

The Life of George Whitefield

The Moorfields Preacher

**THE LIFE OF GEORGE
WHITEFIELD.**
THE
MOORFIELDS PREACHER:
BEING
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND LABOURS
OF
GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

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Quinta Press has published the Works of George Whitefield on CDROM and is working on a complete printed edition.

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THE LIFE OF

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH (1714) TO HIS EMBARKING FOR
GEORGIA (1737).

THIS eminent and pious servant of Christ, Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, was born at Gloucester, on the sixteenth day of December, O. S. 1714, His father, Thomas Whitefield, nephew of Mr. Samuel Whitefield, of Rockhampton, in Gloucestershire,* was at first a wine merchant in Bristol; but afterwards kept an inn in the city of Gloucester. In Bristol he married Elizabeth Edwards, who was related to the Blackwells and the Dimours of that city, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. Of these, George was the youngest, who, being bereaved

* Mr. Samuel Whitefield, great-grandfather of George, was born at Wantage in Berkshire, and was rector of North Ledyard in Wiltshire, He removed afterwards to Rockhampton. He had five daughters, two of whom were married to clergymen, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Lovingham; and two sons, Samuel, who succeeded his father in the cure of Rockhampton, and died without issue; and Andrew, who was a private gentleman, and lived retired upon his estate, Andrew had fourteen children, of whom Thomas was the eldest, the father of Mr. George Whitefield.

of his father when only two years old, was regarded by his mother with a peculiar tenderness, and educated with more than ordinary care.

He was early under religious impressions; but the bent of his nature, and the general course of his younger years, as he himself acknowledges with expressions of shame and self-condemnation, was of a very different kind.

Between the years of twelve and fifteen he made good progress in the Latin classics at the public school, and his eloquence began to appear in the speeches which he delivered at the annual visitations. When he was about fifteen years of age, he declined the pursuit of learning, and talked of getting an education that would better fit him for business. During this period he still continued to reside with his mother, and as her circumstances were not then so easy as before, he did not scruple to assist her in the business of the tavern. But the prevailing bent of his mind began now strongly to discover itself; for he composed several sermons, one of which he dedicated to his eldest brother, and after having visited him at Bristol, he came home with a resolution to abandon his present employment, and to turn his thoughts a different way,

After this, being for some time disengaged from every pursuit, and but poorly supported out of his mother's scanty subsistence, he was in no small danger of being utterly ruined by the influence of his former companions; hut it pleased God to break the snare by filling him with an abhorrence of their evil deeds, and from the age of seventeen he became more and more watchful over both his heart and conversation.

At eighteen he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he was again exposed to the society of the wicked;

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but remembering his former danger and deliverance, by the grace of God, he resisted all their solicitations, and cultivated an acquaintance with the Methodists, as the only persons whose daily life testified to the reality of their profession.

It would be going beyond our purpose to give an account of the rise of Methodism; but it may not be improper to notice the spirit of the age when it first appeared. At that time practical Christianity was in a very low condition, was become quite unfashionable, and the only thing insisted on was a defence of the out-works of Christianity against the objections of infidels, What was the consequence? The writings of infidels multiplied every day, and infidelity made rapid progress among persons of every rank, not because they were reasoned into it by the force of argument, but because they were kept strangers to Christ and the power of the gospel. We have a most affecting description of this by Bishop Butler, whom none will suspect of exaggerating the fact:—"It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." Such was the state of religion in England, and Scotland was greedily swallowing down the poison, when it pleased God to raise up the Methodists, as instruments to revive His work in the midst of abounding impiety, and to bring multitudes who had scarcely a form

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of godliness to experience its quickening and renewing power.

Happy was it for Mr. Whitefield that he became acquainted with Mr. Charles Wesley, by whom he was treated with particular kindness, and from whose teaching he derived such benefit, that he always accounted him his spiritual father. And Mr. Wesley's reciprocal affection for him stands recorded in the verses at the beginning of Mr. Whitefield's second and third journals.

Like the other Methodists, Mr. Whitefield now began to live by rule, and to improve every moment of his time to the best advantage, He visited the sick and the jail prisoners, and read to the poor, For daring to be thus singularly religious, he soon incurred the displeasure of his fellow-students, and felt the effects of it in their unkind behaviour. In the mean time, he was greatly distressed with melancholy thoughts, which were augmented by excessive bodily austerities. And at last, by reading, and perhaps misunderstanding some mystic writers, he was driven to imagine that the best method he could take was to shut himself up in his study, till he had perfectly mortified his own will, and was enabled to do good without any mixture of corrupt motives, He likewise imagined that he must relinquish external duties and public worship; and lastly (which was no small trial and affliction to him), that he must deny himself the pleasure of conversing with his religious friends. In this pitiable state of mind, Mr. Charles Wesley found him one day, when he went to see him; apprised him of his danger if he persisted in that way of life, and recommended to him his brother as a person of greater experience, who readily gave him from time to time his friendly advice. Soon

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after this, however, he carried his abstinence and fasting to such an extreme, that his body became so emaciated and feeble that he could hardly walk upstairs. His tutor therefore thought proper to call a physician, and it appeared by the event that he had rightly judged in doing so; for it pleased God to make the physician's care and medicines successful to his recovery.

His bodily health being restored, his soul was likewise filled with peace and joy in believing on the Son of God. This joy was so great for some time that, go where he would, he could not help praising God continually in his heart, and with some difficulty restrained himself from doing it aloud, As he was urged to go into the country for confirming his health, he returned to his native air at Gloucester, where (his mind being now happily enlightened) he preferred the sacred writings to all other books, and read them with constant prayer, in which exercise he found unspeakable delight and benefit. But inclination conspired with duty to hinder him from confining his religion to himself, Having a heart formed for society and friendship, he could not now think of shutting himself up in his closet, but made it his business to converse with young persons about his own age, in order to awaken in them concern about their souls. God was pleased soon to give success to his endeavours this way; for several of them joined with him, and notwithstanding the contempt they knew it would bring upon them, met together from time to time for religious exercises. He also read to some poor people in the town twice or thrice a week, and to the prisoners in the county gaol every day.

Being now about twenty-one years of age, he was sent for by Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, who told him

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that though he had purposed to ordain none under three-and-twenty, yet he should reckon it his duty to ordain him whenever he applied.

His behaviour on this occasion was very exemplary. He examined himself by the qualifications of a minister mentioned in the New Testament, and by the questions that he knew were to be put to him, On the Saturday he was much in prayer for himself and those who were to be ordained with him. On the morning of his ordination (which was at Gloucester, Sunday, June 20, 1736), he rose early, and again read, with prayer, St. Paul's epistles to Timothy.

The Sunday following he preached his sermon on *The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society* to a very crowded auditory; and that same week he set out for Oxford, whither he inclined to go, rather than to the parish which the bishop would have given him, because it was the place where he might best prosecute his studies, and where he hoped his labours might be most useful, Concerning this he writes—"Last Sunday, in the afternoon, I preached my first sermon in the church where I was baptized, and also first received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Curiosity drew a large congregation together. The sight at first a little awed me. But I was comforted with a heart-felt sense of the divine presence; and soon found the advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking when a boy at school, and of exhorting and teaching the prisoners, and the poor people at their private houses whilst at the university. By these means I was kept from being daunted overmuch. As I proceeded, I perceived the fire kindled, till at last, though so young, and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in

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my childish days, I trust I was enabled to speak with some degree of gospel authority. Some few mocked, but most for the present seemed struck; and I have since heard that a complaint had been made to the bishop that I drove fifteen mad the first sermon. The worthy prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday.”*

Soon after this he was invited to officiate at the chapel of the Tower of London. The first time he preached in London was August, 1736, at Bishopsgate Church. Having a very young look, the people were surprised at his appearance, and seemed to sneer as he went up to the pulpit; but they had not heard him long when their contempt was turned into esteem, and their smiles into grave attention. He continued at the Tower two months, preaching, catechising, and visiting the soldiers; and several serious young men came to hear his morning discourses on the Lord’s-day. In the mean time, the letters which the Messrs. Wesley and Ingham wrote home from Georgia made him long to go and preach the gospel in those parts; yet he waited till the Lord should make his way more clear, and returning to Oxford he found himself very happy in his former employments, and had much pleasure in the company of some religious young men who met together in his room every day.

In November, 1736, he was again called from Oxford to minister at Dummer in Hampshire. This was a new sphere of action among poor illiterate people; but he was soon reconciled to it, and thought he reaped no small profit by conversing with them. Nevertheless, he continued his studies with unwearied application, dividing

* Letter xvi.

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the day into three parts, eight hours for sleep and meals, eight for public prayers, catechising, and visiting, and eight for study and retirement, During his stay here he was invited to a very profitable curacy in London, but did not accept of it, as he was still intent upon going abroad. At length the way seemed open to him, for he received letters, containing what he thought to be an invitation to go to Georgia, from Mr. John Wesley, whose brother came over about this time to procure more labourers. It is easy to judge how readily this proposal would be embraced; and now that he thought himself clearly called (many things concurring to make his stay at home less necessary), he set his affairs in order, and in January, 1737, went to take leave of his friends in Gloucester and Bristol. At Gloucester, the congregations when he preached were very large and very serious. At Bristol, many persons were forced to return from the churches where he was invited to preach for want of room. He went also to Bath, where he was kindly received, and preached twice. But he did not stay long at any of these places, being obliged to go to Oxford about the latter end of February, from whence he came up to London to wait upon General Oglethorpe and the trustees for Georgia. He was soon introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who both approved of his going abroad. While he continued in London, waiting for General Oglethorpe, he preached more frequently than he had done before, and greater numbers of people flocked to hear him. But finding that the General was not likely to sail for some time, and being under particular obligations to Mr. Sampson Harris, minister at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire, he went at his request to supply his

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place, till he should dispatch some affairs in London. There he was very happy in his public ministrations, but especially in his retirements, which he used afterwards to reflect upon with great satisfaction, On Mr. Harris's return, he left Stonehouse, and upon repeated invitations went a second time to Bristol, where he preached as usual about five times a week. Here the multitudes of his hearers still increased.* "Some hung upon the rails, others climbed up the leads of the church, and all together made the church itself so hot with their breath, that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain." He was attended by persons of all ranks and denominations, Private religious societies were formed, a collection for the poor prisoners in Newgate was made twice or thrice a week, and large inducements offered to prevent him from going abroad. During his stay at Bristol, which was from the end of May to the 21st of June, he paid a second short visit to Bath, where the people crowded, and were seriously affected as at Bristol, and no less than £160 was collected for the poor of Georgia,

June 21st, he preached his farewell sermon at Bristol, and towards the end of the discourse, when he came to tell them, "it might be they would see him no more," the whole congregation was exceedingly affected—high and low, young and old, burst into a flood of tears. Multitudes after sermon followed him home weeping, and the next day he was employed from seven in the morning till midnight in talking and giving advice to those who came to him about the salvation of their souls and eternal things.

From Bristol he went to Gloucester, and preached to a

* Letter xxi.

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very crowded auditory, and after staying a few days went on to Oxford, where he had an agreeable interview with the other Methodists, and came to London about the end of August.

Here he was invited to preach in a great many churches. The congregations continually increased, and generally on the Lord's-day he used to preach four times to very large and very much affected auditories, and to walk ten or twelve miles in going to the different churches, His friends began to be afraid he would hurt himself; but he used to say, "He found, by experience, the more he did, the more he might do for God."

His name was now put into the newspapers (though without his consent or knowledge) as a young gentleman going voluntarily to Georgia, who was to preach before the societies at their general quarterly meeting. This stirred up the people's curiosity more and more. He preached on that occasion his sermon on *Early Piety*, which was printed at the request of the societies. After this, for near three months successively, great numbers of people flocked to hear him, and the managers of the charity schools were continually applying to him to preach for the benefit of the children. For that purpose they procured the liberty of the churches on other days of the week besides the Lord's-day; and yet thousands went away from the largest churches, not being able to get in, The congregations were all attentive, and seemed to hear as for eternity. He preached generally nine times a week, and often early on the Lord's-day morning you might see the streets filled with people going with lanthorns in their hands to hear him speak about the things of God.

As his popularity increased, opposition increased pro-

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portionably. Some of the clergy became angry; two of them sent for him, and told him they would not let him preach in their pulpits any more, unless he renounced that part of the preface of his sermon on *Regeneration* (lately published), wherein he wished "that his brethren would entertain their auditories oftener with discourses upon the new-birth." Probably some of them were irritated the more by his free conversation with many of the serious Dissenters, who invited him to their houses, and repeatedly told him, "That if the doctrines of the new-birth and justification by faith were preached powerfully in the churches, there would be few Dissenters in England." Nor was he without opposition even from some of his friends. But under these discouragements he had great comfort in meeting every evening with a band of religious intimates, to spend an hour in prayer, for the advancement of the gospel, and for all their acquaintance, so far as they knew their circumstances. In this he had uncommon satisfaction: once he spent a whole night with them in prayer and praise, and sometimes at midnight, after he had been quite wearied with the labours of the day, he found his strength renewed in this exercise, which made him compose his sermon upon *Intercession*.

The nearer the time of his embarkation approached, the more affectionate and eager the people grew. Thousands and thousands of prayers were offered up for him, They would run and stop him in the alleys of the churches, and follow him with wishful looks. But above all it was hardest for him to part with his weeping friends at St. Dunstan's, where he met them early, after spending the night before in prayer. This parting was to him almost insupportable.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE TIME OF HIS EMBARKING FOR GEORGIA, TO HIS
RE-EMBARKING FOR EXGLAND (1738).

IN the latter end of December, 1737, he embarked for Georgia, This was to him a new and at first appearance a very unpromising scene. The ship was full of soldiers, and there were near twenty women among them. The captains both of the soldiers and sailors, with the surgeon and a young cadet, gave him soon to understand that they looked upon him as an impostor, and for a while treated him as such. The first Lord's-day one of them played on the hautboy, and nothing was to be seen but cards, and little heard but cursing and blasphemy. This was a very disagreeable situation; but it is worth while to observe with what prudence he was helped to behave among them, and how God was pleased to bless his patient and persevering endeavours to do them good.

He began with the officers in the cabin in the way of mild and gentle reproof; but this had little effect, for he says: "I could do no more for a season, than whilst I was writing, now and then turn my head by way of reproof to a lieutenant of the soldiers, who swore as though he was born of a swearing constitution. Now and then he would take the hint, return my nod with a 'Doctor, I ask your pardon,' and then to his cards and swearing again."

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He therefore tried what might be done between decks among the soldiers, And though the place was not very commodious, he read prayers and expounded twice a day. At first he could not see any fruit of his labour, yet it was encouraging to find it so kindly received by his new redcoat parishioners (as he calls them), many of whom submitted cheerfully to be catechised about the lessons they had heard expounded.

In this situation things continued for some time. But all this while he had no place for retirement, and there was no preaching in the great cabin, both which he greatly desired, At last he obtained his wish: one day finding the ship captain a little inclined to favour him, he asked him to suffer him now and then to retire into the round-house, where the captain slept, and offered him money for the loan of it. The captain would not take the money, but readily granted his request, Soon afterwards the military captain having invited him to a dish of coffee, he took the liberty to tell him, "That though he was a volunteer on board, yet as he was on board he looked upon himself as his chaplain, and as such he thought it a little odd to pray and preach to the servants and not to the master;" and added withal, "That if he thought proper he would make use of a short collect now and then to him, and the other gentlemen in the great cabin." After pausing a while, and shaking his head, he answered, "I think we may, when we have nothing else to do." This awkward hint was all he got at that time, yet he was encouraged thereby to hope that the desired point would be soon gained.

They were detained in the Downs by contrary winds for near a month. The soldiers on board became by this

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time more and more civilized, and the people at Deal heard him gladly. There he preached thrice, at the invitation of the ministers, and often expounded in the house where he lodged, This work was very delightful to him; but he was suddenly called away by a fair wind about the end of January, 1738, just after he had preached in Upper Deal Church.

Being returned to the ship, he began to comfort himself with some promising appearances of doing good in the great cabin. As he had no better place, he generally every night retired with his friend Mr. Habersham, and his brother, and two servants, behind the round-house, for prayer and other religious exercises. Sometimes he perceived Captain Whiting was hearkening within, One day, finding on the captain's pillow the *Independent Whig*, he exchanged for it a book entitled *The Self-Deceiver*, Next morning the captain came smiling, and enquired who made that exchange, Mr. Whitefield confessed that he had done it, and begged the captain's acceptance of the book, which the latter said he had read, and liked very well. From thenceforward a visible alteration was seen in him. The other captain also, about the same time, met him as he was coming from between decks, and desired "that they might have public service and expounding twice a day in the great cabin."

In about a fortnight they reached Gibraltar, whither they were bound to take in some more soldiers. There one Major Sinclair had been so kind as to provide a lodging for him unasked, who, with other military gentlemen, even Governor Sabine and General Columbine, received him most courteously, Being apprehensive that at a public military table he might be more than hospitably

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entertained, by way of prevention he begged leave to remind his excellency of an observation made in the book of Esther on the court of the great Ahasuerus, "that none did compel." He took the hint, and genteelly replied "that no compulsion of any kind should be used at his table." And everything was carried on with great decorum, The officers attended at public worship with order and gravity; the ministers also behaved with great civility; and all concurred to give him invitations to preach, which he did twice or thrice in the week; concerning which he says—"Strange and unusual was the scene, both with respect to the place and people. The adjacent promontories, and the largeness of the rock of Gibraltar, helped me to enlarge my ideas of Him who *in His strength setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power.* And the place being, as it were, a public rendezvous of all nations, I thought I saw the world in epitome." In the evenings and mornings, when not on board, he expounded, conversed, and prayed with a religious society of soldiers, who had liberty from the Governor to assemble at any time in the church. His evening expositions were attended, not only by soldiers, but by officers, ministers, and townspeople; and from all that could be judged, his labours were not without the Lord's blessing.

Finding another society of religious soldiers there, belonging to the Church of Scotland, he sent them, as well as the former, some books, talked with several of them, and endeavoured to unite both societies together, urging on them the necessity of a catholic, disinterested love, and of joining in prayer for the success of the gospel of Christ. This exhortation also, by the blessing

of God, had a good effect; and two or three of the latter society, being draughted out for Georgia, desired leave to go in the ship with Mr. Whitefield, which was readily allowed them.

Before the embarkation of the soldiers, by the general's consent he gave them a parting discourse in the church. And after embarkation, from time to time, as the weather permitted, he preached to them on board their respective ships; and not only preached to them, but gave them notice that he intended speaking to them one by one, to see what account they could give of their state. Colonel Cochran, who commanded, was extremely civil; and soon after their setting sail there was such a change upon Captain Mackay, that he desired Mr. Whitefield would not give himself the trouble of expounding and praying in the cabin and between decks; for he would order a drum to be beat morning and evening, and himself would attend with the soldiers on the deck. This produced a very agreeable alteration, as they were now very regular in their attendance. Mr. Whitefield preached with a captain on each side of him, and soldiers all around; and the two other ships' companies, being now in the trade winds, drew near and joined in these services. The great cabin was now become a Bethel; both captains were daily more and more affected; and a crucified Saviour, and the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, were the usual topics of their conversation. Once after public sermon, Captain Mackay desired the soldiers to stop, whilst he informed them that, to his great shame, he had been a notorious swearer himself, but by the instrumentality of that gentleman, pointing to Mr. Whitefield, he had now left it off, and exhorted them, for Christ's sake, that they would go and

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do likewise. The children were catechised; there was a reformation throughout the whole soldiery, The women cried, "What a change in our captain!" The bad books and packs of cards, which Mr. Whitefield exchanged for Bibles and other religious books, were now thrown overboard; and a fever that prevailed in general through the whole ship helped to make the impression sink deeper. For many days and nights he visited betwixt twenty and thirty sick persons, crawling between decks upon his knees, administering medicines and cordials to them, and such advice as seemed suitable to their circumstances. The sailors did not escape the fever. Captain Whiting gladly went with him to visit them. One of them in particular, who had been a most notorious scoffer, sent for him in bitter agony, crying out upon and lamenting his wicked life. The cadet, who was a cabin passenger, being also seized, was wounded deeply, told Mr. Whitefield the history of his life, and informed Captain Mackay of his desire to leave the army, and to return to his original intention of devoting himself to the service of the Church of God. Mr. Whitefield himself was also seized; but by the blessing of God he soon recovered, and was strong enough in about a week to come out to the burial of the cook of the ship, who had boasted "that he would he wicked till two years before he died, and then he would be good," But he was suddenly taken ill, and he died in about six hours—"the only adult, except a soldier (who had killed himself at Gibraltar by perpetual drinking), that died out of all that were on board."

It was the beginning of May when they drew near to land. After preaching his farewell sermon, he arrived at the parsonage-house at Savannah on the seventh of May,

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1738, about four months after his first embarkation at Deptford.

Upon this voyage (many years after) he made the following reflection: "Even at this distance of time, the remembrance of the happy hours I enjoyed in religious exercises on the deck is refreshing to my soul. And though nature sometimes relented at being taken from my friends, and little unusual inconveniences of a sea life, yet a consciousness that I had in view the glory of God and the good of souls, from time to time afforded me unspeakable satisfaction."

One Mr. Delamotte, who had gone thither with Mr.

John Wesley, and was left behind by him as schoolmaster at Savannah, received Mr. Whitefield at the parsonage-house, which he found much more to his satisfaction than he had anticipated, Here some who had benefitted by Mr. Wesley's ministry, soon came to see him. On the morrow he expounded in the court-house, and waited upon the magistrates; but being taken ill, he was confined for above a week with a fever and ague.

After his restoration to health, he set about in real earnest to establish an orphan-house, of which design he says: "It was first proposed to me by my dear friend, Mr. Charles Wesley, who, with General Oglethorpe, had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself, The Saltzburghers at Ebenezer he found had one; and having heard and read of what Professor Franck had done in that way in Germany, he confidently hoped that something of the like nature might be owned, and succeed in Georgia. Many poor orphans were there already, and the number was likely soon to increase." The condition of the colony

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at that time is thus described by him: "As opportunity offered, I visited Frederica, and the adjacent villages, and often admired, considering the circumstances and disposition of the first settlers, that so much was really done, The settlers were chiefly broken and decayed tradesmen from London and other parts of England, and several Scotch adventurers, some highlanders, who had a worthy minister named Macleod, a few Moravians, and the Saltzburghers, who were by far the most industrious of the whole. With the worthy ministers of Ebenezer, Messrs, Grenaw and Boltzius, I contracted an intimacy. Many praying people were in the congregation, which, with the consideration that so many charitable people in England had been stirred up to contribute to Georgia, and such faithful labourers as Messrs. Wesleys and Ingham had been sent, gave me great hopes that, unpromising as the aspect at present might be, the colony might emerge in time out of its infant state. Some small advances Mr. Ingham had made towards converting the Indians, who were at a small settlement about four miles from Savannah. He went and lived among them for a few months, and began to compose an Indian grammar, but was soon called away to England, and the Indians (who were only some run-away Creeks) were in a few years scattered or dead. Mr. Charles Wesley had chiefly acted as secretary to General Oglethorpe, but he soon also went to England to engage more labourers, and not long after, his brother, Mr. John Wesley, having met with unworthy treatment, both at Frederica and Georgia, followed. All this I was apprized of, but think it most prudent not to repeat grievances. Through divine mercy, I met with respectful treatment from magistrates, officers, and people. The first I visited

now and then, the others, besides preaching twice a day, and four times of a Lord's-day, I visited from house to house, and was in general most cordially received. Though many were lowered in their circumstances, a sense of what they formerly were in their native country remained. It was plain to be seen that coming over was not so much out of choice as constraint: choosing rather to be poor in an unknown country abroad, than beholden to relations, or live among those who knew them in more affluent circumstances at home. Among some of these, the event, however, proved that the Word took effectual root. I was really happy in my little foreign cure, and could have cheerfully remained among them, had I not been obliged to return to England to make a beginning towards laying a foundation to the orphan-house. And thus the place I intended to hide myself in became, through my being obliged to return, a means of increasing that popularity which was already begun, but which by me was absolutely unforeseen, and as absolutely undesigned."

Elsewhere he says: "During my stay there the weather was most intensely hot, sometimes burning me almost through my shoes. Seeing others do it who were as unable, I determined to inure myself to hardiness by lying constantly on the ground, which by use I found to be so far from being a hardship, that afterwards it became so to lie on a bed."

About the middle of August, having settled one that came with him as schoolmaster in a neighbouring village, and left his friend Mr. Habersham at Savannah, after an affectionate parting, he set out for Charleston, in South Carolina.

Here he paid his first visit to Commissary Garden, and

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at his entreaty preached the next Sunday morning and evening. The inhabitants seemed at his first coming up to despise his youth; but their countenances were altered before service was over. Mr. Garden thanked him most cordially, and apprized him of the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured him, that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with his life and fortune. He also said something about the colony of Georgia that much encouraged him, as if he thought its flourishing was not very far off; and that Charleston was fifteen times larger now than when he (Mr. Garden) first came there.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HIS EMBARKING AT CHARLESTON FOR LONDON, TO
HIS PREACHING FIRST IN MOORFIELDS (1739).

SEPTEMBER 6th, 1738, Mr. Whitefield embarked in a ship bound from Charleston to London. They had a very uncomfortable passage. For near a fortnight they were beaten about not far from the bar; they were soon reduced to an allowance of water; and the ship itself was quite out of repair, They were also very poorly off for provisions. When they were about a third part of their passage they met with a vessel from Jamaica, with plenty of everything on board. The captain sent for Mr. Whitefield and offered him a most commodious berth; but he did not think it right to leave his shipmates in distress, and therefore returned to his own ship, with such things as they were pleased to give him. The remaining part of the voyage was still more perilous. The only thing comfortable was that, in the midst of these trials, deep impressions were made on some that were on board. All constantly attended public service twice and some thrice a day. Once the captain cried out, "Lord, break this hard heart of mine." Others were impressed; particularly one Captain Gladman, a passenger, on whom a great change was wrought, and who afterwards, at his own earnest request, became Mr. Whitefield's fellow-traveller. At length, after nine weeks' tossing and beating to and fro, they found them-

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selves in Limerick harbour, "I wish," he wrote, "I could never forget what I felt when water and other provisions were brought us from ashore, One Mr. Mac Mahon, a country gentleman, came from his seat at midnight on purpose to relieve us, and most kindly invited me, though unknown, to his house to stay as long as I pleased."

At Limerick Bishop Burscough received him very kindly, and engaged him to preach in the cathedral, the good effects of which he heard of many years after. From thence he went to Dublin, where he preached, and was courteously received by Dr. Delany, Bishop Rundel, and Archbishop Bolton, who had heard of him from a gentleman of Gibraltar. And after a passage of twenty-four hours from Dublin, he arrived at Park Gate, Thursday, November 30th, preached twice on the Lord's-day at Manchester, and came to London the Friday following, December 8th.

Here he had a conference with the Moravian brethren, who were lately come to London; and though he could not directly fall in with their way of expressing themselves, yet he heartily agreed with them in the doctrine of justification (in the sight of God) by faith alone, and was not a little delighted to find a great increase of the work of God, both as to light and love, doctrine and practice, through the instrumentality of Mr. Charles, and especially of Mr. John Wesley.

Some of the clergy now began to show their displeasure more and more; so that in two days' time five churches were denied him. And though the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London both received him civilly, it was but coldly; and the latter enquired "whether his journals were not a little tinged with enthusiasm?" He replied, that they were written only for himself and private

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friends, and were published entirely without his consent or knowledge, or so much as his consent being asked at all. The trustees for the colony of Georgia received him more cordially, were pleased to express their satisfaction at the accounts sent them of his conduct during his stay in the colony; and being requested by letters sent unknown to him from the magistrates and inhabitants, they most willingly presented him to the living of Savannah (though he insisted upon having no salary), and as readily granted him five hundred acres of land whereon to erect an orphan-house, To collect money for which was one of the chief motives of his returning to England so soon.

Near a month elapsed before a board sat to make him these returns. But during that interval he was not idle. He and his brethren went on in their usual course, taking hold of every opportunity of doing good, and preaching occasionally as churches were allowed them; so that he wrote concerning it—"God gave us a most pleasant gospel Christmas season, and such a happy beginning of a new year as I had never seen before. And though the churchwardens and clergy were averse, yet the common people were rather more eager than ever. But what surprised him most was to see many of the heads and members of London societies, from whom he had expected a different reception, make such virulent opposition. However, numbers of them were of another mind, and other societies were soon formed in various parts of the town. A large room in Fetter Lane was the general place of rendezvous, where they had frequent meetings, and great satisfaction in social prayer. At the same time, in the churches that were open, the people crowded, and were affected more than ever. And he and his brethren were so much en-

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gaged, that for some days he could walk and preach and visit societies with very little sleep, and religious exercises seemed to be their meat and drink. "It was a Pentecost season indeed. Some times whole nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as with new wine. And often have I seen them overwhelmed with the divine presence, and cry out, 'Will God, indeed, dwell with men upon earth? Row dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven!'"

January 11th, 1739, he set out for Oxford; and having preached in the morning at the Castle, and again in the afternoon to a crowded congregation, he returned to London, January 15th.

As he had collected so much for the charity schools last year, he reasonably supposed that the pulpits would not be denied him for the use of the Georgia Orphan-house this year, But the religious concern advancing, and spreading more and more, opposition also increased. A pamphlet was published against his sermon *On Regeneration*. Several clergymen made strong objections against him and his brethren for expounding in societies; and some people were threatened with prosecution by their parish ministers for suffering them to expound in their houses. Yet this did not discourage either preachers or hearers. The more they were opposed, the more they were strengthened. New awakenings were heard of in various parts; and "What shall I do to be saved?" was the repeated question of every day.

All the pulpits were not as yet shut up; two or three churches were allowed him to preach in, and to collect for the Georgia orphans, and for erecting a church for the poor Saltzburghers at Ebenezer.

In Bristol he had the use of the churches for two or three Sundays, but soon found they would not be open very long. The dean was not at home; the chancellor threatened to silence and suspend him. In about a fortnight every door was shut except Newgate, where he preached, and collected for the poor prisoners, and where people thronged and were much impressed; but this place also was soon shut against him, by orders from the mayor.

Before his first embarkation for Georgia, when he talked of going abroad, numbers in Bristol used to reply, "What need of going abroad? have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood." And before he left London, whilst preaching at Bermondsey Church, and seeing so many thousands that could not come in, he had a strong inclination to go out and preach to them (though he then used notes) upon one of the tombstones in the churchyard. And this he mentioned to some friends, who looked upon the motion at first very unfavourably, yet were willing to take it into further consideration. At Bristol he thought he had a clear call to try this method. The colliers, he had heard, were very rude and very numerous—so uncultivated that nobody cared to go among them; neither had they any place of worship; and often, when provoked, they were a terror to the whole city of Bristol. He therefore looked upon the civilizing of these people, and much more the bringing of them to Christ, as a matter of great importance, and thought it might be doing the service of Him "who had a mountain for His pulpit, and the heavens for His sounding-board; and who, when His gospel was refused by the Jews, sent His servants into the highways and hedges."

