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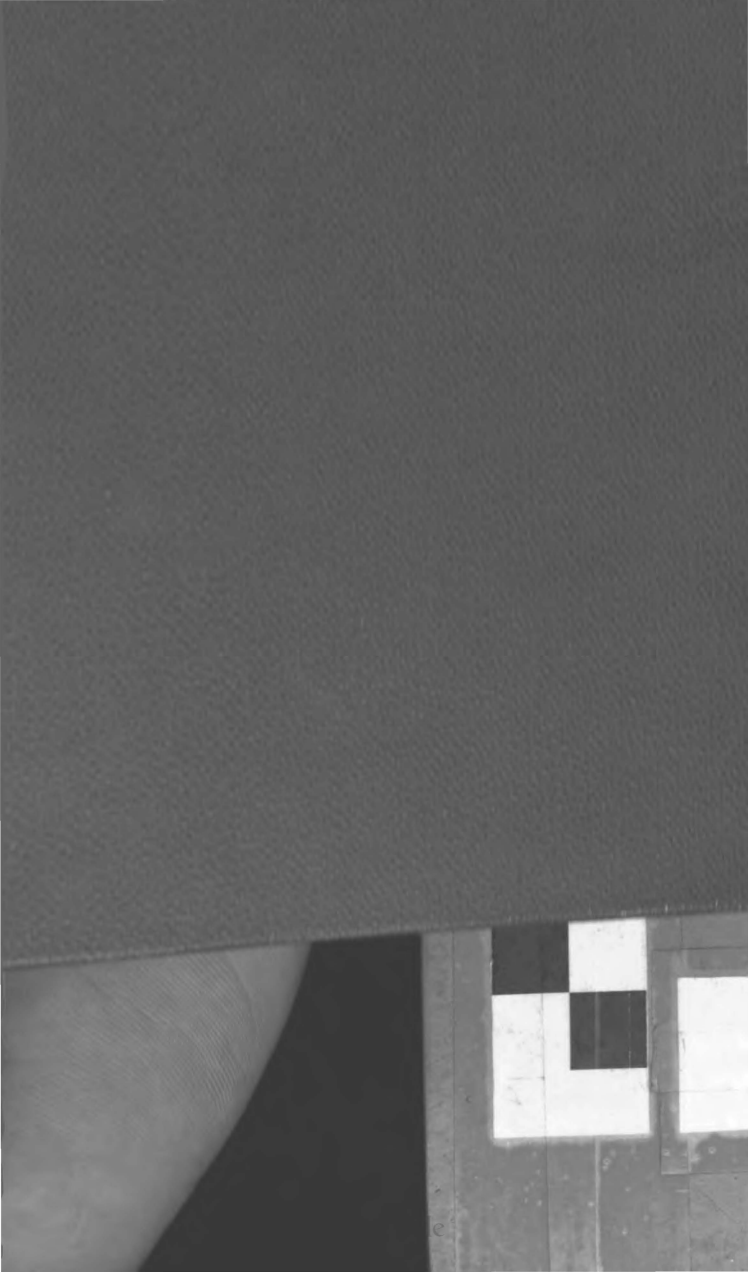
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Whitefield
FATHER
— N

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF THE REVEREND

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M. A.

Late Chaplain to the Right Honorable
THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON:

In which

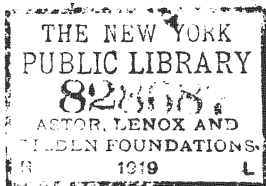
EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE WORTHY OF NOTICE, BOTH IN HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC CHARACTER, IS RECORDED—FAITHFULLY SELECTED FROM HIS ORIGINAL PAPERS, JOURNALS AND LETTERS—ILLUSTRATED BY A VARIETY OF INTERESTING ANECDOTES, FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES—WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH AND FUNERAL; AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SERMONS WHICH WERE PREACHED ON THAT OCCASION.

COMPILED BY THE
REV. JOHN GILLIES, D. D.

Yea, doubtless, I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ.—Phil. iii. 8. (xii. 15.
And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you.—2 Cor.
For he that winneth souls is wise.—Prov. xi. 30.
And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars, forever and ever.—Dan. xii. 3.

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1812.



MEMOIRS OF THE
LIFE
OF THE
REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

CHAP. I.

*From his Birth, to his going to the University of Oxford,
Anno Domini. 1752.*

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 the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whitefield, of Rockhampton, in Gloucestershire*, was first bred to the employment of a wine merchant in Bristol, but afterwards kept an inn in the city of Gloucester. In Bristol he married Mistress Elizabeth Edwards, who was related to the Blackwells and Dimours of that city; by whom he had six sons; and one daughter.† Of these,

* The Rev. 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.

† Elizabeth, the daughter, was twice reputably married at Bristol. John, his son, lies interred with the family, in St. Mary Decrypt Church in Gloucester. Joseph died an infant. Andrew settled in trade at Bristol, and died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. James was captain of a ship, and died suddenly at Bath. Thomas and Richard

George was the youngest ; who, being bereaved 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 himself acknowledges* with expressions of shame and self-condemnation, was of a very different kind.

Between the years of twelve and fifteen, he made a good progress in the Latin classics, at the public school ; and his eloquence began to appear, even at that early period, in the speeches which he delivered at the annual visitations. It is probable the applause he received on these occasions contributed to his fondness for theatrical amusements ; from whence it has been insinuated, that he learned his oratory upon the stage. This, however, seems to have no other foundation than his acting a part sometimes with his fellow-scholars ; particularly in certain dramatic performances prepared for them by their master : for that he was more indebted as an orator to nature, than to art of any kind, must be evident to all persons of discernment who were acquainted with him.—Such could not fail to observe, that his eloquence was in a great measure the effect of his genius, and proceeded chiefly from that peculiar assemblage of extraordinary talents with which God had endowed him.

Notwithstanding this, it appears, from his conduct, that he either had not yet discovered where his talents lay, or could not find means to qualify himself for entering into any profession where they might be properly exercised : for, 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,

are still living. The father died December, 1716. The mother continued a widow seven years, and was then married to Mr. Longden, an Ironmonger in Gloucester, by whom she had no issue. She died December, 1751, in the seventy-first year of her age.

* See the two first parts of his Life at the beginning.—Confessions of a like nature are to be found in the writings of St. Augustin.

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 genius began now strongly to discover itself; for even in this unfavorable situation 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; but it pleased God to break the snare, by filling him with an abhorrence of their evil deeds.

About this time, the impressions of religion began again to recover their influence in his breast; and when he was seventeen years of age he received the sacrament of the Lord's supper. He now became more and more watchful, both over his heart and conversation. He was frequently employed in fasting and prayer, spent much of his time in reading books of devotion, attended public worship twice every day, and so deeply was he engaged in these exercises, that his thoughts were constantly set on the great things of religion.



CHAP. II.

From the time of his going to the University of Oxford, to his embarking for Georgia, A. D. 1737.

WHEN Mr. Whitefield arrived at eighteen, he was sent to the University at Oxford, where he was again exposed to the society of the wicked: 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 that seemed to preserve a sense of religion through the whole of their department.

It would be going beyond our purpose to give an account of the rise of Methodism: for this, the reader is referred to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's first Journal.

