeakable Sweetness and Delight in God, that [he] thought, if [he] must continue still in this evil World, [he] wanted always to be there, to behold God's Glory."¹¹

On the group level, the earliest known example is a group of six students from the early 1730's composed of David Ferris, James Davenport, Benjamin Pomeroy, Eleazar Wheelock, Timothy Allen, and David Bliss. This group is identified by Charles Chauncy, arch-critic of the Great Awakening, in his anti-revival essay Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England. Chauncy wrote disparagingly of the group which contained three of the most prominent itinerant evangelists of the Great Awakening in Davenport, Wheelock, and Pomeroy.¹²

Another group is mentioned in the writings of Samuel Hopkins and Jonathan Edwards. This group existed at the arrival of the Awakening in 1740 and included David Brainerd, Samuel Buell, and either Thomas or David Youngs.

Hopkins lists them among "A small number who thought themselves christians before they came to college. . . ." Edwards describes them as a group of "religious Students that associated themselves one with another for mutual Conversation and Assistance in spiritual Things, who were won; freely to open themselves one to another, as special and intimate Friends."¹³ This group is particularly important because it preceded and carried over into the Great Awakening. Buell, a junior the year prior to the Awakening at Yale, wrote Eleazar Wheelock a few months before the first visit of George Whitefield. He reported that "as to religion the Power of it is not very visible in this Place- But I have Good news as to the flourishing of it att New York and Glorious Tidings from Long Island."¹⁴ This statement is significant for the anticipation it expresses within the student pietist, and because it reveals that these students had contact with persons outside the school who were of a like mind.

With Buell and his fellow pietists awaiting its arrival, and all of the other previously mentioned factors having prepared the way, Yale stood ready for the spark that would ignite the Great Awakening fire on the campus. Whitefield would provide the spark, and others would quickly follow to fan the flame.

When Whitefield arrived in New Haven at the end of October 1740, there were approximately seventy-five

students attending Yale. The Rector of the school was Thomas Clap, a Congregational minister from Norwich, Connecticut, who "had established his orthodoxy beyond a measure of doubt." He had been installed as Rector the previous April. He was assisted in his teaching duties by two tutors, Chauncy Whittlesey and Phinehas Lyman, both 1738 graduates of Yale. This group of students and faculty, along with the people of New Haven warmly received Whitefield. Clap welcomed Whitefield as an ally in the battle to convert sinners.¹⁵

Whitefield spoke in the town and to the students in the college hall. In his memoir, Samuel Hopkins, a senior at that time, recalled that Whitefield "preached against mixed dancing and frolicing of males and females together: which practice was then very common in New England. This offended some, especially young people. But I remember I justified him in this in my own mind, and in conversation with those who were disposed to condemn him."¹⁶

Whitefield's preaching set in motion the polarization that eventually took place at Yale. Hopkins noted that the people "flocked to hear him," and were "remarkably attentive: and . . . appeared generally to approve," and yet, "Some disapproved. . . which occasioned considerable dispute."¹⁷ No specific names or groups are mentioned in connection with these disputes, but the seed for future conflict had been planted.

There is very little information regarding specific events at Yale or New Haven immediately following Whitefield's departure. It is apparent, however, that the stir caused by Whitefield continued. Hopkins noted that people in general were much more attentive of religious matters and that this attention was met by more frequent and zealous preaching. He also noted that during that fall and winter of 1740-41, ministers came to New Haven "and preached in a manner so different from what had been usual, that people in general appeared to be in some measure awakened."¹⁸ The arrival of itinerants in New Haven undoubtedly affected the college.

David Brainerd's memoir gives additional insights into the religious feelings experienced in the weeks following Whitefield's visit. He wrote of enjoying "precious Discoveries of God," and how "through the Goodness of God he felt the Power of Religion almost daily, for the Space of six weeks." This section of Brainerd's memoir continued in this fashion until he noted that he became "more cold and dull in Matters of Religion, by Means of my old Temptation, viz. Ambition in my Studies," but then "thro' divine Goodness, a great and general Awakening spread it self over the College, about the latter End of February."¹⁹ This great and general awakening, rising on the chord struck by Whitefield, may have been the result of the expected arrival of Gilbert Tennent, an

itinerant Presbyterian minister from New Jersey.

The arrival of Tennent in March 1741, brought the revival to full fruition at Yale. Tennent preached a series of seventeen sermons, at least three of which were delivered in the college hall. No texts of these sermons exist, but their impact at Yale was great. Tennent's stop in New Haven led directly to disruptions among the students. Rector Clap, recalling Tennent's visit in a letter a year later, after events became tumultuous, wrote that Tennent had gone to "extravagancies" and was the "Leading Cause of all our Difficulties and Confusions."²⁰

The preaching of Tennent ignited student activity on the campus. Hopkins stated that, "The members of college appeared to be universally awakened."²¹ This awakening led to a change in the activities of the students and in the nature of social relationships among the students. The memoir of Samuel Hopkins, a senior, and the diary of John Cleaveland, a freshman, provide the most intimate insights into these changes.