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After much prayer, and many struggles with himself, he one day went to Hannam Mount, and standing upon a hill, began to preach to about a hundred colliers, upon Matt. v. 1, 2, 3, This soon took air. At the second and third time the numbers greatly increased, till the congregation, at a moderate computation, amounted to near twenty thousand. But with what gladness and eagerness many of these despised outcasts, who had never been in a church in their lives, received the Word, is above description. "Having," as he writes, "no righteousness of their own to renounce, they were glad to hear of a Jesus who was a friend to publicans, and came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The first discovery of their being affected was to see the white gutters made by their tears, which plentifully fell down their black cheeks as they came out of their coal pits. Hundreds and hundreds of them were soon brought under deep convictions, which (as the event proved) happily ended in a sound and thorough conversion. The change was visible to all, though numbers chose to impute it to any thing rather than the finger of God. As the scene was quite new, and I had just began to be an extempore preacher, it often occasioned many inward conflicts. Sometimes, when twenty thousand people were before me, I had not in my own apprehension a word to say, either to God, or them. But I was never totally deserted, and frequently (for to deny it would be lying against God) so assisted that I knew by happy experience what our Lord meant by saying, 'out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water,' The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the

trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame me.”

Besides the colliers, and thousands from neighbouring villages, persons of all ranks flocked daily out of Bristol. And he was soon invited to preach by some of the better sort in a large bowling-green in the city itself. Many indeed sneered to see a stripling with a gown mount a table, upon what they called unconsecrated ground. And for once or twice it excited the contempt and laughter of the higher rank, who formerly were his admirers when he preached in the churches. But God enabled him to stand the laugh, and to preach the gospel of Christ with earnestness and constancy, and was pleased to attend it with His blessing. From all quarters people flocked under great concern about their souls. Sometimes he was employed almost from morning to night, giving answer to those who came in great distress, crying out, “What shall we do to be saved?” More assistance was wanted, he therefore wrote to Mr. John Wesley, who had never yet been at Bristol, and having received a favourable answer, recommended him and his brother in the strongest manner to the people, and earnestly prayed that the last might be first; for he was determined to pursue his scheme of the Orphan-house, and return again to his retreat at Georgia.

Mr. Wesley being come, he took an affectionate leave of his friends at Bristol, and made a second excursion to Wales, where an awakening had begun some years before by the instrumentality of Mr. Griffith Jones, and was now carried on by the ministry of one Mr. Howell Harris, a layman. They met at Cardiff, and in company with

many others went to Husk, Pontypool, Abergavenny, Comiboy, Carleon, Trelex, and Newport, and preached in all these places, Mr. Whitefield first in English, and Mr. Harris afterwards in Welch, to many thousands.

About the 8th of April from Wales he went to Gloucester, the place of his birth, where a church was allowed him for once or twice, but no more. However he preached frequently in Boothall (the place where the judges used to sit), and in his brother's field to many thousands. At the time of Mr. Whitefield's preaching in Gloucester, old Mr. Cole, a Dissenting minister, was one of his hearers. This Mr. Cole, Mr. Whitefield when a boy was taught to ridicule. And being asked once by one of his congregation, What business he would be of? he said, "A minister; but he would take care never to tell stories in the pulpit like old Cole." About twelve years afterwards, the old man hearing him preach, and tell some story to illustrate the subject he was upon, and having been informed what he had before said, made this remark to one of his elders, "I find that young Whitefield can now tell stories as well as old Cole." He was much affected with Mr. Whitefield's preaching, and so humble that he used to subscribe himself his curate; and went about preaching after him in the country from place to place. But one evening whilst preaching he asked for a chair to lean on till he concluded his sermon, when he was carried up stairs and died. Mr. Whitefield's reflection upon this is, "O blessed God, if it be thy holy will, may my exit be like his!"

As to Mr. Whitefield's telling stories in the pulpit, some perhaps may find fault; but beside that he had an uncommon fund of, passages, proper enough to be thus

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told, and a peculiar talent of telling them, it was certainly a means of drawing multitudes to hear him who would not have attended to the truths of the gospel delivered in the ordinary manner.

His concern for his countrymen, his fellow-citizens, and his own relations, made him forget all bodily weakness (to which about this time he was frequently subject), and readily to comply with invitations given to preach at Painswick, Cheltenham, Evesham, Badsey, Stroud, Chaford, places abounding with inhabitants, and where many received much spiritual benefit. To wander thus about from place to place; to stand in bowling-greens, at market-crosses, and in highways, especially in his own country, where had he conferred with flesh and blood he might have lived' at ease; to be blamed by friends, and have every evil thing spoken against him by his enemies, was (especially when his body was weak and his spirits low) very trying; but still he was inwardly supported.

April 21st he again went to Oxford, and after staying a few days with the Methodists there came to London, where he attempted to preach at Islington Church, the incumbent, Mr. Stonehouse, being a friend to the Methodists; but in the midst of the prayers the churchwarden came and demanded his licence, or otherwise he forbad his preaching in that pulpit, He might, perhaps, have insisted on his right to preach, yet for the sake of peace he declined, and after the service was over he preached in the churchyard.

Opportunities of preaching in a more regular way being now denied him, and his preaching in the fields being attended with a remarkable blessing, he judged it his duty to go on in this practice, and ventured the following

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Sunday into Moorfields. Public notice having been given, and the thing being new and singular, upon coming out of the coach he found an incredible number of people assembled. Many had told him that he would never come again out of that place alive. He went in, however, between two of his friends, who by the pressure of the crowd were soon parted entirely from him, and were obliged to leave him to the mercy of the rabble. But these, instead of hurting him, formed a lane for him, and carried him along to the middle of the fields (where a table had been placed, which was broken in pieces by the crowd), and afterwards back again to the wall that then parted the upper and lower Moorfields, from whence he preached without molestation, to an exceeding great multitude in the lower fields. Finding such encouragement, he went that same evening to Kennington Common, a large, open place, near three miles distant from London, where he preached to a vast multitude, who were very attentive, and behaved with much regularity and quietness. Moreover, he says: "Words cannot well express the glorious displays of divine grace which we saw, and heard of, and felt."

CHAPTER IV.

FROM HIS PREACHING IN MOORFIELDS, &C., TO HIS LAYING THE
FOUNDATION OF THE ORPHAN-HOUSE IN GEORGIA (1740).

FOR several months after this, Moorfields, Kennington Common, and Blackheath, were the chief scenes of action. At a moderate computation, the auditories often consisted of above twenty thousand, It is said their singing could be heard two miles off, and his voice near a mile. Sometimes there were upwards of a hundred coaches, besides waggons, scaffolds, and other contrivances, which particular persons let out for the convenience of the audience, Having no other method to take, he was obliged to collect for the orphan-house in the fields, or not at all, which was humbling to him and his friends who assisted him in that work. But the readiness with which the people gave, and the prayers which they put up when throwing in their mites, were very encouraging. Once upwards of twenty pounds were collected in halfpence. In the meanwhile, Mr. John Wesley was labouring with great zeal at Bristol, his brother, Mr. Charles, in London and elsewhere, Mr. Ingham had been preaching in many churches of Yorkshire, Mr. Kinchin in Oxford, and Mr. Rogers in Bedfordshire. Thus the work gradually increased, and the embargo which was now laid on the shipping gave him

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leisure for more journeys through various parts of England, and God was pleased to crown his labours with amazing success.

Some demur happening in Bristol, he went there a few days; put Mr. John Wesley (who had now made progress in building the Kingswood school, and also had begun a room at Bristol) in full power, and took him along with him, and introduced him as a field preacher, at Gloucester and other places. Everywhere the word seemed to sink deeper and deeper into the hearts of the hearers. Singing and praying were heard in Kingswood, instead of cursing and swearing; and in many other places the fruits of righteousness evidently appeared.

Many false reports were now spread abroad concerning him. Not a journey could he make but he was either killed or wounded, or died suddenly. One groundless fiction was continually invented after another. And the Bishop of London laid hold of this occasion for publishing a charge to his clergy to avoid the extremes of enthusiasm and lukewarmness. But amidst these discouragements he was not left without the countenance and friendship of several persons of influence.

The embargo being taken off, and upwards of a thousand pounds collected for the orphan-house, he sailed the second time for America, August 14th, 1739, with a family consisting of eight men and three children, besides his friend Mr. Seward.

After a passage of nine weeks he arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of November, and was immediately invited to preach in the churches, to which people of all denominations thronged, as in England. From thence he was invited to New York by Mr. Noble, the only person

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with whom he had any acquaintance in that part of America, Upon his arrival they waited on the Commissary, but he refused him the use of his church. Mr. Whitefield therefore preached in the fields, and on the evening of the same day, to a very thronged and attentive audience in Mr. Pemberton's meeting-house; and continued to do so twice or thrice a day for above a week, and by all that could be judged, with very great success.

On his way to and from Philadelphia he also preached at Elizabeth Town, Maidenhead, Abingdon, Neshamini, Burlington, and New Brunswick, in the New Jerseys, to some thousands gathered from various parts, among whom there had been a considerable awakening by the instrumentality of one Mr. Freelinghausen, a Dutch minister. and the Messrs. Tennents, Blair, and Rowland. He had also the pleasure of meeting with old Mr. Tennent as well as his sons, and with Mr. Dickinson. It was no less pleasing than strange to him to see such gatherings in a foreign land—ministers and people shedding tears, sinners struck with awe, and serious persons, who had been much run down and despised, filled with joy. Meantime the orphan-house affairs went on well. The things brought from England were sold for their benefit. A sloop was purchased, of which Captain Gladman was master; and a young man, who had lately received serious impressions under Mr. Whitefield's preaching, willingly offered himself as mate. Many little presents were made to them for sea stores and the intended house. And about the end of November he took leave of his company, and ordered them to proceed on their voyage to Savannah, while himself, with Mr. Seward and two more, determined to go thither by land.

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Numbers followed, some twenty, some sixty miles out from Philadelphia, He preached at Chester, Wilmington, Newcastle (where he was met on the way by Mr. Ross, minister of the place), Christianbridge, and Whitely Creek, where Mr. William Tennant had erected a tent for him. Here he observed new scenes of field-preaching, or rather preaching in the woods, opened to him. At Whitely Creek perhaps the congregation did not consist of less than ten thousand, Earnest invitations were given him to come and preach elsewhere, which he had great encouragement to do, from the visible success of his labours; but he hastened to be at Savannah.

In his way thither he also preached in Maryland, at North East, and Joppa, and at Annapolis, the capital, where he was received with much civility by the governor, and at Upper Marlborough.

In Virginia also he preached at Williamsburgh, where he was courteously received by the governor, and by Mr. Blair, the commissary, whom he speaks of with great regard.

When he came to North Carolina he thought it seemed to be the greatest waste and the most uncultivated of spots, both in a temporal and spiritual sense. Yet here, in a place called Newburn Town, his preaching was attended with an uncommon influence. And it was not without effect at Newton, on Cape Fear river, where were many from Scotland amongst the congregation, who had lately come over to settle in North Carolina.

Immediately on coming into South Carolina province (he says) a visible change was observable in the manners of the people, And when he came to Charleston (which was on Saturday, January 3, 1740), he could scarce be-

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lieve but he was amongst Londoners, both in respect of dress and politeness of manners,

Here he soon perceived that by field-preaching he had lost his old friend the commissary, who once promised to defend him with life and fortune. However, at the request of the Independent minister (who continued his friend to his dying day), he preached in his meeting-house. At the first sermon all was gay and trifling, no impression seemingly made at all. But next morning, in the French church, the scene was quite altered. A visible and almost universal concern appeared. Many of the inhabitants earnestly desired him to give them one sermon more; for which purpose he was prevailed upon to put off his journey till the next day, and there was reason to think his stay was not in vain.

Next morning he and his companions set out in an open canoe for Savannah; and in their way, for the first time, lay in the woods upon the ground near a large fire, lighted to keep off the wild beasts; upon which he makes this reflection: "An emblem, I thought, of the divine love and presence keeping off evils and corruptions from the soul."

On his arrival at Savannah, January 11, he was very happy to meet his company, who had got there three weeks before him; and to find by letters from England, New York, &c., that the work of God prospered. But it was a melancholy thing to see the colony of Georgia reduced even to a much lower ebb than when he left it, and almost deserted by all but such as could not well go away. Employing these, therefore, he thought would be of singular service, and the money expended might be also a means of keeping them in the colony.

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Before his arrival, Mr. Habersham had pitched upon a plot of ground for the orphan-house of five hundred acres, about ten miles from Savannah, and had already begun to clear and stock it. The orphans in the mean time were accommodated in a hired house. On this, many years after, he makes the following reflections: "Had I proceeded according to the rules of prudence, I should have first cleared the land, built the house, and then taken in the orphans; but I found their condition so pitiable, and the inhabitants so poor, that I immediately opened an infirmary, hired a large house at a great rent, and took in at different times twenty-four orphans. To all this I was encouraged by the example of Professor Franck. But I forgot to recollect that Professor Franck built in Glaucha, in a populous country, and that I was building in the very tail of the world, where I could not expect the least supply, and which the badness of its constitution, which every day I expected would be altered, rendered by far the most expensive part of all his majesty's dominions. But had I received more and ventured less, I should have suffered less and others more."

The first collection he made in America was at Mr. Smith's meeting-house in Charleston, whither he went about the middle of March to see his brother, the captain of a ship from England, He was desired by some of the inhabitants to speak in behalf of the poor orphans, and the collection amounted to seventy pounds. This was no small encouragement to him at that time, especially as he had reason to think it came from those who had received spiritual benefit by his ministrations.

Having returned to Savannah, he went to the spot of ground. where he intended the orphan-house should be

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built, and upon the 25th day of March, 1740, laid the first brick of the great house, which he called Bethesda, *i. e. a house of mercy*; and of which long after he writes: “Blessed be God, I have not been disappointed in the hope that it would be a house and place of mercy to many, both in respect to body and soul.” By this time near forty children were taken in, to be provided with food and raiment; and counting the workmen and all, he had near a hundred to be daily fed. He had very little money in bank; and yet he was not discouraged, being persuaded that the best thing he could do at present for the infant colony was to carry on the work.

CHAPTER V.

FROM HIS LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF HIS ORPHAN-HOUSE
IN GEORGIA TO HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND (1741).

MR. WHITEFIELD again, therefore, set off in a sloop for Newcastle in Pennsylvania, where he arrived about the middle of April. In this short passage of ten days he was much tried by weakness of body and low spirits. But as he observed afterwards, the Lord was infinitely better to him than his fears, and exceeded his most sanguine expectations, For during the space of two months he was strengthened to preach generally twice, and frequently, besides travelling, thrice a day. At Philadelphia the churches were no longer allowed him; but he preached in the fields to congregations that consisted sometimes of near ten thousand, and with great apparent success. Large collections were made for the orphan-house—once not less than a hundred and ten pounds. Meetings for praying and singing were commenced, and in every part of the town many were concerned about their salvation. Some were wrought upon in a more instantaneous, others in a more progressive, some in a more silent, others in a more violent manner. “Many negroes came, some of them inquiring, Have I a soul?”

At New York, New Brunswick, Stratton Island, Baskenridge, Whiteley Creek, Frog’s Manor, Reedy Island,

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there was great concern upon the mind both of the preacher and hearers.

Sometimes he was almost dead with heat and fatigue. Thrice a day he was lifted up upon his horse, unable to mount otherwise; then rode and preached, and came in and laid himself along upon two or three chairs. He did not doubt but such a course would soon take him to his desired rest. Yet he had many delightful hours with Messrs. Tennant, Blair, &c. "Night," says he, "was as it were turned into day, when we rode singing through the woods. I could not help recommending these men wherever I went in the strongest manner, because I saw they gloried in the cross of Christ."

In a journal written by Mr. William Seward (Mr. "Whitefield's companion in travel) we have the following particulars belonging to this period:

"April 13th, 1740. Mr. Tennant informed us of the great success which had attended our brother Whitefield's preaching when here last. For some time a general silence was fixed by the Lord on people's minds, and many began seriously to think on what foundation they stood. A general outward reformation has been visible. Many ministers have been quickened in their zeal to preach the Word in season and out of season. Congregations are increased, and some few, it is hoped, will be brought through their convictions into a sound and saving conversion,

"April 14th. Mr. Jones, the Baptist minister, told us of two other ministers, Mr. Treat and Mr. Morgan, who were so affected with our brother Whitefield's spirit, that the latter had gone forth preaching the glad tidings of salvation towards the sea-coast in the Jerseys, and many

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other places which lay in darkness and the shadow of death, The former told his congregation that he had been hitherto deceiving himself and them, and that he could not preach to them at present, but desired they would join in prayer with him.

“April 15th, We were informed that an Indian trader was so affected with brother ‘Whitefield’s doctrine, that he is gone to teach the Indians with whom he used to trade.

“April 18th. This day was published our brother Whitefield’s letter to the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, about their abuse of the poor negroes.

“Heard of a drinking club that had a negro boy attending them, who used to mimic people for their diversion, The gentlemen bid him mimic our brother Whitefield, which he was very unwilling to do, but they insisting upon it, he stood up and said, ‘I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not; unless you repent you will all be damned,’ This unexpected speech broke up the club, which has not met since.

“—Notice was given of a new lecture at German Town every Thursday by four ministers,

“April 22nd. Agreed with Mr. Allen for five thousand acres of land on the forks of Delaware, at £2,200, the conveyance to be made to Mr. Whitefield, and after that assigned to me as security for my advancing the money. Mr. Whitefield proposes to give orders for building the negro school on the purchased land before he leaves the province.

“April 24th. Came to Christopher Wigner’s plantation in Skippack, where many Dutch people are settled, and where the famous Mr. Spalemburg resided lately. It was

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surprising to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness country, thirty miles distant from Philadelphia. Our brother was exceedingly carried out in his sermon to press poor sinners to come to Christ by faith, and claim all their privileges, viz., not only righteousness and peace, but joy in the Holy Ghost; and after he had done, our dear friend Peter Boehler preached in Dutch to those who could not understand our brother in English.

“Before our brother left Philadelphia he was desired to visit one who was under a deep sense of sin from hearing him preach. And in praying with this person he was so carried beyond himself, that the whole company (which were about twenty) seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and magnified God.

“April 25th. Rose at three o’clock, and though our brother Whitefield was very weak in body, yet the Lord enabled him to ride near fifty miles, and to preach to about five thousand people at Amwell, with the same power as usual. Mr. Gilbert Tennant, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Campbell, four godly ministers, met us here.

“April 26th, Came to New Brunswick. Met Mr. Noble from New York, a zealous promoter of our Lord’s kingdom. He said their society at New York was increased from seventy to one hundred and seventy, and was daily increasing; and that Messrs. Gilbert and William Tennant, Mr. Rowland, and several others, were hard labourers in our Lord’s vineyard.

“April 28th, Had a most affectionate parting with our dear brother Whitefield and our other brethren.”

The rest of Mr. Seward’s journal was written mostly

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during his passage to England, where he arrived June 19th, and with which it concludes. Mr. Whitefield in the new edition of his Journals, 1756, observes: "April 28th, 1740. This was the last time I saw my worthy friend; for before my return to England he was entered into his rest, having left behind a glorious testimony of the transforming efficacy of converting grace. This hath also been the happy case of his brother Benjamin, who lately finished his course with joy."

With great joy he reached Savannah on the 5th of June, bringing his orphans in money and provisions upwards of five hundred pounds. Next day, when they came to hear him preach, young and old were dissolved in tears. Some who came to visit them were also deeply impressed, particularly Mr. Hugh Bryan and his family, and some of his relations. Several from Beauford, in South Carolina, then received their first impressions. All these things gave him great encouragement. And though his family was now great (near a hundred and fifty, including workmen), and the plan laid down would have required some thousands to support it, and although very often he had not twenty pounds in cash, he was still kept from being disheartened; and his friends, believing the work to be of God, continued cheerfully to assist him.

Though he was very weak in body, yet the cry from various quarters for more preaching, and the necessity of supplying so large a family made him go again to Charleston, where as well as at Dorchester, Ashley Ferry, Ponpon, and John's Island, he preached to very attentive and affected auditories, Charleston was the place of the greatest success, and of the greatest opposition. The com-

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missary poured out anathemas, and published letters against him, but all in vain. He preached twice almost every day to great crowds in the Independent and Baptist meeting-houses, besides expounding in the evening in merchants' houses, Thus he went on successfully (though often ready to die with the excessive heat) till the end of August, when having received most pressing invitations from Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, ministers in Boston, and being desirous of seeing the descendants of the Puritans and their seats of learning, and having encouragement that something might be done for the orphan-house, he embarked in the orphan-house sloop for New England, in company with several Charleston friends, and arrived at Rhode Island September 14th.

Here several gentlemen soon came to visit him, among whom was Mr. Clap, an aged dissenting minister, in whom he thought he saw what manner of men the old Puritans were who first settled in New England, and was much delighted with his conversation, They went together to the incumbent's house to ask the use of the church, which was granted: and in it he preached three days, twice a day, to deeply affected auditories.

This he thought was a happy entrance into New England. But he was still more agreeably surprised when, on the way to Boston, he was met several miles from the city by the governor's son and some of the ministers and principal inhabitants, who conducted him to Mr. Stanford's (brother-in-law to Dr. Colman), who, with his colleague Mr. Cooper, and many others, came and joined in prayer.

Jonathan Belcher, Esq., was then governor of Massachusetts colony, and Josiah Willard, secretary. Both these gentlemen were his sincere friends, so were the ministers,

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Messrs. Webb, Foxcraft, Prince, Dr. Sewall, Gee, &c. To avoid, however, giving any offence, he went to the English Church to morning prayers; but finding by conversation with the Commissary and some others that there was no access there, he began preaching in the afternoon at Dr. Colman's meeting-house, and so went round (except when he preached on the common) to the other meeting-houses, especially the largest of them, for some time together.

Governor Belcher generally attended, Secretary Willard and several of the council set the same example, and all seemed to vie who should show the greatest respect. Congregations were exceeding large, both within and without, and were much affected. Old Mr. Walter, who succeeded Mr. Elliot, commonly called the apostle of the Indians at Roxbury, said it was Puritanism revived: and Dr. Colman said, when preaching at his meeting-house the Sunday following, that "it was the happiest day he ever saw in his life."

He preached also at Cambridge, Marblehead, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, York, Portsmouth, Salem, and Maulden, to large congregations, The gentlemen of the greatest repute had their houses open in every place; collections were readily made for the orphans, and in about a week, having preached sixteen times, and rode a hundred and seventy miles, he returned to Boston, October 6th.

Here the congregations still increased. At his farewell sermon it was supposed there were near twenty thousand people present. He received a great number of letters and could have spent whole days in conversing with those that came to him under soul concern. Ministers and students attended. Little children were impressed. The contri-

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butions for the orphans were very considerable, amounting in town and country to near five hundred pounds.

He set out next for Northampton, having read in England an account of a remarkable work of conversion there, published by their pastor, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, and having a great desire to see him, and to hear the account from his own mouth.

At Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Worcester, Leicester, Hadley, places all lying in the way, pulpits and houses were everywhere opened, and continued power attended his preaching. At Northampton, when he came to remind them of what God had formerly done for them, it was like putting fire to tinder. Both minister and people were moved much, as were the children of the family, at an exhortation which their father desired Mr. Whitefield to give them.

After leaving Northampton he preached in Westfield, Springfield, Suffield, Windsor, Hertford, Weathersfield, Middleton, and Wallingford to large and affected congregations. And October 23rd reached Newhaven, where he was affectionately received by Mr. Pierpont, brother-in-law to Mr. Edwards, and had the pleasure of seeing his friend Mr. Noble, of New York, who brought him letters from Georgia. Here also he was much refreshed with the conversation of several godly ministers. It being assembly time, and the governor and burgesses then sitting, he stayed till Lord's-day, and had the pleasure to see numbers daily impressed. The good old governor was particularly much affected; and at a private visit which Mr. Whitefield paid him said, "Thanks be to God for such refreshings in our way to heaven."

On Monday morning he set forward, and preached with

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his usual success at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Newark, and Stanford, where he was visited by some ministers under deep concern.

This was on the borders of New York province, into which he now again entered, and preached at Rye and Kingsbridge on his way to the city of New York, where he arrived October 30th. Here for three days successively, and afterwards at Staten Island, Newark, Baskenridge, his preaching appeared to be attended with more success than ever. At Trenton he had a long conference with some ministers about Mr. Gilbert Tennant's complying with an invitation to go and preach in New England. After prayer, and considering the arguments both for and against this proposal, they thought it best he should go, which, however diffident of himself, he was persuaded to do, and his ministrations were attended with an extraordinary blessing to multitudes.

“What sort of a reception he had in New England will farther appear from the following letters of some eminent ministers of Boston and adjacent towns, published by Mr. Josiah Smith, of Charleston, in the *South Carolina Gazette*:

“October 1, 1740,

“Your kind letter by Mr. Whitefield, and your other, are both now before me, You raised our expectations of him very much, as did his journals more, and Mr. P. of New York concurred with them; but we own, now that we have seen and heard him, that our expectations are all answered and exceeded, not only in his zealous and fervent abounding labours, but in the command of the hearts and affections of his hearers. He has been received here as an angel of God, and servant of Jesus Christ. I

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hope this visit to us will be of very great use and benefit to ministers and people. He has found his heart and mouth much opened to speak freely and boldly to us, and he finds it received with joy." The same gentleman, November 29, 1740, writes thus: "Mr. Whitefield left us seven weeks ago; the last week we heard of him at Philadelphia. I hear that much of the presence of God is with him. He has left a blessing behind him, we hope, with us. Our people, high and low, old and young, are very swift to hear. The excellent meekness of Mr. Whitefield's answer to the querists will honour him to you."

Another, in a letter, October 22, 1740, expresses himself thus: "Though it is always a singular pleasure to me to hear from you, yet your two letters by Mr. Whitefield had a new circumstance of pleasure from the dear hand that presented them. I perceive you were impatient to know what sort of entering in he had among us. We (ministers, rulers, and people) generally received him as an angel of God. When he preached his farewell sermon in our common, there were twenty-three thousand, at a moderate computation. We are abundantly convinced that you spoke the words of truth and soberness in your sermon relating to him. Such a power and presence of God with a preacher, and in religious assemblies, I never saw before; but I would not limit the Holy One of Israel. The prejudices of many are quite conquered, and expectations of others vastly outdone, as they freely own. A considerable number are awakened, and many Christians seem to be greatly quickened. He has preached twice at Cambridge, He has one warm friend there, Mr. —, the tutor, who has followed him to Northampton, and will, for aught I know, to Georgia. But Mr. Whitefield

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has not a warmer friend anywhere than the first man among us, Our governor has shown him the highest respect, carried him in his coach from place to place, and could not help following him fifty miles out of town. I hope the religion of the country will fare the better for the impressions left on him.”

The same gentleman writes, December 2, 1740.—“The man greatly beloved, I suppose, may be with you before now. That his visit here will be esteemed a distinguishing mercy of heaven by many I am well satisfied. Every day gives me fresh proofs of Christ’s speaking in him. Some gentlemen amongst us, when they saw the affections of the people so moved under his preaching, would attribute it only to the force of sound and gestures; but the impressions on many are so lasting, and have been so transforming, as to carry plain signatures of a divine hand going along with him.”

Another gentleman writes, October 21, 1740, and thanks me for recommending to him so worthy a person as Mr. Whitefield, who has preached Christ and the great truths of the gospel among them with remarkable fervour of spirit, and with general acceptance; and hopes that there are many awakened by his ministry.

Another, November 21, 1740, blesses God that he was sent thither, that he had so many opportunities of seeing him, and sitting under his ministry; that he appeared to him a wonderful man indeed; that his preaching was accompanied with a divine power and energy beyond and man’s he had ever heard before; and the effects of his ministry were very marvellous among them.

I shall conclude with the following passage of another gentleman, in a letter of November 1, 1740; “I received

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yours by Mr. Whitefield, with whom I coveted a great deal more private conversation than I had opportunity for, by reason of the throngs of people almost perpetually with him. But he appears to be full of the love of God, and fired with an extraordinary zeal for the cause of Christ, and applies himself with the most indefatigable diligence that ever was seen among us for the promoting the good of souls. His head, his heart, his hands, seem to be full of his Master's business, His discourses, especially when he goes into the expository way, are very entertaining, Every eye is fixed upon him, and every ear chained to his lips, Most are very much affected; many awakened and convinced, and a general seriousness excited."

Saturday, November 8th, Mr. Whitefield came back to Philadelphia, and next day preached to several thousands in a house built for that purpose since his last departure, Here he both heard of and saw many who were the fruits of his former ministrations, and continued among them till November 17th, preaching twice a day, Afterwards he preached in Gloucester, Greenwich, Piles Grove, Cohansie, Salem, Newcastle, Whiteley Creek, Fog's Manor, Nottingham, in many or most of which places the congregations were numerous, and deeply affected,

November 22th, he got to Bohemia in Maryland, and from thence he went to Reedy Island. At both places his preaching was attended with great influence. And at the last (their sloop being detained by contrary winds near a week) he preached frequently, All the captains and crews of the ships that were wind-bound constantly attended, and great numbers crowded out of the country, some as far as from Philadelphia, and as great concern as ever came upon their minds.

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December 1st, he set sail from Reedy Island for Charleston in South Carolina, and here he makes the following remark: "It is now the seventy-fifth day since I arrived at Rhode Island, My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength, I have been enabled to preach, I think, an hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private, I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles, and gotten upwards of seven hundred pounds, in goods, provisions, and money, for the Georgia orphans. Never did I perform my journeys with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached, Praise the Lord, O my soul."

After a pleasant passage of eight or nine days, and preaching again at Charleston and Savannah, he arrived on the 14th of December at the orphan-house, where he found his family comfortably settled. At Rhode Island he had providentially met with one Mr. Jonathan Barber, whose heart was very much knit to him, and who was willing to help him at the orphan-house. Him, therefore, he left superintendent for the spiritual, and Mr. Habersham for the temporal affairs; and having spent a very comfortable Christmas with his orphan family, he set off again for Charleston, where he arrived January 3rd, 1741, and preached twice every day, as usual, to most affectionate audiences, till the 16th of January, when he went on board for England, He arrived the 11th of March at Falmouth, rode post to London, and preached at Kennington Common the Sunday following,

CHAPTER VI.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND IN THE YEAR 1741, TO HIS
LEAVING SCOTLAND THE SAME YEAR.

THE new and unexpected situation in which he now found himself will be best described in his own words: "But what a trying scene appeared here! In my zeal, during my journey through America, I had written two well meant though injudicious letters against England's two great favourites, *The Whole Duty of Man* and Archbishop Tillotson, who I said knew no more of religion than Mahomet. The Moravians had made inroads upon the societies, Mr. John Wesley, some way or other, had been prevailed on to preach and print in favour of perfection and universal redemption, and very strongly against election, a doctrine which I thought and do now believe was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from. Thinking it my duty so to do, I had written an answer at the orphan-house, which though revised, and much approved of by some good and judicious divines, I think had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation, The world was angry at me for the former, and numbers of my own spiritual children for the latter. One that got some hundreds of pounds by my sermons, being led away by the Moravians, refused to print for me any more. And others wrote to me that God would destroy me in a fortnight, and that my fall was as

great as Peter's, Instead of having thousands to attend me, scarce one of my spiritual children came to see me from morning to night, Once, at Kennington Common, I had not above a hundred to hear me, At the same time I was much embarrassed in my outward circumstances, A thousand pounds I owed for the orphan-house, Two hundred and fifty pounds bills, drawn upon Mr. Seward, now dead, were returned upon me, I was also threatened to be arrested for two hundred pounds more. My travelling expenses also to be defrayed, A family of a hundred to be daily maintained, four thousand miles off, in the dearest place of the king's dominions, Ten thousand times would I rather have died than part with my old friends, It would have melted any heart to have heard Mr. Charles Wesley and me weeping after prayer, that if possible the breach might be prevented. Once I preached in the Foundry (a place which Mr. John Wesley had procured in my absence) on Gal. iii., but no more. All my work was to begin again. One day I was exceedingly refreshed in reading Beza's *Life of Calvin*, wherein were these words—'Calvin is turned out of Geneva, but behold a new church arises.' A gentlewoman lent me three hundred pounds to pay the present orphan-house demand, and a serious person (whom I never saw or heard of before) giving me one guinea, I had such confidence that I ran down with it to a friend, and expressed my hope that God, who sent this person with the guinea, would make it up fifteen hundred, which was the sum I thought would be wanted,

“Never had I preached in Moorfields on a week-day. But in the strength of God I began on Good Friday, and continued twice a day, walking backward and forward

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from Leadenhall, for some time preaching under one of the trees, and had the mortification of seeing numbers of my spiritual children, who but a twelvemonth ago could have plucked out their eyes for me, running by me whilst preaching, disdainingly so much as to look at me, and some of them putting their fingers in their ears that they might not hear one word I said.