But it may not be improper to notice the spirit of the age when it first appeared. At that time, serious and practical Christianity in England was in a very low condition; scriptural, experimental religion (which in the last century used to be the subject of the sermons and writings of the clergy) 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 a 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 enquiry; 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 bring multitudes, who had scarcely a form of godliness, to experience its quickening and renewing power.

Happy was it for Mr. Whitefield that there was a society of Methodists at that time in Oxford; but especially that he became acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, by whom he was treated with particular kindness. Such benefit did he receive under his ministry, 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

* *Preface to his Analogy, May 1736.*

to live by rule, and to improve every moment of his time to the best advantage. He received the communion every Sabbath, 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. C. Wesley found him one day when he went to see him; apprized 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 after this, however, he carried his abstinence and fasting to such an extreme, that his body was so emaciated and feeble, that he could hardly walk up stairs. His tutor therefore thought proper to call a physician, and it appeared by the event 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 now being 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 so-

THE LIFE OF

ciety and friendship, he could not think of shutting himself up in his closet, but made it his business to converse with young persons, about his own time of life, in order to awaken them to a sense of religion. God was pleased soon to give success to his endeavors 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 there read to some poor people in the town, twice or thrice a week, and read and prayed with the prisoners in the county goal every day.

Being now about twenty-one years of age, he was sent for by Doctor Benson, Bishop of Gloucester ; who told him that, though he had purposed to ordain none under twenty-three, yet he should reckon it his duty to ordain him whenever he applied. Upon which, at the earnest persuasion of his friends, he prepared for taking orders.

His behavior on this occasion was very exemplary. He first studied the Thirty-Nine Articles, that he might be satisfied of their being agreeable to Scripture. Then 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 at his ordination. 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 ; and, after his ordination, went to the Lord's table.

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.* Soon

* "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

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 Rev. Messieurs Wesleys and Ingham wrote home from Georgia made him long to go and preach the gospel in those parts; yet he waited till Providence should make his way more clear, and, returning to Oxford, he found himself very happy in his former employments, and had much pleasure in reading *Henry's Commentary on the Bible*, and in the company of some religious young men, who met together in his chamber 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 the day into three parts; eight hours for sleep and meals, eight for public prayers, catechising and visiting, and

“ 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 poor people at their private
 “ houses, whilst at the University. By these means I was
 “ kept from being daunted over-much. As I proceeded, I
 “ perceived the fire kindled, till at last, though so young,
 “ and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my child-
 “ ish days, I trust I was enabled to speak with some de-
 “ gree 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 pre-
 “ late, as I am informed, wished that the madness might
 “ not be forgotten before next Sunday.”

eight for study and retirement. During his stay here, he was invited to a very profitable curacy in London; but did not accept it, as he was still intent upon going abroad. Providence, at length, seemed to open a door 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 laborers. 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 Gen. Oglethorp 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 at London, waiting for Gen. Oglethorp, 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 the Rev. Mr. Sampson Harris, minister at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire, he went, at his request, to supply his charge, 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' 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.* He was attended by per-

* "Some hung upon the rails, others climbed up the leads of the church, and altogether made the church itself so hot, with their breath, that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain."

sons of all ranks and denominations; private religious societies were erected; a collection for the poor prisoners in Newgate was made twice or thrice a week; and large encouragement was offered to him if he would not go abroad. During his stay at Bristol, which was from the end of May to the twenty-first 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 pounds was offered for the poor of Georgia.

June 21, 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 concerns of their souls, and salvation.

From Bristol he went to Gloucester, and preached to a 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, and assist in administering the sacrament, 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 volunteer 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, there was no end of people's flocking to hear him, and the managers of 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 attention, and seemed to hear as for eternity. He preached generally nine times a week, and often administered the sacrament early on the Lord's day morning, when you might see the streets filled with people going to the church with lanthorns in their hands, and hear them conversing about the things of God.

As his popularity increased, opposition increased proportionably. 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 some 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 labors 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 put 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 helped to administer the sacra-

ment to them, after spending the night before in prayer. This parting was to him almost insupportable.

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CHAP. III.

From the time of his embarking for Georgia, to his re-embarking for England, 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 endeavors 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.† 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 labor, yet it was encouraging to find it so kindly received by his new red-coat

* Here begins a manuscript of Mr. Whitefield, from which several passages are taken in the following account. It is referred to by M. S.

† "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—'Doctor, I ask your pardon,' and then to his cards and swearing again." M. S.

parishioners (as he calls them) many of whom submitted cheerfully to be catechised about the lesson 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 divine service 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 favor 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 for the present; 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 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 Jan. 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 it for a book entitled, *The Self-Deceiver*. Next morning the Captain came smiling, and enquired who made the exchange; Mr. Whitefield confessed the charge, and begged his acceptance of the book, which he 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 the 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 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 every thing 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 a week: * and 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 the soldiers, but by officers, ministers and town's people; and, from all that could be judged, his labors were not without the divine blessing.

* "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 set forth 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." M. S.

Finding another society of religious soldiers there, belonging to the Church of Scotland, he sent them, as well as the former, some proper 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 advancement of the kingdom 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.* 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; they were now as regular as in a church. 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 the worship of God. 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 a 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, point-

* He 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 faith....M. S. At this time he began his "Observations on Select Passages of Scripture turned into Catechetical Questions," printed in Vol. IV. of his Works.

ing to Mr. Whitefield, he had now left it off, and exhorted them, for Christ's sake, that they would go and 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, (abundance of which were given to him to disperse by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*) were now thrown overboard; and a fever, that prevailed in general through the whole ship, helped to make the impressions sink deeper. For many days and nights he visited betwixt twenty and thirty sick persons, crawling between decks upon his knees, administering medicines or 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 a 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 return to his original intention (having had an University education) 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 be wicked till two years before he died, and then he would be good." But he was suddenly taken ill, and died in about six hours.*

It was the beginning of May, when they drew near to land. After preaching his farewell sermon, he arrived at the parsonage-house, in Savannah, May 7, 1738, about four months after his first embarkation at Deptford.

Upon this voyage (many years after) he made the following reflection: "A long, and, I trust, not altogether unprofitable voyage. What shall I render to the Lord

* "This was the only adult, except a soldier (who had killed himself at Gibraltar by perpetual drinking) that died out of all that were on board." M. S.

“for all his mercies? Besides being strengthened to go
 “through my public work, I was enabled to write letters,
 “and compose sermons, as though I had been on land.
 “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 the 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 un-
 “speakable satisfaction.” (M. S.)

One Mr. Delamot, who had gone volunteer with Mr. John Wesley, and was left behind him as schoolmaster at Savannah, received Mr. Whitefield at the parsonage house, which he found much better than he expected. Here some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. Wesley's ministry, soon came to see him. On the morrow he read prayers and 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.

When he was recovered, and able to look about him, he found every thing bore the aspect of an infant colony; and, what was more discouraging still, he saw it was likely to continue so, by the very nature of its constitution. “The
 “people, (says he) were denied the use both of rum and
 “slaves. The lands were allotted them according to a
 “particular plan, whether good or bad; and the female
 “heirs prohibited from inheriting. So that, in reality, to
 “place people there, on such a footing, was little better
 “than to tie their legs, and bid them walk. The scheme
 “was well meant at home; but, as too many years' expe-
 “rience evidently proved, was absolutely impracticable in
 “so hot a country abroad. However, that rendered what
 “I had brought over from my friends more acceptable to
 “the poor inhabitants, and gave me an ocular demon-
 “stration, which was what I wanted, when the hint was
 “given,* of the great necessity and promising utility of a.