One of the characteristics of the awakened student body was a slacking of social customs that had regulated interaction between students of different class years. The students were too concerned with religious matters to observe customs that restricted their ability to get together. In the aftermath of Tennent's preaching, a group of students led by seniors Buell and Youngs, and

junior David Brainerd, began going from room to room in the college to discuss the spiritual state of the person they visited. These students "discoursed freely and with greatest plainness" to the student they visited, "setting before them their danger, and exhorting them to repent, &c."²² In his diary, Cleaveland makes several references to times when students of different classes met together for prayer, singing, and religious discussion. Not all distinctions and customs were abandoned. Cleaveland, as a freshman, was still subject to the duty of running errands for upperclassmen. In one instance, he expresses exasperation at having to run four different errands on a day with poor weather.²³

Beyond the loosening of social conventions, the activities of the students centered upon religion above all else. Hopkins noted that he "attended private meetings of young people, for prayer, &c. which were frequent then in college, and in the town." Cleaveland frequently cites instances in his diary of student religious activity. On one occasion, "Williams and Field [two freshmen at Yale] supped with me [Cleaveland] and after supper we sat and sang some of Doctor Watts Hymns. . . . Betts [another freshman] prayed with me."²⁴

Rector Clap met the heightened spiritual awareness of the students with a mixed reaction. After one of Tennent's sermons, about thirty students followed Tennent

ten miles on foot to hear him preach again at Milford, Connecticut. These students were fined by Clap for their wandering.²⁵ This reaction by Clap did not, however, stem from a total rejection of revivalistic preaching. Itinerants continued to come to the campus and were even invited to speak in the college hall by Clap.

The most notable itinerant to speak in the college hall after Tennent was Ebenezer Pemberton. His sermon The Knowledge of Christ Recommended is the only New Light itinerant sermon during this period to survive. In this sermon, Pemberton appealed to the students to make "the knowledge of Christ" their "chief study; Your great and principal business." He pointed out "the insufficiency of all human teaching- to deliver you from that depth of misery in which you are involv'd and to guide your feet in the way of peace & safety." Pemberton did not negate the need for learning and study, but declared that a knowledge of Christ must be placed first, and "other studies be managed in such a manner as may subserve this noble Intention."²⁶

Pemberton's message was not intended to question the need for a learned ministry, but it may have planted seeds that would grow into rejection of a learned ministry by some students. These students would miss Pemberton's point of making other knowledge acquired subservient to that of Christ, and reject other knowledge all together. Such an attitude would eventually express itself in students

leaving school to itinerate and act as lay- exhorters, expounding upon scripture without full academic preparation that many felt was essential for teaching and preaching from the Bible.

A letter from Whitefield to the students at both Yale and Harvard in July 1741, emphasized the same points made in Pemberton's sermon. Saying, "A dead ministry will always make a dead people," Whitefield warned the students that, "Learning without piety, will only make you more capable of promoting the kingdom of satan." This letter is also important because it indicates that religious fervor did not diminish over the summer months. During this period, freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and faculty remained in school through the summer months. Seniors were allowed to leave after exams in July and then return for commencement in September. Whitefield's commendation to the students, that "there seems to be a general concern among you about the things of GOD," is the only evidence of attitudes on the campus during the summer of 1741.²⁷

When August arrived at Yale, the ambivalence toward the revival that Rector Clap may have held previously, appears to have vanished when James Davenport came to New Haven. Davenport had made his way to New Haven after travelling with George Whitefield in the middle colonies. Described by Charles Chauncy as "the wildest Enthusiast I ever saw," Davenport carried his message to New Haven,

preaching in his style whereby:

He gave unrestrained liberty to noise and outcry, both of distress and joy, in time of divine service. He promoted both with all his might, raising his voice to the highest pitch, together with the most violent agitations of the body, he united a strange singing tone which mightily tended to raise the feelings of weak and undiscerning people, and consequently to heighten the confusion among the passionate of his hearers.²⁸

In addition to his preaching, which stood in great contrast to the restrained and well-ordered orations that had been common from Congregational pulpits, Davenport also launched an attack on Joseph Noyes, pastor of the First Church in New Haven. Davenport declared Noyes to be an "unconverted" man and a "Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing."²⁹ Because the students were required to attend Sunday service at the First Church, they were aware of the attacks. These attacks by Davenport set an example of divisive behavior. They also turned Clap more decisively against the revival. He saw the attacks as subversive of the social order and Christian decorum, so he rallied to the defense of Noyes.