“A like scene opened at Bristol, where I was denied preaching in the house I had founded. Busy bodies on both sides blew up the coals. A breach ensued; but as both sides differed in judgment, and not in affection, and aimed at the glory of our common Lord, though we hearkened too much to tale-bearers on both sides, we were kept from anathematizing each other, and went on in our usual way, being agreed in one point, endeavouring to convert souls to the ever-blessed Mediator.”

In consequence of this, one Mr. Cennick, a preacher, who could not fall in with Mr. Wesley's sentiments, and one or two more in like circumstances having joined Mr. Whitefield, they began a new house in Kingswood, and soon established a school among those that favoured Calvinistical principles. And here and in several other places they preached to very large and serious congregations in the same manner as he had done in America, About this time he was ordered to attend in the Parliament House, to give information concerning the state of the colony in Georgia.

Thither he intended to return as soon as possible. Meantime, it being inconvenient on account of the weather to preach morning and evening in Moorfields, some Free Grace Dissenters (who stood by him closely in that time of trial) got the loan of a piece of ground, and engaged

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with a carpenter to build a large temporary shed to screen the auditory from cold and rain, which he called a Tabernacle, as it was only intended to be made use of for a few months during his stay in his native country. The place fixed upon was very near the Foundry, which he disliked, because he thought it looked like erecting altar against altar; but upon this occasion he remarks, "All was wonderfully overruled for good, and for the furtherance of the gospel. A fresh awakening immediately began. Congregations grew exceeding large, and at the people's desire I sent (necessity reconciling me more and more to lay-preaching) for Messrs. Cennick, Harris, Seagrave, Humphries, &c., to assist."

Fresh doors were now opened to him, and invitations sent to him from many places where he had never been. At a common near Braintree in Essex, upwards of ten thousand persons attended. At Halstead, Dedham, Cossleshall, Wethersfield, Colchester, Bury, Ipswich, the congregations were very large and much affected. "Sweet was the conversation I had, with several ministers of Christ. But our own clergy grew more and more shy now they knew I was a Calvinist, though no doubt (as Mr. Bedford told me when going to the Bishop of London) our Articles are Calvinistical."

At this time also he was strongly solicited by religious persons of different persuasions to visit Scotland. Several letters had passed between him and the Messrs. Erskine, some time before, and he had a great desire to see them.

In his last letter to Mr. E. E. before coming to Scotland, he writes: "May 16th, 1741. This morning I received a kind letter from your brother Ralph, who thinks it best for me wholly to join the Associate Presbytery, if

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it should please God to send me into Scotland. This I cannot altogether come into. I come only as an occasional preacher, to preach the simple gospel to all that are willing to hear me, of whatever denomination. I write this that there may not be the least misunderstanding between us, I love and honour the Associate Presbytery in the bowels of Jesus Christ; but let them not be offended if in all things I cannot immediately fall in with them.”

He took his passage from London to Leith, where (after five days, which he employed in writing many excellent letters to his orphans, &c.) he arrived July 30th, 1741. Several persons of distinction most gladly received him, and would have had him preach at Edinburgh directly, but he was determined that the Messrs. Erskine should have the first offer, and therefore went immediately to Dunfermline, and preached in Mr. Erskine’s meeting-house.

Great persuasions were used to detain him at Dunfermline, and as great to keep him from preaching for and visiting Mr. Wardlaw, who had been colleague to Mr. Ralph Erskine above twenty years, and who as well as Mr. Davidson, a Dissenting minister in England, that went along with Mr. Whitefield, were looked upon as perjured for not adhering to the Solemn League and Covenant. This was new language to him, and therefore unintelligible, But that he might be better informed it was proposed that Mr. Moncrief, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, and others, members of the Associate Presbytery, should convene in a few days in order to give him further light.

In the meantime Mr. Ralph Erskine accompanied him to Edinburgh, where he preached in the Orphan-house Park (field preaching being no novelty in Scotland) to a very large and affected auditory upon these words: “The

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kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." The next day he preached in the West Kirk, and expressed great pleasure in hearing two gospel sermons from Mr. Gusthart and Mr. Mac Vicar. And the following day he preached in the Cannongate Church, where Mr. Ralph Erskine went up with him into the pulpit.

According to promise, he returned with him to Dunfermline, where Mr. E. Erskine and several of the Associate Presbytery were met together. When Mr. Whitefield came, they soon proposed to proceed to business. He asked them for what purpose? They answered, to discourse, and set him right about church government and the solemn league and covenant. He replied they might save themselves that trouble, for he had no scruple about it, and that settling church government, and preaching about the solemn league and covenant, was not his plan. He then told them something of his experience, and how he was led into his present way of acting. One of them in particular said he was deeply affected, And Mr. E. Erskine desired they would have patience with him, for that having been born and bred in England, and never studied the point, he could not be supposed to be perfectly acquainted with it. But Mr. M. insisted that he was therefore more inexcusable, for England had revolted most with respect to church government, and that he, being born and educated there, could not but be acquainted with the matter in debate. Mr. Whitefield told him he had never yet made the solemn league and covenant the subject of his study, being too busy about matters which he judged of greater importance. Several replied that every pin of the tabernacle was precious. He answered,

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that in every building there were outside and inside workmen; that the latter, at present, was his province; that if they thought themselves called to the former, they might proceed in their own way, and he would proceed in his. He then asked them seriously what they would have him to do? The answer was, that he was not desired to subscribe immediately to the solemn league and covenant, but to preach only for them, till he had further light. He asked, Why only for them? Mr. R. E. said, "They were the Lord's people." He then asked, Were no other the Lord's people but themselves? If not, and if others were the devil's people, they had more need to be preached to; that for his part all places were alike to him. Something passed about taking two of their brethren with him to England to settle Presbytery there, and then with two more to go and settle Presbytery in America. But he asked, Suppose a number of Independents should come, and declare that after the greatest search they were convinced that Independency was the right church government, and would disturb no body, if tolerated; should they be tolerated? They answered, No. Soon after this the company broke up. And Mr. Moncrief preached upon Isa. xxi. 11, 12: "Watchman, what of the night?" &c.; and took occasion to declaim strongly against the ceremonies of the Church of England, and to argue "that one who held communion with that Church, or with the backslidden. Church of Scotland, could not be an instrument of reformation."

The consequence of all this was an open breach. Mr. Whitefield retired thoughtful and uneasy to his closet, and after preaching in the fields, sat down and dined with them, and then took a final leave.

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Many waited at Edinburgh to know the issue of the conference, who were not disappointed in the event. Thither he returned, after preaching at Innerkeithing and the Queen's Ferry, and continued preaching always twice, often thrice (and once, seven times) a day for some weeks together. The churches were open, but not being able to hold half the congregations, he generally preached twice a day in the Orphan Hospital Park to many thousands. Many of the aristocracy, as well as of the meaner rank, attended.* At some of their houses he generally expounded every evening, And almost every day there were new evidences of the success of his labours. Numbers of ministers and students came to hear him, and aged, experienced Christians told him they could set their seal to what he preached.

The children also had a share of his labours at this time, one day being devoted to preaching to them, and he appears to have been much struck by their attention, for he writes: "It is remarkable how many children are under conviction, and everywhere great power and apparent success attend the word preached."

In this first visit to Scotland he preached at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley, Perth, Sterling, Crief, Falkirk, Airth, Kinglassie, Culross, Kinross, Couper of Fife; and also at Stonehive, Benholm, Montrose, Brechin, Forfar, Couper of Angus; and at Innerkeithing, Newbottle, Galashields, Maxton, and Haddington; and in the west country, at Killern, Fintry, and Balfrone. To

* Among his particular friends were the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Leven, Lord Rae, Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Frances Gardiner, Lady Jean Nimmo, Lady Dirleton. See his letters from August to December, 1741.

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other places to which he was invited he did not go at this time. But, having collected above five hundred pounds in money and goods for his orphans, he left Edinburgh in the latter end of October to go through Wales in his way to London.

CHAPTER VII.

LETTERS FROM SCOTLAND, REPRESENTING MR. WHITEFIELD'S
RECEPTION AND SUCCESS THERE.

HIS reception, ministrations, and success at the principal places in Scotland, will further appear in the following letters, One of the ministers of the city of Edinburgh, thus writes to him:

“April 20th, 1742. Dear Sir,—Knowing that many are careful to inform you from time to time what passes here, I have hitherto delayed answering your most acceptable letter, until I should tell you with the greatest certainty what were the blessed effects of your ministrations amongst us; and can now assure you that they were not more surprising than lasting. I don't know or hear of any wrought upon by your ministry, who are not holding on in the paths of truth and righteousness. They seem possessed of a truly Christian spirit. Jesus is precious to their souls, and like the morning light they are advancing with increasing brightness to the perfect day. Since you left Scotland numbers in different corners have been awakened. Many in a hopeful way. ... People hear the word with gladness and receive it in faith and love. New meetings for prayer and spiritual conference are erecting everywhere. Religious conversation has banished slander and calumny from several tea-tables, and Christians are not ashamed to

own their dear Lord and Master. Praise is perfected out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, and some stout-hearted sinners captivated to the obedience of Christ.

“I cannot easily express with what pleasure I write these things, and doubtless they will give you no less joy in reading them. Should not these droppings of the dew of heaven encourage our faith and hope of a plentiful effusion of the Spirit, which will at once change our barren wilderness into a fruitful field? Should not this hasten your return, that we may take sweet counsel together? ... You are often on our hearts. We long to see you face to face. May much of your great Master’s presence ever attend and come along with you.”

Mr. George Muir, afterwards Doctor Muir, thus wrote to James Aitken, schoolmaster in Glasgow:

“Edinburgh, August 8th, 1743. As you desire, I have with the assistance of Mr. Archibald Bowie, Mr. Dun, and the sergeant, informed myself a little with respect to the number and situations of the praying societies in this place, which you will take as follows: They are, as near as we can guess, between twenty-four and thirty in number, some of which will necessarily be obliged to divide, by reason of too many meeting together, and that will increase the number. Amongst them are several meetings of boys and girls, who in general seem not only to be growing in grace, but really increasing in knowledge. The little lambs appear to be unwilling to rest upon duties, or anything short of Christ, as a young gentleman of my acquaintance told me, when under a temptation to think that he was surely seeking some imaginary refuge instead of the Saviour, he was made to cry out in prayer,

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‘Lord, I want nothing else, and will have nothing short of the very Christ of God.’ There are several meetings of young women, who (although I never as yet visited any of them) I am informed hold on very well. The serjeant tells me that at one of these meetings, on the morning of the Lord’s-day, he has known them all wet with floods of tears, melted down with love to Christ, and affection to one another for Christ’s sake. I have myself been much ravished (when in a meeting in the room below where some of these resort) to hear them sing the Lord’s praises with such melodious voices, There are numbers of young men who meet for the excellent purpose of glorifying God, and promoting Christian knowledge, amongst some of whom I have the honour to be a member; many of them are useful in instructing the weaker sort of us, and that they endeavour to do with the greatest anxiety and desire. A number of old men, substantial, standing Christians, meet for their edification and instruction (the glory of their God being always their chief end), and are thereby often revived, and very much refreshed. The generality of these sorts above mentioned do walk very circumspectly, and really make it appear to the world that they have been with Jesus, which is very much evidenced in their cheerfully bearing reproaches for Christ’s sake. And upon the whole, we hope there is such a flame kindled as shall never be extinguished. This is not all; for several country people are beginning to assemble together in little meetings to worship their God; particularly, the serjeant informs me of one about two miles from this place, where several ploughmen and other illiterate persons meet for the most noble ends and purposes, and are going most sweetly on, much increased in grace and knowledge, and

some are daily added to their number. I am informed from the east country (where there have been no societies since the secession), that about Old Cambus, six miles from Dunbar, many are now meeting together for social prayer and mutual conversation about matters of religion, wherein the Lord is with them of a truth. And in that place there is more eager thirsting for the word than usual. And one of my acquaintance, who was in this place last winter, has happily been the Lord's instrument in beginning these societies. How beautiful and refreshing is it, my dear friend, to hear of so many following after the despised Jesus! Should we not take it as a token for good that young ones, instead of spending their spare hours in idle, vain, and unprofitable play, do now assemble and join in calling upon the Lord? Is it not a good sign to hear many poor foolish virgins, instead of being employed in the vanities of the generality of their sex, meeting together for prayer; and many prodigal youths, instead of revelling and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, now breathing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and Him crucified? Oh that the Lord would more and more exert His almighty power amongst us! There are several other societies for prayer near about this city prospering very well."

Mr. Mac Culloch, of Cambuslang, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield a few months after his first visit to Glasgow: "As it is matter of great joy and thankfulness to God, who sent you here, and gave you so much countenance, and so remarkably crowned your labours when here at Glasgow with success, so I doubt not but the following account of the many seals to your ministry in and about that city will be very rejoicing to your heart, as our glorious

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Redeemer's kingdom is so much advanced, and the everlasting happiness of immortal souls promoted.

"I am well informed by some ministers, and other judicious and experienced Christians, that there are to the number of fifty persons already in and about Glasgow that, by all that can be judged by persons of the best discernment in spiritual things, are savingly converted by the blessing and power of God accompanying your ten sermons in that place; besides several others under convictions not reckoned in this number, whose state remains as yet a little doubtful; and besides several Christians of considerable standing, who were much strengthened, revived, and comforted by means of hearing your sermons; being made to rejoice in hope of the glory of God, having obtained the full assurance of faith.

"Among those lately converted here are several young people who were formerly openly wicked and flagitious, ... Some young converts are yet under doubts and fears; but a considerable number of them have attained to joy and peace in believing.

"Several lately wrought upon in a gracious way seem to outstrip Christians of considerable standing in spiritual-mindedness and many other good qualifications; and particularly in their zeal for the conversion of others ... without a spirit of bigotry or party zeal.

"These converts by your ministry are discovered from time to time. A good many are but lately got notice of that were not known before, which was partly occasioned by their convictions not being so strong and pungent at the first as they proved afterwards; partly by the discouragement they met with in the families where they resided, and partly by the reserved tempers of the persons them-

selves and their bashfulness, because of their former negligences and open enormities. These things give ground to hope there may be more discovered afterwards that are not yet known.

“Besides these awakened by the power of God accompanying your sermons, there are others awakened since by means of the great visible change discovered in their former intimate acquaintance, that were then converted, when they saw the change so remarkable, and the effects so abiding.

“Young converts are exceedingly active to promote the conversion of others, especially their relations and near concerns, by their exhortations, and letters to distant friends in the country; and there are some instances of the good effects of these endeavours.

“They have all a great love to one another and all good Christians, and a great sympathy with such of their number as are under doubts and fears, Such of them as have not received comfort, by their earnest and deep concern, and close attendance on the means of grace, are hereby instrumental to excite Christians of elder standing to more diligence in religion.

“These, dear brother, are a few hints of some of the most remarkable things as to the success of your labours at Glasgow, by the divine blessing. May a rich and powerful blessing give a plentiful increase to them everywhere where you come with the glad tidings of the great salvation.”

One of the ministers of Aberdeen thus writes of him to a person of distinction:—“October 3rd, 1741. Honoured Sir,—At your desire I shall not refuse (however much reason I may have for declining to offer my judgment or opinion in things of this nature) to acquaint you freely of

what I think of Mr. Whitefield, or rather what is the opinion of persons of more acquaintance with the good ways of God.

“He is I believe justly esteemed, by all who are personally acquainted with him, an eminent instrument of reviving in these declining times a just sense and concern for the great things of religion. We have of late boon much employed, and a great noise has been made about the lesser matters of the law; and are now much broken in judgment about things, many of which I must own I do not understand.* The cry has been, and still continues loud, ‘Lo, here is Christ, and lo there.’ And now the Lord has raised up this eminent instrument, from a quarter whence we could not have expected it, to call us all to return to Him, from whom it is plain we have deeply revolted, His being by education and profession of a different way from what I cannot but think is most justly professed among us, seems to me to add no small weight to his testimony, as does also his age, The Lord by this

* Of those who differed from their brethren as to their judgment about many things, was Mr. B—, one of the ministers of Aberdeen. After he had prayed and preached against Mr. Whitefield, in his hearing, and quoted some passages of his first printed sermons as heterodox, sermon being ended, Mr. Ogilvie gave notice that Mr. Whitefield would preach in about half an hour. The interval being so short, the magistrates retired into the Session-house, and the congregation patiently waited, “big with expectation,” says Mr. Whitefield, “of hearing my resentment. At the time appointed I went up, and took no other notice of the good man’s ill-timed zeal than to observe in some part of my discourse that if the good old gentleman had seen some of my later writings, wherein I had corrected several of my former mistakes, he would not have expressed himself in such strong terms. The people being thus diverted from controversy with man, were deeply impressed with what they heard from the word of God.”

is, as it were, attracting our eyes and attention to one who, had he been formerly of us, would doubtless, like others, be despised. And yet I cannot but look upon it as a sad proof of departure from God, that instead of regard he meets not only with contempt, but with opposition also, from those who ought to act a very different part. Did he preach another Jesus, or another doctrine, he ought justly to be rejected; but this is not the case. And yet this very thing is advanced as an argument against him; it is said he advances nothing new. And I allow it. This gives his friends joy. But these reverend gentlemen should mind that there are two things in gospel ordinances, purity and power. The first, in mercy, we still have in some good measure (though complaints of the want of this are very open); but the last we sadly confess the want of, and this is what attends the gospel dispensed by him. And sure I am that even the credible report of it should much endear him to all who wish well to the interest of our dear, though too unknown, and altogether lovely Lord Jesus.

“His calmness and serenity under all he meets with, yea his joy in tribulation, is to me so surprising, that I often think the Lord sent him to this place, in particular, to teach me how to preach, and especially how to suffer.

“His attachment to no party, but to Christ and true grace alone, has long appeared to me a peculiar excellency in him. Christianity has been so long broken into so many different sects and parties, that an honest pagan might justly be at a loss, were he among us, where to find the religion of Jesus.

“One now appears, who loudly calls us (and whose

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voice the Lord seems to back with power) to look into the original plan of that religion we profess. Sure nothing more just, nothing more reasonable, He tells us wherein the kingdom of God does consist. And yet how sad is it he should be despised. Who knows but this may be the Lord's last voice to us.

“As to what you ask of his reception in this city, I invited him, nay, urged him, to undertake this journey, in consequence of a correspondence with him, for more than two or three years, I did it with the concurrence of a very few. His journey was delayed, till bad reports had embittered the minds of almost all against him; so that when he came I could scarce obtain liberty for him to preach even in the fields. All that I could do was what I had resolved long before. I gave him with great pleasure and full freedom my pulpit, which for that day was in the church which our magistrates and principal people of note frequent. And at once the Lord, by his preaching, melted down the hearts of his enemies (except — and —); so that, contrary to our custom, he was allowed the same place and pulpit in the evening of that day, and the other church as often as he pleased.

“While he stayed among us in this City, he answered our expectations so much, that he has scarce more friends anywhere of its bulk than here, where at first almost all were against him. And the word came also with so much power, that I hope several of different denominations will bless the Lord for evermore that ever they heard him. And in his way from us I saw in part, and have heard more fully since, what satisfies, that this was of the Lord, and for the good of many.

“P.S. I suppose you have heard that our magistrates

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waited on him while here, and made him free of this place, though that is a compliment rarely allowed to strangers of late.”

Mr. Willison, minister of Dundee, wrote as follows to his friend at Edinburgh: “October 8th, 1741. Honoured Sir,—I am favoured with yours, wherein you desire my thoughts of Mr. Whitefield, and an account of his labours and success with us. Although my sentiments may be little regarded by many, yet when you put me to it, I think I am bound to do justice to the character of this stranger, which I see few willing to do. I am not much surprised, though the devil and all he can influence be up in arms against the youth, seeing he makes such bold and vigorous attacks upon his kingdom and strongholds. As you, sir, do observe it to be with you, so it is with us. He is hated and spoken against by all the episcopal party, and even the most of our clergy do labour to diminish and expose him. This is not to be much wondered at, seeing his incessant labours for Christ and souls is such a strong reproof to them. Besides, what he says publicly against the sending out of unconverted ministers, and their preaching an unknown Christ, this must be galling to carnal men. I look upon this youth as raised up of God for special service, and spirited for making new and singular attempts for promoting true Christianity in the world, and for reviving it where it is decayed; and I see him wonderfully fitted and strengthened, both in body and mind, for going through with his projects amidst the greatest discouragements and difficulties. I see the man to be all of a piece, his life and conversation to be a transcript of his sermons. It is truly a rare thing to see so much of God about anyone man. To see one so eminent

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for humility in the midst of applause; for meekness and patience, under reproaches and injuries; for love to enemies; for desire to glorify Christ and save souls; contentment in a mean lot, acquiescing in the will of God in all cases, never fretting under any dispensation, but still praising and giving thanks for everything. It is rare to see in a man such a flaming fire for God and against sin when in the pulpit, and yet most easy and calm in conversing with men out of it; careful not to give offence to them, and yet never courting the favour of any, God has bestowed a large measure of gifts and graces upon him for the work he is engaged in, and has made him a chosen vessel to carry his name among the Gentiles, and to revive his work in several other churches. Oh that God may order his coming to poor Scotland in such a cloudy time for the same end! And who knows but God might be intreated if we could wrestle with him, notwithstanding all our provocations? Things appeared most unlikely in other places some while ago, where now Christ is riding in triumph, going forth conquering and to conquer, This worthy youth is singularly fitted to do the work of an evangelist; and I have been long of opinion that it would be for the advantage of the world were this still to be a standing office in the church, And seeing the Lord has stirred him up to venture his life, reputation, and his all for Christ—refuse the best benefices in his own country, and run all hazards by sea and land, and travel so many thousand miles to proclaim the glory of Christ and the riches of His free grace, of which he himself is a monument—and especially, seeing God has honoured him to do all this with such surprising success among sinners of all ranks and persuasions, and even many of the most notorious, in awakening and turn-

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ing them to the Lord—I truly think we are also bound to honour him, and to esteem him highly in love for his Master's and for his work's sake, according to 1 Thess. v. 13. And for those who vilify and oppose him, I wish they would even notice Gamaliel's words (Acts v.): 'Let him alone, lest haply ye be found to fight against God.' Or rather, that they would regard the apostle Peter's words, apologizing for his going in with the uncircumcised (Acts xi.) when the Holy Ghost fell upon them: 'What was I, that I could withstand God?' I have myself been witness to the Holy Ghost falling upon him and his hearers oftener than once, I do not say in a miraculous, though in an observable manner. Yea, I have already seen the desirable fruits thereof in not a few, and hope, through the divine blessing on the seed sown, to see more. Many here are blessing God for sending him to this country, though Satan has raged much against it.

“The Lord is sovereign and may raise up the instruments of His glory from what churches or places He pleases, and glorifies His grace the more when He does it from those societies whence and when it could be least expected. Though Mr. Whitefield be ordained, according to his education, a minister of the Church of England, yet we are to regard him as one whom God has raised up to witness against the corruptions of that Church, whom God is still enlightening, and causing to make advances towards us.

“God, by owning him so wonderfully, is pleased to give a rebuke to our intemperate bigotry and party-zeal, and to tell us that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything, but the new creature.”

The following passages from the diary of a Christian in Edinburgh refer to the same time:

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“August 9th, 1741. What is surprising is, that numbers of all ranks, all denominations, and all characters, come constantly to hear him, though his sermons abound with those truths which would be unwelcome from the mouth of others. He is indefatigable in his work. Three hours before noon he appoints for people under distress to converse with him, when he is much confined; then he writes numbers of letters, and this week he is to add a morning lecture to his work. I have reason, among many others, for blessing God for sending him to this place.

“August 30th, 1741. Mr. Whitefield preached Monday morning and afternoon; Tuesday forenoon in the Canon-gate Church, evening in the park, and gathered £25 7s. 6d, for the poor Highlanders. Next day he went to Newbottle, and preached twice, On Thursday to Whitburn, Friday morning at Torphichen, Friday evening at Linlithgow, Saturday morning and afternoon, both at Falkirk, and this day he is at Airth. To-morrow he will preach twice at Stirling; Culross, Tuesday forenoon; Dunfermline, afternoon; Wednesday, twice at Kinross; Thursday, Perth; from Friday to Monday, at Dundee; Monday, Kinlassie, and come to Edinburgh on Tuesday. Blessed be God, he seldom preaches without some one or other being laid under concern, Surely God has sent him to this place for good. The devil never raged more by his emissaries. It is remarkable, there never was a minister nor any other man against whom the mouths of the licentious have been more opened. Since he came I have found myself more desirous to be watchful, lest my foot slip at any time, and to guard against many things which before I thought indifferent.

“Thursday, October 29th, 1741. Yesterday Mr. White-

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field left this place to return to England. His departure was a great grief to many whom the Lord has mercifully awakened under his ministry, the number of which, I believe, is very great, Mr. W—r alone, among about thirty young communicants that came to converse with him, found about a dozen, who told him they were first effectually touched under his ministry, and gave very good accounts of a work of God upon their souls. Some of the most abandoned wretches are brought to cry, ‘What shall I do to be saved?’ I have often had the opportunity of conversation with him, and I think I never heard him or conversed with him but I learned some good lesson, I do not remember to have heard one idle word drop from him in all the times I have been in company with him; and others that have been much more with him give him the same testimony. On Tuesday last he preached and exhorted seven times, I heard him to my great satisfaction the fourth time in the park. From that he went to the Old People’s Hospital to give them an exhortation; but, indeed, I never was witness to anything of the kind before. All the congregation (for many followed him) were so moved, that very few, if any, could refrain from crying out. I am sure the kingdom of God was then come nigh unto them, and that a woe will be unto them that slighted the offers of a Saviour then made to them. From that he went to Heriot’s Hospital, where a great change is wrought upon many of the boys; for there, as well as in the maiden-hospitals, fellowship-meetings are set up, which is quite new there; for the boys of that hospital were noted for the wickedest boys about town, I was with him in a private house in the evening. When he came there he was quite worn out. However he ex-

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pounded there, which was the seventh discourse that day; and, what was very surprising, he was much fresher after he had done than at the beginning.

“November 29th, 1741. I had agreeable accounts of some of the children who were wrought upon by the ministry of Mr. Whitefield. I heard this day of a good many that I heard not of formerly, who were not only laid under concern, but seemed to have a work of grace wrought upon their heart, appearing by a most remarkable change in their conversation, and eager desires after farther degrees of knowledge of the Lord’s ways, which leads them to attend every opportunity they can have for instruction.

“December 6th, 1741. Since Mr. Whitefield’s coming here I find Christians freer in conversation than formerly; which is a great mercy both to themselves and all about them, the experience of which I have had this past week in several places where I have been, I had occasion to see a soldier who was lately wrought upon by Mr. Whitefield’s means. He seems to have come a great length in a little time, and gives a very judicious account of the Lord’s dealings with his soul.”

The preceding letters, &c., show the acceptableness and success of Mr. Whitefield’s ministrations in most of the great towns in Scotland. As to smaller places, the following extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Davidson (his fellow-traveller) to Mr. Henry Davidson, of Galashiels, dated Culross, December 3rd, 1741, is a specimen:

“Our journey to the North was as comfortable as any we had, in several places as he came along, the Lord I thought countenanced him in a very convincing manner, particularly at a place called Lundie, five miles north from

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Dundee, where there is a considerable number of serious Christians, who, hearing that he was to come that way, spent most part of the night before in prayer together. Although his preaching there was only in a passing way, having to ride to Dundee after it, and it was betwixt three and four before he reached the place, yet he had but scarce well begun, before the power of God was indeed very discernible. There was nothing violent in it, or like what we may call screwing up the passions; for it evidently appeared to be deep and hearty, and to proceed from a higher spring.”

As a conclusion of this article concerning Mr. Whitefield’s first reception and ministrations in Scotland, we give the following extract from the papers of a gentleman who was eminent for learning and knowledge of the world, and who had a general acquaintance with those who professed the greatest regard to the things of God.

“Messrs, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine corresponded with him for two or three years, and invited him to Scotland. But afterwards reflecting that if they held communion with an episcopal minister, because a good man and successful preacher, they could not vindicate their renouncing communion with such ministers in the Church of Scotland, they wrote to him not to come. However, on the invitation of some ministers and people of the Established Church, he came, and preached his first sermon in Mr. Ralph Erskine’s pulpit at Dunfermline, a town ten or twelve miles from Edinburgh, on the other side of the Forth. At a second visit to Dunfermline he had a conference with all the seceding brethren, where he honestly avowed that he was a member of the Church of England, and as he thought the government and worship

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of it lawful, was resolved, unless violently thrust out of it, to continue so, rebuking sin and preaching Christ; and told them he reckoned the solemn league and covenant a sinful oath, as too much narrowing the communion of saints, and that he could not see the divine right of presbytery. On this they came to a presbyterial resolution to have no more to do with him; and one of them preached a sermon to show that one who held communion with the Church of England, or backslidden Church of Scotland, could not be an instrument of reformation. This, however, did not hinder multitudes, both of the seceders and Established Church of Scotland, from hearing his sermons. His soundness in the faith, his fervent zeal and unwearied diligence for promoting the cause of Christ; the plainness and simplicity, the affection and warmth of his sermons, and the amazing power that had accompanied them in many parts of England, and in almost all the North American colonies, joined to his meekness, humility, and truly candid and catholic spirit, convinced them there was reason to think well of him and to countenance his ministry. Conversions were become rare, little liveliness was to be found even in real Christians, and bigotry and blind zeal were producing animosities and divisions, and turning away the attention of good men from matters of infinitely greater importance, In this situation an animated preacher appears singularly qualified to awaken the secure, to recover Christians to their first love and first works, and to reconcile their affections one to another.

“The episcopal clergy gave him no countenance, though some few of their people did. And in the established Church of Scotland some of the more rigid Presbyterians would not hold communion with him, on account of his

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connection with the Church of England, and his seeming to assume the office of an evangelist, peculiar in their apprehension to the first ages of the church, while some, who affected to be thought more sensible, or more modish and polite, were mightily dissatisfied with him for preaching the Calvinist doctrines of election, original sin, efficacious grace, justification through faith, and the perseverance of the saints; and for inveighing against the play-house, dancing assemblies, games of chance, haunting taverns, vanity and extravagance in dress, and levity in behaviour and conversation.