* “It was first proposed to me by my dear friend, Mr. Charles Wesley, who, with General Oglethorp, had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design, before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself.”

“ future orphan-house, which I now determined, by the
“ divine assistance, to set about in earnest. The Saltz-
“ burghers at Ebenezer, I found, had one ; and having
“ heard and read of what professor Franck had done in
“ that way in Germany, I confidently hoped that some-
“ thing of the like nature might be owned and succeeded
“ in Georgia. Many poor orphans were there already,
“ and the number was likely soon to increase.

“ 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. Gre-
“ naw and Boltzins, I contracted an intimacy. Many
“ praying people were in the congregation, which, with
“ the consideration that so many charitable people in Eng-
“ land had been stirred up to contribute to Georgia, and
“ such faithful laborers 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 ad-
“ vances 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 Gram-
“ mar ; but he was soon called away to England ; and the
“ Indians (who were only some runaway Creeks) were, in
“ a few years, scattered or dead. Mr. Charles Wesley
“ had chiefly acted as Secretary to General Oglethorp,
“ but he soon also went to England to engage more la-
“ borers ; and, not long after, his brother, Mr. John Wes-
“ ley, having met with unworthy treatment, both at Fred-
“ erica and Georgia, soon followed. All this I was ap-
“ prized of, but think it most prudent not to repeat griev-
“ ances. Through divine mercy I met with respectful
“ treatment from magistrates, officers, and people. The
“ first I visited now and then, the others, beside preach-

"ing twice a-day, and four times of a Lord's day, I visited
 "from house to house: I was, in general, most cordially
 "received; (but from time to time found, that '*Caluz*
 "*non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*") Though
 "lowered in their circumstances, a sense of what they for-
 "merly 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 obli-
 "ged to return to England, to receive priest's orders, and
 "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
 "for these purposes, a means of increasing that populari-
 "ty which was already begun, but which by me was abso-
 "lutely unforeseen, and as absolutely undesigned."*

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

Here he paid his first visit to Commissary Garden, and
 at his entreaty preached the next Sunday morning and
 evening in a grand church resembling one of the new
 churches in London. The inhabitants seemed, at his first
 coming up, to despise his youth; but their countenances
 were altered before worship was over. Mr. Garden thank-
 ed him most cordially, and apprised him of the ill treat-
 ment Mr. Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured

* "During my stay there, the weather was most in-
 "tensely hot, sometimes burning me almost through my
 "shoes. Seeing others do it, who were as unable, I de-
 "termined to inure myself to hardness, by lying con-
 "stantly 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." M. S.

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 bigger now than when he (Mr. Garden) first came there.

CHAP. IV.

From his embarking at Charleston for London, to his preaching first in Moorfields. 1739.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1738, Mr. Whitefield embarked in a ship bound from Charleston to London. They had a very uncomfortable passage. For near a fortnight they were beat 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 Jamaica-man, who had plenty of every thing. He sent for Mr. Whitefield on board, and offered him a most commodious birth; 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 worship 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 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 themselves in Limerick harbour.*

* "I wish I could never forget what I felt when water and other provision were brought us from ashore. One

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 Rundell, 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 Parkgate, Thursday, November 30, preached twice on the Lord's-day, at Manchester, and came to London the Friday following, December 8.

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 old Protestant Doctrine of Justification in the sight of God, by Faith alone in the imputed righteousness of Christ; 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 shew 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 inquired, "Whether his Journals were not a little tainted with enthusiasm." He replied, that they were written only for himself, and private 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

"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." M. S. and Journals.

* It was certainly wrong to publish them without his consent and revisal; otherwise, the publication of them was a very proper way to prevent the misrepresentation of facts, either by calumny and detraction on the one hand, or by exaggeration on the other. And it is a great pity he did not continue them. They would have been the

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, together with taking Priest's Or-

best possible memoirs of his life. But we see how the offence given by, or taken at, some passages, might help to determine him " to proceed (as he afterwards says) in a more compendious way." The Journals were, indeed, mostly written amidst his incessant labours in preaching, travelling, and writing a multitude of letters. And the whole was told with the unguarded simplicity, which, though it charms the candid; and disposes them to forgive or overlook many things, yet gives frequent handle to the critical and severe. It must also be owned, that his unsuspecting honesty made him sometimes receive with too little caution, the characters of persons and societies; from those whom he took to be the friends of religion, and who perhaps were really so, but were misinformed. Being therefore convinced, upon second thoughts, that both his Journals and the two first parts of his Life needed correction, he promised a new edition to them, which he accordingly published in 1756. And in the preface he ingenuously acknowledges, that, upon a review, he had found " many mistakes, (which are now rectified) and " many passages that were justly exceptionable," (which are now erased.) And in a note, upon September 24, 1740, he says, " In my former Journal, taking things by " hearsay too much, I spoke and wrote too rashly, both of " the colleges and ministers of New-England ; for which, " as I have already done, when at Boston last, from the " pulpit, I take this opportunity of asking public pardon " from the press. It was rash and uncharitable, and, " though well meant, I fear did hurt." But these corrections, while they shew the author's candour and humility, do not affect the history of his extraordinary labours and success in the work of the gospel.

ders, were 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.* And though the church wardens 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 the London Societies. (~~who, by the~~ accounts given by Drs. Woodward and Horneck,† he thought were founded on a good bottom) 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 engaged, 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.

January 11, 1739, he set out for Oxford, to receive Priest's Orders from his good friend Bishop Benson, which he did the next Lord's day; and having preached and administered the Sacrament at the Castle, and preached again in the afternoon, to a crowded congregation, he returned to London, January 15.

* "God gave us a most pleasant Gospel-Christmas season, and such a happy beginning of a new year, as I had never seen before." M. S.

† See Dr. Woodward's Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London, &c.

‡ "It was a Pentecost season indeed. Sometimes 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 crying out, 'Will God, indeed, dwell with men upon earth!—How dreadful is this place!—This is no other than the house of God, and the gate of Heaven!'" M. S.

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. One Mr. Broughton behaved nobly on this occasion. Application being made to him to deny Mr. Whitefield his pulpit, he answered, "Having got the Lectureship of St. Helen's by Mr. Whitefield's influence, if he insists upon it, he shall have my pulpit." Mr. Whitefield did insist upon it, but (Mr. Broughton losing the Lectureship) he afterwards blamed himself much for his conduct.

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 church-yard. And this he mentioned to some friends, who looked upon the motion, at first, very unfavourably; yet were willing to take it into farther 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 the profession and practice of Christianity, as a matter of great importance.* 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 to the finger of God. As the scene was quite new, and I had but just begun to be an extempore preacher, it often

* "I thought it might be doing the service of my Creator, 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." M. S.

“ 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
 “ to them. But I was never totally deserted, and fre-
 “ quently (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 riv-
 “ ers 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 some-
 “ times was added the solemnity of the approaching
 “ evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame
 “ me.”—[See M. S.]