Events surrounding commencement at Yale during the first weeks of September 1741, reveal the full effect of Davenport and other itinerants on the students and faculty. Daniel Wadsworth, pastor of the First Church in Hartford, in New Haven for the commencement, noted that the preaching of Davenport and other itinerants that were in town at commencement time was causing great consternation. In his diary, he wrote of "Much Confusion this day at New Haven,

and at night ye most strange management and a pretence of religion yt ever I saw."³⁰ Samuel Johnson, the former tutor who had been removed in the Cutler controversy, noted that, "this new enthusiasm, in consequence of Whitefield's preaching through the country and his disciples has got great footing in the College, as well as throughout the country. Many of the scholars have been possessed of it and two of this year's candidates were denied their degrees for their disorderly and restless endeavours to propagate it."³¹

No precise examples of student activities exist. From Johnson's report, it may be inferred that the students who were denied their degrees were engaged in enthusiastic exhorting or preaching. Students may also have been engaging in Davenport's practice of judging the spiritual state of others. This can be inferred from attempts by the Trustees to establish respect for authority. The Trustees passed a new rule at their meeting on September 9, 1741, which declared that "if any Student of this College shall directly or indirectly say, that the Rector, either of the Trustees or Tutors are Hypocrites, carnall or unconverted Men, he Shall for the first Offence make a publick Confession in the Hall & for the Second Offence be expell'd."³²

Part of the commencement exercises was the delivery of the commencement sermon. Jonathan Edwards had been

invited to deliver this address at the 1741 commencement. Edwards had been a driving force behind the 1735-36 revivals. He had written about them in A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God. His presence at Yale was a cause for excitement in light of the attitudes prevailing among the students and faculty. The sermon Edwards delivered at commencement, The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God, was a protracted defense of the Awakening. Saying that the people should "take the Scriptures as our guide," and that, "What the church has been used to, is not the rule by which to judge," Edwards, while acknowledging that there were apparent improprieties associated with the movement, stated that these irregularities in no way meant that the work was not of God. He called upon friends of the Great Awakening to guard against creating "stumbling blocks" by censuring others and "giving too much heed to impulses and strong impressions on their minds." He cautioned those who opposed or were skeptical to reconsider and "not to oppose it, or say anything against it. . . lest they should be found to be opposers of the Holy Ghost."³³

This sermon certainly antagonized Clap, for he was then opposing and attempting to arrest the movement. While Edwards noted apologetically that, "The imprudences and errors that have attended this work are less to be wondered at, if it be considered that it is chiefly young persons

that have been the subjects of it, who have less steadiness and experience, and are in the heat of youth, and much more ready to run to extremes," Clap was attempting to impose order upon these young persons represented by the college students in his charge.³⁴ The differing viewpoints of these two men led to a breach between them that would widen over the years, and never be repaired.

Following the commencement, conditions at Yale began to deteriorate rapidly. Davenport's attacks on Noyes led to Davenport's arraignment before a group of Old Light ministers who opposed the revival. This meeting "broke up in great Consternation."³⁵ Davenport drifted out of New Haven, but his influence lingered. A split formed in the First Church. Over one hundred local residents signed a statement in mid-November complaining about Noyes' preaching. This progressed to a division and the establishment of a separate congregation after the presentation of a memorial for secession at the end of December 1741. This seceding group supported the revival, while Noyes and those who remained opposed it.

The schism occurring in the student's place of worship was matched by conflict on the campus. Using the rule passed at commencement concerning censuring the faculty, Clap expelled David Brainerd, a junior and one of the most promising students, at the end of November. Brainerd had remarked to friends in private that tutor

Chauncy Whittelsey had "no more Grace than this Chair." This remark was overheard by a freshman. The freshman told a woman in town and she told Clap. Clap confronted Brainerd and demanded that he make a public confession. Brainerd refused, because the remark had been made in private. Clap proceeded to expel Brainerd for his refusal to confess, and because Brainerd had attended a meeting of separatists in New Haven. Clap had forbidden attendance at such meetings.³⁶

The expulsion of Brainerd in no way ended the problems at Yale. The next four months at the school resulted in the complete breakdown of faculty control over the students and their activities. Itinerants poured into New Haven, especially after the separation occurring in the First Church. The separatists held their own services, and depended upon itinerants to fill the pulpit. Though forbidden by Clap to attend the meetings, the students went anyway. Throughout January, February, and March of 1742, students heard itinerants such as Jedediah Mills and Joseph Bellamy. Bellamy even visited the campus.³⁷ Besides attending meetings of separatists, students also resisted attending services at the First Church. Some cast aspersions upon the preaching of Mr. Noyes. Many students felt that Mr. Noyes' sermons lacked power when compared to those preached by itinerants. In one particular case, "Mr. Clap fined Hawley [Joseph Hawley, a senior] five

Shillings for speaking the truth in the Hall: and the truth was that he stayed home because of the coldness of the air and of the preacher [Mr. Noyes]."³⁸

Clap responded vigorously to the student uprising. He handed out fines to discourage student attendance at separatist meetings. When he lectured the students, Clap spoke for the old way and denounced the revival and its proponents. In one lecture, Clap talked, "as if these people were quakers, who go under the name of New Lights..." and accused them of taking an "oath against the religion of the country, and also he [Clap] said it would not do for the Colony to bring up or the Colony would not bring up Scholars to swear against the Religion of the Colony."³⁹