“Some gentlemen and ladies who went to hear would not go a second time, because he disturbed them by insisting on man’s miserable and dangerous state by nature, and the strictness and holiness essential to the Christian character. But upon many of his hearers in Edinburgh, of all ranks and ages, especially young people, deep impressions were made, and many of them waited on him privately, lamenting their former immoral lives, or stupid thoughtlessness about religion, and expressing their anxious concern about obtaining an interest in Christ and the sanctifying influences of the Spirit, In the greatest part of these the impressions have appeared to be saving, from their circumspect exemplary conduct since that time, or from their comfortable or triumphant deaths.”

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM HIS LEAVING EDINBURGH 1741, TO HIS RETURN TO
THAT CITY IN THE YEAR 1742.

MR. WHITEFIELD having left Edinburgh in the latter end of October, 1741, set out for Abergavenny in Wales, where he married one Mrs. James, a widow between thirty and forty years of age, of whom he says: "She has been a housekeeper many years, once gay, but for three years last past a despised follower of the Lamb of God," From Abergavenny he went to Bristol, where he preached twice a day with his usual success. Upon returning to London in the beginning of December, he received letters from Georgia concerning his orphan family, which with respect to their external circumstances were a little discouraging. On the other hand he had most comfortable accounts of the fruits of his ministry in Scotland. This made him think of paying another visit there in the spring. Meantime he had the pleasure of seeing his labours attended with the divine blessing in London and Bristol. And from Gloucester he thus writes: "December 22nd, 1741. Last Thursday evening the Lord brought me hither. I preached immediately to our friends in a large barn, and had my Master's presence. On Friday and Saturday I preached again twice, Both the power and the congregation increased. ... On Sunday afternoon, after I had preached twice at Gloucester, I preached at Mr. F—'s

at the hill, six miles off, and again at night at Stroud. The people seemed to be more hungry than ever, and the Lord to be more amongst them. Yesterday morning I preached at Painswick in the parish church, here in the afternoon, and again at night in the barn. God gives me unspeakable comfort and uninterrupted joy. Here seems to be a new awakening, and a revival of the work of God, I find several country people were awakened when I preached at Tewksbury, and have heard of three or four that have died in the Lord. ... Many who were prejudiced against me begin to be of another mind; and God shows me more and more that when a man's ways please the Lord. He will make even his enemies to be at peace with him. To-morrow morning I purpose to set out for Abergavenny, and to preach at Bristol, in Wilts, Gloucester, and Gloucestershire, before I see London."

In the latter end of December he visited Bristol, where he continued near a month, preaching twice every day, and writing to his friends in London and Scotland. He also set up a general monthly meeting to read corresponding letters. From Bristol he returned to Gloucester, and January 28th, 1742, writes: "On Friday last I left Bristol, having first settled affairs, almost as I could wish. On Thursday we had a sweet love-feast; on Friday the Lord was with me twice at Tockington; on Saturday morning I broke up some fallow ground at Newport, and in the evening preached to many thousands at Stroud; on Monday morning at Painswick, and ever since twice a day here, Our congregations, I think, are larger than at Bristol. Every sermon is blessed."

On his way to London, February 23rd, he was still

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further encouraged by receiving letters from America, informing him of the remarkable success of the gospel there, and that God had stirred up some wealthy friends to assist his orphans in their late straits, concerning whom he wrote: "The everlasting God reward all their benefactors. I find there has been a fresh awakening among them. I am informed that twelve negroes, belonging to a planter lately converted at the orphan-house, are savingly brought home to Jesus Christ." Upon his return to London he went on with greater zeal and success, if possible, than ever. "Our Saviour," says he, writing to a brother, April 6th, 11-12, "is doing great things in London daily. I rejoice to hear that you are helped in your work. Let this encourage you. Go on, go on; the more we do, the more we may do for Jesus. I sleep and eat but little, and am constantly employed from morning till midnight, and yet my strength is daily renewed, O free grace! It fires my soul, and makes me long to do something for Jesus. It is true indeed, I want to go home; but here are so many souls ready to perish for lack of knowledge, that I am willing to tarry below as long as my Master has work for me."

From this principle of compassion to perishing souls, he now ventured to take a very extraordinary step. It had been the custom for many years past, in the holiday seasons, to erect booths in Moorfields for mountebanks, players, puppet-shows, &c., which were attended from morning till night by innumerable multitudes of the lower sort of people. He formed a resolution to preach the gospel among them, and executed it. On Whit-Monday, at six o'clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people, he began. Thou-

sands who were waiting there, gaping for their usual diversions, all flocked round him, His text was John iii. 14. They gazed, they listened, they wept; and many seemed to be stung with deep conviction for their past sins. All was hushed and solemn, "Being thus encouraged," says he, "I ventured out again at noon, when the fields were quite full; and could scarce help smiling to see thousands, when a merry-andrew was trumpeting to them, upon observing me mount a stand on the opposite side of the field, deserting him, till not so much as one was left behind, but all flocked to hear the gospel. But this, together with a complaint that they had taken near twenty or thirty pounds less that day than usual, so enraged the owners of the booths, that when I came to preach a third time in the evening, in the midst of the sermon a merry-andrew got upon a man's shoulders, and, advancing near the pulpit, attempted to slash me with a long heavy whip several times. Soon afterwards they got a recruiting sergeant, with his drum, &c., to pass through the congregation. But I desired the people to make way for the king's officer, which was quietly done. Finding these efforts to fail, a large body, quite on the opposite side, assembled together, and having got a great pole for their standard, advanced with sound of drum, in a very threatening manner, till they came near the skirts of the congregation, Uncommon courage was given hath to preacher and hearers. I prayed for support and deliverance, and was heard. For just as they approached us with looks full of resentment, I know not by what accident, they quarrelled among themselves, threw down their staff, and went their way, leaving; however, many of their company behind, who, before we had done, I trust were

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brought over to join the besieged party. I think I continued in praying, preaching, and singing (for the noise was too great at times to preach), about three hours. We then retired to the Tabernacle, where thousands flocked. We were determined to pray down the booths; but, blessed be God, more substantial work was done. At a moderate computation, I received, I believe, a thousand notes from persons under conviction; and soon after upwards of three hundred were received into the society in one day. Some I married that had lived together without marriage. One man had exchanged his wife for another, and given fourteen shillings in exchange. Numbers that seemed, as it were, to have been bred up for Tyburn were at that time plucked as firebrands out of the burning.

“I cannot help adding that several little boys and girls who were fond of sitting round me on the pulpit while I preached, and handing to me people’s notes, though they were often pelted with eggs, dirt, &c., thrown at me, never once gave way; but, on the contrary, every time I was struck, turned up their little weeping eyes, and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me, God make them, in their growing years, great and living martyrs for Him who, out of the mouth of babes and sucklings perfects praise.”

CHAPTER IX.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND, 1742, TO HIS RETURN TO
LONDON THE SAME YEAR.

Soon after this he embarked a second time for Scotland, and arrived at Leith, June 3rd, 1742, The diary, before quoted, refers to this visit in the following terms:

“Edinburgh, June 6th, 1742. On Thursday last our dear friend Mr. Whitefield returned to this place, to the great comfort of many honest Christians, especially of those to whom he was made a means of conviction and conversion when last here. He seems to have improved much in Christian knowledge, He is much refreshed with the accounts of the work of God in the west country. I have heard him preach five excellent discourses, all calculated for the building up of Christians (though he never fails to put in a word for the conviction of sinners), and I think can say that I have never heard him without some influence attending his preaching, especially in private houses.

“October 17th, 1742, It is a great recommendation of Mr. Whitefield to me, that though the seceders give him every bad character that can be devised, viz., a sorcerer, &c., yet he takes all patiently, and wherever he goes speaks well of them, so far as he can; for none can approve of those gross parts of their conduct; therefore these he chooses to cast a mantle of love over.”

But here it is proper to take a view of the state of things in that country upon his arrival. It had pleased God to bless his first visit to Scotland, not only for the conversion of particular persons, and the comfort and quickening of private Christians, but to rouse them to more than ordinary concern about the salvation of their neighbours, and to excite pious and conscientious ministers to greater diligence in their work. Prayers were put up with some degree of faith and hope that God would now give success to their labours, and not suffer them always to complain that they spent their strength in vain, Nor were these prayers long unanswered, for in the month of February, 1742, an extraordinary religious concern began to appear publicly at Cambuslang, a parish four miles from Glasgow, and soon after at Kilsyth and other places, the news of which quickly spread through the land, and engaged general attention, It was computed that in a few months upwards of two thousand persons were awakened in that part of Scotland.

A person of distinction wrote thus concerning it:

“Edinburgh, February, 1742.—I would not ascribe all the revival of religion in Scotland to [the instrumentality of] Mr. Whitefield. At Cambuslang it began before he had been there; but in Edinburgh, and all the other places in Scotland that I heard of, after diligent enquiry, it began with his first visit. This honour he had from his divine Master, and it ought not to be taken from him. And every time he came to Scotland it is an undoubted fact that an uncommon power attended his ministry, and many were always brought under serious and lasting impressions.”

To the same purpose is Mr. Willison’s letter to Dr.

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Colman, minister in Boston, dated Dundee, Feb. 28th, 1743: "I must inform you a little of the work of God begun here. I told you in my last that after Mr. Whitefield's first coming and preaching three months in Scotland, there were some beginnings of a revival of religion in some of our principal cities, as Edinburgh and Glasgow, which still continue and increase, especially since Mr. Whitefield's second coming in June last. But besides these cities, the Lord hath been pleased to begin a work much like that in New England in several places in the west of Scotland. The first parish awakened was Cambuslang; the next was the parish of Kilsyth, about nine miles north-east of Glasgow; and afterwards the parishes of Calder, Kirkintilloch, Cumbernauld, Campsie, Kilmarnock, Gargunnock, and a great many others in the country. The awakenings of people have been in a good many attended with outcries, faintings, and bodily distresses; but in many more the work has proceeded with great calmness, But the effects in both sorts are alike good and desirable, and hitherto we hear nothing of their falling back from what they have professed at the beginning; and still we hear of some new parishes falling under great concern here and there, though the great cryings and outward distresses are much ceased,

"The Lord in this backsliding time is willing to pity us, and see our ways and heal them, however crooked and perverse they have been. The magistrates and ministers in Edinburgh are beginning to set up societies for reformation of manners, and new lectures on week-days. May all our cities follow their example. There is a great increase of praying societies also in Edinburgh and other towns and villages, and in them they are keeping days of

thanksgiving for the partial waterings the Lord is giving us; those in Edinburgh send printed memorials to others through the nation, to excite them to it."

Mr. Macknight, of Irvine, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield, June 21st, 1742: "Blessed be our glorious God, there are some awakenings amongst us at Irvine, not only of those who have been at Cambuslang, but several others are lately brought into great concern about their eternal state, and among them several children, the news of which I know will rejoice you, and I hope will encourage you to visit us to help forward this great and glorious work of converting sinners."

The greatest strangers to religion could not avoid hearing of these things; but they were very differently affected with them. Whilst some became more thoughtful and serious, many mocked, and some were even filled with rage. On the other hand, the temper and behaviour of those who were the subjects of this remarkable work, was the strongest of all arguments that it came from above. Their earnest desire to be rightly directed in the way to heaven; their tender and conscientious walk; their faithfulness in the duties of their stations; their readiness to make ample restitution for any act of injustice they had formerly committed; their disposition to judge mildly of others, but severely of themselves; their laying aside quarrels and law-suits, and desiring to be reconciled and to live peaceably with all men; such amiable and heavenly qualities, especially when appearing in some who had formerly been of a very opposite character, could not fail to strike every serious observer. In short, it was such a time for the revival of religion as had never before been seen in Scotland.

The enmity which wicked and profane men discovered against this work, and the derision with which they treated it, is no more than what might naturally be expected. But it is not so easy to account for the conduct of the seceders. These, not satisfied with forbearing to approve of it, went the length even to appoint a general fast among them, one of the grounds of which was the receiving Mr. Whitefield into Scotland; and another the delusion, as they called it, at Cambuslang and other places; and Mr. Gibb, one of their ministers, wrote a pamphlet inveighing against both in the most virulent language. Such was the bigotry and misguided zeal of the bulk of the party at that time. With respect to Mr. Whitefield, the spring of their first opposition to him sufficiently appears from his conversation with them at Dunfermline, formerly mentioned. And the following letter, which he wrote at Cambuslang, August, 1742, and which was afterwards printed at Glasgow, gives an account of their objections, and his answers, which are perfectly agreeable to the spirit of both: "I heartily thank you for your concern about unworthy me. Though I am not very solicitous what the world say of me, yet I would not refuse to give anyone, much less a minister of Jesus Christ (and such an one I take you to be), all reasonable satisfaction about any part of my doctrine or conduct. I am sorry that the associate presbytery, besides the other things exceptionable in the grounds of their late fast, have done me much wrong. As to what they say about the supremacy, my sentiments, as to the power and authority of the civil magistrate as to sacred things, agree with what is said in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, chap. xxiii. par. 3 and 4. And I do own the Lord Jesus to be the blessed head of His Church.

“The solemn league and covenant I never abjured, neither was it ever proposd to me to be abjured; and as for my missives, if the associate presbytery will be pleased to print them, the world will see that they had no reason to expect I would act in any other manner than I have done. What that part of my experience is that savours of the grossest enthusiasm I know not, because not specified; but this one thing I know, when I conversed with them, they were satisfied with the account I then gave of my experiences, and also of the validity of my mission; only, when they found I would preach the gospel promiscuously to all, and for every minister that would invite me, and not adhere only to them, one of them particularly said, ‘They were satisfied with all the other accounts which I gave of myself, except of my call to Scotland at that time.’ They would have been glad of my help, and have received me as a minister of Jesus Christ, had I consented to have preached only at the invitation of them and their people. But I judged that to be contrary to the dictates of my conscience, and therefore I could not comply: I thought their foundation was too narrow for any high house to be built upon, I declared freely, when last in Scotland (and am more and more convinced of it since), that they were building a Babel.”

And in his MS. notes, several years after, he makes the following remark: “Such a work (the religious concern at Cambuslang), so very extensive, must meet with great opposition. My collections for the orphans gave a great handle; but the chief opposition was made by the Seceders, who, though they had prayed for me at a most extravagant rate, now gave out that I was agitated by the devil. Taking it for granted that all converted persons

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must take the covenant, and that God had left the Scotch established churches long ago, and that He would never work by the hands of a curate of the Church of England, they condemned the whole work as the work of the devil; and kept a fast through all Scotland to humble themselves, because the devil was come down in great wrath, and to pray that the Lord would rebuke the destroyer (for that was my title). But the Lord rebuked these good men, for they split among themselves, and excommunicated one another. Having afterwards a short interview with Mr. Ralph Erskine, we embraced each other, and he said, 'We, have seen strange things.'

In the letter of August, 1742, he goes on to say, "I was very far from being against all church government; (for how can any church subsist without it?) I only urged, as I do now, that since holy men differ so much about the outward form, we should bear with and forbear one another, though in this respect we are not of one mind. I have often declared in the most public manner that I believe the Church of Scotland to be the best constituted national church in the world. At the same time I would bear with and converse freely with all others who do not err in fundamentals, and who give evidence that they are true lovers of the Lord Jesus. This is what I mean by a catholic spirit. Not that I believe a Jew or Pagan continuing such can be a true Christian, or have true Christianity in them; and if there be anything tending that way in the late extract which I sent you, I utterly disavow it. And I am sure I observed no such thing in it when I published it, though upon a closer review some expressions seem justly exceptionable. You know how strongly I assert all the doctrines of grace as held forth in the West-

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minster Confession of Faith, and doctrinal Articles of the Church of England. These I trust I shall adhere to as long as I live, because I verily believe they are the truths of God, and have felt the power of them in my own heart, I am only concerned that good men should be guilty of such misrepresentations. But this teaches me more and more to exercise compassion toward all the children of God, and to be more jealous over our own hearts, knowing what fallible creatures we all are, I acknowledge that I am a poor blind sinner, liable to err, and would be obliged to an enemy, much more to so dear a friend as you are, to point out to me my mistakes as to my practice, or unguarded expressions in my preaching or writing. At the same time I would humble myself before my Master, for any thing I may say or do amiss, and beg the influence and assistances of His blessed Spirit, that I may say and do so no more.”

But notwithstanding all Mr. Whitefield’s difference with the Seceders, upon his second arrival in Scotland, June, 1742, he was received by great numbers, among whom were some persons of distinction, with much joy, and had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing more and more of the happy fruits of his ministry, to which he refers thus in one of his letters:

“Edinburgh, June 4th, 1742. This morning I received glorious accounts of the carrying on of the Mediator’s kingdom. Three of the little boys that were converted when I was last here came to me and wept, and begged me to pray for and with them. A minister tells me that scarce one is fallen back who was awakened, either among old or young. The serjeant, whose letter brother G—has, goes on well with his company.” And in the MS.

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“Societies (or fellowship meetings) I found set up for prayer, especially at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Several young gentlemen dedicated themselves to the ministry, and became burning and shining lights.”

At Edinburgh he preached twice a day, as usual, in the Hospital Park, where a number of seats and shades, in the form of an amphitheatre, were erected for the accommodation of his hearers. And in consequence of earnest invitations, he went to the west country, particularly to Cambuslang, where he preached no less than three times upon the very day of his arrival to a vast body of people, although he had preached that same morning at Glasgow. The last of these exercises he began at nine at night, continuing till eleven, when he said he observed such a commotion among the people as he had never seen in America, Mr. MacCulloch preached after him till past one in the morning, and even then could hardly persuade the people to depart. All night in the fields might be heard the voice of prayer and praise. As Mr. Whitefield was frequently at Cambuslang during this season, a description of what he observed there at different times will be best given in his own words: “Persons from all parts flocked to see, and many from many parts went home convinced and converted unto God. A brae, or hill, near the manse at Cambuslang, seemed to be formed by Providence for containing a large congregation. People sat unwearied till two in the morning to hear sermons, disregarding the weather. You could scarce walk a yard but you must tread upon some, either rejoicing in God for mercies received, or crying out for more. Thousands and thousands have I seen, before it was possible to catch it by sympathy, melted down under the word and power of God.”

Besides his labours at Glasgow and Cambuslang, it is somewhat surprising to think how many other places in the west of Scotland he visited within the compass of a few weeks, preaching once or twice at everyone of them, and at several three or four times. It is worth while to set down the journal of a week or two. In the beginning of July he preached twice, on Monday, at Paisley; on the Tuesday and Wednesday, three times each day at Irvine; on Thursday, twice at Mearns; on Friday, three times at Cumbernauld; and on Saturday, twice at Falkirk. And again in the latter end of August, on Thursday, he preached twice at Greenock; on Friday, three times at Kilbride; on Saturday, once at Kilbride and twice at Stevenson; on Sunday, four times at Irvine; on Monday, once at Irvine and three times at Kilmarnock; on Tuesday, once at Kilmarnock and four times at Stewarton; on Wednesday, once at Stewarton and twice at the Mearns. He was also at Inchannen, New Kilpatrick, Calder, and Kilsyth (where the religious concern still increased), and at Torphichen. He was indeed sometimes taken very ill, and his friends thought he was going off; "but in the pulpit," says he, "the Lord out of weakness makes me to wax strong, and causes me to triumph more and more." And even when he retired for a day or two, it was on purpose to write letters, and to prepare papers for the press, so that he was as busy as ever.

"Then he was at Edinburgh, he received accounts that the Spaniards had landed in Georgia. Upon this occasion he wrote to Mr. Habersham: "I am glad my dear family is removed to Mr. Bryan's, and rejoice that our glorious God had raised him and his brother up to be such friends in time of need. My thoughts have been variously exer-

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cised, but my heart kept stedfast and joyful in the Lord of all lords, whose mercy endureth for ever, I long to be with you, and methinks could willingly be found at the head of you kneeling and praying, though a Spaniard's sword should be put to my throat. The thoughts of divine love carry me above everything. My dear friend, the Spaniards cannot rob us of this, nor can men or devils, I humbly hope that I shall shortly hear of the spiritual and temporal welfare of you all." And he was not disappointed, for a few weeks after he was informed of his family's safe return to Bethesda.

About the end of October he left Scotland, and rode post to London, where he arrived in about five days.

CHAPTER X.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL IN LONDON, IN THE YEAR 1742, TO HIS
EMBARKING FOR AMERICA, 1744.

ON Mr. Whitefield's arrival in London he found a new awakening at the Tabernacle, which they had been obliged to enlarge, where, as he observes, "from morning till midnight I am employed, and, glory be to rich grace, I am carried through the duties of each day with cheerfulness, and almost uninterrupted tranquillity. Our society is large, but in good order. My Master gives us much of His gracious presence, both in our public and private administrations."

In the month of March, 1743, he went into Gloucestershire, where the people seemed more desirous to hear than ever, "Preaching," says he, "in Gloucestershire is now like preaching at the Tabernacle in London." And again, in a letter dated April 7th, "I preached and took leave of the Gloucester people, with mutual and great concern, on Sunday evening last. It was past one in the morning before I could lay my weary body down. At five I rose again, sick for want of rest; but I was enabled to get on horseback and ride to Mr. F—'s, where I preached to a large congregation, who came there at seven in the morning. At ten I preached. Then I rode to Stroud, and preached to about 12,000 in Mistress G—'s field; and about six in the evening to a like number in Hampton Common.

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After this, went to Hampton, and held a general love-feast with the united societies, and went to bed about midnight very cheerful and very happy." Next morning he preached near Dursley to some thousands; about seven reached Bristol, and preached to a full congregation at Smiths Hall; and on Tuesday morning, after preaching again, set out for Waterford, in South Wales, where he opened the association which he and his brethren had agreed upon, and was several days with them, settling the affairs of the societies. He continued in Wales some weeks, and preached with great apparent success at Cardiff, Llantrissant, Neath, Swansea, Harbrook, Llanelthy, Carmarthen, Larn, Narbatt, Newton, Jefferson, Llassivran, Kidwilly, Llangathan, Landoverly, Brecon, Trevecka, Guenfethen, Builth, and the Gore.

At Carmarthen "it was the great sessions. The justices desired he would stay till they rose, and they would come, Accordingly they did, and many thousands more, and several people of quality."

In the latter end of April he returned to Gloucester, after having in about three weeks travelled about four hundred English miles, spent three days in attending associations, and preached about forty times. At this time he writes: "The work begun by Mr. Jones spread itself far and near in South and North Wales, where the Lord had made Mr. Howel Harris an instrument of converting several clergy as well as laymen. Last year I visited several places; but now I went to more, and in every place found that not one half had been told me. At seven in the morning have I seen perhaps ten thousand from different parts, in the midst of sermon, crying, Gogunniant—bendyitti—ready to leap for joy."

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In May he went back to London, "Once more," as he expresses it, "to attack the prince of darkness in Moorfields," in the time of the holidays. The congregations were amazingly great, and much affected. And by the contributions which were now and formerly made for his orphans, he had the satisfaction of paying all that was due in England, and of making a small remittance to Mr. Habersham.

About the middle of June he made another excursion and preached at Fairford, Glanfield, Burford, Bengeworth, and Gloucester; also at Bristol and Kingswood, and at Brinkworth, Tetherton, and Hampton. At Bristol he continued some time, preaching stately every day twice, and four times on the Sunday. Afterwards he preached at Exeter to very large congregations, where many of the clergy attended.

In August he returned to London, but made no long stay there, "I thank you," says he to a correspondent. "for your kind caution to spare myself; but evangelizing is certainly my province, Everywhere effectual doors are opened. So far from thinking of nestling in London, I am more and more convinced that I should go from place to place."

Accordingly we find him, in the months of October, November, and December, preaching and travelling through the country, as if it had been the middle of summer. At Avon in Wilts, Tetherton, Clack, Brinkworth, Chippenham, Wellington, Cullompton, Exeter, Axminster, Ottery, Bideford, St. Gennis in Cornwall, Birmingham, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove. Nor did he feel his health much impaired, though it was so late in the season. He observes, indeed, that he had got a cold; but adds, "The Lord warms my heart."

From Bideford he wrote:

“Here is a clergyman about eighty years of age, but not above one year old in the school of Christ. He lately preached three times, and rode forty miles the same day. A young Oxonian who came with him, and many others, were deeply affected, I cannot well describe with what power the Word was attended. Dear Mr. Hervey, one of our first Methodists at Oxford, and who was lately a curate here, had laid the foundation.”

And from St. Gennis:

“Many prayers were put up by the worthy rector and others. They were answered. Arrows of conviction flew so thick and so fast, and such an universal weeping prevailed from one end of the congregation to the other, that good Mr. J—, their minister, could not help going from seat to seat to speak, encourage, and comfort the wounded souls.”

From Birmingham:

“It is near eleven at night, and nature calls for rest. I have preached five times this day, and weak as I am, through Christ strengthening me, I could preach five times more.”

And at Kidderminster:

“I was kindly received by Mr. Williams, Many friends were at his house. I was greatly refreshed to find what a sweet savour of good Mr. Baxter’s doctrine, works, and discipline remained to this day.”*

February, 1744, an event happened to him which, amidst all his success, tended to keep him humble, and served to cure him of a weakness to which he had been liable, the trusting to groundless impressions. It was the death of his only child, concerning whom he was so im-

* About fifty years after the decease of Mr. Baxter.

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pressed, that he made no scruple of declaring before the birth that the child would be a son, and that he hoped he would live to preach the gospel. Several narrow escapes which Mrs. Whitefield had during her pregnancy, confirmed him in his expectations, These fond expectations were soon blasted by the child's death, when he was about four months old, This was, no doubt, very humbling to the father; but he was helped to make the wisest and best improvement of it. "Though I am disappointed," says he, writing to his friend, "of a living preacher by the death of my son, yet I hope what happened before his birth, and since at his death, has taught me such lessons as, if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more cautious, more sober-minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and consequently more useful in his future labours to the Church of God."

Several anonymous papers, entitled *Observations upon the Conduct and Behaviour of a certain Sect usually distinguished by the name of Methodists*, had been printed, and handed about in the religious societies of London, and Westminster, and given to many private persons, with strict injunctions to part with them to no one, Mr. Whitefield having accidentally had the hasty perusal of them, and finding many queries concerning him and his conduct contained in them, and having applied for a copy, which was refused him, he thought it his duty to publish an advertisement, desiring (as he knew not how soon he might embark for Georgia) a speedy, open publication of the said papers, that he might make a candid and impartial answer, He had reason to believe the Bishop of London was concerned in composing or revising them; but that he might not be mistaken, after the publication

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of the advertisement he wrote the bishop a letter, wherein he desired to know whether his lordship was the author or not, and also desired a copy. The bishop sent word "he should hear from him." Some time after, one Mr. Owen, printer to the bishop, left a letter for Mr. Whitefield, informing him that he had orders from *several of the bishops* to print the *Observations, &c., with some few additions*, for their use, and when the impression was finished Mr. Whitefield should have a copy, For these reasons Mr. Whitefield thought it proper to direct his *Answer to the Observations* to the Bishop of London and the other bishops concerned in the publication of them, This answer occasioned Mr. Church's expostulatory letter to Mr. Whitefield, to which he soon replied, with thanks to the author for prefixing his name.

Having resolved to make another visit to America, whither Mr. Smith, a merchant, then in England, in the name of thousands invited him, he purposed to sail with that gentleman from Portsmouth; but being informed, just before he was about to take his farewell, that the captain refused to take him, for fear, as he alleged, of spoiling the sailors, he was obliged to go as far as Plymouth. "In my way," says he, "I preached at Wellington, where one Mr. Darracott had been a blessed instrument of doing much good. At Exeter also I revisited, where many souls were awakened to the divine life, At Bideford, where good Mr. Hervey had been curate, we had much of the power of God, and also at Kingsbridge. But the chief scene was at Plymouth and the Dock, where I expected least success." Upon mentioning Bideford, he adds: "Your sentiments concerning Mr. Hervey's book★

★ HERVEY'S *Meditations*.

are very just, The author of it is my old friend, a most heavenly-minded creature, one of the first of the Methodists, who is contented with a small cure, and gives all that he has to the poor. He is very weak, and daily waits for his dissolution.”

It is remarkable that just before his success at Plymouth he was in danger of being killed. Four gentlemen, it seems, came to the house of one of his particular friends, kindly inquiring after him, and desiring to know where he lodged. Soon afterwards Mr. Whitefield received a letter informing him that the writer was a nephew of Mr. S—, an attorney at New York; that he had the pleasure of supping with Mr. Whitefield at his uncle’s house, and desired his company to sup with him, and a few more friends, at a tavern, Mr. Whitefield sent him word that it was not customary for him to sup abroad at taverns, but should be glad of the gentleman’s company to eat a morsel with him at his lodgings. He accordingly came, and supped; but was observed frequently to look around him, and to be very absent. At last he took his leave, and returned to his companions in the tavern; and being by them interrogated what he had done, he answered, “That he had been used so civilly he had not the heart to touch him.” Upon which, it seems, another of the company, a lieutenant of a man-of-war, laid a wager of ten guineas that he would do his business for him. His companions, however, had the precaution to take away his sword, It was now about midnight, and Mr. Whitefield having that day preached to a large congregation, and visited the French prisoners, was gone to bed, when the landlady came and told him that a well-dressed gentleman desired to speak with him. Mr. Whitefield, imagining it was somebody under conviction, desired

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him to be brought up, He came and sat down by the bed-side, congratulated him upon the success of his ministry, and expressed much concern at being detained from hearing him, Soon after he broke out into the most abusive language, and in a cruel and cowardly manner beat him in his bed. The landlady and her daughter hearing the noise, rushed into the room and seized upon him; but he soon disengaged himself from them and repeated his blows on Mr. Whitefield, who, being apprehensive that he intended to shoot or stab him, underwent all the surprise of a sudden and violent death. Afterwards a second came into the house, and cried out from the bottom of the stairs, "Take courage, I am ready to help you," But by the repeated cry of murder, the alarm was now so great that they both made off. "The next morning," says Mr. Whitefield, "I was to expound at a private house and then to set out for Bideford. Some urged me to stay and prosecute; but being better employed I went on my intended journey, was greatly blessed in preaching the everlasting gospel, and upon my return was well paid for what I had suffered; curiosity having led perhaps two thousand more than ordinary, to see and hear a man that had like to have been murdered in his bed. And I trust in the five weeks' time, while I waited for the convoy, hundreds were awakened and turned unto the Lord. At the Dock also, near Plymouth, a glorious work was begun. Could the fields between Plymouth and the Dock speak, they could tell what blessed seasons were enjoyed there."

CHAPTER XI.

FROM HIS EMBARKING FOR AMERICA, IN 1744, TO HIS GOING TO
BERMUDA, IN THE YEAR 1748.

As soon as the convoy came,* Mr. Whitefield embarked, in the beginning of August, 1744, though in a poor state of health, The tediousness of the voyage, he imagined, occasioned no small addition to a violent pain in his side, However, he says, "Blessed be God, in a week or two after we sailed we began to have a church in our ship, We had regular public prayer morning and evening, frequent communion, and days of humiliation and fasting." After a passage of eleven weeks, he arrived at York, in New England, Colonel Pepperell went with some friends in his own boat to invite him to his house. But he was not in a proper condition to accept the invitation, being so ill of a nervous cholic that he was obliged, immediately after his arrival, to go to bed. His friends were very apprehensive; but he himself had much inward peace.