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 answers 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 humbly prayed that the last might be first; for he was determined to pursue his scheme of the Orphan-house, and return 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 the Rev. Mr. Griffith Jones,

and was now carried on by the ministry of one Mr. Howel Harris, a layman. They met at Cardiff, and in company with many others went to Husk, Ponty-pool, Abergavenny, Comihoy, Carleon, Trelex, and Newport, and preached in all these places, Mr. Whitefield first in English, and Mr. Harris afterwards in Welch, to many thousands. The serious persons among them of the Free-Grace Dissenters, rejoiced; but many of high-flying principles, and of another stamp, were equally enraged, and expressed their dislike by mockings and threats. All these, however, he was enabled to bear with patience, and without the least discouragement.

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 sit) and in his brother's field, to many thousands.* His concern for his countrymen, his fellow-citizens, and

* At the time of Mr. Whitefield's preaching in Gloucester, old Mr. Cole, a dissenting minister, used to say, "These are the days of the Son of Man indeed." 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, while preaching, he was struck with death, and then 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 un-

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, Chafford, places abounding with inhabitants, and where there is ground to hope many received much spiritual benefit. To wander thus about from place to place; to stand at bowling-greens, at market-crosses, and in high-ways, 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 21, 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 church-warden came and demanded his licence, or otherwise he forbade his preaching in that pulpit. He might, perhaps, have insisted on his right to preach, yet for peace sake he declined; and, after the communion service was over, he preached in the church-yard.

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 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 should 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

common fund of passages, proper enough to be thus told, and a peculiar talent of telling them, it was certainly a mean of drawing multitudes to hear him, who would not have attended to the truths of the Gospel delivered in the ordinary manner.

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 all attention, and behaved with as much regularity and quietness as if they had been in a church.*

CHAP. V.

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.† In the mean while, Mr. John Wesley was labouring with great zeal at Bristol, his brother, Mr. Charles, in London and elsewhere, Mr. Ingham had been

* "Words cannot well express the glorious displays of Divine Grace which we saw, and heard of, and felt." M. S.

† "Once upwards of twenty pounds were collected in half-pence." M. S.

preaching in many churches of Yorkshire, Mr. Kinchin in Oxford, and Mr. Rogers in Bedfordshire. Thus the seed sown was gradually increased, and the embargo which was now laid on the shipping gave him 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 a 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. Every where 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 he could 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 14, 1739, with a family consisting of eight men, one boy, and two 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

* For the manner in which he employed his time on board, see his Journals and Letters of this period. A little before he sailed, he finished his Answer to the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter. And during the voyage, he wrote his Letters to the Religious Societies of England. See Vol. IV. of his Works.

he was invited to New-York, by Mr. Noel, the only person 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 there preached in the fields, and on the evening of the same day, to a very thronged and attentive audience in the Rev. 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 Elizabethtown, 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 shed-

* "Mr. Tennent, and his brethren in presbytery, intend breeding up gracious youths for our Lord's vineyard. The place wherein the young men study now is a log-house, about twenty feet long, and near as many broad. From this despised place seven or eight worthy ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth, and a foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others. The work, I am persuaded, is of God, and therefore will not come to nought." Journals, November 22, 1739.

The event has verified his judgment about this institution. It is now a large college at Princetown in New-Jersey; and has already had many worthy Presidents, (some of whose names are well known in the learned world) such as Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Burr, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, Mr. Samuel Davies, Dr. Finly, and at present Dr. Witherspoon, by whose abilities, care and activity it is, under Providence, in a very flourishing condition.

And there has been lately (summer 1770) a remarkable revival of religion among the students, both in the college and grammar-school.

ding tears ; sinners struck with awe ; and serious persons, who had been much run down and despised, filled with joy. Mean-time 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 his family for sea stores, and the intended house. And about the end of November, he took his leave of his family, and ordered them to proceed in their voyage to Savannah, while himself, with Mr. Seward and two more, determined to go thither by land.

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 Tennent (whose meeting-house is in the neighbourhood) 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 with his family 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 Newbern-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 believe but he was amongst Londoners, both in respect of gaiety 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 a canoe for Savannah; and in their way, for the first time, lay in the woods, upon the ground, near a large fire, which keeps 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 family, 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.

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 pro-

“ceded 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.” M. S.

The first collection he made in America was at the Rev. 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 sterling. 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 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*.* 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.

* Long after this 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.” M. S.

CHAP. VI.

From his laying the Foundation of the 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 discouraged both by weakness of body and low spirits ; but, as he observed afterwards, Providence 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 an hundred and ten pounds sterling. Societies for praying and singing were set on foot ; 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.*

At New-York, New-Brunswick, Staten-Island, Baskingridge, Whitely-Creek, Frogs-Manor, Reedy-Island, 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. Tennents, 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,

* "Many negroes came ; some of them inquiring, 'Have I a soul?'" M. S.

“ wherever I went, in the strongest manner, because I saw they gloried in the cross of Christ.”*

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

“ April 9, 1740, Mr. Whitefield proposed my going to England, upon several important affairs, particularly to bring over Mr. Hutchins to take care of the Orphan-house in his absence—to acquaint the Trustees of Georgia with the state of the colony, and the means under God for the better establishment thereof, it being now upheld almost wholly by the soldiery and Orphan-house, most of the people, who are unconcerned in either, being gone or going.—The proper means are principally three:—1. An allowance of negroes.—2. A free title to the lands.—3. An independent magistracy, viz. such as are able and willing to serve without fee or reward. My business with the Trustees will be, farther, to bring over the money lodged in their hands for building the church at Savannah. I am moreover to collect subscriptions for a negro school in Pennsylvania, where our brother Whitefield proposes to take up land in order to settle a town for the reception of such English friends whose hearts God shall incline to come and settle there.

“ April 13. Mr. Tennent 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 14. 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 other places which lay in darkness and the shadow of death. The former told his congregation, that he had been hith-

With great joy he reached Savannah on the 5th of June, bringing his orphans, in money and provisions, upwards of five hundred pounds sterling. Next day, when they came to public worship, young and old were all dissolved in

erto deceiving himself and them ; and that he could not preach to them at present, but desired they would join in prayer with him.

“ April 15. 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 18. 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. (See his Works, Vol. IV.)

“ 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 Germantown, every Thursday, by four ministers.

“ April 22. Agreed with Mr. Allen for five thousand acres of land on the forks of Delaware, at 2200l. sterling, 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 24. Came to Christopher Wigner’s plantation in Shippack, where many Dutch people are settled, and where the famous Mr. Spalemburg resided lately. It was surprizing 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

tears. Some who came to visit them were also deeply impressed—particularly Mr. Hugh Bryan and his family,*

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 the God of Heaven.

“ April 25. 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 Tennent, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Campbell, four godly ministers, met us here.

“ April 26. Came to New-Brunswick.—Met Mr. Noel 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 Tennents, Mr. Rowland, and several others, were hard labourers in our Lord's vineyard.

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

The rest of Mr. Seward's Journal was written mostly during his passage to England, where he arrived June 19, and with which it concludes. Mr. Whitefield, in the new edition of his Journals, 1756, observes, “ April 28, 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.”