In addition to speaking personally against the revival, Clap invited other anti-Awakening persons to speak. The most notable was Isaac Stiles. He delivered the first published attack on the revival, A Prospect of the City of Jerusalem, at the election in May 1742. This sermon, perhaps typical of the one spoken at his visit to Yale, called for a return to the old order and decried the actions and results of the Great Awakening. He began by pointing out the orderliness of the universe. From this, he drew the conclusion that, "In a resembling manner there is (at least there ought to be) Unity, Uniformity, Peace, maintained and cultivated among Christians." After this appeal for orderliness, Stiles leveled a broadside against

the revival. He attacked the religious enthusiasm of the revival, saying that its practitioners "are easily led aside by. . . their own imagination. . . and are hurried on by a blind and furious Zeal, a Zeal falsely so called."⁴⁰

Continuing his attack, he spoke against itineracy, calling itinerants "wandering Stars." He declared, "A Church-rending, unpeaceable, Party Spirit is certainly a bad Spirit," and attacked meetings of separatists as "subversive of Peace, Discipline, and government." Having noted that the government was of divine origin, Stiles called for the government to intervene to reestablish the old order, asking was the revival "not an Iniquity to be Punished by the Judges." So furious was Stiles' attack, that one hearer remarked, that "he had never before seen the artillery of heaven so turned against itself."⁴¹

Despite the fines against attending separatist meetings and the verbal attacks on the Great Awakening, both personal and through others like Stiles, Clap was not absolutely consistent in dealing with student offenders. In one instance, Clap forgave a student named Throops [William Throop, a junior?] for attending a meeting of the First Church separates. No reason is given for this action. It may have stemmed from an attitude that Clap expressed in a letter a few months later. He wrote, that he "never tho[ugh]t that the fault was originally much in the Scholars, but principally in others who think That Religion

is but promoted by Comotions, separations, overturnings and the like, and who have done their utmost endeavour to bring the Scholars over to their Party."⁴²

Clap was also not consistent in preventing itinerant preaching on the campus or in the college hall. As noted earlier, Joseph Bellamy visited the students. Jonathan Parsons, another itinerant, preached in the college hall, and then preached at the separatist meeting.⁴³ If Clap was as opposed to itineracy and separatism as his statements and actions indicate, his allowing continued itinerant activity on campus must have resulted from lack of knowledge of the action, or lack of legal means by which to prevent it.

While the turmoil on campus caused great consternation among many, others saw great advantage in the troubles facing Yale. For some years, there had been a small Anglican element in the student body. While there was a confession of orthodoxy to Calvinism required of the faculty, none was required of the students. One of these Anglican students, William Samuel Johnson, a signer of the Constitution, saw an opportunity to make converts to the Church of England. He wrote his father, Samuel Johnson, the Yale graduate, and requested a copy of Daniel Whitby's anti-Calvinist tract Discourse Concerning . . . Election and Reprobation to share with fellow students. In another instance, a Moravian came to the school and requested to

speak in the hall, but was denied by Clap. That night, he visited a student meeting "and one of the Seniors asked him to pray and after prayer he asked for a Bible and when he had obtained [one], he read in 2nd of Titus and so in his way preached until Mr. Whittelsey sent for the people to come down, and so he broke off and blessed them and as he went from college he shook off the dirt from his feet."⁴⁴

Clap gradually lost control over the campus. Some students had been intimidated by his tactics earlier. When it came to attending separate meetings, some were "almost resolved to go Let what would fall out, but. . . had not the courage to do it." As time passed, however, even these students ventured out and "went. . . to the separate [meeting] to hear Mr. Bellamy."⁴⁵ Students also began "to go about the Town of Newhauen as well as in other Towns, and before greate Numbers of people, to teach & Exhort."⁴⁶ One such student totally abandoned his studies and set himself out as an itinerant. In Boston, he preached to Benjamin Coleman, a minister there, who wrote to George Whitefield that the student seemed "to be greatly Spirited to serve Souls but wanting Furniture."⁴⁷

With things getting completely out of hand, Clap decided to take drastic action and closed the campus. He sent the students home at the beginning of April 1742. This action appears to have diffused the tension on campus. It also gave Clap and his supporters a chance to regroup

and develop strategy. A General Assembly committee investigation into the causes of the closing exonerated Clap of any wrong-doing. In order to bolster Clap's position when school reopened, the committee "recommended to the Governours of the College to take a special care to uphold Order and Government in that Society, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the Scholars from running into errors, Disorders &c. and those who would not be Subject should not enjoy the Priviliges of that Society &c." As a further measure, it was also recommended that the General Assembly subsidize the scheme of bringing guest ministers that Clap had carried out earlier. These "Graue Devins" were to "repayer to Newhauen, and there Instruct the Scholars by theire Sermons." This recommendation was never acted upon and Clap never received the subsidy.⁴⁸

Of more importance to the situation at Yale was the passage of the Anti-Itineracy Act in May 1742. This act fined Connecticut ministers £ 100 for entering the parish of another to preach or exhort without permission. Preachers from outside the colony were classified as vagrants and deported for the same offense.⁴⁹ Since New Haven was dominated by Old Light ministers, fewer itinerants would be allowed into the area and consequently, fewer would come in contact with the Yale students. This act provided a legal ground for excluding unwanted New Light speakers from the campus.