* "August 4th. Our convoy is now come, I desire you all to bless God for what He is doing in these parts, for preaching in the Dock is now like preaching at the Tabernacle. Our morning lectures are very delightful. Oh the thousands that flock to the preaching of Christ's gospel!

"P.S. I must tell you one thing more. There is a ferry over to Plymouth, The ferrymen are now so much my friends that they will take nothing of the multitudes that come to hear me preach, saying, God forbid that we should sell the word of God."

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Great care was taken of him by a physician who had been a notorious Deist, but was awakened the last time he was in New England. For some time he was indeed very weak; "Yet," he writes, "in three weeks I was enabled to preach; but, imprudently going over the ferry to Portsmouth, I caught cold, immediately relapsed, and was taken, as everyone thought, with death, in my dear friend Mr. Sherburne's house. What gave me most concern was, that notice had been given of my intention to preach. Whilst the doctor was preparing a medicine, feeling my pains abated, I on a sudden cried, 'Doctor, my pains are suspended; by the help of God I will go and preach, and then come home and die.' In my own apprehension, and in all appearance to others, I was a dying man. I preached, The people heard me as such. The invisible realities of another world lay open to my view. Expecting to stretch into eternity, and to be with my Master before the morning, I spoke with peculiar energy. Such effects followed the Word, I thought it was worth dying for a thousand times. Though wonderfully comforted within, at my return home I thought I was dying indeed. I was laid on a bed upon the ground, near the fire, and I heard my friends say, 'He is gone,' But God was pleased to order it otherwise. I gradually recovered, and soon after a poor negro woman would see me. She came, sat down upon the ground, and looked earnestly in my face, and then said in broken language, 'Master, you just go to heaven's gate. But Jesus Christ said, Get you down, got you down, you must not come here yet; but go first and call some more poor negroes,' I prayed to the Lord that, if I was to live, this might be the event.

"In about three weeks I was enabled, though in great

weakness, to reach Boston; and every day was more and more confirmed in what I had heard about a glorious work that had been begun and carried on there, and in almost all parts of New England, for two years together. Before my last embarkation from Georgia, Mr. Colman and Mr. Cooper wrote me word, that upon Mr. Tennant's going out as an itinerant the awakening greatly increased in various places, But as the same sun that enlightens and warms the earth gives vent to noxious insects, so the same work that for a while carried all before it was sadly blemished through the subtlety of Satan,* and the want of more experience in ministers and people, who had never seen such a scene before. Opposers who waited for such an occasion did all they could to aggravate everything. One rode several hundred miles to pick up all the accounts he could get of what was wrong in what he called only 'a religious stir.' And God having been pleased to send me first, all was laid upon me. Testimonies signed by various ministers came out almost every day against me.† And the dis-

* Thus it was at the Reformation in Germany.

† While some published testimonials against Mr. Whitefield, others published testimonials in his favour, and the following appeared in Prince's *Christian History*, published in Boston at that time:—

“He comes with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence as before, In opposition to the spirit of separation and bigotry, is still for holding communion with all Protestant churches, In opposition to enthusiasm, he preaches a close adherence to the Scriptures, the necessity of trying all impressions by them, and of rejecting whatever is not agreeable to them as delusions, In opposition to Antinomianism, he preaches up all kinds of relative and religious duties, though to be performed in the strength of Christ; and, in short, the doctrines of the Church of England, and of the first fathers of this country. As before, he first applies himself to the understandings of his

orders were also at the highest; so that for a while my situation was rendered uncomfortable. But amidst all this smoke a blessed fire broke out. The awakened souls were as eager as ever to hear the word.* Having heard that I had expounded early in Scotland, they begged I would do the same in Boston. I complied, and opened a lecture at six in the morning. I seldom preached to less than two thousand. It was delightful to see so many of both sexes, neatly dressed, flocking to hear the word, and returning home to family prayer and breakfast before the opposers were out of their beds. So that it was commonly said that between early rising and tar-water, the physicians would have no business."

The New England people had some time ago offered to build him a large house to preach in; but as this scheme might have abridged his liberty of itinerating, he thanked them for their kind offer, and at the same time begged leave to refuse the accepting of it. As his bodily strength increased, and his health grew better, he began to move farther southward; and after preaching eastward as far as Cascobay and North Yarmouth, he went through Connecticut, Plymouth, Rhode Island, preaching to thousands,

hearers, and then to the affections. And the more he preaches, the more he convinces people of their mistakes about him, and increases their satisfaction."

* "A man of good parts, ready wit, and lively imagination, who had made it his business, in order to furnish matter for preaching over a bottle, to come and hear, and then carry away scraps of my sermons, having one night got sufficient matter to work upon, as he thought, attempted to go out; but being pent in on every side, he found his endeavours fruitless, Obligated thus to stay, and looking up to me, waiting for some fresh matter for ridicule, God was pleased to prick him to the heart. He came to Mr. Prince full of horror, confessed his crimes, and longed to ask my pardon."

generally twice a day, "And though," says he, "there was much smoke, yet every day I had more and more convincing proof that a blessed gospel fire had been kindled in the hearts both of ministers and people. At New York, where I preached as usual, I found that the seed sown had sprung up abundantly, and at the east-end of Long Island saw many instances. In my way to Philadelphia I had the pleasure of preaching, by an interpreter, to some Indians. A blessed awakening had been begun and carried on among the Delaware Indians by the instrumentality of Mr. David Brainerd, such a one as hath not been heard of since the awakening in New England by the venerable Mr. Elliot, who used to be styled the apostle of the Indians; his brother followed him. Mr. William Tennant, whose party I found much upon the advance, seemed to encourage their endeavours with all his heart.

"His brother, Mr. Gilbert Tennant, being earnestly solicited thereto, I found settled in the place formerly erected at the beginning of the awakening. The gentlemen offered me eight hundred pounds a year only to preach among them six months, and to travel the other six months where I would. Nothing remarkable happened during my way southward. But when I came to Virginia I found that the word of the Lord had run and was glorified. During my stay at Glasgow some persons wrote some of my extempore sermons, and printed them almost as fast as I preached them, Some of these were carried to Virginia, and one of them fell into the hands of Samuel Morris. He read and found benefit. He then read them to others; they were awakened and convinced. A fire was kindled; opposition was made; other labourers were

sent for; and many, both white people and negroes, were converted to the Lord.

“In North Carolina, where I stayed too short a time, little was done. At Georgia, through the badness of the institution, and the trustees’ obstinacy in not altering it, my load of debt and care was greatly increased, and at times almost overwhelmed me, But I had the pleasure of seeing one, who came as a player from New York, now converted unto God, and a preacher of Jesus Christ, One Mr. Ratteray brought me ten pounds; and at my return northward fresh supplies were raised up. The generous Charleston people raised a subscription of three hundred pounds, with which I bought land, being cheap during the war, and a plantation, Thus for a while the gap was stopped.

“As itinerating was my delight, and America, as being a new world, particularly pleasing, I now began to think of returning no more to my native country. But travelling, care, and a load of debt, contracted not for myself, but the orphan-house, weighed me down. And being much troubled with stitches in my side, I was advised to go to Bermuda for the recovery of my health.

“May 21st, 1747. I have now been upon the stretch, preaching constantly for almost three weeks. My body is often extremely weak, but the joy of the Lord is my strength; and by the help of God I intend going on till I drop, or this poor carcass can hold out no more, These southern colonies lie in darkness, and yet, as far as I find, are as willing to receive the gospel as others, If some good books could be purchased to disperse among poor people, much good might be done.

“June 4th. I have omitted preaching one night to

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oblige my friends, that they may not charge me with murdering myself.

“June 29th. God has been pleased to bring my body to the very brink of the grave by convulsions, gravel, a nervous cholic, and a violent fever, For this week past I have not preached; but since my leaving Philadelphia, about three days ago, I seemed to have gathered strength, and hope once more to-morrow to proclaim amongst poor sinners the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ.”

This was Mr. Whitefield’s longest of seven tours in America, lasting for about four years; but as fewer letters, appear to have been written by him at this than at any other time, the accounts of what was done are scanty.

His departure for Bermuda took place early in March, 1748.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL AT BERMUDA TO HIS RETURN TO
LONDON IN JULY, 1748.

MR. WHITEFIELD met with the kindest reception at Bermuda, and for above a month he preached generally twice a day, traversing the island from one end to the other; but his activity, usefulness, and treatment, will best appear by an extract from his manuscript journal of that period.

“The simplicity and plainness of the people, together with the pleasant situation of the island, much delighted me, Mr. Holiday, minister of Spanish Point, received me in a most affectionate Christian manner, and begged I would make his house my home, In the evening I expounded at the house of Mr. Savage, of Port Royal, which was very commodious, and which also he would have me make my home. I went with Mr. Savage in a boat lent us by Captain —, to the town of St. George, in order to pay our respects to the governor. All along we had a most pleasant prospect of the other part of the island, and a more pleasant one I never saw. One Mrs. Smith, of St. George’s, for whom I had a letter of recommendation from my dear old friend Mr. Smith of Charleston, received me into her house. About noon, with one of the council and Mr. Savage, I waited upon the governor. He received us courteously, and invited us to dine with him and the council at a tavern. We accepted the invi-

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tation, and all behaved with great civility and respect. After the governor rose from table he desired, if I stayed in town on the Sunday, that I would dine with him at his own house.

“Sunday, March 20th, read prayers and preached twice this day to what were esteemed here large auditories, in the morning at Spanish Point Church, and in the evening at Brackish Pond Church, about two miles distant from each other. In the afternoon I spoke with greater freedom than in the morning, and I trust not altogether in vain. All were attentive, some wept, I dined with Colonel Butterfield, one of the council, and received several invitations to other gentlemen’s houses, May God bless and reward them, and incline them to open their heart to receive the Lord Jesus! Amen and Amen!

Wednesday, March 23rd, dined with Captain Gibbs, and went from thence and expounded at the house of Captain F—le, at Hunbay, about two miles distant. The company was here also large, attentive, and affected, Our Lord gave me utterance: I expounded on the first part of the eighth chapter of Jeremiah. After lecture, Mr. Riddle, a counsellor, invited me to his house, as did Mr. Paul, an aged Presbyterian minister, to his pulpit, which I complied with upon condition the report was true, that the governor had served the ministers with an injunction that I should not preach in the churches.

“Friday, March 25th. Was prevented preaching yesterday by the rain, which continued from morning till night; but this afternoon God gave me another opportunity of declaring His eternal truths to a large company at the house of one Mr. B—s, who last night sent me a letter of invitation.

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“Sunday, March 27th. Glory be to God! I hope this has been a profitable day to many souls. It has been a pleasant one to mine. Both morning and afternoon I preached to a large auditory, for Bermuda, in Mr. Paul’s meeting-house, which I suppose contains above four hundred. Abundance of negroes and many others were in the vestry, porch, and about the house. The word seemed to be clothed with a convincing power, and to make its way into the hearts of the hearers. Between sermons I was entertained very civilly in a neighbouring house; Judge Bascome and three more of the council came thither; each gave me an invitation to his house. O how does the Lord make way for a poor stranger in a strange land! After the second sermon I dined with Mr. Paul, and in the evening expounded to a very large company at Counsellor Riddle’s. My body was somewhat weak, but the Lord carried me through, and caused me to go to rest rejoicing. May I thus go to my grave when my ceaseless uninterrupted rest shall begin!

“Monday, March 28th. Dined this day at Mrs. D—ll’s, who is mother-in-law to my dear friend Mr. Smith; and afterwards preached, to a large house full of people, on Matthew ix. 12. Towards the conclusion of the sermon the hearers began to be more affected than I have yet seen them. Surely the Lord Jesus will give me some seals in this island! Grant this, O Redeemer, for thy infinite mercy’s sake!

“Thursday, March 31st, Dined on Tuesday at Colonel Corbusier’s, and on Wednesday at Colonel Gilbert’s, both of the council, and found by what I could hear that some good had been done, and many prejudices removed. Who shall hinder if God will work? Went to an island this

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afternoon called Ireland, upon which live a few families, and to my surprise found a great many gentlemen and other people, with my friend Mr. Holiday, who came from different quarters to hear me. Before I began preaching I went to see a most remarkable cave, which very much displayed the exquisite workmanship of Him who in His strength setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power. Whilst I was in the cave, quite unexpectedly I turned and saw Counsellor Riddle, who with his son came to hear me, and whilst we were in the boat told me that he had been with the governor, who declared that he had no personal prejudice against me, and wondered I did not come to town and preach there, for it was the desire of the people; and that any house in the town, the court-house not excepted, should be at my service. Thanks be to God for so much favour! If his cause requires it I shall have more. He knows my heart; I value the favour of man no farther than as it makes room for the gospel, and gives me a larger scope to promote the glory of God. There being no capacious house upon the island, I preached for the first time here in the open air. All heard very attentively. I talked to some in our own boat, and began to sing a psalm, in which they readily joined.

“Sunday, April 3rd. Preached twice this day at Mr. Paul’s meeting-house, as on the last, but with greater freedom and power, especially in the morning, and I think to as great if not greater auditories, Dined with Colonel H—vy, another of the council; visited a sick woman, where many came to hear, and expounded afterwards to a great company at Capt. John Dorrell’s, Mrs. D—ll’s son, who with his wife courteously entertained me, and desired me to make his house my home. So true is that promise

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of our Lord's, 'That whosoever leaves father or mother; houses or lands, shall have in this life a hundredfold with persecution, and in the world to come life everlasting.' Lord, I have experienced the one; in thy own good time grant that I may experience the other also!

"April 6th, Preached yesterday at the house of Mr. Anthony Smith, of Baylis Bay, with a considerable degree of warmth, and rode afterwards to St. George's, the only town on the island. The gentlemen of the town had sent me an invitation by Judge Bascome, and he with several others came to visit me at my lodgings, and informed me that the governor desired to see me. About ten I waited upon his excellency, who received me with great civility, and told me he had no objection against my person or my principles, having never yet heard me, and he knew nothing in respect to my conduct in moral life that might prejudice him against me; but his instructions were, to let none preach in the island, unless he had a written licence to preach somewhere in America or the West Indies. At the same time he acknowledged it was but a matter of mere form. I informed his excellency that I had been regularly inducted to the parish of Savannah; that I was ordained by letters of dimissory from my lord of London, was under no church censure from his lordship, and would always read the church prayers, if the clergy would give me the use of their churches. I added farther, that a minister's pulpit was looked upon as his freehold, and that I knew one clergyman who had denied his own diocesan the use of his pulpit. But I told his excellency I was satisfied with the liberty he allowed me, and would not act contrary to his injunction, I then begged leave to be dismissed, because I was to preach at

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eleven o'clock. His excellency said he intended to do himself the pleasure to hear me. At eleven the church bell rung, the church-bible, prayer-book, and cushion were sent to the town-house. The governor, several of the council, the minister of the parish, and assembly-men, with a great number of the townspeople, assembled in great order, I was very sick through a cold I caught last night; but I read the church prayers (the first lesson was the 16th of the first book of Samuel), and preached on these words, "Righteousness exalteth a nation." Being weak and faint, and having much of the headache, I did not do that justice to my subject I sometimes am enabled to do; but the Lord so helped me that, as I found afterwards, the governor and the other gentlemen expressed their approbation, and acknowledged they did not expect to be so well entertained. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

"After sermon Dr. F—b, and Mr. P—t the collector, came to me, and desired me to favour them and the gentlemen of the town with my company to dine with them, I accepted the invitation, The governor and the president and Judge Bascome were there. All wondered at my speaking so freely and fluently without notes. The governor asked me whether I used minutes? I answered, No. He said it was a great gift. At table his excellency introduced something of religion by asking me the meaning of the word Hades. Several other things were started about free will, Adam's fall, predestination, &c., to all which God enabled me to answer so pertinently, and taught me to mix the *utile* and *dulce* so together, that all at table seemed highly pleased, shook me by the hand, and invited me to their respective houses. The governor

in particular asked me to dine with him on the morrow, and Dr. F—b, one of his particular intimates, invited me to drink tea in the afternoon, I thanked all, returned proper respects, and went to my lodgings with some degree of thankfulness for the assistance vouchsafed me, and abased before God at the consideration of my unspeakable unworthiness. In the afternoon, about five o'clock, I expounded the parable of the prodigal son to many people at a private house, and in the evening had liberty to speak freely and closely to those that supped with me, Oh that this may be the beginning of good gospel times to the inhabitants of this town! Lord, teach me to deal prudently with them, and cause them to melt under thy word!

“April 8th. Preached yesterday with great clearness and freedom to about fourscore people at a house on David’s Island, over against St. George’s town; went and lay at Mr. Holiday’s, who came in a boat to fetch me; and this day I heard him preach and read prayers. Honest man, he would have had me administer and officiate; but I chose not to do it, lest I should bring him into trouble after my departure. However, in the afternoon I preached at one Mr. Todd’s, in the same parish, to a very large company indeed. The Lord was with me. My heart was warm, and what went from the heart I trust went to the heart, for many were affected. O that they may be converted also! Then will it be a *good Friday* indeed to their souls.

“Sunday, April 10th. Dined and conversed yesterday very agreeably with Judge Bascome, who seems to have the greatest insight into the difference between the Arminian and Calvinistical schemes of anyone I have yet met with upon the island. In the afternoon I visited a

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sick paralytic, and this day I preached twice again at Mr. Paul's meeting-house, The congregations were larger than ever, and the power of God seemed to be more amongst them, I think I see a visible alteration for the better every Lord's-day. Blessed be God! In the evening I expounded at Mr. Joseph Dorrell's, where I dined, to a very large company; then went to his kinsman's, my usual lodgings on Saturday and Sunday evenings, who with his wife and other friends seemed kinder and kinder daily. Good measure, pressed down and running over, may the Lord, both as to spirituals and temporals, return into all their bosoms!

“April 16th, Preached since Lord's-day at five different houses to concerned and affected congregations, at different parts of the island, but was more indisposed one night after going to bed than I had been for some time. On two of the days this week I dined with the president and Capt. Spafford, one of the council, both which entertained me with the utmost civility.

“Sunday, 17th, Still God magnifies His power and goodness more and more. This morning we had a pleasing sight at Mr. Paul's meeting-house, I began to preach, and the people to hear and be affected as in days of old at home. Indeed the prospect is encouraging. Praise the Lord, O my soul! After preaching twice to large congregations in the meeting-house, at the desire of the parents, I preached in the evening a sermon at the funeral of a little boy about five years of age. A great number of people attended, and the Lord enabled me so to speak as to affect many of the hearers. Blessed be the Lord for this day's work! Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

“Sunday, April 24th. The last week being rainy, I preached only five times in private houses, and this day but once in the meeting-house, but I hope neither time without effect. This evening expounded at Counsellor Riddle’s, who with the other gentlemen treats me with greater respect every day. Colonel Gilbert, one of the council, has lent me his horse during my stay, and Mr. D—ll this morning informed me of a design the gentlemen had to raise a contribution to help me to discharge my arrears and support my orphan family. Thanks be given to thy name, O God! Thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I want to owe no man any thing but love, and provide for Bethesda after my decease. Thou hast promised thou wilt fulfil the desires of them that fear thee. I believe, Lord; help my unbelief, that thou wilt fulfil this desire of my soul, Even so. Amen!

“April 30th, Preached since Lord’s-day two funeral sermons, and at five different houses in different parts of the island to still larger and larger auditories, and perceived the people to be affected more and more. Twice or thrice I preached without doors. Riding in the sun and preaching very earnestly a little fatigued me, so that this evening I was obliged to lie down for some time. *Faint, yet pursuing*, must be my motto still.

“Sunday, May 1st. This morning was a little sick; but I trust God gave us a happy beginning of the new month. I preached twice with power, especially in the morning, to a very great congregation in the meeting-house; and in the evening, having given previous notice, I preached about four miles distant, in the fields, to a large company of negroes, and a number of white people, who came to hear what I had to say to them. I believe, in all, there

were near fifteen hundred people, As the sermon was intended for the negroes, I gave the auditory warning that my discourse would be chiefly directed to them, and that I should endeavour to imitate the example of Elijah, who, when he was about to raise the child, contracted himself to its length, The Negroes seemed very sensible and attentive. When I asked them whether all of them did not desire to go to heaven, one of them with a very audible voice said, 'Yes, sir.' This caused a little smiling; but in general everything was carried on with great decency, and I believe the Lord enabled me so to discourse as to touch the negroes, and yet not to give them the least umbrage to slight or behave imperiously to their masters. If ever a minister in preaching need the wisdom of the serpent to be joined to the harmlessness of the dove, it must be when discoursing to negroes. Vouchsafe me this favour, O God, for thy dear Son's sake!

"May 2nd. Upon enquiry I found that some of the negroes did not like my preaching, because I told them of their cursing, swearing, thieving, and lying. One or two of the worst of them, as I was informed, went away. Some said they would not go any more. They liked Mr. M—r better, for he never told them of these things; and I said their hearts were as black as their faces. They expected, they said, to hear me speak against their masters. Blessed be God that I was directed not to say anything this first time to the masters at all, though my text led me to it. It might have been of bad consequence to tell them their duty, or charge them too roundly with the neglect of it, before their slaves. They would mind all I said to their masters, and, perhaps, nothing that I said to them. Everything is beautiful in its season. Lord,

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teach me always that due season, wherever I am called, to give either black or white a portion of thy word! However, others of the poor creatures, I hear, were very thankful, and came home to their masters' houses saying that they would strive to sin no more. Poor hearts! These different accounts affected me, and upon the whole I could not help rejoicing to find that their consciences were so far awake.

“May 7th. In my conversation these two days with some of my friends, I was diverted much in hearing several things that passed among the poor negroes since my preaching to them last Sunday. One of the women, it seems, said, ‘That if the book I preached out of was the best book that was ever bought at, and come out of London, she was sure it had never all that in it which I spoke to the negroes.’ The old man who spoke out loud last Sunday, and said ‘Yes’ when I asked them whether all the negroes did not desire to go to heaven, being questioned by somebody why he spoke out so, answered, ‘That the gentleman put the question once or twice to them, and the other fools had not the manners to make me any answer, till at last I seemed to point at him, and he was ashamed that nobody should answer me, and therefore he did.’ Another, wondering why I said ‘negroes had black hearts,’ was answered by his black brother thus: ‘Ah, thou fool, dost thou not understand it! He means black with sin.’ Two more girls were overheard by their mistress talking about religion, and they said, ‘They knew, if they did not repent, they must be damned.’ From all which I infer that these Bermuda negroes are more knowing than I supposed; that their consciences are awake, and consequently prepared in It good measure for hearing the gospel preached unto them.

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“Sunday, May 8th, This also, I trust, has been a good day. In the morning I was helped to preach powerfully to a melting and rather a larger congregation than ever in Mr. Paul’s meeting-house, and in the evening to almost as large a congregation of black and white as last Sunday, in the fields, near my hearty friend Mr. Holiday’s house. To see so many black faces was affecting. They heard very attentively, and some of them now began to weep. May God grant them a godly sorrow!

“May 13th. This afternoon preached over the corpse ‘of Mr. Paul’s eldest son,’ about twenty-four years of age; and by all I could hear and judge of by conversing with him, he did indeed die in the Lord. I visited him twice last Lord’s-day, and was quite satisfied with what he said, though he had not much of the sensible presence of God. I find he was a preacher upon his death-bed; for he exhorted all his companions to love Christ in sincerity, and blessed his brother and sister, and I think his father and mother, just before his departure. A great many people attended the funeral. I preached on Luke vii, 13: ‘And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not.’ Many were affected in the application of my discourse, and I trust some will be induced, by this young man’s good example, to remember the Redeemer in the days of their youth. Grant it, O Lord, for thy dear Son’s sake!

“Sunday, May 15th, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within thee praise his holy name! This morning I preached my farewell sermon at Mr. Paul’s meeting-house; it was quite full, and, as the president said, above a hundred and fifty whites, besides blacks, were round the house. Attention sat on every face; and when I came to

take my leave, oh, what a sweet unaffected weeping was there to be seen everywhere! I believe there were few dry eyes, The negroes likewise without doors I heard wept plentifully, My own heart was affected, and though I have parted from friends so often, yet I find every fresh parting almost unmans me, and very much affects my heart. Surely a great work is begun in some souls at Bermuda. Carry it on, O Lord; and if it be thy will send me to this dear people again. Even so, Lord Jesus, Amen.

“After sermon I dined with three of the council, and other gentlemen and ladies, at Captain Bascome’s; and from thence we went to a funeral, at which Mr. M—r preached; and after that I expounded on our Lord’s transfiguration, at the house of one Mrs. Harvey, sister to dear Mr. Smith of Charleston. The house was exceeding full, and it was supposed above three hundred stood in the yard. The Lord enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumpet. Many wept. Mr. M—r returned from the funeral with me and attended the lecture, as did the three councillors, with whom I conversed very freely. May God reward them, and all the dear people of the island, for those many and great favours they have conferred on me, who am the chief of sinners, and less than the least of all saints!

“Sunday, May 22nd. I have conversed with souls loaded with a sense of their sins, and, as far as I can judge, really pricked to the heart. I preached only three times, but to almost three times larger auditories than usual. Indeed the fields are white, ready unto harvest. God has been pleased to bless private visits. Go where I will, upon the least notice, houses are crowded, and the

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poor souls that follow are soon drenched in tears. This day I took, as it were, another farewell. As the ship did not sail, I preached at Somerset in the morning to a large congregation in the fields, and expounded in the evening to as large one at Mr. Harvey's house, round which stood many hundreds of people. Rut in the morning and evening how the poor souls wept! The Lord seemed to be with me in a peculiar manner, and though I was ready to die with heat and straining, yet I was enabled to speak louder and with greater power, I think, than I have been before. Gifts and grace, especially in the evening, were both in exercise. After the service, when I lay down on the bed to rest, many came weeping bitterly around me, and took their last farewell. Though my body was very weak, yet my soul was full of comfort. It magnified the Lord, and my spirit rejoiced in God my Saviour. Abundance of prayers and blessings were put up for my safe passage to England and speedy return to Bermuda again. May they enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth! for, God willing, I intend visiting these dear people once more. In the meanwhile, with all humility and thankfulness of heart will I here, O Lord, set up my Ebenezer. For hitherto surely thou hast helped me! I cannot help thinking that I was led to this island by a peculiar providence. My dear friend, Mr. Smith of Charleston, has been made especially instrumental thereto; Thanks be to the Lord for sending me hither, I have been received in a manner I dared not expect, and have met with little, very little, opposition indeed. The inhabitants seem to be plain and open-hearted. They have also been open-handed: for they have loaded me with provisions for my sea-store; and in the several parishes, by a private voluntary con-

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tribution, have raised me upwards of a hundred pounds. This will pay a little of Bethesda's debt, and enable me to make such a remittance to my dear yoke-fellow as may keep her from being embarrassed or too much beholden in my absence. Blessed be God for bringing me out of my embarrassments by degrees! May the Lord reward all my benefactors a thousandfold! I hear that what was given was given heartily, and people only lamented that they could do no more."

After having transmitted to Georgia what was given to him for the orphan-house, dreading to go back to America in that season of heat for fear of relapsing, and having pressing calls to England, he took the opportunity of a brig, and in twenty-eight days arrived at Deal, reaching London July 6th, 1748, after an absence of near four years. During this voyage he wrote the following:

"June 24, 1748, Yesterday I made an end of revising all my journals, Alas, alas, in how many things have I judged and acted wrong! I have been too rash and hasty in giving characters both of places and persons. Being fond of Scripture language, I have often used a style too apostolical, and at the same time I have been too bitter in my zeal. Wild fire has been mixed with it, and I find that I frequently wrote and spoke in my own spirit when I thought I was writing and speaking by the assistance of the Spirit of God. I have likewise too much made inward impressions my rule of acting, and too soon and too explicitly published what had been better kept in longer, or told after my death. By these things I have hurt the blessed cause I would defend, and also stirred up needless opposition. This has humbled me much, and made me think of a saying of Mr. Henry's, 'Joseph had

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more honesty than he had policy, or he never would have told his dreams.' At the same time I cannot but praise God, who filled me with so much of His holy fire, and carried me, a poor weak youth, through such a torrent both of popularity and contempt, and set so many seals to my unworthy ministrations, I bless him for ripening my judgment a little more—for giving me to see and confess, and I hope in some degree to correct and amend, some of my mistakes."

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL IN LONDON (1748) TO HIS GOING TO
IRELAND IN THE YEAR 1751.

ON Mr. Whitefield's visiting a few of his friends immediately after his return, he found himself in no very agreeable situation. His congregation at the Tabernacle was sadly scattered. And as to his outward circumstances, he had sold all his household furniture to help to pay the orphan-house debt, which yet was for from being cancelled. But under all these discouragements he was still supported. His congregation was soon re-united, and received him with the greatest joy. And at this time a very unexpected thing happened to him, Lady Huntingdon, before his arrival, had ordered Mr. Howel Harris to bring him to her house at Chelsea as soon as he came ashore. He went, and having preached twice, the countess wrote to him that several of the nobility desired to hear him. In a few days the Earl of Chesterfield and a whole circle of them attended, and having heard once, desired they might hear him again, "I therefore preached again," says he, "in the evening, and went home, never more surprised at any incident in my life. All behaved quite well, and were in some degree affected. The Earl of Chesterfield thanked me, and said, 'Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you,' or words to this purpose. At last Lord Bolingbroke came to hear, sat like

an archbishop, and was pleased to say, 'I had done great justice to the divine attributes in my discourse.'* Soon afterwards her ladyship removed to town, where I preached generally twice a week to very brilliant auditories; blessed be God, not without effectual success on some."

This introduction to Lady Huntingdon was followed by very important results; for through her influence, in great measure, many of the higher classes were brought under the sound of the truths preached by Whitefield—truths sadly neglected by too many of the clergy of that time, great numbers of whom were themselves unconverted and lovers of every kind of pleasure.

In September, 1748, he made a third visit to Scotland, where he met with a hearty welcome. Great multitudes flocked to hear him, both at Edinburgh and Glasgow, "I have reason," says he, "to believe some have been awakened, and many quickened and comforted. My old friends are more solidly so than ever, and a foundation I trust has been laid for doing much good, if ever the Lord should call me thither again. Two synods and one presbytery brought me upon the carpet, but all has worked for good."

These were the synods of Glasgow and Perth, and the presbytery of Edinburgh. The short history of what happened at Glasgow is this: a motion was made, tending to prohibit or discourage ministers from employing Mr. Whitefield. The reasons adduced in support of the motion were the following: his being a priest of the Church of England; that he had not subscribed the formula; his

* It is said that David Hume, the historian, was a hearer of Mr. Whitefield's, and was much taken with his eloquence. Such testimonies are set down, not for their weight, but their singularity.

imprudences; chimerical scheme of the orphan-house; want of evidence that the money he collects is rightly applied; asserting that assurance is essential to faith; encouraging a dependence on impulses and immediate revelations; declaring on slender evidence some people converted, and others carnal and unregenerated; often indeed pretending to repent of his blunders and retract, but as often relapsing into them; and lastly, his being under a sentence of suspension by Commissary Garden, from which he had appealed to the High Court of Chancery, and made oath to prosecute that appeal in a twelve-month, and yet it was never prosecuted.