* For a more particular account of Mr. Bryan's family, and of his visit to Mr. Whitefield, and what followed upon it, See No. I. of “ Living Christianity delineated, in the Diaries and Letters of Mr. Hugh Bryan and Mrs. Mary Hutson.” Recommended by the Rev. Dr. Conder and Dr. Gibbons.

and some of his relations. Several from Beaufort 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, Ashly-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 Commissary poured out his anathemas, refused to give him the sacrament, and published some 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 the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, ministers in Boston, and being desirous of seeing the descendants of the good old 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 14.

Here several gentlemen soon came to visit him, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Clap, an aged dissenting minister, in whom he thought he saw what manner of men the old Puritans were, who first settled 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, before he got 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. Sturges'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 the Massachusetts colony, and Josiah Willard, Secretary. Both these gentlemen were his sincere friends; so were the ministers, Messrs. Webb, Foxcraft, Prince, Dr. Sewall, Gee, &c. To avoid, however, giving any just offence, he went to the English church to morning prayers; but finding, by conversation with the Commissary, and some other clergy, 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 Malden, 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 6.

Here the congregations were still increased. At his farewell sermon, it was supposed, there were near twenty thousand people. 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 contributions for the orphans were very considerable,

amounting, in town and country, to near five hundred pounds sterling.

He set out next for Northampton; having read in England an account of a remarkable work of conversion there, published by their pastor, the Rev. 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 every where opened, and a continued influence 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 much moved; 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, Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown and Wallingford, to large and affected congregations; and October 23d reached New-Haven, where he was affectionately received by Mr. Pierpont, brother-in-law to Mr. Edwards, and had the pleasure of seeing his friend Mr. Noel, of New-York, who brought him letters from Georgia. Here also, he was much refreshed with the conversation of several gospel 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, particularly, was 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 usual success at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, and Stamford, 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 30. Here for three days successively, and afterwards at Staten-Island, Newark, Baskingridge, his preaching appeared to be attended with more success than ever. At Trenton he had a long conference with

some ministers about Mr. Gilbert Tennent'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, as is particularly narrated elsewhere.*

* See Prince's Christian History, or Historical Collections of the Success of the Gospel, Vol. II. where the facts are set down in the order of time.

About this time Mr. Whitefield wrote his letter to some Church-Members of the Presbyterian persuasion, in Answer to certain Scruples and Queries which they had proposed. See Works, Vol. IV.

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

October 1, 1740.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

“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 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 Queriests, will honour him to you.”

Saturday, November 8, 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

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 was 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 really 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 ought I know, to Georgia. But Mr. Whitefield has not a warmer friend any where than the first man among us. Our Governor has shewed 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 distinguished mercy of Heaven by many, I am well satisfied. Every day gives me fresh proofs of Christ's speaking in him. A small set of 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 transform-

till November 17, preaching twice a day. Afterwards he preached in Gloucester, Greenwich, Piles-Grove, Cohan-sie, Salem, Newcastle, Whiteley-Creek, Frog's-Manor, Nottingham ; in many or most of which places the congregations were numerous, and deeply affected.

ing, 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 the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, who has preached Christ and the great truths of the gospel among them, with remarkable fervour of spirit, and to a general acceptance ; and hopes that there are many awakened by his ministry.—Another of the same date writes, that he had conceived very highly of him by some clauses in my private letter, and the sermon I preached by way of apology, &c. but confesses he had not gone high enough in his opinion of him, and that his expectations are more than answered in him.—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 any 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 yours by the Rev. 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. His address, more especially to the passions, is wonderful, and beyond what I have ever seen.

November 22, 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.

December 1, 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 sterling, 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 Mr. Jonathan Barber, whose

I think I can truly say, that his preaching has quickened me, and I believe it has many others besides, as well as the people. Several of my flock, especially the younger sort, have been brought under convictions by his preaching; and there is this remarkable amongst them of the good effects of his preaching, that the word preached now by us seems more precious to them, and comes with more power upon them. My prayer for him is, that his precious life may be lengthened out, and that he may be an instrument of reviving dying religion in all places whithersoever he comes, who seems to be wonderfully fitted for, as well as spirited to it."

* Journals, December 1, 1740.

heart was very much knit to him, and who was willing to help him at the Orphan-house. Him, therefore, he left superintendant 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 3, 1741, and preached twice every day as usual, to most affectionate auditories, 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.

CHAP. VII.

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 an-

* At Charleston, the Commissary was going to proceed against him for correcting and preparing for the press a letter written by Mr. Hugh B——n, in which it was hinted that the clergy break their canons. He also laid him under suspension for omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion-book, when officiating in a dissenting congregation.—But Mr. Whitefield gave security for his appearance, and appealed home.

swer 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, which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed. 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 expences also to be defryed. A family of a hundred to be daily maintained, four thousands 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 Foundery (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 turned out of Geneva, but behold a Church arises.' A gentlewoman lending me three hundred pounds to pay the present Orphan-house demand, and a serious person (whom I never saw or heard of) giving me a 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 backing and forward 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 twelve-month ago could have plucked out their eyes for me, running by me whilst preaching, disdainful 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, endeavoring 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 them 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.

Thither he intended to return as soon as possible.— Meantime, it being inconvenient, on account of the weather, to preach morning and evening in Moerfield—some Free Grace Dissenters (who stood by him closely in that time of trial) got the loan of a piece of ground, and engaged with a carpenter to build a large temporary shed, to screen the auditory from cold and rain, which he called

* About this time he was ordered to attend in the Parliament House, to give information concerning the state of the Colony in Georgia. “April 10, 1741.—I have been at the Parliament House. The Georgia affair was adjourned. It was somewhat of a trial to be in the House. I then remembered what the Apostle said, “We are become a spectacle to men.” My Appeal will come to nothing, I believe. I have waited upon the Speaker. He received me very kindly.”

Again, “He treated me kindly, and assured me that there would be no persecution in the King's reign.”

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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 Foundery, 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. &c. to assist." See M. S.

Fresh doors were now opened to him, and invitations sent to him from many places where he had never been. At a Common, near Braidtree in Essex, upwards of ten thousand persons attended. At Halstead, Dedham, Cossleshall, Weathersfield, Colchester, Bury, and Ipswich, the congregations were very large and much affected.*

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

* "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." M. S.

† See his Journals, and his Letters to the Rev. Mr. R. Erskine, and the Rev. Mr. E. Erskine.

In his last to Mr. E. E. before coming to Scotland, he writes—"May 16, 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 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 honor 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."

To the same purpose he writes to Mr. R. E. May 23.

He therefore took his passage from London to Leith, where (after five days, which he employed in writing many excellent letters to the Orphans, &c. he arrived July 30, 1741. Several persons of distinction most gladly received him, and would have had him preach at Edinburgh directly; but he was determined that the Rev. Messrs. Erskine's 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, the Rev. Mr. Wardlaw, who had been colleague to Mr. Ralph Erskine about twenty years; and who, as well as the Rev. 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 informèd, it was proposed that the Rev. Mr. Moncrief, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, and others, members of the associate Presbytery, should convene in a few days, in order to give him farther light.

In the mean time, 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 Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness 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 the Rev. Mr. Gusthart, and the Rev. Mr. Macvicar. 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 preach-

ing 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 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, 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; and that if the Pope himself would lend him his pulpit, he would gladly proclaim in it the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. 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 nobody, if tolerated, should they be tolerated? They answered, No.—Soon after this the company broke up. And Mr. M. 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.†

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. Persons of the best fashion, as well as of the meaner rank attended;‡ at some of their houses he generally expounded, every evening. And every day, almost, there were new evidences of the success of his labors. Numbers of ministers and students came to hear him, and aged, experienced Christians told him they could set their seal to what he preached.