Armed with the support of the General Assembly and the new law, Clap reopened the school sometime around the end of May 1742.⁵⁰ The dismissal of school seems to have accomplished its purpose. Clap remarked, "The Scholars of late seem to [be] much more cool, submissive and orderly than they were before the Vacancy [vacation], and some that I have discoursed with freely acknowledge their fault and promise Reformation."⁵¹ Further aiding the cooling of student reaction was the formation of a radical New Light school in New London, Connecticut, called the Shepherd's Tent. This school drew away some of the more volatile students at Yale, and aided the calming process. The number of students that withdrew from Yale to attend the Shepherd's Tent is unknown. The only two students to be identified as having done so were John Brainerd and Elihu Spencer, both from the Class of 1746.⁵²

With classes reopened, Yale entered a period of relative tranquility that lasted until the Fall of 1744. There were only a few minor incidents. Almost immediately after school was reopened, Clap exercised the legal power of the Anti-Itineracy Act by forbidding Eleazar Wheelock to speak to the students at the college. Wheelock was in New Haven acting as the pastor for the separate group from the First Church. In another incident, a sophomore was suspended for saying that the preaching of Mr. Noyes at the First Church, "had a direct tendency to lead souls to Hell."

In January 1743, John Brainerd and Elihu Spencer, having become "weary" of life at the Shepherds's Tent, returned to Yale.⁵³

The commencement ceremonies of 1743 and 1744 provide two additional incidents of interest. At the first, David Brainerd appeared seeking to make amends and obtain a degree. He approached Clap and tendered an apology to the Rector and Mr. Whittelsey. He asked "the Forgiveness of the Governors of the College and of the whole Society; but of Mr. Whittelsey in particular." Attempts were then made to obtain a degree for Brainerd, who would have graduated that year. Clap and the Trustees were willing to grant the degree if Brainerd would return to school for one year. Brainerd refused this offer, however, because of a commitment to a group in Scotland.⁵⁴

At the 1744 commencement, Samuel Buell, another student who had caused Clap trouble, appeared and desired to pursue a master's degree. Buell had been irregularly ordained a minister, and there was some question regarding his eligibility. The Trustees voted to allow him to pursue the degree. At the same time, the Trustees passed a new rule and put it into effect for the 1744-45 school year. This rule set the maximum age for entering freshmen at twenty-one. This measure had its roots in the problems experienced with David Brainerd and Samuel Buell. Both had been over twenty-one when they first entered school. Their

age had made them leaders among the students. The Trustees sought to curb similiar problems in the future.⁵⁵

As seen from these examples, the two year period from the summer of 1742 until the commencement in 1744 was a time of relative conciliation on the part of Clap and the Trustees. The students were also calm. During this period, the sons of three strong New Light ministers, Samuel Cooke, John Graham, and Jedediah Mills entered the school. Clap noted, "None of the Scholars that I know of any way Interest themselves in the Differences at New Haven, and I hear no Disputes about any thing." There had been a slight disturbance raised by some outside the college. They claimed that the school and Mr. Whittelsey, the tutor, were guilty of "spreading of Arminian Principles," but this charge was refuted and the protest dissipated.⁵⁶

With the calm and order then prevailing on campus, the events that began unfolding after commencement in 1744 seem incongruous. At this time, a new wave of polarization formed on the campus. During the break following commencement, two brothers, John Cleaveland, a junior, whose diary from his freshman year is so valuable to this study, and Ebenezer Cleaveland, a freshman, returned to their home in Canterbury, Connecticut. The church in that town was severely split over Great Awakening issues. New Light separatists were in the majority, but Old Light members retained control of the church facilities by marshalling

support from government and ecclesiastical authorities. Solomon and Elisha Paine, two uncles of the Cleaveland brothers, conducted the separatist meeting in Canterbury. The Paines were lay-exhorters, neither having been trained for the ministry or licensed to preach. While the Cleaveland brothers were home, they attended the meetings of the separated group with their parents.⁵⁷

When the Cleaveland brothers returned to school in mid-November, they were confronted by Clap, who had been informed of their attendance at the separate meeting. Clap smashed the spirit of calmness and reconciliation that had prevailed on campus for almost two years. He and the tutors demanded a public confession of guilt and a declaration against the activities of the Canterbury separatists from the brothers on threat of expulsion. The Cleavelands readily admitted attending the meetings, but refused to admit any fault. They were summarily expelled from the college.⁵⁸

The expulsion of the Cleavelands hit like a thunderbolt and caused an explosion of protest from students and the community alike. In an ensuing war of writing, several important issues were debated. Some of these issues had been raised earlier, and lay at the heart of the conflict that had shaken Yale and society.