On the other hand the ministers who were against the motion spoke in this manner: I blush to think, said one, that any of our brethren should befriend a proposal so contrary to that moderation and catholic spirit which now is and I hope ever shall be the glory of our church. I am sensible many things in the Church of England need reformation, but I honour her notwithstanding as our sister church. If Bishop Butler, Bishop Sherlock, or Bishop Secker were in Scotland, I should welcome them to my pulpit. In this I should imitate Mr. Samuel Rutherford, as firm a Presbyterian as any of us, who yet employed Bishop Usher. There is no law of Christ, no act of assembly, prohibiting me to give my pulpit to an Episcopal, Independent, or Anabaptist minister, if of sound principles in the fundamentals of religion, and of a sober life. Our church expressly enjoins (Act xiii, April, 1711) that great tenderness is to be used to foreign Protestants. The requiring strangers to subscribe our formula before they preach with us would lay as effectual a bar against employing those of congregational principles, or

Presbyterian non-subscribers, as those of the Church of England.

As to Mr. Whitefield, said another, there are few ministers whose character has been so well attested by the most competent judges, both at home and abroad. One thing I cannot but observe: those who have spoken most warmly against Mr. Whitefield in this debate acknowledge they have made little or no enquiry into his character; whereas those on the other side have made a very careful enquiry, and that enquiry has turned out entirely to their satisfaction. With regard to his imprudences, there is a great difference betwixt blunders owing to a bad heart, and those that are owing only to a misinformed judgment, especially when the mistakes that occasioned them have misled several great and good men. Whether Mr. Whitefield's scheme of the orphan-house be prudent or not, it is demonstrable it was honestly meant. The magistrates of Savannah published three years ago, in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, an affidavit that they had carefully examined Mr. Whitefield's receipts and disbursements, and found that what he had collected on behalf of the orphans had been honestly applied; and that besides, he had given considerably to them of his own property. As to his maintaining that assurance is essential to faith, encouraging an unwarrantable regard to impressions, and being too hasty in pronouncing men carnal or converted, his sentiments in these particulars have been altered for upwards of two years. And now he scarce preaches a sermon without guarding his hearers against relying on impressions, and telling them that faith, and a persuasion that we are justified, are very different things, and that a holy life is the best evidence of a gracious state. These retractions are

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owing to a real change of sentiment. Letters from correspondents in New England show that this change is at least of two years' date, and that ever since it happened he has preached and acted with remarkable caution. Lastly, with respect to the prosecution of his appeal, Mr. Whitefield exerted himself to the utmost to get his appeal heard, but could not prevail on the Lords Commissioners so much as once to meet on the affair, they no doubt thinking of Mr. Garden's arbitrary proceedings with the contempt they deserved. But, say some, Mr. Whitefield being under the suspension, not yet reversed, is now no minister." But for what was he suspended? Why, for no other crime than omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion-book, when officiating in a Presbyterian congregation. And shall a meeting of Presbyterian ministers pay any regard to a sentence which had such a foundation?

The issue of the debate was a rejecting of the motion by a vote 27 to 13, and a resolution which was so expressed as to be a decent burial of it, laying no new restriction on ministers from inviting strangers, but leaving things precisely as they were before. And they who chose to give Mr. Whitefield their pulpits never after met with any molestation. Upon the whole, the attacks made on Mr. Whitefield's character proved the occasion of informing the synod of the falsehood of many aspersions thrown out against him, of the great increase of his prudence and caution, and the remarkable change of his sentiments and behaviour, so far as either were offensive. And thus what was intended for his reproach turned out to his honour.

As his health was impaired in London, he loved to range, as he calls it, after precious souls, Though he never

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wanted to make a sect, or to set himself at the head of a party.

“I have seen enough of popularity,” says he, “to be sick of it; and did not the interest of my blessed Master require my appearing in public, the world should hear but little of me henceforward.” Yet he could not think of remitting his diligence in the work of the gospel. “I dread the thoughts of flagging in the latter stages of my road,” is an expression that he often uses in writing to his friends. He was frequently very ill; but he imagined preaching and travelling did him service. “Fear not your weak body,” says he, in a letter to Mr. Hervey; “we are immortal till our work is done. Christ’s labourers must live by miracle; if not, I must not live at all; for God only knows what I daily endure. My continual vomitings almost kill me, and yet the pulpit is my cure; so that my friends begin to pity me less, and leave off that ungrateful caution, ‘Spare thyself.’ I speak this to encourage you.”

In March, 1749, he returned to London from an excursion of about six hundred miles in the west, where he had the pleasure of seeing that his former visits had been blessed with abundant success. In May he went to Portsmouth, and preached every day for more than a week to very large and attentive auditories, Many were brought under convictions, prejudices seemed to be universally removed, and people that a few days before were speaking all manner of evil against him were very desirous of his longer stay to preach the gospel among them.

June 24th he writes from Bristol: “Yesterday God brought me here, after having carried me a circuit of about eight hundred miles, and enabled me to preach I suppose to upwards of a hundred thousand souls, I have been in

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eight Welsh counties, and I think we have not had one dry meeting. The work in Wales is much upon the advance, and likely to increase daily. Had my dear Mr. Hervey been there to have seen the simplicity of so many dear souls, I am persuaded he would have said, *Sit anima mea cum Methodistis.*”

In the months of July and August he was at London, Bristol, Plymouth, Bideford, and Exeter. When he returned to London he had the pleasure of a visit from two German ministers who had been labouring among the Jews, and it is said had been made instrumental in converting many of them.

In the month of September he went into Northamptonshire and Yorkshire, and preached at Oundle, Abberford, Leeds, and Haworth, where good Mr. Grimshaw (who was so indefatigable in his endeavours to bring souls to Christ) was minister. In his church they had about a thousand communicants, and in the churchyard about six thousand hearers. At Leeds the auditory consisted of above ten thousand. Thither Mr. Whitefield was invited by one of Mr. Wesley’s preachers, and by the societies; and Mr. Charles Wesley coming there, gave notice of him to the people, and also introduced him to the pulpit in Newcastle, where he preached four times, and twice out of doors.

It being now late in the year, he did not go forward to Scotland, but returned to London, after having preached about thirty times in Yorkshire, and above ten times in Cheshire and Lancashire. He was also at Sheffield and Nottingham. And the congregations were everywhere large and serious. Only in one or two places he had a little rough treatment; but this he did not mind, while he had reason to think many received real benefit. He

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arrived in London about the middle of November, and continued there till the beginning of February, employed in his usual manner.

February 6th, 1750, he writes from Gloucester: "Though I left London in a very weak condition, and the weather was but bad, I came here on Friday evening, and was strengthened to preach on Saturday and likewise on Sunday evening, and twice the same day in the country, at the New House and at Hampton." And again from Bristol, February 12th: "Since I wrote last we have been favoured, both in Gloucester city and in the country, with very pleasant and delightful seasons. I have preached about twenty times within these eight or nine days, and though frequently exposed to rain and hail, am much better than when I left London." From Bristol he went to Exeter and to Plymouth, and in his way met with Mr. Pearsall, a dissenting minister, at Taunton, and Mr. Darracott at Wellington, both of whom he speaks of in his letters with the highest regard. At Plymouth he preached twelve times in six days, and the longer he preached the greater was the number of hearers. His friends grew more zealous, and the fury of his enemies began to subside. From thence he travelled near to the Land's End, preaching in a great many places, such as Tuvistock, St. Gennys,* Port Isaac, Camelford, St. Andrews, Redruth, Gwennap, St. Mewan. All this he accomplished before the 21st of March, when we find him again

* "Four of Mr. Wesley's preachers were present, and three clergymen, Mr. Bennet, aged fourscore, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Grigg. I found, as I went along, a most blessed work had been carried on by the instrumentality of the Mr. Wesleys and their fellow-labourers."

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at Exeter. "Invitations," says he, "are sent to me from several places. I want more tongues, more bodies, more souls for the Lord Jesus. Had I ten thousand, He should have them all."

In April he was at London and Portsmouth; and in May went to Ashby to wait on Lady Huntingdon, who had been ill. In his way thither he had a most comfortable interview with Dr. Doddridge and Mr. Hervey, who thus wrote of it to a friend:

"I have seen lately that most excellent minister of the ever-blessed Jesus, Mr. Whitefield. I dined, supped, and spent the evening with him at Northampton, in company with Dr. Doddridge and two pious, ingenious clergymen of the Church of England, both of them known to the learned world by their valuable writings. And surely I never spent a more delightful evening, or saw one that seemed to make nearer approaches to the felicity of heaven. A gentleman of great worth and rank in the town invited us to his house, and gave us an elegant treat; but how mean was his provision, how coarse his delicacies, compared with the fruit of my friend's lips; they dropped as the honey-comb, and were a well of life. Surely people do not know that amiable and exemplary man, or else I cannot but think, instead of depreciating, they would applaud and love him. For my part I never beheld so fair a copy of our Lord, such a living image of the Saviour, such exalted delight in God, such enlarged benevolence to man, such a steady faith, in the divine promises, and such a fervent zeal for the divine glory; and all this without the least moroseness of humour or extravagances of behaviour, sweetened with the most engaging cheerfulness of temper, and regulated by all the sobriety of reason and wisdom of

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Scripture; insomuch that I cannot forbear applying the wise man's encomium of an illustrious woman to this eminent minister of the everlasting gospel: 'Many sons have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.'

At Ashby, where it might have been least expected, there was a riot made before Lady Huntingdon's house while the gospel was preaching; and in the evening some people in their return home narrowly escaped being murdered. The justice being informed, sent a message in order to bring the offenders before him. "So that I hope," says Mr. Whitefield, "it will be overruled for great good, and that the gospel for the future will have free course."

After he left Ashby he preached at Radcliffe Church, Nottingham, and Sutton, with great success. "At Nottingham," says he, "several came to me enquiring what they should do to be saved. I preached there four times. One evening Lord S. and several gentlemen were present. Many thousands attended. Yesterday morning I breakfasted with three dissenting ministers and Mr. P—s, who told me that Lady P— desired he would press me to preach at the church. Yesterday in the afternoon I preached at Sutton, and this morning at Mansfield." After leaving that place he went to Rotherham and Sheffield. He was at Leeds at the end of May, and observes, "Me-thinks I am now got into another climate, where there are many of God's people." From thence he went to Manchester, Rosindale, and several other parts of Lancashire, Kendal, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, preaching generally twice a day, and arrived at Edinburgh July 6th, having preached near a hundred times since he left London, and by a moderate computation to above a hundred thousand

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souls. "It is amazing," he writes, "to see how people are prepared in places where I never was before. What shall I render to the Lord!"

At Edinburgh and Glasgow (in which places he spent the month of July, 1750) he was received, as usual, in the most loving and tender manner, preaching generally twice a day to great multitudes, whose seriousness and earnest desire to hear him, made him exert himself rather beyond his strength. "By preaching always twice," says he, "and once thrice, and once four times in a day, I am quite weakened; but I hope to recruit again. I am burning with a fever, and have a violent cold; but Christ's presence makes me smile at pain, and the fire of His love burns up all fevers whatsoever." He left Edinburgh, August 3rd, and soon found himself much better for riding. At Berwick one of the ministers sent him an offer of his pulpit, and he was informed that many more round that town were willing to do the same. On his return to London, he preached several times at West Street Chapel. He had also the pleasure of Mr. Hervey's company, who, at his desire, came up to town, and lodged in his house. In the months of September and October he made excursions to Portsmouth, Chatham, Gloucester, Birmingham, Evesham, Wednesbury, and Nottingham, "ranging about," as he expresses it, "to see who would believe the gospel-report." And was particularly successful at Chatham and Canterbury.

He spent the winter in London in his usual busy and laborious way, and with equal success, He was confined near a fortnight to his room by a violent fever and inflammation of the lungs; but before the 17th of December he was able to preach again. And in the latter end of

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January, 1751, he rode post to Ashby, being alarmed with the accounts of Lady Huntingdon's dangerous illness, and the afflictions with which it had pleased God to visit her family, He writes from Ashby, January 29th: "Blessed be God, Lady Huntingdon is somewhat better, Entreat all our friends to pray for her. Her sister-in-law, Lady Frances H—, lies dead in the house, She was a retired Christian, lived silently, and died suddenly, without a groan. May my exit be like hers, Almost all the family have been sick in their turn."

Having left London, March 5th, he went again into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, and preached at Taunton and Wellington in his way to Plymouth, April 11th he was at Exeter, and writes thus to Mr. Hervey: "Some good, I trust, is to be done this spring to many souls. This western circuit, I believe, has been blessed already. I have preached about forty times since I left London, and have been enabled several times to ride forty miles a day. I find this sensibly refreshes me. I wish you could say so too. At Plymouth we had sweet seasons; and on Tuesday last I met with a young clergyman, who was awakened under my preaching seven years ago. He has been at Cambridge, and was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter. He is followed much, and I suppose will soon be reproached for his Master's sake. I hope you find strength to proceed in your work."

From Exeter he set out on a tour through Wales, where in about three weeks he rode near five hundred miles, and preached generally twice a day; and from hence he made his visit to Ireland, which had been in his thoughts some time.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM HIS FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND TO HIS OPENING THE NEW
TABERNACLE IN LONDON, IN THE YEAR 1753.

AFTER a passage of five days from Wales, he arrived May 24th, 1751, at Dublin, where he was gladly received, and lodged at the house of a banker, and preached every morning and evening as usual in other places, "Surely," says he, "here are many converted souls, among whom are two or three students and several soldiers. At first the greatness and hurry of the place surprised me; but thanks be to the Lord of the harvest, here as well as elsewhere the fields are white, ready unto harvest. Congregations are large, and hear as for eternity." And again: "Athlone, June 10th, For this week past I have been preaching twice almost every day in some country towns, I find through the many offences that have lately been given matters were brought to a low ebb. But the cry now is, Methodism is revived again."

"I took a journey from near Haverford West to Ireland, where a yet greater work had been begun and carried on to a high degree amidst prodigious opposition; numbers converted, not only from Popery, but to Jesus Christ, at Athlone, Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and various other places."

At Limerick he preached seven times to large and affected auditories, and twice at Cork (where the Metho-

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dists had lately been mobbed) to a great body of people, with all quietness. From thence he went to Bandon and Kinsale, where a like blessing attended his preaching. On his return to Cork, the numbers and affections of his hearers increased. At Belfast also he was detained some days beyond his intention by the people's importunity, and preached at Lisburn, Lurgun, the Maize, and Lambag, towns and places adjacent. So many attended, and the prospect of doing good was so promising, that he was sorry he had not come to the north of Ireland sooner. But he hastened to pay another visit to Scotland before he embarked for America, which he was intent upon doing before winter.

He therefore came over in the beginning of July, 1751, from Belfast to Irvine, where at the desire of the magistrates he preached to a great congregation, and so proceeded to Glasgow. From this place he writes, July 12th: "Though I preached near eighty times in Ireland, and God was pleased to bless his word, yet Scotland seems to be a new world to me. To see the people bring *so many Bibles*, turn to every passage when I am expounding, and hang as it were upon me to hear every word, is very encouraging. I feel an uncommon freedom here; and talking with the winter as well as with the summer saints feeds and delights my heart."

Here it may be proper, once for all, to take notice of some particulars relating to Mr. Whitefield's visits to Scotland, which he continued till within a few years of his death.

Though after the years 1741 and 1742 there were no such extensive new awakenings, yet his preaching was still eminently useful in various respects. In the first place, it had an

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excellent tendency to destroy the hurtful spirit of bigotry and excessive zeal for smaller matters, and to turn men's attention to the great and substantial things of religion, Another effect was that it drew many persons to hear the gospel who seldom went to hear it from others. Again, young people in general were much benefited by his ministry, and particularly young students, who became afterwards evangelical preachers. Lastly, his morning discourses, which were mostly intended for sincere but disconsolate souls, were peculiarly fitted to direct and encourage all such. And his addresses in the evening to the promiscuous multitudes who then attended him were of a very alarming kind, There was something exceedingly striking in the solemnity of his evening congregations in the Orphan-house Park at Edinburgh, and High Church-yard of Glasgow, especially towards the conclusion of his sermons (which were commonly very long, though they seemed short to the hearers), when the whole multitude stood fixed and like one man hung upon his lips with silent attention, many under deep impressions of the great objects of religion and the concerns of eternity.

His conversation was no less reviving than his sermons. Some anonymous pamphlets were written against him at his first coming; but these soon died and were forgotten. Afterwards a number of stories were handed about to his disadvantage; but upon enquiry it was found either that matters were misrepresented or exaggerated, or that there was no foundation for such reports at all. In short, when they were traced to their origin they rather turned out to his honour, He used to smile at good Mr. Mac-Laurin's honest zeal, who on such occasions spared no pains to come at the truth, and when he had discovered it

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was no less eager to communicate the discovery to others, for the vindication of Mr. Whitefield's character, in which he thought the credit of religion was concerned. The following instance is well remembered: one Lieutenant Wright alleged that Mr. Whitefield had kept back money sent by a gentlewoman to her son in America. This coming to Mr. MacLaurin's ears, he was restless till he procured a meeting betwixt Mr. Whitefield and his accuser. They met; Mr. Wright did not retract what he had said; upon which a letter was instantly written to the mother in London; and her answer being received, a confutation of the calumny was published in the *Glasgow Courant* in the following terms: October 31st, 1748. "A story having been spread in this town of Mr. Whitefield's having received twenty pounds from a gentlewoman in London to give her son in Georgia, whereas he had received only three guineas, which he had returned to the gentlewoman when he came back from Georgia, her son having been gone from thence before his arrival, a letter was written to London to clear up this affair, to which the gentlewoman has sent this answer: 'Sir,—This is to assure you that I received of Mr. John Stevens the three guineas, which was the full sum that I gave you for my son. I hope it is only a false aspersion on him; for I never heard that he should say any such thing, being three months in England, I am, &c. September 13th, 1748.' There is likewise a receipt come down, dated September 3rd, to Mr. Stevens. Both the letter and receipt are to be seen in the hands of the publisher."

But indeed Mr. Whitefield's whole behaviour was so open to the eyes of the world, and his character, after it had stood many attacks from all quarters, came at last to

be so thoroughly established, that several of his opposers in Scotland seemed rather to acquire a certain degree of esteem for him; at least they all thought proper to give over speaking against him.

When he was at Glasgow he always lodged with Mr. James Niven, merchant, above the Cross—till towards the end of his life his asthmatic disorder made the town air disagree with him—and then he went out in the evenings, and stayed with his good friend Mr. MacCulloch at Cambuslang.

At this time he was glad to understand that Mr. Dinwiddie, brother-in-law to Mr. MacCulloch of Cambuslang, was made governor of Virginia. In that province there had been a considerable awakening for some years past, especially in Hanover county and the places adjacent. As the ministers of the establishment did not favour the work, and the people had put themselves under the care of the New York synod, they met with discouragements from those in power. However, Mr. Samuel Davies (afterwards president of the college of New Jersey) being licensed, was settled over a congregation; and the religious concern so increased that one congregation was multiplied to seven. There was now an agreeable prospect that these good people would have the same privileges secured to them which dissenting Protestants enjoy at home.

August 6th he set out from Edinburgh for London, in order to embark a fourth time for America. He had thrown up much blood in Edinburgh; but the journey he was now upon had a good effect in recovering him from that illness; and as he went along he was much refreshed with the accounts he received of the happy fruits of his ministry at Kendal the year before. After a

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sorrowful parting with his friends in England, which grew still more distressing to him, he went aboard the *Antelope*, Captain MacLellan, bound for Georgia with Germans, and took along with him several children.

He arrived at Savannah, October 27th, and found the Orphan-house in a flourishing condition. "Thanks be to God," says he, "all is well at Bethesda. A most excellent tract of land is granted to me very near the house, which in a few years I hope will make a sufficient provision for it." From November, 1751, to the beginning of April, 1752, he was partly at Bethesda and partly in South Carolina, still upon the stretch in his Master's work. "I intend," says he, "by His assistance, now to begin; for as yet, alas, I have done nothing!" And again: "O that I may begin to be in earnest! It is a new year; God quicken my tardy pace, and help me to do much work in a little time! this is my highest ambition."

Being warned by what had happened to him formerly, he did not venture to stay the summer season in America, but took his passage in the end of April for London. On his arrival he perceived he had returned in a very good time; for Georgia was soon to be taken into the hands of Government, and put on the same footing with other colonies, which gave ground to hope that it would soon become a flourishing province. This was joyful news. He now thought that God was appearing for Georgia and Bethesda. He determined therefore to sell his plantation, and to carry all his strength to the Orphan-house.

About the middle of June he planned a new route, "Next week," says he, "God willing, I shall go to Portsmouth, from thence to Bath, then to the west, then to

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Wales, and from thence, may be, to Scotland and Ireland." Accordingly we find his letters of this period dated at Portsmouth, Bristol, Cardiff, Haverford West. In returning to Bristol, he attended an association where were present about nine clergy, and near forty other labourers, of whom he writes: "I trust all are born of God, and desirous to promote His glory, and His people's good. All was harmony and love."

August 17th he was in London. His letter of this date to his acquaintance, Dr. Franklin, the celebrated electrical philosopher, deserves particular notice. "I find you grow more and more famous in the learned world. As you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity, I would now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced pursuit and study the mystery of the new birth. It is a most important, interesting study, and when mastered will richly answer and repay you for all your pains. One at whose bar we are shortly to appear hath solemnly declared that without it we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. You will excuse this freedom, I must have *aliquid Christi* in all my letters."

From London he took another tour to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of September, 1752. In his way he preached twice at Lutterworth (the famous John Wickliff's parish) and at Leicester, and in both places was informed afterwards that good was done. At Newcastle he was as it were arrested to stay, and preached four times to great congregations.

At Edinburgh and Glasgow (in which places he continued till the 10th of October) he was employed as usual. He writes from Glasgow, September 29th: "At Edinburgh great multitudes, among whom were abun-

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dance of the better sort, attended twice every day. Many young ministers and students have given close attendance, and I hear of several persons that have been brought under deep convictions. I intend to send you copies of two letters from a Highland schoolmaster, who is honoured of God to do much good among the poor Highland children." "I have brave news sent me from Leicester and Newcastle, and have strong invitations to Yorkshire and Lancashire. What a pity it is that the year goes round so soon!"

In 1752 the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, upon a division of the house, by a few votes deposed Mr. Gillespie, which afterwards gave occasion to the society called the Presbytery of Relief. Mr. Whitefield being informed of the circumstances of that affair, writes thus: "I wish Mr. Gillespie joy. The Pope I find has turned Presbyterian." "Now will Mr. Gillespie do more good in a week than before in a year. How blind is Satan! What does he get by casting out Christ's servants? I expect that some great good will come out of these confusions."

In his way back to London he preached at Berwick, Alnwick, Morpeth, Newcastle. From Sheffield he writes, November 1st: "Since I left Newcastle I have scarce known sometimes whether I have been in heaven or on earth. At Leeds, Burstall, Howarth, Halifax, &c., thousands and thousands have flocked twice or thrice a day to hear the word of life. I am now come from Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, and Chinly. Yesterday I preached in a church. Four ordained ministers, friends to the work of God, have been with me. The word hath run so swiftly at Leeds that friends are come to fetch me back

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and I am now going to Rotherham, Wakefield, Leeds, York, and Epworth. God favours us with weather, and I would fain make hay whilst the sun shines, O that I had as many tongues as there are hairs upon my head! the ever-loving, ever-lovely Jesus should have them all. Fain would I die preaching.”

November 10th he arrived at London, and proceeded in his usual way at the Tabernacle. December 15th he says, “My hands are full of work, and I trust I can say the Lord causes his work to prosper in my unworthy hands, More blessed seasons we never enjoyed.”

He commenced this winter a new Tabernacle in Moorfields, eighty feet square, which was finished in the following spring.

About this time also we find Mr. Hervey and him employed in revising each other’s manuscripts. Of Mr. Hervey’s he says: “For me to play the critic on them would be like holding up a candle to the sun. However, I will just mark a few places, as you desire. I foretell their fate; nothing but your scenery can screen you. Self will never bear to die, though slain in so genteel a manner, without showing some resentment against its artful murderer.” Again: “I thank you a thousand times for the trouble you have been at in revising my poor compositions, which I am afraid you have not treated with a becoming severity. How many pardons shall I ask for mangling, and I fear murdering, your *Theron and Aspasio*? If you think my two sermons will do for the public, pray return them immediately. I have nothing to comfort me but this, that the Lord chooses the weak things of this world to confound the strong, and things that are not to bring to nought things that are. I write for the poor, you for

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the polite and noble; God will assuredly own and bless what you write.”

He was much affected about this time with the death of one Mr. Steward, a minister that began to be popular in the church, but soon entered into his rest, “When I met the workmen to contract about the building, I could scarce bear to think of building Tabernacles. Strange that so many should be so soon discharged, and we continued. Mr. Steward spoke for his Lord, as long as he could speak at all. He had no clouds nor darkness. I was with him till a few minutes before he slept in Jesus.”

March 1st, 1753, he laid the foundation of the new Tabernacle, and preached from Exod. xx. 24. During the building thereof, he preached in Moorfields, Spitalfields, and other places in London, and made excursions to Chatham, Sheerness, and Braintree.

In the month of April he went to Norwich for a few days, preaching twice a day to thousands, who attended with the greatest eagerness, At his evening sermons some rude people made opposition, but without effect. At this time also he published his Expostulatory Letter to Count Zinzendorff, which is in the fourth volume of his works.

In May he made another excursion to Narboth, Pembroke, Haverford West, &c., where congregations were large, and a gracious melting seemed to be among the people. Within little more than a fortnight he rode three hundred and fifty miles, and preached above twenty times.

Sunday, June 10th, 1753, he opened his new Tabernacle, preaching in the morning from 1 Kings viii. 11, and in the evening from 1 Chron. xxix. 9.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM HIS OPENING THE NEW TABERNACLE IN MOORFIELDS,
TO HIS PREACHING AT THE CHAPEL IN TOTTENHAM
COURT ROAD (1756).

MR. WHITEFIELD having preached in London at his Tabernacle for a few days with his usual fervour and success, and to large congregations, in the end of the month of June set out towards Scotland. In his way he had desirable meetings at Olney and Northampton. He preached also at Leicester and Nottingham, where a great multitude came to hear, and at Sheffield. In his way to Leeds, next morning, he preached at Rotherham and Wakefield. At the former place he had been disturbed twice or thrice, and was almost determined to preach there no more. But he found this would have been a rash determination; for some who had been bitter persecutors, now received him gladly into their houses, and owned that God had made him instrumental in their conversion. At Leeds he had great success. At York also he preached four times. Twice they were disturbed, and twice had very agreeable seasons. At Newcastle he preached seven times, and once at Sunderland to great multitudes who were deeply impressed. At five in the morning the great room was filled, and on the Lord's-day the congregation without was exceeding large. In short the prospect all around was so promising that he almost repented of his

engagement to go to Scotland, and resolved to come back as soon as possible.

He proceeded, however, according to his promise, and having spent some days at Edinburgh and Glasgow in his usual laborious and earnest manner, and with usual acceptance, he returned to England August 7th.*

All this time he preached twice or thrice a day, and once five times. This he found rather too much for his strength, But he still went on, often expressing his desire and hope soon to see the Lord in glory.

On his return to England he went from Newcastle to Stockton, Osmotherly, York, and Leeds, He went as far as Bolton, Manchester, and Stockport, The more he preached, the more eager the people were to hear. The last part of his circuit was to Lincolnshire, Rotherham, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Northampton. He returned

* After he had been in Glasgow, the following paragraph appeared in the *Newcastle Journal*, August 11th, 1763:—"By a letter from Edinburgh we are informed, that on the 2nd instant Mr. Whitefield, the itinerant, being at Glasgow, and preaching to a numerous audience near the playhouse lately built, he inflamed the mob so much against it, that they ran directly from before him, and pulled it down to the ground. Several of the rioters have been since taken up, and committed to gaol."

It would not have been worth while to transcribe this, were it not another specimen of the unaccountable liberties taken by some of the opposers of Mr. Whitefield, in telling their stories concerning him, The fact was this: Mr. Whitefield being informed that the players had lately come to Glasgow, and had met with some encouragement, took occasion in his sermons to preach against playhouses, and to represent their pernicious influence on religion and morality, especially in a populous, commercial city, and the seat of a University. But there was no riot. It was the proprietor of the playhouse (at that time a slight temporary booth supported by the old walls of the Bishop's Castle) who ordered his workmen to take it down.

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to London in the latter end of September, having travelled about twelve hundred miles, and preached a hundred and eighty times to many thousands.

His stay in London was but short; for in the month of October he took another tour to Staffordshire. A new scene of usefulness seemed to open to him, while he preached at Olney, at Oxon, near Harborough, Bosworth, Kettering, and Bedford, at all which places he preaching in one week. At Birmingham also, and several adjacent places, the people flocked to hear the gospel. At a place near Dudley, called Guarnall, he was informed of a whole company that were awakened by reading his sermons, He met with others awakened years ago, and heard of a notorious persecutor and drunkard, who had been powerfully struck. He loved to break up new ground, as he expresses it; and had the pleasure to find sometimes that his way was prepared by the blessing which God had given to his writings, particularly at Alperam, in Cheshire, and at Liverpool, where a person that had received benefit by reading his sermons, met him at landing, and took him to his house. All was quiet here, and at Chester, where he preached four times, and had several of the clergy in his congregations. But at Wrexham and Nantwich, where a Methodist meeting-house had lately been pulled down, he was disturbed by the mob, and forced to remove his congregation to a place a little out of town.

Thus he went on, returning at times for a few days to London. And November 16th, writes from Gloucester: "After Lord's-day I am bound for Bristol and Plymouth, and hope to get into my winter quarters some time before Christmas. Glad should I be to travel for Jesus all the year round. It is more to me than my necessary food."

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On Sunday, November 25th, he opened the new Tabernacle at Bristol, which he observes was large, but not half large enough; for if the place could contain them, near as many would attend as in London. He also preached twice in his brother's great house to the aristocracy, Though it was so late in the year he set out for Somersetshire, and preached several times in the open air, at seven o'clock at night. "My hands and body," says he, "were pierced with cold; but what are outward things, when the soul within is warmed with the love of God! The stars shone exceeding bright: by the eye of faith I saw Him who calleth them all by their names. My soul was filled with a holy ambition, and I longed to be one of those who shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."

At this time his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. John Wesley, had by his extraordinary labours brought his life into great danger, of which Mr. Whitefield thus writes: "Bristol, Dec. 3rd, 1753, I am now hastening to London to pay my last respects to my dying friend. The physicians think his disease is a galloping consumption. I pity the church, I pity myself, but not him. Poor Mr. Charles will now have double work. But we can do all things through Christ strengthening us!" His letters to both the brothers on this occasion are very affectionate and sympathizing. And he soon had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Wesley recover.

Dec. 26th, he had a visit from Messrs. Tennant and Davies from America, who came over to procure contributions for the college of New Jersey. As they were commissioned to apply for a general collection in Scotland, he gave them recommendatory letters, and heartily endeavoured to promote their design. He stayed in London all the winter

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of 1735, longing for a spring campaign, as he expresses it, that he might begin, to do something for his divine master.

March 7th, 1754, having got twenty-two poor destitute children under his care, he embarked with them for America by way of Lisbon, where he stayed from the 20th of March to the 13th of April.