* "I attended; but the good man so spent himself in the former part of his sermon, in talking against prelacy, the Common Prayer Book, the surplice, the rose in the hat, and such like externals; that when he came to the latter part of his text, to invite poor sinners to Jesus Christ, his breath was so gone, that he could scarce be heard. What a pity that the last was not first, and the first last!"

† "Having dropped something about persons building a Babel, Mrs. ——— said, it was a hard saying. Upon which I replied, I feared it was a true one, and that they would find the Babel fall down about their ears. I was never received into their house any more. Thus was I called to make another sacrifice of my affections. But what I had met with in England made this the more easy."

‡ 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.

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

CHAP. VIII.

Letters from Ministers and private Christians in Scotland, representing Mr. Whitefield's reception and success there, in the year 1741.

HIS reception, ministrations and success, at the principal places in Scotland, will farther appear from the following Letters.

At Edinburgh, one of the ministers of that city thus writes to him:—"April 20, 1742.† Rev. and 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, but are 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

* Among these was Cambuslang, and some places in the north of Scotland.

† Glasgow Weekly History, No. XXVII.

in different corners have been awakened. Many in a hopeful way. Religion in this sinful city revives and flourishes. Ordinances are more punctually attended on. People hear the word with gladness, and receive it in faith and love. New meetings for prayer and spiritual conference are erecting every where. 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, and enter into the house of God in company? 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 the Rev. Dr. Muir) late Minister of Paisley, thus wrote to James Aitken, school-master in Glasgow:—“Edinburgh, August 8, 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 any thing 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, “Lord, I want nothing else, and will have nothing short of the very Christ of God.”

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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 Sergeant tells me, that at one of these meetings, on the morning of the Lord's day, he has known them all wet with a flood 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 them I have the honor to be a member; many of them are Divines, who are useful in instructing the weaker sort of us; and that they endeavor to do with the greatest anxiety and desire. A good 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 hereby 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. And with respect to two particular societies, whereof Mr. Bowie is a member, he gave me the enclosed* in writing; which

* To Mr. Muir. "Edinburgh, August 6, 1743. As you desire a short account of the two societies I am concerned in, I shall give it in a very few words. They consist of twenty-five or twenty-six members each; and, except a very few, are all persons whose concern about religion began in the late awakening. I never saw the ends of such societies answered near so well as among these. I think I may safely declare, that I was never witness to so much of real christian exercise among any persons I have known, as I have observed to my great satisfaction, among most of them. It is most amazing to observe how much some of them, who at their first concern were brutishly ignorant of every thing good, have now made such advances in knowledge that they excel those who were former-

you will peruse and return. This is not all; for several country people are beginning to assemble together in little meetings, to worship their God: particularly the Sergeant 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 the ministers are learning to speak with new tongues. 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? O that the Lord would more

ly before them. The concern about their own salvation is not only remarkable, but the abiding earnestness they show in their prayers for the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, is most desirable; and the care they show in watching over one another is one convincing evidence of their brotherly love, and true christian tenderness. I might say a great deal more, but must conclude.

I am, &c.

A. BOWIE."

There is also notice taken of some remarkable conversions, and of the reformation observed in the Edinburgh Hospitals, in Numbers 10, 11 and 15, of the Glasgow Weekly History.

and more exert his almighty power amongst us. There are several other societies for prayer, near about this city, prospering very well."

The Rev. Mr. MacCulloch 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 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 got notice of, in and about Glasgow, that, by all that can be judged by persons of the best discerning 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, or at best but very negligent as to spiritual concerns, but are now in the way of salvation.—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, and love to the ordinances, without a spirit of bigotry, or party zeal.

"These converts by your ministry are discovered from

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XIII.

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 themselves, and their bashfulness, because of their former negligence 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 exceeding 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 older 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 every where, where you come with the glad tidings of the great salvation.”

At Aberdeen, one of the ministers of that city thus writes of him, to a person of distinction :—“ October 3, 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 the Rev. Mr. White-

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XXVIII.

held, 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, been 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 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 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 instance of a departing God, that, instead of regard, he

* 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 some of my former mistakes, he would not have expressed himself in such strong terms. The people being thus diverted from controversy with men, were deeply impressed with what they heard from the word of God.”

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 interests 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 loss, was he among us, where to find the religion of Jesus.

“ One now appears, who loudly calls us (and whose 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, before he takes his kingdom from 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 imbittered 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

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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 any where 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 forevermore, that they ever 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 waited on him while here, and made him free of this place ; though that is a compliment rarely paid to strangers of late.”

Mr. Willison, minister at Dundee, wrote as follows, to his friend at Edinburgh. “ October 8, 1741.* Honour- ed 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 strong holds. As you, Sir, do observe it to be with you, so it is with us. He is hated and spoken evil 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

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XIII.

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 any one man ; to see one so eminent 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 every thing. 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. O 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 entreated, 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 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 turning 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 a 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 a sovereign agent, 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. He has already conformed to us, both in doctrine and worship, and lies open to light to conform to us in other points. He is thoroughly a Calvinist, and sound to the doctrines of Free Grace, in the doctrine of Original Sin, the New Birth, Justification by Christ, the necessity of imputed Righteousness, the operations of the Holy Ghost, &c. These he makes his great theme, drives the point home to the conscience, and God attends it with great power. And as God has enlightened him gradually in these things, so he is still ready to receive more light, and so soon as he gets it he is most frank in declaring it.

"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 any thing, but the new creature. "P. S. Many with us are for preferring ministers, according to

the party they are of; but commend me to a pious, Christ-exalting, and soul-winning minister, whatever be his denomination. Such are ministers of Christ's sending, and of such he saith, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;' which is a rule of duty to us."*

* The compiler lately received a transcript from the diary of a very worthy Christian in Edinburgh, who died about two years ago, in which are the following passages. "Sabbati, August 9, 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.

"Sabbati, August 30, 1741. Mr. Whitefield preached Monday morning and afternoon; Tuesday forenoon in the Canongate Church, evening in the park, and gathered 25l. 7s. 6d. for the poor Highlanders. Next day he went to Newbottle, and preached twice. On Thursday at 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, Kinglassie, and come to Edinburgh on Tuesday. Blessed be God, he seldom preaches without some one or other 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, no, 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.

The four preceding letters shew 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 the Rev. Mr. Thomas Davidson, (his fellow-traveller) to the Rev. Mr. Henry Davidson of Gallashields, dated Culross, December 3, 1741, will be an agreeable specimen.

“ Thursday, October 27, 1741. Yesterday Mr. Whitefield 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. Whitefield 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 any thing 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 at 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 expounded there, which was the seventh

“ 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 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 scarce well begun, before the power of God was indeed very discernible. Never did I see such a pleasing melting in a worshipping assembly. 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, the reader will not be displeas'd to see the following extract from the papers of a gentleman deceased, who was eminent for learning and knowledge of the world, and who

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

“ November 29, 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 seem'd 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.