An anonymous letter in the New York Post-Boy raised the first issue. The writer declared, "Had the civil

Magistrate undertaken the Affair. . . that might have been just, but for a College to inflict so cruel a Punishment for a Crime not committed within their jurisdiction, and for which they had not the least Glimpse of Authority, is not a little surprising. . . . " A letter the following day likened the act to "Popery."⁵⁹ John Cleaveland contended that he "always thought that when we were out of New-Haven we had full liberty to go to what meeting we pleased without a thought of transgressing any College law. Even supposing it were a Baptists' or Quaker's meeting, but especially where the major part of the Church had. . . the same persuasion with ourselves."⁶⁰

Clap responded by citing the General Assembly report from May 1742. Recalling the injunction, "That all proper Care should be taken to prevent the Scholars from imbibing. . . Errors," and that the charter of the college charged the school, "To Train up a Succession of Learned and Orthodox Ministers," Clap inveighed against separatism, especially the case in Canterbury. He charged that the Cleaveland brothers, "had imbibed and practiced sundry of those Principles and Errors," which Clap accused the Paines of espousing. Declaring that "the Laws of the Colony were the Laws of the College," Clap stated that it would be "a Contradiction in the Civil Government, to Support a College to Educate Students to trample upon their own Laws," and that it made no difference where the students

broke "the Laws of God and the Civil Government. . . since the pernicious Consequences thereof to the College & Religion will be just the same."⁶¹ Clap stood firmly on the old ideal of Calvinism in which the trinity of church, state, and school stood as three distinct entities, yet were part of an organic whole in which corruption of one part of necessity infected all the others.

Freedom of conscience and religious liberty were also at issue in the Cleaveland affair. The Cleavelands asserted the legitimacy of attending the separate meeting by noting that those who had separated constituted the majority of the church. Furthermore, they pointed out that the Canterbury separatists adhered to the principles of the Cambridge Platform, which was then "under the countenance of the Laws of the Colony." More importantly, the Cleaveland's asserted, ". . .we do look upon ourselves in this respect to be moral agents, capable of trying things (in religion) for ourselves."⁶²

Clap articulated the Old Light position, stating, "That neither the major part of the Members in full Communion, nor any other person in any Parish or Society, have any right or warrant, to appoint any House or Place for Worship on the Sabbath," and that "all such Places & separate Meetings are prohibited by the ancient Laws of this Government." Asserting the preservation of the standing order over freedom of conscience, Clap appealed to

Biblical injunctions for Christian unity to state,
". . . nothing can justify a Division or Separation, but
only some plain and express Direction in the Word of God;
which must be understood as a particular Exception from
the Rule."⁶³

The Cleaveland controversy also raised the issue
of the need for learned ministers. The practice of lay-
exhorting, as exemplified in this case by the Paines,
called into question the chief reason for Yale's existence.
Using the example of the Paines, Clap lashed out at this
practice. He asserted, that lay-exhorting was "without
any Scripture Warrant and is Subversive of the standing
Order of a Learned Gospel Ministry, and naturally tends to
introduce spiritual Pride, Enthusiasm and all manner of
Disorders into the Christian Church."⁶⁴

Despite protests from the students, protests from
the community, and appeals from the tutors for a more
lenient punishment, Clap held firm on the expulsions. A
petition to the General Assembly in April 1745, seeking
their reinstatement failed, because of Old Light predom-
inance in the Assembly. Clap later sought to further
justify his action. He claimed that the Cleavelands were
expelled primarily for casting aspersions on Old Light
ministers in Windham County, near their hometown of
Canterbury. The seniors at Yale had responded to the ex-
pulsions by having John Locke's Essay on Toleration

reprinted and circulated. Clap attempted to deny a degree to one of the seniors who had led this effort. When the student hired a lawyer and threatened to pursue the case until it reached the King in Council, Clap relented and issued the degree to the student.⁶⁵

The last major incident of the Great Awakening at Yale was a faculty attack on George Whitefield. Whitefield was denied permission to speak in the First Church or in the college when he stopped in New Haven on his second tour in June 1745. He was forced to preach from a platform on the town green. The crowd would have more than filled the church or the college hall.

The attack on Whitefield occurred in February 1745, in the middle of the Cleaveland episode. Clap and the tutors issued an essay that charged Whitefield with scheming "to turn the generality of Ministers out of their Places, and to introduce a new Sett of such as should be in a peculiar Manner attach'd to you." This charge stemmed from an incident involving Clap and Jonathan Edwards, in which Clap had accused Edwards of conspiring with Whitefield to throw out settled ministers and replace them with clergymen from England, Scotland, and Ireland. An angry pamphlet war resulted, but Yale was not directly involved in the issue.⁶⁶

The second charge leveled against Whitefield did pertain to Yale. Whitefield was accused of trying to

"subvert our Colleges, and to introduce a Sett of Ministers into our Churches, by other Ways and Means of Education." Whitefield's journal of his first tour had been published and read in the colonies. Clap took exception to Whitefield's statement, "As to the Universities, I believe it may be truly said, that the Light in them is now become Darkness, even thick Darkness that may be felt." Clap acknowledged past incidences of vice at Yale, but asserted that since the turmoil of the revival, the school "was upon several Accounts in a worse State than it was before." Clap charged Whitefield with instigating "Enthusiastic Errors and Disorders," and rendering "the Government and Instruction of the College, for a while, far more difficult than it was before." As Louis Tucker, Clap's biographer notes, Whitefield did not dine at Clap's home during his second visit.⁶⁷

The second visit of George Whitefield marks the end of significant religious conflict over the Great Awakening at Yale. It served as the climax of polarization of the faculty and the students. Over a four and a half year period, Yale had passed from indifference toward the revival to a wide divergence of opinion between the faculty and the students. Students had engaged in a full range of revival activity. They had been more concerned about their personal devotional life, had preached in the streets as lay-exhorters and itinerants, and had revolted against the

established authority of the school. The faculty, led by Clap, had meted out a full range of repressive measures to arrest the student activity. They fined, lectured, suspended, and expelled students in their efforts. All of the issues of the Great Awakening--separatism, freedom of conscience, a learned ministry, itineracy, enthusiasm, and lay-exhorting--had been articulated and acted upon at Yale.