From Lisbon he writes: "The air agrees with my poor constitution extremely, and through divine assistance, I hope what I see will also much improve my better part, and help to qualify me better for preaching the everlasting gospel. Again a gentleman has most gladly received me into his house, and behaves like a friend indeed. To-day I dine with the consul. Every day I have seen or heard something that hath had a native tendency to make me thankful for the glorious Reformation." After a sight of some popish processions, which were new and very striking to him, he says, "I returned to my lodgings not a little affected to see so many thousands led away from the simplicity of the gospel by such a mixture of human artifice and blind superstition, of which, indeed, I could have formed no idea had I not been an eye-witness." He was still more shocked at the procession of St. Francis, and most of all at the sight of near two hundred penitents passing along the streets in a moonlight night, dragging along heavy chains fastened to their ancles, which made a dismal rattling, most of whom whipped and lashed themselves with cords, and with flat bits of iron; and some of them struck so hard that their backs were quite red, and very much swollen, He wrote a description of this to his friend, with expressions of praise and gratitude to God for the great wonder of the Reformation, and for delivering Britain from the return of such

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spiritual slavery by defeating the unnatural rebellion, "Blessed be God," says he, "the snare is broken, and we are delivered, Oh for Protestant practices to be added to Protestant principles." He further observes, "The preachers here have also taught me something; their action is graceful, *Vividi oculi, vivida manus, omnia vivida*. Surely our English preachers would do well to be a little more fervent in their address. They have truth on their side; why should superstition and falsehood run away with all that is pathetic and affecting?" His two last letters from Lisbon contain a long and lively description of the superstitious farces which he saw acted on Holy Thursday as they call it, and Good Friday, which he concludes with very serious reflections, and expressions of pity towards the poor deluded people, who are not allowed to examine matters by the word of God.

After a passage of six weeks from Lisbon, he arrived at Beaufort in South Carolina, May 27, with his orphan charge, all quite well. Having settled them in his family in Georgia, which now consisted of above a hundred, and spent some time in Carolina, he took a journey to the northward. "At Charleston," says he, "and other parts of Carolina, my poor labours have met with the usual acceptance, and I have reason to hope a clergyman has been brought under very serious impressions. My health is wonderfully preserved. My wonted vomitings have left me, and though I ride whole nights, and have been frequently exposed to great thunders, violent lightnings, and heavy rains, yet I am rather better than usual, and, as far as I can judge, am not yet to die, Oh that I may at length learn to begin to live! I am ashamed of my sloth and lukewarmness, and long to be on the stretch for God." He

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arrived at New York by water, July 27, and preached backwards and forwards from New York to Philadelphia, and Whitely Creek, till the middle of September. "Everywhere, he observes, a divine power accompanied the word, prejudices were removed, and a more effectual door opened than ever for preaching the gospel." The latter end of Sept., he had once more the pleasure of seeing his good old friend Governor Belchier at Elizabeth Town (New Jersey). And it being the New Jersey commencement, the president and the trustees presented Mr. Whitefield with the degree of A.M. The meeting of the synod succeeded, before whom he preached several times, and had much satisfaction in their company. "To-morrow," says he, Oct. 1, "God willing, I shall set out with the worthy president, Mr. Burr, for New England, and expect to return back to the Orphan-house through Virginia. This will be about a two thousand mile circuit; but the Redeemer's strength will be more than sufficient," He had also some thoughts of going to the West Indies, had it been practicable, before his return to England.

He arrived with President Burr at Boston, October 9th, and preached there a week with great acceptance. "At Rhode Island and Boston," says he, "souls fly to the gospel like doves to the windows. Opposition seems to fall daily." When he was at Boston he heard, to his great joy, that a governor was at length nominated for Georgia, and that his friend Mr. Habersham was made secretary; to whom he writes: "May the King of kings enable you to discharge your trust as becomes a good patriot, subject, and Christian!" At this time he went as far north as Portsmouth (New Hampshire), preaching always twice, and sometimes thrice a day. His reception at Boston was more

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favourable than that fourteen years before, and in general his labours seemed to be attended with as great a blessing as ever. He took leave of the Boston people at four in the morning, November 7th, and went to Rhode Island; from thence through Maryland* and Virginia, where the prospect of doing good was so promising that he was sorry he had not come sooner. Many came forty or fifty miles to hear him; and a spirit of conviction and consolation seemed to run through all the assemblies. Three churches were opened to him. Prejudices subsided; some of the rich and great began to think favourably of his ministrations; and several of the lower class came to him, and acknowledged what God had done for them by his preaching, when there before.

In the month of February, 1755, he got back to Charleston, and from thence went to Savannah; continuing in these places till the latter end of March, when he embarked for England; and on the 8th of May arrived at Newhaven in Sussex.

The first thing he took notice of was the success of the gospel in his native country: "Glory be to the great Head of the Church, the word hath still free course! The poor despised Methodists are as lively as ever, and in several churches the gospel is now preached with power. Many in Oxford are awakened to the knowledge of the truth, and I have heard almost every week of some fresh minister or another that seems determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified." This consideration seems to have reanimated him. He went on preaching earnestly in London, Bristol, Bath, and in Gloucestershire till the

* "At length I have got into Maryland, and into a family out of which I trust five have been born of God."

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month of August. Then he went to Norwich, and opened the Tabernacle there. "At this last place," says he, "notwithstanding offences have come, there has been a glorious work begun, and is now carrying on (August 30th, 1755). The polite and great seem to hear with much attention, and I scarce ever preached a week together with greater freedom."

After this he went his northern circuit, and found reason to bless God for giving countenance to his labours all the way, particularly at Northampton, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, and York. But when he had been some days at Newcastle, he found it too late to go to Ireland (as he once proposed), or even to Scotland. He returned therefore to London, October 30th, after preaching twice and thrice a day for two months to many thousands.

About the end of November he preached in pain, occasioned by a sore throat, which was like to have terminated in an inflammatory quinsey. This obliged him, much against his will, to be silent a few days. As soon as the danger seemed to be over, he fell to work again. "One physician prescribed a *perpetual blister*; but I have found *perpetual preaching* to be a better remedy. When this grand catholicon fails, it is all over with me."

He was now applied to by many to preach twice a week at Long-acre Chapel, near the play-houses. He complied, and preached there for the first time on December 23rd, 1755, but met with great difficulties. The Bishop of Bristol sent him a prohibition. There was also a number of soldiers, drummers, and many of the lower sort of people, hired to disturb him by making a noise in

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the neighbouring house or yard of one Mr. C—; and this not once or twice, but every time he preached at that chapel. Being hired by subscription, and provided with a copper furnace, bells, drums, clappers, &c., they made it their business to raise the loudest din they possibly could, from the moment he began to preach to the end of his sermon; by which also mobbers were encouraged to come and riot at the chapel door during the time of divine service, and then insult and abuse him and the congregation after it was over. The chapel windows, while he was preaching, were repeatedly broken by large stones, which sadly wounded some of the hearers. Upon this occasion Mr. Whitefield wrote several spirited letters to the Bishop of Bristol, acknowledging indeed his lordship's candour, and thanking him for his favourable opinion and good wishes (for the bishop had written an answer to his first letter), but at the same time, with great strength of reason and a becoming sense of British liberty, defending his own conduct and remonstrating against the riotous proceedings of his adversaries, "Last Tuesday night," says he, "all was hushed; and in order to throw off all popular odium, I gave it as my opinion that it was owing to your lordship's kind interposition. One Mr. C, and one Mr. M. I am informed are greatly concerned, I know them not; and I pray the Lord of all lords never to lay this ill and unmerited treatment to their charge. If no more noise is made on their part, I assure your lordship no further resentment shall be made on mine. But if they persist, I have the authority of the apostle on a like occasion to appeal unto Cæsar. And thanks be to God we have a Cæsar to appeal to, whose laws will not suffer any of his loyal subjects to be used in such an inhuman manner. I

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have only one favour to beg of your lordship, that you would send (as they are your lordship's parishioners) to the above gentlemen, and desire them henceforward to desist from such unchristian and, especially at this critical juncture, such riotous and dangerous proceedings. Whether as a chaplain to a most worthy peeress, and a presbyter of the Church of England, and a steady disinterested friend to our present happy constitution, I have not a right to ask such a favour, I leave to your lordship's mature deliberation." In the meantime his preaching was owned by God, particularly as to one who had been a subscriber to hire men to make the noise.

In the beginning of February, 1756, he sent eighty pounds of the collection which he had made at the Tabernacle, on the day of the public fast, to the society for relieving the poor persecuted French Protestants. He also published *A short Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the Alarm of an intended Invasion*, inserted in his works.

As the uproar was still continued at Long-acre Chapel, and the facts were so flagrant, he was advised to prosecute the offenders by law. This being understood, his life was threatened. A man came up to him in the pulpit at the Tabernacle, and three anonymous letters were sent him, denouncing a certain, sudden, and unavoidable stroke, unless he desisted from preaching and pursuing the offenders. Judging that others were concerned as well as himself, and that it was an affair that had reference to the welfare of civil government, he sent a copy of one of the letters to the Honourable Hume C—ll, begging the favour of his advice, and was advised by all means to put all concerned into the Court of King's Bench. The Earl of

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Holderness, one of the Secretaries of State, to whom he was introduced on this occasion, received him very courteously, and seemed to have no objection against issuing a reward for the discovery of the letter writer, "I find," says Mr. Whitefield, in his letter to Lady Huntingdon, May 2nd, 1756, "that all things happen for the furtherance of the gospel. I suppose your ladyship has seen his Majesty's promise of a pardon to any that will discover the letter-writer; and this brings the further news of my having taken a piece of ground, very commodious to build on, not far from the Foundling Hospital. I have opened the subscription, and through God's blessing it hath already amounted to near six hundred pounds. I hope in a few months to have what hath been long wanted, a place for the gospel at the other end of the town. This evening, God willing, I venture once more to preach at Long-acre." The place he here speaks of is the chapel in Tottenham Court Road, which he began to build May 10th, 1756.

After this he set out on one of his wonted tours, and having spent three weeks in preaching with usual success, at Bristol and in Gloucestershire, at Bradford, Frome, Warminster, and at Portsmouth, he returned to London in the beginning of June.

July 27th, he writes: "The gospel flourishes in London, I am just returned from preaching it at Sheerness, Chatham, and in the camp." Next day he set off for Scotland. How he employed his time in his way thither, appears from the following letter: "Sunderland, August 14th, 1756. How swiftly doth my precious time flyaway! It is now a fortnight since I came to Leeds. In and about which I preached eight days, thrice almost every day, to thronged and affected auditories. On Sunday last at

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Bradford, in the morning, the auditory consisted of about ten thousand; at noon and in the evening at Burstall, to near double the number. Though hoarse, I was helped to speak so that all heard. Next morning I took a sorrowful leave of Leeds, preached at Doncaster at noon, and at York the same night; on Wednesday, at Wawstall, about fifty miles off; on Thursday, twice at Yarm, and last night and this morning here." All the way he heard of a great concern since he was in these parts last year.

Upon pressing invitations from friends in the north he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived August 20th, and preached there and at Glasgow, as usual, till September 22nd, about which time he received a message from the new governor of Georgia in London, desiring to see and converse with him before he embarked.

In his way to London he again visited Leeds, and went some days preaching upon the mountains to many thousands, But finding his last year's disorder was like to return, he was obliged to leave off, and came to London in the end of October, and November the 7th opened his new chapel in Tottenham Court Road, preaching from 1 Cor. iii. 11.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM HIS OPENING HIS CHAPEL IN TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD,
TO HIS ARRIVAL IN EDINBURGH IN THE YEAR 1759.

HIS constant work was now preaching about fifteen times a week, which, with a weak appetite, want of rest, and much care lying upon his mind, enfeebled his body exceedingly, "But," says he, "the joy of the Lord is my strength, and my greatest grief is that I can do no more for Him who hath done and suffered so much for me."

His new chapel succeeded according to his wish. On Sunday mornings hundreds went away, not being able to get in, and he received a very serious letter from a person who was brought under concern there, though he came at first out of curiosity, to see what sort of place it was.

"A neighbouring doctor calls the place *Whitefield's soul-trap*. I pray the Friend of sinners to make it a soul-trap indeed to many wandering creatures, Shuter, the player, makes always one of the auditory, and, as I hear, is much impressed, and brings others with him."

In the spring of 1757, he set out again on his northern circuit, and came to Edinburgh in the month of May, when the general assembly of the Church of Scotland held their annual meeting. He was much pleased with this circumstance. Many ministers attended his sermons, perhaps a hundred at a time. Thereby prejudices were removed, and many of them seemed to be deeply affected.

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About thirty of them, as a token of respect, invited him to a public entertainment, The king's commissioner also invited him to his table. Thousands, among whom were a great many of the best rank, daily attended his ministrations, and the longer he staid the more the congregations increased.

Some of the Scotch clergy who were prejudiced against Mr. Whitefield took upon them to signify to the commissioner (Lord Cathcart) by some of their friends, that it would be better not to invite Mr. Whitefield to his table, and that it would give offence. This overture his grace received with indignation.

From Edinburgh he went to Glasgow, where, having preached twice by the way, he arrived June 8th, and continued till the 14th, preaching as usual in the High Churchyard to great multitudes morning and evening, besides on the Lord's-day both forenoon and afternoon in one of the churches of the city. The poor in Glasgow being at this time in very mournful circumstances, notwithstanding the various sources of supply, he (with the countenance of the magistrates) made a collection for them at his sermon on Monday evening, which amounted to near sixty pounds. Next day he preached at Paisley, and from thence set out for Ireland.

His first reception was as promising as formerly, Congregations at Dublin were very large and much affected. One of the bishops told a nobleman (who repeated it to Mr. Whitefield) that he was glad he was come to rouse the people. All sorts attended, and seemed to be struck with a religious concern. But on Sunday afternoon, July 3rd, after preaching in Oxmantown Green (a place frequented by the Ormond and Liberty boys, as they

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call them, who often fought there), he narrowly escaped with his life. It being war time, he took occasion to exhort his hearers (as was his usual practice) not only to fear God, but to honour the king. In the time of sermon and prayer a few stones were thrown at him, which did no hurt, But when he had done, and thought to return home the way he came, by the barracks, to his great surprise access was denied, and he was obliged to go near half a mile, from one end of the green to the other, through hundreds of Papists, &c., who, finding him unattended (for a soldier and four preachers who came with him had fled) threw volleys of stones upon him from all quarters, and made him reel backwards and forwards till he was almost breathless and all over a gore of blood. At last, with great difficulty, he staggered to the door of a minister's house lying next to the green, which was kindly opened to him. For a while he continued speechless and panting for breath; but his weeping friends having given him some cordials and washed his wounds, a coach was procured, in which, amidst the oaths, imprecations, and threatenings of the popish rabble, he got safe house and joined in a hymn of thanksgiving with his friends, by whom, he says, "none but spectators could form an idea of the affection with which he was received." Next morning he set out for Port Arlington, "leaving," says he, "my persecutors to His mercy, who of persecutors has often made preachers. I pray God I may thus be avenged of them. I received many blows and wounds; one was particularly large, and near my temples. I thought of Stephen, and was in hopes, like him, to go off in this bloody triumph to the immediate presence of my Master."

After preaching at Port Arlington, Athlone, Limerick,

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and Cork, in the beginning of August he returned to England, and while the weather permitted, continued to range (as he expresses it) preaching with great earnestness everywhere. "This spiritual hunting," says he, "is delightful sport when the heart is in the work. At Plymouth he had the pleasure of seeing officers, soldiers, sailors, &c. attending his sermons with the utmost solemnity. In Exeter also, Bristol, Gloucester, and Gloucestershire he had delightful seasons. About the middle of October, 1757, he returned to London.

His attendance this winter on both the chapel and the Tabernacle, together with his thoughtfulness, greatly impaired his health. He was troubled with continual vomitings, got little sleep, and had no appetite. Still, however, he went on as well as he could. "I am brought now," says he, "to the short allowance of preaching but once a day, and thrice on a Sunday." But when he was not preaching he was projecting some scheme or other for the advancement of religion; for instance, the building of almshouses for pious widows on the ground that surrounded his chapel. "I have a plan," says he, "for twelve. The whole expense will be four hundred pounds. I have got a prospect of two. I propose allowing each widow half-a-crown a week. The sacrament money will more than do, If this be effected, many godly widows will be provided for, and a standing monument left that the Methodists were not against good works." It was not long till this plan was put into execution. The foundation of the almshouses was laid February 16th, 1758, and the widows began to be admitted in June following.

He began his summer circuit this year at Gloucester. From thence he went to Bristol, and then to Wales.

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When he was in Wales, he was brought very low in his health. He was not able to sit up in company as he used to do, and could take very little food; yet continued travelling and preaching twice a day through various towns in South Wales, where multitudes attended. On Sundays the numbers were almost incredible.

In the month of July he set off for Scotland, On his way thither he preached at Everton, St. Neots, Bedford, Olney, Weston, Underwood, Ravenstone, Northampton, and Newcastle. Four clergymen lent him their pulpits. His bodily strength increased so little by this journey that he sometimes had thoughts of turning back. But this he did not think to be his duty. "Through divine strength," says he, "I hope to go forward, and shall strive, as much as in me lies, to die in this glorious work." Yet it pleased God to restore his health in a good measure soon after his arrival in Scotland. From Edinburgh he writes, August 19th and 24th: "For these four months last past, I have been brought so exceedingly low in my body, that I was in hopes every sermon I preached would waft me to my wished-for home. Scotland, I hoped, would finish my warfare; but it has rather driven me back to sea again. On Tuesday next I thought to have moved; but as it is race week, and my health is improving, friends advise me to stay to stir them up to run with patience the race that is set before us."

Having left Edinburgh, September 13th, he preached in a great many places in the north of England, Alnwick, Newcastle, Durham, Bishop-Auckland, Leeds, &c., and came to London about the end of October.

He now talked of going over again to America, where his affairs were prospering. "Blessed be God," says he, "that

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I can send you word a never-failing Providence hath put it into my power to pay off all Bethesda's arrears. I am talking every day of coming over; but how to do it in war time, or how to get the chapel and Tabernacle supplied, I cannot as yet be clear in. "Not being able, it seems, to get over these difficulties, he continued all the winter 1758 in London, and about the middle of May, 1759, opened his spring campaign at Bristol. In the month of June he was in Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, where people, high and low, rich and poor, flocked as usual to hear him twice a day; and from thence he revisited Scotland.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL AT EDINBURGH, 1759. TO HIS OPENING LADY
HUNTINGDON'S CHAPEL AT BATH IN THE YEAR 1765.

ABOUT the beginning of July, 1759, he came to Edinburgh, His congregations here and at Glasgow were very large and very attentive, as formerly. It is said that within six weeks he preached nearly a hundred times, and returned to England August 14th, But he complains in his letters, "that with respect to the power of religion it was a dead time in Scotland, in comparison with London and several other parts of England."★

His visit to Scotland this year gave occasion to a passage, which was much for his honour, and a full confutation of the mercenary motives ascribed to him by some of his adversaries. One Miss Hunter, a young lady of considerable fortune, made a full offer to him of her estate, both money and lands, amounting to about seven thousand pounds, which he generously refused. And upon his refusing it for himself, she offered it to him for the benefit of his Orphan-house in Georgia, which he also absolutely refused.

He spent the winter in London, and got his chapel enlarged.

March 14th, 1760, he made a collection at his chapel

★ The sum collected for the benefit of the Orphan Hospital during his stay here amounted to two hundred and fifteen pounds.

and tabernacle of above four hundred pounds for the distressed Prussians who had suffered so much from the cruelty of the Russians at Newmark, Costrin, &c.*

In summer, 1760, he went into Gloucestershire and Wales, and from thence to Bristol. When he preached at the Tabernacle in Bristol there were more in the evenings than it could well hold; and in the fields his congregations consisted of not less than ten thousand.

He now began to undergo a new kind of persecution (which however has sometimes fallen upon men of the greatest eminence), that of being mimicked and burlesqued upon the stage.† His enemies had in vain used violence against him, and having found that the law would not suffer them to proceed in that way, they therefore thought they would try what they could do by mockery, For this purpose they got for their tool one Samuel Foote, a mimic, who having had some success in imitating Mr. Whitefield's person, and speaking a few ludicrous sentences in his manner, was encouraged to proceed further, and to write a farce (called the *Minor*) to be acted at the theatre in Drury Lane. This performance is otherwise very dull and uninteresting; but by its impiety it cannot fail of exciting the indignation of the religious and sober-minded. For, in order to expose Mr. Whitefield to contempt, the author makes no scruple to treat the very expressions and

* For this disinterested act of benevolence, it is said, he received the thanks of his Prussian majesty.

† Mr. Whitefield first takes notice of this in his letter dated August 15, 1760. It seems to have taken its rise from the resentment of the playhouse people after they failed in their attempt to frighten him from preaching at Long-acre chapel, and were farther exasperated by seeing him erect a chapel of his own in Tottenham Court Road.

sentiments of the Bible with ridicule; or (to put the most favourable construction upon the matter) he and those whom he sent to the Tabernacle and chapel to procure materials, were so little acquainted with the sacred writings as not to know that what they took for Mr. Whitefield's peculiar language was the language of the word of God. Mr. Foote being manager of the Edinburgh theatre in the winter of 1770, the *Minor* was acted there. The first night it was pretty full, as people fond of any novelty were led to it without knowing any thing of the nature of the performance. But (such was the public sense of the impurity and indecency of it when known) on the second night only ten women appeared. When it was acted on Saturday, November 24, a dispute arose among the spectators whether it was proper to bring Mr. Whitefield upon the stage, as he was now dead? This, however, was done, and raised a general indignation in the inhabitants of that city. Next day several ministers (Dr. Erskine, Dr. Walker, &c.) took notice of it in their discourses from the pulpit. Dr. Walker (whose church is frequented by the people of higher rank) observed in his lecture upon 2 Cor. v. 14-21, that he could not read the 17th verse, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," without expressing the just indignation he felt upon hearing that last night a profane piece of buffoonery was publicly acted, in which this sacred doctrine is ridiculed. Mr. Baine, of the Kirk of Relief, preached a sermon upon the occasion, Dec. 2, from Psalm xciv. 16, which was published and sold off in a few days. Towards the conclusion of the sermon, he says, "How base and ungrateful is such treatment of the dead, and that too so very nigh to a family of orphans, the records of whose

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hospital will transmit Mr. Whitefield's name to posterity with honour, when the memory of others will rot. How illiberal such usage of one, whose seasonable good services for his king and country are well known; whose indefatigable labours for his beloved Master were countenanced by heaven."

But these adversaries lost their labour; for they were so far from lessening the number of his congregations, that they increased them, and brought thousands of strangers to hear the gospel, which was the very thing he always aimed at, and thus Providence gave him the victory over them.

"March 14, 1760, he preached at the chapel from Hosea xi. 8, 9, and at the Tabernacle in the evening from the 80th Psalm and last verse. At the former place he collected two hundred and twenty-two pounds eight shillings and nine pence; and at the other, one hundred and eighty-two pounds fifteen shillings and nine pence, for the distressed Protestants in Prussia. No man was a more strict observer of public occurrences, or more endeavoured to improve them.

In the months of September and October, 1760, he made a tour through Yorkshire, and was in London during the winter, employed as usual. On the fast day, February 13, 1761, he preached early in the morning at the Tabernacle on Exod. xxxiv. 1, &c., and collected one hundred and twelve pounds; in the forenoon he laboured at the chapel, and discoursed on Joel ii. 15, and afterwards collected two hundred and forty-two pounds; and in the evening he preached at the Tabernacle from Gen. vii. 1, and collected two hundred and ten pounds, These sums were immediately applied to the purposes for which they

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were collected, the relief of the German Protestants, and the sufferers by fire at Boston.

But his health, which had often been very bad, now grew worse and worse, so that in April, 1761, he was brought to the gates of death, After his recovery, being still exceedingly weak, and not able to preach as formerly, he left London and made a visit to Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, by which he found himself somewhat better, hut could not bear long journeys and frequent preaching as he used to do.

October, 1761, he complains, "I have not preached a single sermon for some weeks, Last Sunday I spoke a little, but have felt its effects ever since, A sea voyage seems more necessary to me now than ever. I know now what nervous disorders are. Blessed be God that they were contracted in His service, I do not repent, though I am frequently tempted to wish the report of my death had been true, since my disorder keeps me from my old delightful work of preaching. In a journey to Leeds and Newcastle this month, he could bear riding in a post-chaise, but preached seldom, his friends being so prudent as not to press him to it, "I hope, however," says he, "I am travelling in order to preach." Accordingly he prolonged his journey to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and did not return to London till the month of December, when he found himself considerably better, which (under God) he attributed to his following the simple prescriptions of four eminent physicians in Edinburgh, being sensible, as he said, that their advice had been more blessed for his recovery than all the medicines and directions he had elsewhere.

As soon as his health was in some measure restored, he

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fell to his beloved work again, From Bristol, April, 1762, he writes: "Bristol air agrees with me. I have been enabled to preach five times this last week without being hurt. Who knows but I may yet be restored so far as to sound the gospel trumpet for my God? The quietness I enjoy here, with daily riding out, seems to be one very proper means." He continued thus to preach four or five times a week, notwithstanding his weakness, till about the middle of May, and was sometimes enabled to take the field, as he expresses it, which gave him great joy. "Mounts," says he, "are the best pulpits, and the heavens the best sounding-boards. Oh for power equal to my will! I would fly from pole to pole, publishing the everlasting gospel of the Son of God." When he returned to London the cares and labours that thronged upon him were ready to bring him low again. In the month of July, therefore, he made a voyage to Holland,* and found himself so much the better for it, that he writes from Norwich, July 31st, "The expedition to Holland was, I trust, profitable to myself and others; and if ever my usefulness is to be continued at London, I must be prepared for it by a longer itineration both by land and water. At present, blessed be God, I can preach once a day; and it would do your heart good to see what an influence attends the word. All my old times are revived again."

August 18th, he arrived at Edinburgh, made a visit to Glasgow, where he preached every day (and twice at Cambuslang) and continued preaching once a day at Edinburgh till September 13th, when he returned to England, and was glad (now that peace was expected) of the prospect of embarking soon for America.

* He preached at Rotterdam four times.

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While in England he found that preaching once a day did not hurt him, but dared not venture oftener. At Leeds, Bristol, and Plymouth, he had very desirable seasons; but with respect to London, he says, "As affairs are circumstanced, every thing there tends to weigh me down. Having therefore persuaded some of his intimate friends, as trustees, to take upon them the whole care of the affairs of his chapel and Tabernacle, and all his other concerns at home, he resolved to sail from Greenock in Scotland. On his way thither, in the month of March, 1763, he preached at Everton, Leeds, Aberford, Kippax, and Newcastle, and was also employed in writing his observations, &c., in answer to Bishop Warburton.

When he came to Scotland he continued to preach once a day for some weeks, but being taken ill of his old disorder at Edinburgh, he was obliged to be silent (for the most part) for near six weeks afterwards. At last, in the beginning of June, he embarked the sixth time for America, in the ship *Fanny*, Captain Archibald Galbreath, bound from Greenock to Virginia, where (after a voyage of twelve weeks) he arrived in the latter end of August.*

His letters in September, October, and November, 1763, are dated from Philadelphia. He found himself still an invalid, yet made a shift to preach twice a week. "Here," say's he, "are some young bright witnesses rising up in the church. Perhaps I have already conversed with forty

* "... Thanks to a never-failing Redeemer, I have not been laid by an hour through sickness since I came on board. ... A kind captain, and a most orderly and quiet ship's company, who gladly attended when I had breath to preach. Scarce an oath have I heard upon deck ... and such a stillness through the whole ship, both on week-days and the Lord's-day, as hath from time to time surprised me."

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new-creature ministers of various denominations, Sixteen hopeful students, I am credibly informed, were converted at New Jersey College last year. What an open door, if I had strength! Last Tuesday we had a remarkable season among the Lutherans; children and grown people were much impressed.”

He wanted much to go forward to Georgia, but the physicians were absolutely against it till he got more strength. In the latter end of November he set out from Philadelphia for New York, and on his way preached several times at New Jersey College and Elizabeth Town with much acceptance. His spirits now grew better, and he could sometimes preach thrice a week. While he continued at New York during the winter he writes, “Prejudices in this place have most strangely subsided. The better sort flock as eagerly as the common people, and are fond of coming for private gospel conversation. ... Congregations continue very large, and I trust saving impressions are made upon many.”*

After leaving New York he preached at East Hampton, Bridge Hampton, and South Hold, upon Long Island; at Shelter Island also, and at New London, Norwich, and Providence on the mainland. Then proceeded to Boston,

* “New York, January 23rd, 1764. Mr. George Whitefield has spent seven weeks with us, preaching twice a week with more general acceptance than ever, and been treated with great respect by many of the gentlemen and merchants of this place. ... In his last sermon he took a very affectionate leave of the people of this city, who expressed great concern at his departure. May God restore this great and good man (in whom the gentleman, the Christian, and accomplished orator shine forth with such peculiar lustre) to a perfect state of health, and continue him long a blessing to the world and the church of Christ.”—*Boston Gazette*.

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where he arrived in the latter end of February, 1764, and was received with the usual warmth of affection, But as the small-pox was spreading through the town, he chose to preach for a while in the adjacent places. At Newbury a great influence attended his preaching, He writes from Concord to his friend Mr. S— S—, “How would you have been delighted to have seen Mr. Wheelock’s Indians 1 Such a promising nursery of future missionaries I believe was never seen in New England before; pray encourage it with all your might. I also wish you could give some useful puritanical books to Harvard College Library, lately burnt down.”

In the month of April he had a return of his disorder, but it did not long keep him from preaching; and the Boston people were exceedingly eager to hear. He was thinking to proceed immediately southward, but they sent after him and persuaded him to come back. June 1st, 1764, he writes: “Friends have even constrained me to stay here, for fear of running into the summer’s heat. Hitherto I find the benefit of it. Whatever it is owing to, through mercy I am much better in health than I was this time twelve months, and can now preach thrice a week to very large auditories without hurt; and every day I hear of some brought under concern, This is all of grace,”

After a very sorrowful parting, he left Boston and came back to New York, from whence his letters are dated from the end of June till the latter end of August. “At present,” says he, “my health is better than usual, and as yet I have felt no inconvenience from the summer’s heat, I have preached twice lately in the fields, and we sat under the blessed Redeemer’s shadow with great delight.

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My late excursions upon Long Island I trust have been blessed, It would surprise you to see above one hundred carriages at every sermon, in this new world.”

In September and October he was at Philadelphia; from whence he proceeded southward through Virginia. And November 22nd, at New Brunswick in Carolina, he writes: “At Newburn last Sunday good impressions were made, From that place to this I have met with what they call New Lights* almost every stage. I have the names of six or eight of their preachers, This, with every other place, being open and exceedingly desirous to hear the gospel, makes me almost determine to come back early in the spring.”

After preaching at Charleston, he arrived at Savannah in December, where he found affairs prospering to his wish. “The colony,” says he, “is rising fast; nothing but plenty at Bethesda, and all arrears, I trust, will be paid off before I leave it; so that in a short time I hope to be free from these outward incumbrances.” And he was not disappointed in his expectations; for he writes:

“Bethesda, January 14th, 1765, God hath given me great favour in the sight of the governor, council, and assembly. A memorial was presented for an additional grant of lands, consisting of two thousand acres. It was immediately complied with. Both houses addressed the governor in behalf of the intended college. As warm an answer was given. Every heart seems to leap for joy at the prospect of its future utility.”