“ Sabbati, December 6, 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 by 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.”

had a general acquaintance with those who professed the greatest regard to religion.

“ 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 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 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 Presbyteral resolution to have no more to do with him; and one of them preached a sermon to shew, 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 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 Calvinistic 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. Many Presbyterians begin to think more mildly and candidly than before of the ministers and members of the Church of England.”*

* This year, 1741, he received the compliment of honorary Burgess Tickets from the Towns of Stirling, Glasgow, Paisley, and Aberdeen. And in 1742, from Irvine, And 1762, from Edinburgh.

CHAP. IX.

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 having some time ago formed a resolution to enter into the married state, he married one Mrs. James,* a widow between thirty and forty years of age ; of whom he says, "She has been a house-keeper 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 at London and Bristol. And from Gloucester he thus writes :—"December 22, 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, Providence opened a door for my preaching in St. John's, one of the parish churches. Great numbers came. 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.

* Her maiden name was Elizabeth Burnell.

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. We shall never know what good field-preaching has done, till we come to judgment. 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 came to 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 28, 1742, writes—" On Friday last I left Bristol, having first settled affairs, almost as I could wish. At Kingswood I administered the sacrament on Wednesday night. It was the Lord's passover. 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, Feb. 23, he was still farther encouraged by receiving letters from America, informing him of the remarkable success of the gospel there, and that God hath stirred up some wealthy friends to assist his orphans in their late straits.* 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 6, 1742) is doing great things in London daily. I rejoice to hear that you are helped in your work. Let

* " 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."

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 Whitmonday, at six o'clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people, he began. Thousands, 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 upon the other 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 up 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, ad-

vanced with sound of drum, in a very threatening manner, till they came near the skirts of the congregation. Uncommon courage was given to both 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, 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."

CHAP. X.

*From his Arrival in Scotland, 1742, to his Return to Eng-
don the same Year.*

SOON after this he embarked a second time for Scotland, and arrived at Leith, June 3, 1742.*

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 comforting and quickening of private christians, but to rouse them to more than ordinary concern about the salvation of their neighbors, 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 labors, and not suffer them always to complain that they spent their strength in vain. Nor were

* "Edinburgh, Sabbath, June 6, 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 mean 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. O may the impressions made on my heart never wear off, lest at any time I should be in danger of dropping my watch, and becoming untender."

"Oct. 17, 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."

these prayers long unanswered : for in the month of Feb. 1742, an extraordinary religious concern began to appear publicly at Cambuslang, and soon after at Kilsyth and other places ; the news of which spread quickly through the land, and engaged general attention. Of this a just though short description is given in the following letter, written by the Rev. Mr. Hamilton (then minister in the Barony parish, now in the High Church of Glasgow) to Mr. Prince, minister in Boston : "Glasgow, Sept. 13, 1742. We, in the south and west of Scotland, have great reason to join in thankfulness to God, with you, for the days of the Redeemer's power that we are favored with. Mr. Whitefield came to Scotland in summer 1741, for the first time ; and in many places where he preached, his ministrations were evidently blessed, particularly in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, where a considerable number of persons were brought under such impressions of religion as have never yet left them ; but they are still following on to know the Lord. However, this was only the beginning of far greater things : for, about the middle of February last, a very great concern appeared among the people of Cambuslang, a small parish, lying four miles south-east of Glasgow, under the pastoral inspection of the Rev. Mr. William Mac Culloch, a man of considerable parts, and great piety. This concern appeared with some circumstances very unusual among us ; to wit, severe bodily agonies, out-cryings and faintings, in the congregation. This made the report of it spread like fire, and drew vast multitudes of people from all quarters to that place : and I believe, in less than two months after the commencement of it, there were few parishes within twelve miles of Cambuslang but had some, more or fewer, awakened there, to a very deep, piercing sense of sin ; and many at a much greater distance. I am verily persuaded, with your worthy brother, Mr. Cooper, in his preface to Mr. Edwards's sermon, that God has made use of these uncommon circumstances to make his work spread the faster. But, blessed be God, Cambuslang is not the only place where these impressions are got. The same work is spreading in other parishes, and under their own ministers, particularly at Calder, Kilsyth and Cumbernauld, all to the north and north-east of Glasgow ;

and I doubt not, that since the middle of February, when this work began at Cambuslang, there are upwards of two thousand persons awakened, and almost all of them, by the best accounts I have, in a promising condition; there being very few instances of impostors, or such as have lost their impressions, and many whom we are bound to think true scripture converts, and who evidence it by a suitable walk and conversation. There is evidently a greater seriousness and concern about religion appearing in most of our congregations, than formerly; a greater desire after the word; people applying themselves more closely to their duty, and erecting new societies for prayer and spiritual conference: which gives us the joyful prospect of a considerable enlargement in the Messiah's kingdom.

My parish has likewise had some share in this good work. There has been above an hundred new communicants among them this summer, who never did partake of the blessed sacrament before; which is five times as many as ever I admitted in any former year; most of them were awakened at Cambuslang, some of them in their own church, and in others the impressions have been more gradual, and not attended with these uncommon circumstances before mentioned. And it is to be observed, that before we admit any to the Lord's table, we particularly examine them, and are satisfied with their knowledge of the principles of religion, of the nature and ends of the sacrament, and the impressions of religion they have on their minds.*

* Extract of a Letter from a person of distinction to the Compiler.

“Edinburgh, February 1772. 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 inquiry, it began with his first visit. This honor 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 the Rev. Mr. Willison's letter to Dr. Colman, minister in Boston; dated Dundee, Feb. 28, 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—at 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 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, Gargunnoch, 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 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. O shall not this wonderful step of divine condescension lead us all to repentance, and to go out to meet a returning God, in the way of humiliation and reformation? 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.*

* The Rev. Mr. Macknight, of Irvine, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield, June 21, 1742. "Blessed be our glor-

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. It is to be hoped their successors have juster views of this subject.* With respect to Mr. Whitefield, the

ous 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 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."—Remarkable Particulars, &c.

* The reader who wants to see the objections against

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 any one, 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. paragraphs 3 and 4. And I do own the Lord Jesus to be the blessed Head and King of his Church.

"The Solemn League and Covenant I never abjured, neither was it ever proposed 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,

the work at Cambuslang, &c. fully refuted, may consult Mr. Robe's Letters to Mr. Fisher; and Mr. Jonathan Edwards's Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God. And, as to the argument from the goodness of the fruits, which is level to the capacities of all, the Compiler thinks it his duty to add, that, among his acquaintance who were the subjects of that work, the fruits were generally both good and lasting.

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 that was contrary to the dictates of my conscience, and therefore I could not comply. I thought their foundation 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.* At the same time, they knew very well I was 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

* The event verified this conjecture. In his (M. S.) 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 must take the Covenant, and that God had left the Scotch established churches long ago, and that he would never work by the hand 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 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 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 Chistianity in them; and if there be any thing 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 Westminster 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 my own heart, 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 my mistakes, as to my practice, or unguarded expressions in 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 assistance of his Blessed Spirit, that I may say and do so no more."