The polarization existing at Whitefield's second visit eventually dissipated. Tensions in the college and in society cooled. Rapprochements were made between old antagonists. Clap and Whitefield became friends, so that when Whitefield toured New England a third time in 1754, Clap invited him to preach at the college. Whitefield was treated "much like a Gentleman." The Cleavelands eventually received degrees without ever returning to classes.⁶⁸ The school climate changed and the revivalistic fires died down, but during those years from 1740-1745, Yale experienced unparalleled turmoil as it wrestled with the Great Awakening.

NOTES

¹ No narrative works deal specifically with Yale during the time of the Great Awakening. General references to campus events can be found in: Edwin S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957); Brooks M. Kelley, Yale: a History (New Haven, 1974); Louis Tucker, Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College (Chapel Hill, 1962); and Benjamin Trumbull, A Complete History of Connecticut (New York, 1972 reprint of the 1818 ed.). The most important source of primary documents is Stephen Nissenbaum, ed., The Great Awakening at Yale College (Belmont, Calif., 1972). The microprint collection, Early American Imprints 1639-1800, from the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass., and Franklin B. Dexter, Documentary History of Yale University 1701-1745 (New York, 1969), are also valuable sources of primary documents. The account of George Whitefield's first visit is found in, George Whitefield, "A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal from a Few Days after His Return to Georgia to His Arrival at Falmouth on the 11th of March, 1741," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed., Stephen Nissenbaum (Belmont, Calif., 1972), 22-24.

² Thomas Clap, The Annals or History of Yale College 1700-1766 (New Haven, 1766), 2. For the number of preachers in early graduating classes, see Anson P. Stokes, Memorials of Eminent Yale Men (New Haven, 1914), 136, 136n.

³ For specific information on the troubles of Yale in its early years, see Samuel Johnson, "Some Historical Remarks Concerning the Collegiate School of Connecticut in New Haven," in Documentary History of Yale University 1701-1745, ed., Franklin B. Dexter (New York, 1969), 148-63.

⁴ Jonathan Edwards, "Letter of Jonathan Edwards, March 1, 1721," in Documentary History, ed., Dexter, 210; Clap, Annals, 29; Edwards, "Letter. . . March 1, 1721," 211.

⁵ "Proceedings of the Trustees, October 17-22, 1722," in Documentary History, ed., Dexter, 233.

⁶ Nissenbaum, ed., The Great Awakening at Yale College, 259.

⁷ Benjamin Trumbull, A Complete History of Connecticut (New York, 1972 reprint of 1818 edition), II, 141

⁸ Trumbull, History, II, 140; Nissenbaum, ed., The Great Awakening at Yale College, 254-58.

⁹ Samuel Hopkins, "Sketches of the Life of the Late, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., . . . Written by Himself," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed., Nissenbaum, 15.

¹⁰ Samuel Hopkins, "The Life and Character of the Late Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards," in Jonathan Edwards: a Profile, ed. David Levin (New York, 1969), 26.

¹¹ Jonathan Edwards, ed., "An Account of the Life of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd. . . Chiefly Taken from His Own Diary, and Other Private Writings, . . .," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 49.

¹² Charles Chauncy, "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England," in School of the Prophets: Yale College 1701-1740, Richard Warch (New Haven, 1973), 169. For further discussion of Chauncy's work, see Edwin S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957), 92-98.

¹³ Hopkins, "Sketches," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 17; Edwards, ed., "Life of Brainerd," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 144.

¹⁴ Samuel Buell to Eleazar Wheelock, 2 March 1740, in Richard Warch, School of the Prophets, 313.

¹⁵ The names and numbers of students and faculty are taken from lists in Clap, Annals, 92-112; Louis Tucker, Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College (Chapel Hill, 1962), xv.

¹⁶ Hopkins, "Sketches," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 16.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 17.

¹⁹ Edwards, ed., "Life of Brainerd," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 51.

²⁰ Thomas Clap to Solomon Williams, 16 July 1742, Glatz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 175.