Again, “Bethesda, February 13th, Yesterday morning the governor and Lord J. A. G—n, with several other

* A name given to those who favoured the revival of religion under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Tennant, &c.

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gentlemen, favoured me with their company to breakfast. But how was my lord surprised and delighted! After expressing himself in the strongest terms, he took me aside and informed me that the governor had showed him the accounts, by which he found what a great benefactor I had been; that the intended college would be of the utmost utility to this and the neighbouring provinces; that the plan was beautiful, rational, and practicable; and that he was persuaded his majesty would highly approve of, and also favour it with some peculiar marks of his royal bounty." He adds, "Now farewell, my beloved Bethesda; surely the most delightfully situated place in all the southern parts of America. What a blessed winter have I had! Peace, and love, and harmony, and plenty reign here. Mr. W—t hath done much in a little time. All are surprised at it. But he hath worked night and day, and not stirred a mile for many weeks."

"Thanks be to God, all outward things are settled on this side the water. The auditing the accounts, and laying a foundation for a college, hath silenced enemies, and comforted friends. The finishing this affair confirms my call to England at this time."

"All along from Charleston to this place (Newcastle) the cry is, 'For Christ's sake, stay and preach to us.' Oh for a thousand lives to spend for Jesus!"

"We have had but a twenty-eight days' passage. The transition hath been so sudden that I can scarce believe that I am in England. I hope ere long to have a more sudden transition into a better country."

[When he arrived at London, July 21st, he was very ill of a nervous fever.]

Having left Bethesda in such comfortable circumstances,

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February 18th, he delayed his proposed tour to the northward, and thought it best to embark directly for England to finish the affair about the college. He spent some time, however, at Charleston in the month of March, and after a very affectionate parting set out for Philadelphia, preaching as he went along in several places; but no ship offering at Philadelphia, he sailed from New York in the *Earl of Halifax* Packet, and arrived once more in England July 5th, 1765.

After his arrival he found himself still very weak in body, and obliged to go on much more slowly than he used to do. Yet this did not discourage him from doing what he could, in hopes of soon entering into his rest. "Oh to end life well!" says he. "Methinks I have now but one more river to pass over. And we know of one that can carry us over, without being ankle-deep."

October 6th, he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, when he preached from 2 Cor. vi. 16.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM HIS OPENING LADY HUNTINGDON'S CHAPEL AT BATH
TO HIS EMBARKING FOR AMERICA IN THE YEAR 1760.

AFTER preaching some little time at Bath he returned to London, from whence, January 18th, 1766, he writes to a friend at Sheerness, "I am sorry to acquaint you that it is not in my power to comply with your request. For want of more assistance I am confined in town with the care of two important posts when I am only fit to be put into some garrison among the invalids." But he was relieved for a little space early in the spring, for we find him in the month of March at Bath and Bristol.

March 17th, he says, "The uncertainty of my movements hath made me slow in writing, and a desire to be a while free from London cares hath made me indifferent about frequent hearing from thence, Last Friday evening and twice yesterday I preached at Bath to very thronged, and brilliant auditories."

About this time the Stamp Act was repealed, on which occasion he greatly exulted. The interest of the colonies always lay near his heart, and he hoped this step would restore peace and happiness to his country, In his letter-book is the following sentence: "March 16th, 1766, Stamp Act repealed, *Gloria Deo.*"

Mr. Occum, an Indian preacher, and Mr. Whitaker

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came over from America to solicit contributions for Mr. Wheelock's Indian school, an institution which Mr. Whitefield greatly approved, Concerning this, he writes, "London, April 25th, The prospect of a large and effectual door opening among the heathens, blessed be God, is very promising. Mr. Occum is a settled, humbled Christian; the good and great, with a multitude of a lower degree, heard him preach last week at Tottenham Court chapel, and felt much of the power and presence of our common Lord. Mr. R—n hath preached, and collected one hundred pounds, and I believe seven or eight hundred pounds more are subscribed. The truly noble Lord D—h espouses the cause most heartily, and his majesty is become a contributor. The King of kings and Lord of all lords will bless them for it."

June 19th we find him at Collam, near Bristol, from whence he writes, "As my feverish heat continues, and the weather is too wet to travel, I have complied with the advice of friends and have commenced a hot well water-drinker twice a day. However, twice this week at six in the morning I have been enabled to call thirsty souls to come and drink of the water of life freely. To-morrow evening, God willing, the call is to be repeated, and again on Sunday."

He was also at Bath and Bristol in the month of November this year. At Bristol he preached to a very crowded auditory, though the weather was exceeding bad; and at Bath he preached to the most numerous assembly of the nobility he had ever seen attend there.

In the month of January, 1767, he wrote a commendatory preface to a new edition of Bunyan's works, and March 20th he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's

new chapel at Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, when he preached on 2 Peter iii, 18,

After an excursion to Norwich, in April, 1767, he says, "I fear my spring and summer fever is returning. If so, my intended plan of operations will be much contracted, But future things belong to Him who orders all things well."

Yet the very next month we find him preaching at Rodborough, Gloucester, and Haverfordwest, in Wales, from whence he writes, May 31st, "Thousands and thousands attended by eight in the morning. Life and light seemed to fly all around. On Tuesday, God willing, I am to preach at Woodstock; on Friday at Pembroke; here again next Sunday by eight, and then for England." And when he returned to Gloucester, June 10th, "Blessed be God," says he, "I am got on this side the Welsh mountains. Blessed be God I have been on the other side. What a scene last Sunday! What a cry for more of the bread of life! but I was quite worn down."

September 11th he was at Leeds, having preached at Northampton and Sheffield on the way, and September 20th at Newcastle, from whence he writes, "I have now a blessed Methodist field-street-preaching plan before me. This afternoon in the Castle Garth, to-morrow for Sunderland, then to Yarm, &c. &c. I have been enabled to preach in the street at several places, and hope to go to Gesborough, Whitby, Scarborough, New Malton, York, Leeds, Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, &c." Again, from Thirsk, September 28th, "My body feels much fatigued in travelling; comforts in the soul overbalance." And, Leeds, October 3rd, "Field and street preaching hath rather bettered than hurt my bodily health,"

This winter his negotiations about the intended college at Bethesda came to an issue. A memorial addressed to his majesty was put into the hands of the clerk of the privy council, setting forth the great utility of a college in that place to the inhabitants of the southern provinces, and praying that a charter might be granted upon the plan of the college at New Jersey, This memorial was by him transmitted to the Lord President, and by his lordship referred to the consideration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom also a draft of an intended charter was presented by the Earl of D—h. Upon which an epistolary correspondence ensued betwixt the archbishop and Mr. Whitefield, the sum of which was, the archbishop put the draft of the charter into the hands of the Lord President, who promised to consider it, and gave it as his opinion that “the head of the college ought to be a member of the Church of England; that this was a qualification not to be dispensed with; and also that the public prayers should not be extempore ones, but the liturgy of the Church, or some other settled and established form.” Mr. Whitefield answered he could not agree to either of these restrictions, because the greatest part of the Orphan-house collections and contributions came from Dissenters, and because he had frequently declared the intended college was to be founded upon “a broad bottom, and no other, This,” says he, “I judged I was sufficiently warranted to do from the known long-established, mild, and uncoercive genius of the English Government; also from your grace’s moderation towards Protestant Dissenters, from the unconquerable attachment of the Americans to toleration principles, as well as from the avowed habitual feelings and sentiments of my own heart. This

being the case—and as your grace by your silence seems to be like-minded with the Lord P—t, and as your grace's and his lordship's influence will undoubtedly extend itself to others—I would beg leave, after returning all due acknowledgments, to inform your grace that I intend troubling your grace and his lordship no more about this so long depending concern. As it hath pleased the great Head of the Church in some degree to renew my bodily strength, I purpose now to renew my feeble efforts, and turn the charity into a more generous and consequently into a more extensively useful channel. I have no ambition to be looked upon as the founder of a college; but I would fain act the part of an honest man, a disinterested minister of Jesus Christ, and a truly catholic, moderate presbyter of the Church of England."

Accordingly he resolved in the meantime to add a public academy to the Orphan-house, like what was done at Philadelphia before its college charter was granted, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity of making fresh application for a charter upon a broad bottom.

October 28th he preached at the Tabernacle, to the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, when the collection amounted to above a hundred pounds (about four times as much as usual), and eighty persons became new subscribers. His text was Luke xi. 2, "Thy kingdom come." The place was quite full, and many went away for want of room, A great number of dissenting ministers were present; probably, more than ever before met to hear a church clergyman preach. He afterwards dined with the ministers and whole company at Draper's Hall, where he was treated with great respect.

In the beginning of the year 1768 six pious students

were expelled from Edmund Hall, in Oxford, for using extempore prayer, reading and singing hymns, and exhorting one another in private religious meetings, Upon this occasion Mr. Whitefield wrote his letter to Dr. Durell, vice-chancellor of the university.

In the summer he went once more to Edinburgh, where his Orphan-house Park congregations were as large, attentive, and affectionate as ever.

August 3rd, soon after his return to London, Mrs. Whitefield was attacked with an inflammatory fever, and the 9th of August she died. The 14th of the month he preached her funeral sermon, from Rom. viii. 20; and September 12th he writes: "I have been in hopes of my own departure. Through hard riding and frequent preaching I have burst a vein. The flux is in a great measure stopped, but rest and quietness are strictly enjoined. We were favoured with glorious gospel gales this day fortnight, and several preceding days, at opening good Lady Huntingdon's chapel and place of pious education in Wales."*

September 26th, he writes concerning his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Middleton: "He is now made perfectly whole, He was buried from the Tabernacle last Wednesday evening, and a subscription is opened for his four orphans. In the midst of his torturing pains, being

* From his memorandum-book: "August 24th, 1768. Opened good Lady Huntingdon's chapel and college in the parish of Talgarth, Brecknockshire, South Wales. Preached from Exodus xx. 24: 'In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' August 25th. Gave an exhortation to the students in the college chapel from Luke i. 15: 'He shall be great in the sight of the Lord.' Sunday, August 28th. Preached in the court before the college, the congregation consisting of some thousands, from 1 Cor, iii. 11: 'Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'"

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asked by his daughter 'how he was,' he answered, 'A heaven upon earth.' Soon afterwards he fell asleep in Jesus." From his letters dated in November and December, it appears he was in a very poor state of health, yet still continued to preach as often as he was able.

"Bristol, November 12th, Friday evening and the following Sunday I shall preach at Bath. In three weeks I expect to reach London, except called before that period to reside at the New Jerusalem. The pleasing prospect lies day and night open before me."

Next spring, 1769, he seems to have recovered a little, for we find him preaching more frequently. It gave him great pleasure to see some more of the nobility joined to Lady Huntingdon's society, "Some more coronets, I hear, are likely to be laid at the Redeemer's feet. They glitter gloriously when set in and surrounded with a crown of thorns."

In the month of May he preached at Kingswood, Bristol, Bradford, Frome, Chippenham, Rodborough, Castlecomb, Dursley, but deferred his western circuit on account of the opening the chapel at Tunbridge.

July 23rd, 1769, he opened Lady Huntingdon's new chapel at Tunbridge Wells, Preached from Gen. xxviii, 17: "This is none other but the house of GOD, and this is the gate of heaven." In the evening, the congregation being too large to be contained in the chapel, he preached out of doors, from a mount in the court before the chapel.

Now he seriously began to prepare for another voyage, and in the beginning of September he embarked the seventh and last time for America in the *Friendship*, with a very civil captain (Captain Ball) and passengers, all willing to hear of the things of God.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM HIS LAST EMBARKING FOR AMERICA, TO HIS DEATH,
SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1770.

MR. WHITEFIELD was detained near a month in the Downs by contrary winds, but he improved his time, as usual, in writing many excellent letters, preaching on board, and sometimes came ashore and preached, both at Deal and Ramsgate,

The following extract from Mr. Whitefield's Manuscript Journal relates to this period:

“Saturday, September 12th, This day dined at my worthy, fast, and tried friend Mr. Keen's, and having comfortably settled and left all my outward concerns in his hands, I took an affectionate leave, and in company with some dear friends this evening reached Gravesend, where others met us. We supped and conversed together in some degree, I trust, like persons who hoped ere long to sit down together at the marriage feast of the supper of the Lamb. Hasten, O Lord, that wished-for time!

“Sunday, September 3rd. Preached this morning at the Methodist Tabernacle from John xii 32. The congregation was not very large. But God gave me great freedom of speech, and made it indeed a house of God and gate of heaven. In the afternoon I preached in the market-place from Gen. iii. 13 to a much larger, but not more devout

auditory, In the outskirts, as might naturally be expected, some were a little noisy, but a great body was very attentive, and I was enabled to lift up my voice like a trumpet. The remainder of the evening was spent as the night before, with my Christian London friends, who with me, less than the least of all, exceedingly rejoiced at the opportunity of a parting street market-place preaching, where I trust some penniless bankrupt sinners were made willing to buy gospel wine and milk, without money, and without price, May the great day show that this hope was not altogether ill-grounded!

“September 4. Had my dear Christian friends on board to breakfast with me this morning. Conversation was sweet, but parting bitter. ‘What mean ye’ (said the apostle), to weep and to break my heart? However, through infinite mercy, I was helped to bear up, and after their departure the divine presence made up the loss of all, even with new creature comforts. Lord, if this divine presence go not with, and accompany me all the way, for thy infinite mercies’ sake, suffer me not to go one step farther.

“But I believe thy promise, Lord;
Oh, help my unbelief!’

“September 5. The captain not coming down as was expected, we did not weigh anchor till this morning’s ebb. The winds being contrary, and the weather hazy, we did not arrive in the Downs till the Friday following, Interim, I had the opportunity of conversing a little with the pilot and stearage passengers, All thanked me for my offer of lending them books, and giving them what assistance lay in my power towards making their voyage comfortable. All seemed thankful, and the pilot parted

with tears in his eyes. May the great and never-failing pilot, the Almighty Jesus, renew us, and take us all into His holy protection, and then all must necessarily end in our safe arrival in the haven of eternal rest!

“September 12. Preached last Sunday morning all board, and was most agreeably surprised to-day with a kind, unexpected visit from Dr. Gibbons. His discourse was very friendly and devout.

“September 13. I went ashore, and being informed that many were desirous to hear me preach, I willingly complied, and I trust some seed was sown the same evening at Deal, which, by God’s heavenly blessing, will spring up to life eternal. The people of Deal seemed very civil, and some came to me who had not forgotten my preaching to them, and their deceased friends and parents, thirty-two years ago,

“September 15. I had received most pressing invitations to visit Ramsgate many weeks ago, These were now repeated; so there was no resisting their importunity. We reached Ramsgate about two, took some refreshment, and there I preached about four, not to a very large, but an attentive and affected auditory. This I did also the morning following, and was ‘most agreeably entertained with the discourse and good memory of one in particular, who had been my fellow-passenger and frequent hearer many years ago, in the *Wilmington*, Captain Darling, bound to Piscataway in New England. The people’s behaviour here was so undissembledly generous, frank, genteel, and Christian, that I know not where I have been more pleased and delighted, Being quite uneasy, lest by staying longer I should be unready if the wind should turn favourable, I went early on Sunday morning to Deal,

and from thence immediately on board, and preached in the afternoon. This morning came a surreptitious copy of my Tabernacle farewell sermon, taken, as the short-hand writer professes, *verbatim*, as I spoke it. But surely he is mistaken. The whole is so injudiciously paragraphed, and so wretchedly unconnected, that I owe no thanks to the misguided, though it might be well-meant zeal of the writer and publisher, be they who they will. But such conduct is an unavoidable tax upon popularity. And all that appear for Jesus Christ and his blessed gospel must, like their Master, expect to suffer from the false fire of professing friends, as well as the secret malice of avowed enemies. However, if anyone sentence is blessed to the conviction of one sinner, or the edification of any individual saint, I care not what becomes of my character.

“Monday, September 25. Weighed anchor last Tuesday morning with a small favourable gale and fine weather. So many ships which had lain in the Downs moving at the same time, and gently gliding by us, together with the prospect of the adjacent shore, made a most agreeable scene. But it proved only a very transient one. For by the time we got to Fairlee, the wind backened, clouds gathered, very violent gales succeeded, and for several days we were so tossed, that after coming over against Brighthelmstone, the captain rightly judging, turned back (as did many other ships), and anchored over against New Romney and Dungeness. Lord, in thine own time, thou wilt give the winds a commission to carry us forward towards our desired port.”

At last they got out of the channel, and on the 30th of November arrived at Charleston in South Carolina. It had been a dangerous and trying passage, yet on his

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arrival he found himself in better health than at the end of any voyage he had made for several years, and the same day that he came ashore he preached at Charleston, where his reception was as hearty, or heartier than ever.

From his memorandum-book: "For the last week (November, 1769) we were beating about our port within sight of it, and confined for two days in five-fathom-hole, just over the bar. A dangerous situation, as the wind blew hard, and our ship, like a young Christian, for want of more ballast, would not obey the helm. But through infinite mercy, on November 30th, a pilot boat came and took us safe ashore to Charleston, after being on board almost thirteen weeks, Friends received me most cordially. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His mercies. Oh to begin to be a Christian, and minister of Jesus!"

Here Mr. Wright came to meet him, and acquainted him that all was in great forwardness at Bethesda. And when he arrived there he writes: "January, 1770, Everything exceeds my most sanguine expectations; and the increase of this colony is almost incredible."

Two wings were added to the Orphan-house for the accommodation of students, of which Governor Wright condescended to lay the foundation, March 25th, 1769.

The great regard which the colony of Georgia thought themselves bound to express towards Mr. Whitefield, at this time particularly, appears from the following papers:

"Commons House of Assembly, Monday, January 29th, 1770. Mr. Speaker reported that he, with the House, having waited on Mr. Whitefield in consequence of his invitation at the Orphan-house Academy, heard him preach a very suitable and pious sermon on the occasion; and with great pleasure observed the promising appearance of

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improvement towards the good purposes intended, and the decency and propriety of behaviour of the several residents there; and were sensibly affected when they saw the happy success which has attended Mr. Whitefield's indefatigable zeal for promoting the welfare of the province in general, and the orphan-house in particular. Ordered that this report be printed in the *Gazette*.

JOHN SIMPSON, Clerk.

Extract from the *Georgia Gazette*, "Savannah, January 31st, 1770, Last Sunday his excellency the governor, council, and assembly, having been invited by Mr. George Whitefield, attended at divine service in the chapel of the Orphan-house Academy, where a very suitable sermon was preached by him from Zechariah iv. 10—'or who hath despised the day of small things?'—to the general satisfaction of the auditory, in which he took occasion to mention the many discouragements he met with, well known to many there, in carrying on this institution for upwards of thirty years past, and the present promising prospect of its future and more extensive usefulness. After divine service the company were very politely entertained with a handsome and plentiful dinner, and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house, the two additional wings for apartments for students, one hundred and fifty feet each in length, and other lesser buildings in so much forwardness, and the whole executed with taste and in a masterly manner; and being sensible of the truly generous, and disinterested benefactions derived to the province through his means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."

Soon after this he writes from Charleston, February

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10th: "Through mercy, I enjoy a greater share of bodily health than I have known for many years. I am now enabled to preach almost every day, Blessed be God, all things are in great forwardness at Bethesda. I have conversed with the governor concerning an act of assembly for the establishment of the intended Orphan-house College.* He most readily consents, I have shown him a draught, which he much approves of; and all will be finished at my return from the northward. In the meanwhile the buildings will be carried on."

His letters of a later date are in the same strain, full of expressions of gratitude to the Lord for the good state of his health, and how exceedingly happy he was at Bethesda; and of his purpose (after he had travelled in the northern parts all the summer) to return to his beloved Bethesda late in the fall, But this event never happened.†

From Philadelphia, May 24th, he writes: "I have now been here near three weeks. People of all ranks flock as much as ever. Impressions are made on many, and I trust they will abide. Notwithstanding I preach twice on the Lord's-day, and three or four times a week besides, yet I am rather better than I have been for many years."

Again, Philadelphia, June 14th. "This leaves me just returned from a one hundred and fifty miles' circuit, in

* In a paper of College Rules, which was found written with his own hand, he orders the following authors to be read: Henry, Doddridge, Guyse, Burkitt, Willison, Professor Franck, Boston, Jenks, Hervey, Hall, Edwards, Trapp, Pool, Warner, Leighton, Pearson, Owen, Bunyan; and the homilies to be read publicly by rotation. He intended to publish a new edition of the Homilies, the preface to which is to be seen in his works.

† Bethesda survived its founder but a short time; for soon after the death of Mr. Whitefield the building was destroyed by fire, and no attempt was made to restore it.

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which, blessed be God, I have been enabled to preach every day. So many invitations are sent from various quarters, that I know not which way to turn myself."

And, New York, June 30th. "Next week I purpose to go to Albany. From thence perhaps to the Oneida Indians, There is to be a very large Indian congress. Mr. Kirkland accompanies me, He is a truly Christian minister and missionary, Everything possible should be done to strengthen his hands, Perhaps I may not see Georgia till Christmas" In his memorandum-book is the following remark: "July 2nd, 1770, Sailed from New York with Mr. Kirkland, and two kind old friends, and arrived at Albany July 6th. Was kindly received by Mr. Bays and Domine Westaloe. Preached the same evening, and went the next day to see the Cahoes Falls, twelve miles from Albany. O thou wonder-working God! Preached twice on the Lord's-day at Albany, and the next day at Shenechady, and was struck at the delightful situation of the place. Heard afterwards that the word ran, and was glorified both there and at Albany, Grace, grace!"

And again, from New York, July 29th, he writes: "During this month I have been above a five hundred miles' circuit, and have been enabled to preach and travel through the heat every day. The congregations have been very large, attentive, and affected, particularly at Albany, Shenechady, Great Bamnington, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Smithfield, Powkelsey, Fish Hill, New Rumbart, New Windsor, and Peckshill. Invitations crowd upon me both from ministers and people, from many, many quarters. I hope to set out for Boston in two or three days."

When he was at Boston, September 17th, he writes to Mr. Wright at Bethesda: "Fain would I contrive to

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come by Captain Souder from Philadelphia, but people are so importunate for my stay in these parts, that I fear it will be impracticable. Two or three evenings ago I was taken in the night with a violent lax, attended with retching and shivering, but through mercy I am restored, and to-morrow morning hope to begin again. I hope it hath been well with you, and all my family; hoping ere long to see you," &c.

And lastly, to his dear and tried friend Mr. Keen in London, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 23rd. "By this time I thought to be moving southward; but never was greater importunity used to detain me longer in these northern parts, Poor New England is much to be pitied; Boston people most of all. How grossly misrepresented! You will see by the many invitations what a door is opened for preaching the gospel, I was so ill on Friday that I could not preach, though thousands were waiting to hear. Well! the day of release will shortly come; but it does not seem yet: for by riding sixty miles I am better, and hope to preach here to-morrow. If spared so long, I hope to see Georgia about Christmas. Still pray and praise, Hoping to see all dear friends about the time proposed, and earnestly desiring a continued interest in all your prayers," &c.

From the 17th to the 20th of September he preached daily at Boston; September 20th, at Newton; September 21st he set out from Boston upon a tour to the eastward pretty much indisposed; preached at Portsmouth and New Hampshire, September 23rd; and from that to the 29th continued preaching every day-thrice at Portsmouth, once at Kittery, and once at Old York. Saturday morning, September 29th, he set out for Boston; but before he

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came to Newbury Port, where he had engaged to preach next morning, he was importuned to preach by the way at Exeter. At this last place he preached in the open air, to accommodate the multitudes that came to hear him, no house being able to contain them. He continued his discourse near two hours, was greatly fatigued, and in the afternoon set out for Newbury Port, where he arrived that evening; went early to bed, it being Saturday night, intending to preach the next day. He awaked several times in the night, and complained much of a difficulty of breathing. At six o'clock on the Lord's-day morning he expired in a fit of asthma.

Mr. Richard Smith, who accompanied Mr. Whitefield from England to America the last time, and in his journeyings when there to the time of his death, gave a particular account of his death and interment, from which the following is extracted.

“On Saturday, September 29th, 1770, Mr. Whitefield rode from Portsmouth to Exeter (fifteen miles) in the morning, and preached there to a very great multitude in the fields, It is remarkable that before he went out to preach that day (which proved to be his last sermon) Mr. Clarkson, senior, observing him more uneasy than usual, said to him, ‘Sir, you are more fit to go to bed than to preach.’ To which Mr. Whitefield answered, ‘True, sir.’ But turning aside, he clasped his hands together, and, looking up, spoke, ‘Lord Jesus, I am weary in thy work, but not of thy work. If I have not yet finished my course, let me go and speak for thee once more in the fields, seal thy truth, and come home and die.’ The text he preached from was 2 Cor, xiii. 5, He dined at Captain Gillman’s. After dinner Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Parsons

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rode to Newbury. I did not get there till two hours after them. I found them at supper. I asked Mr. Whitefield how he felt himself after his journey. He said 'he was tired, therefore he supped early, and would go to bed.' He eat a very little supper, talked but little, asked Mr. Parsons to discharge the table, and perform family duty, and then retired upstairs. He said 'that he would sit and read till I came to him,' which I did as soon as possible, and found him reading in the Bible, with Dr. Watts's Psalms lying open before him. He asked me for some water-gruel, and took about half his usual quantity, and kneeling down by the bedside, closed the evening with prayer. After a little conversation he went to rest, and slept till two in the morning, when he awoke me, and asked for a little cyder, He drank about a wine-glass full. I asked him how he felt; for he seemed to pant for breath, He said, 'My asthma is coming on again; I must have two or three days' rest. Two or three days' riding, without preaching, will set me up again.' Soon afterwards he asked me to put the window up a little higher (though it was half up all night); for, said he, 'I cannot breathe, but I hope I shall be better by and by, A good pulpit-sweat to-day may give me relief. I shall be better after preaching.' I said to him, I wished he would not preach so often, He replied, 'I had rather wear out than rust out.' I then told him I was afraid he took cold in preaching yesterday, He said he believed he had, and then sat up in the bed and prayed that God would be pleased to bless his preaching where he had been, and also bless his preaching that day, that more souls might be brought to Christ, and prayed for direction, whether he should winter at Boston, or hasten to the southward; prayed for

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a blessing on his Bethesda College, and his dear family there; for Tabernacle and chapel congregations, and all his connections on the other side of the water, and then laid himself down to sleep again, This was nigh three o'clock. At a quarter-past four he waked, and said, 'My asthma, my asthma is coming on; I wish I had not given out word to preach at Haverhill on Monday; I don't think I shall be able; but I shall see what to-day will bring forth, If I am no better to-morrow, I will take a two or three days' ride.' He then desired me to warm him a little gruel, and in breaking the firewood I waked. Mr. Parsons, who, thinking I knocked for him, rose and came in. He went to Mr. Whitefield's bed-side and asked him how he felt himself. He answered, 'I am almost suffocated; I can scarce breathe. My asthma quite chokes me.' I was then not a little surprised to hear how quick and with what difficulty he drew his breath. He got out of bed, and went to the open window for air. This was exactly at five o'clock. I went to him, and for about the space of five minutes I saw no danger, only that he had a great difficulty in breathing, as I had often seen before.

"Soon afterwards he turned himself to me and said, '*I am dying.*' I said, 'I hope not, sir.' He ran to the other window panting for breath, but could get no relief, It was agreed I should go for Dr. Sawyer, and on my coming back I saw death on his face, and he again said, '*I am dying.*' His eyes were fixed, his under lip drawing inward every time he drew breath; he went towards the window, and we offered him some warm wine with lavender drops, which he refused, I persuaded him to sit down in the chair, and have his cloak on; he consented by a sign, but could not speak. I then offered him the glass of

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warm wine; he took half of it, but it seemed as if it would have stopped his breath entirely. In a little time he brought up a considerable quantity of phlegm and wind. I then began to have some small hopes. Mr. Parsons said he thought Mr. Whitefield breathed more freely than he did, and would recover. I said, 'No, sir, he is certainly dying.' I was continually employed in taking the phlegm out of his mouth with a handkerchief, and bathing his temples with drops, rubbing his wrists, &c., to give him relief if possible; but all in vain; his hands and feet were cold as clay. When the doctor came in, and saw him in the chair leaning on my breast, he felt his pulse, and said, 'He is a dead man.' Mr. Parsons said, 'I do not believe it; you must do something, doctor.' He said, 'I cannot; he is now near his last breath.' And indeed so it was; for he fetched but one gasp, and stretched out his feet, and breathed no more, This was exactly at six o'clock. We continued rubbing his legs and hands and feet with warm cloths, and bathed him with spirits for some time, but all in vain. I then put him into a warm bed, the doctor standing by, and often raised him upright, continued rubbing him and putting spirits to his nose for an hour, till all hopes were gone. The people called in crowds to see him; I begged the doctor to shut the door.

"Mr. Parsons, at whose house my dear master died, sent for Captain Fetcomb and Mr. Boadman, and others of his elders and deacons, and they took the whole care of the burial upon themselves, prepared the vault, and sent and invited the bearers. Many ministers of all persuasions came to the house of Mr. Parsons, where several of them gave a very particular account of their

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first awakening under his ministry several years ago, and also of many in their congregations that to their knowledge, under God, owed their conversion wholly to his coming among them, often repeating the blessed seasons they had enjoyed under his preaching; and all said that this last visit was attended with more power than any other, and that all opposition fell before him.

“When the corpse was placed at the foot of the pulpit, close to the vault, Mr. Daniel Rogers made a very affecting prayer, and openly confessed that under God he owed his conversion to the labours of that dear man of God, whose precious remains now lay before them. Then he cried out, ‘O my father, my father!’ then stopped, and wept as though his heart would break, and the people weeping all through the place. Then he recovered, and finished his prayer, and sat down and wept. Then one of the deacons gave out that hymn, ‘*Why do we mourn departing friends?*’ some of the people weeping, some singing, and so on alternately. Mr. Jewel preached a funeral discourse, and made an affectionate address to his brethren to lay to heart the death of that useful man of God, begging that he and they might be upon their watch-tower, and endeavour to follow his blessed example. The corpse was then put into the vault, and all concluded with a short prayer and dismissal of the people, who went weeping through the streets to their respective places of abode.”

The melancholy news of Mr. Whitefield’s death reached London on November 5th, 1770, by the *Boston Gazette*, and by three letters from different persons at Boston to his friend Mr. Keen, who also by the same post received two of his own hand-writing, written in health—one seven and the other five days before his death. Mr. Keen had

the melancholy event notified the same night at the Tabernacle, and the next night at Tottenham Court Road Chapel. His next step was to choose a proper person to preach the funeral sermon; and recollecting he had often said to Mr. Whitefield, "If you should die abroad, whom shall we get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend, Mr. John Wesley?" and having received constantly for answer, "He is the man," Mr. Keen accordingly waited on Mr. Wesley on the Saturday following, and engaged him to preach it on the Lord's-day, November 18th, which he did to a very large, crowded, and mournful auditory, many hundreds going away who could not possibly get in.

Mr. Whitefield was not full fifty-six years of age at the time of his death, thirty-four of which he spent in the ministry. And if life is to be measured by the greatest activity and enjoyment, such as being always intent upon some good design, and vigorous in the pursuit of it; filling up every day with actions of importance, worthy of a man and a Christian; seeing much of the world, and having a constant flow of the most lively affections, both of the social and religious kind, Mr. Whitefield, in these thirty-four years, may be said to have lived more than most men would do, though their lives were prolonged for many ages.

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