- 21 Hopkins, "Sketches," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 17.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Diary of John Cleaveland, Yale Archives photostat, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 149 (Jan. 28), 151 (Feb. 6), 154 (Feb. 24), 147 (Jan. 19).
- 24 Hopkins, "Sketches," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 18; Cleaveland Diary in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 148 (Jan. 21).
- 25 Gilbert Tennent to George Whitefield, 25 April 1741, Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, LIII, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 27; Edwards, ed., "Life of Brainerd," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 145.
- 26 Ebenezer Pemberton, "The Knowledge of Christ Recommended, in a Sermon Preach'd in the Public Hall at Yale-College in New Haven: April 19, 1741," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 30; Ibid., 31; Ibid., 33.
- 27 George Whitefield to the Students at Harvard and Yale, July 1741, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 25; The school calender is discussed in Brooks M. Kelly, Yale: A History (New Haven, 1974), 85; Whitefield to Students, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 25.
- 28 Charles Chauncy, in Trumbull, History, II, 126.
- 29 Thomas Clap to the Boston Post-Boy, 5 October 1741, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 113.
- 30 George L. Walker, ed., "Diary of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, Seventh Pastor of the First Church of Christ in Hartford, 1737-1747," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 55.
- 31 Samuel Johnson to George Berkley, 3 October 1741, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 57.
- 32 "Proceedings of the Trustees, 9 September 1741," in Documentary History, ed. Dexter, 351.
- 33 Jonathan Edwards, "The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God," in Works of Jonathan Edwards, gen. ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, 1972), vol. 4: The Great Awakening, by C.C. Goen, 228; Ibid., 274; Ibid., 278;

Ibid., 274-75;

34 Ibid., 269.

35 Thomas Clap to the Boston Post-Boy, 5 October 1741, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 115.

36 Edwards, ed., "Life of Brainerd," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 143-45.

37 Cleaveland Diary, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 155 (Mar. 1).

38 Ibid., 151 (Feb. 5).

39 Ibid., 150 (Feb. 1).

40 Isaac Stiles, A Prospect of the City of Jerusalem (New London, Conn., 1742), 16; Ibid., 40.

41 Ibid., 24; Ibid., 56; Ibid., 58; Ibid., 46; Trumbull, History, II, 167.

42 Cleaveland Diary, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 157 (Mar. 18); Thomas Clap to Solomon Williams, 8 June 1742, Glatz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 170.

43 Cleaveland Diary, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 157 (Mar. 20).

44 Tucker, Puritan Protagonist, 125n.; Cleaveland Diary, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 151-52 (Feb. 9).

45 Ibid., 149 (Jan. 27); Ibid., 154 (Mar. 1).

46 "Report of a Committee of the Connecticut General Assembly, on a Passage Relating to the College in Governor Law's Speech," 13 May 1742, in Documentary History, ed. Dexter, 357.

47 Benjamin Coleman to George Whitefield, 3 June 1742, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 168.

48 Thomas Clap to Solomon Williams, 8 June 1742, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 169; "Report of a Committee," in Documentary History, ed. Dexter, 358; Clap to Williams, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 170.

- 49 "An Act for regulating Abuses and correcting Disorders in Ecclesiastical Affairs" [Anti-Itineracy Act], in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 136-139.
- 50 Clap to Williams, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 170.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Richard Warch, "The Shepherd's Tent: Education and Enthusiasm in the Great Awakening," American Quarterly 30 (Summer 1978): 135.
- 53 Eleazar Wheelock to His Wife, Dartmouth College MSS, 28 June 1742, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 173; Tucker, Puritan Protagonist, 139; Warch, "Tent," American Quarterly, 135.
- 54 Edwards, ed., "Life of Brainerd," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 200; Ibid., 201.
- 55 "Proceedings of the Trustees," 12 September 1744, in Documentary History, ed. Dexter, 365.
- 56 Thomas Clap to Eleazar Wheelock, 17 November 1743, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 204; ibid.; Ibid., 205.
- 57 Nissenbaum, ed., The Great Awakening at Yale College 219-220; Christopher Jedrey, The World of John Cleaveland (New York, 1979), 36-37.
- 58 Ibid., 36-40.
- 59 Letter to the New York Post-Boy, 17 March 1745, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 222; Letter to the New York Post-Boy, 18 March 1745, in Tucker, Puritan Protagonist, 140.
- 60 John Cleaveland, "A Just Narrative of the Proceedings," Essex Institute MSS, in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 239.
- 61 Thomas Clap et al., "The Judgement of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College, Concerning Two of the Students Who Were Expelled; Together with the Reasons of It," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 231; Ibid.; Ibid., 226; John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, "Memorial to the General Assembly," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 248-49; Clap et al., "Judgement," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed.

Nissenbaum, 231.

⁶² Cleaveland, "Just Narrative," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 235.

⁶³ Clap et al., "Judgement," in The Great Awakening at Yale College, ed. Nissenbaum, 228-29; Ibid., 229

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Tucker, Puritan Protagonist, 140n.; Ibid., 171.

⁶⁶ The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale-College in New Haven Against Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, His Principles and Designs. In a letter to him, (Boston, 1745), 4; Tucker, Puritan Protagonist, 137-138, 137n., 138n.

⁶⁷ Declaration, 10; Ibid.; Ibid., 11; Tucker, Puritan Protagonist, 143.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 143n.; Ibid., 141.

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