So much for Mr. Whitefield's difference with the Seceders. But, notwithstanding all this, 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.* At Edinburgh he preached twice a day, as usual,

* "Edinburgh, June 4, 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 Sergeant, whose letter brother C— has, goes on well with his company." And

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 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 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. At the celebration of the holy communion, their joy was so great, that, at the desire of many, both ministers and people, in imitation of Hezekiah's passover, they had, a month or two afterwards, a second, which was a general rendezvous of the people of God. The communion-table was in the field; three tents at proper distances, all surrounded with a multitude of hearers: above twenty ministers (among whom was good old Mr. Bonner) attending to preach and assist, all enlivening and enlivened by one another."

And in the M. S. "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."

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 every one 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 Sabbath, four times at Irvine; on Monday once at Irvine, and three times at Kilmarnock; Tuesday, once at Kilmarnock,* and four times at Stewarton; on Wednes-

* A gentleman now living, of an irreproachable character, thus writes to the Compiler, April 8, 1771. "When Mr. Whitefield was preaching at Kilmarnock, on the 23d of August, 1742, from these words, 'And out of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace,' I thought I never heard such a sermon on the fulness of grace that is treasured up in Christ Jesus; and can truly say that I felt the efficacy of the Holy Spirit upon my soul, during that discourse. I afterwards shut up myself in my chamber during the remaining part of that day; and, before I laid myself down to rest, I made a solemn and serious dedication of myself to God, by way of covenant, extended and subscribed the same with my hands, and, I think, had communion with God in so doing, to which I have often had recourse since, in adhering thereto, and in renewing thereof. Though my life since has been attended with many backslidings from God, and I have been perfidious in his covenant, yet still I rejoice in his salvation through precious Christ. And it is refreshing to behold the place at this very day, as I have often done since. I, from the æra above mentioned, always looked upon Mr. Whitefield as my spiritual father, and frequently heard him afterwards in Edinburgh and Glasgow with much satisfaction. It always gave me joy, the mentioning of his name, and grieved me when he was reproached. And I can very

day, 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 Forphichen. 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 pieces for the press, so that he was as busy as ever.*

When 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 exercised, but my heart kept stedfast and joyful in the Lord of all Lords, whose mercy endureth forever. I long to be

well remember, that when Cape-Breton was taken, I happened to be then at Edinburgh, and, being invited to breakfast with Mr. Whitefield, I never in all my life enjoyed such another breakfast. He gave the company a fine and lively descant upon that part of the world, made us all join in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving, and concluded with a most devout and fervent prayer. In the evening of that day he preached a most excellent thanksgiving sermon, from the first two verses of the cxxvi. Psalm.

"I never preached with so much apparent success before. At Greenock, Irvine, Kilbride, Kilmarnock, and Stewarton, the concern was great; at the three last, very extraordinary."

* Particularly, a Vindication of the Work of God in New-England. See Works, Vol. IV. and several letters about the affairs of the Orphan-house, some of his friends there having met with harsh treatment from the magistrates of Savannah.

At this time he published at Edinburgh a continuation of the account of the Orphan-house, from January 1741, to June, 1742—See his Works, Vol. III. where you have the whole account continued from time to time, till April 1770.

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. But, alas ! I know not how I should behave, if put to the trial : only we have a promise, that as our day is, so our strength shall be. The thoughts of divine love carry me above every thing. 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.

CHAP. XI.

From his arrival in London, in the Year 1742, to his embarking for America, in 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 7) " I preached, and took leave of the Gloucester people, with mutual and great concern, on Sunday evening last. It was past one in the

* The manner in which the Spaniards were repulsed with remarks upon the kindness of Providence to the colony, may be seen in an extract of General Oglethorp's Proclamation for a Thanksgiving.

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 read prayers, and preached, and afterwards administered the Sacrament in Stonehouse Church. 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. 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 Smith's 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, Lantrisant, Neath, Swanzey, Harbrook, Llanelthy, Carmarthen,* Larn, Narbatt, Newton, Jefferson, Llassivran, Kidwille, Llangathan, Landover, Brecon, Treveeka, Guenfethen, Builth, and the Gore,† and in the latter end of April re-

* It was the Great Sessions. The Justices desired I would stay till they rose, and they would come. Accordingly they did, and many thousands more, and several people of quality,"

† The work, begun by Mr. Jones, spread 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. The power of God at the sacrament, under the ministry of Mr. Rowland, was enough to make a person's heart burn within him. At seven in the morning have I seen perhaps ten thousand from different parts, in the midst of sermon, crying, Gogunniant—bendiyitti—ready to leap for joy. Associations were now formed, and monthly or quarterly meetings appointed, and a closer connection established between the English and Welch, so that several came over to assist." M. S.

turned 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.

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. Every where effectual doors are opened. So far from thinking of nestling at 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

* At one of these associations, a motion was made to separate from the established Church: but (says Mr. Whitefield) "by far the greater part strenuously opposed it, and for good reason; for, as we enjoy such great liberty under the mild and gentle government of his present Majesty King George, I think we can do him, our country, and the cause of God, more service in ranging up and down, preaching repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, to those multitudes who would neither come into church or meeting, but who are led by curiosity to follow us into the fields. This is a way to which God has affixed his seal for many years past."

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, Biddeford,* 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.”

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 impressed, 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; which were, so high, that

* “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.”

† “Many prayers were put up, by the worthy Rector and others, for an out-pouring of God’s blessed Spirit. 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.”

‡ “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’s strengthening me could preach five times more.”

§ “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.”

after he had publicly baptized the child at the Tabernacle, all went away big with hopes of his being spared to be employed in the work of God. But 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."

March 3, he attended the assizes at Gloucester. The occasion was, in the Summer, 1743, the Methodists had been persecuted and abused by the mob, particularly at Hampton, where several were hurt, and the life of their preachers threatened. Mr. Whitefield, having tried other methods in vain, resolved, with the advice and assistance of his brethren, to seek the protection of law: and accordingly got an information lodged against the Hampton rioters in the court of King's Bench. Facts being proved by a variety of evidence, and the defendants making no reply, the rule was made absolute, and an information filed against them. To this they pleaded *Not Guilty*, and therefore the cause was referred in course to the assizes in Gloucester. There he attended, and got the better of his adversaries. After a full hearing on both sides, a verdict was given for the prosecutors, and all the defendants were brought in guilty of the whole information lodged against them. This prosecution had a very good effect. The rioters were greatly alarmed at the thoughts of having an execution issued out against them. But the intention of the Methodists was, to let them see what they could do, and then to forgive them.*

* Some time before this, 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

* See an account of this trial in his Works, Vol. IV.

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 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 the Rev. 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, with him he took passage in a ship going 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 alledged, 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

* See his Works, Vol. IV. where is also his Answer to the Second Part of the Observations, &c. in a second letter to the Bishops, written during his voyage to America that year.

much good. At Exeter, also, I revisited, where many souls were awakened to the divine life. At Biddeford, 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 the least success.* 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 lodging; 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.

* M. S. Upon mentioning Biddeford, he adds here a character of Mr. Hervey. It is a pity he did not write it down.—However, we have a sketch of it—

“Your sentiments concerning Mr. H—'s book 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.”

Whitefield, imagining it was somebody under conviction, desired 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 in 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 set out for Biddeford. 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 had begun. Could the fields between Plymouth and the Dock speak, they could tell what blessed seasons were enjoyed there."

CHAP. XII.

From his embarking for America, in 1744, to his going to the Bermudas, in the Year 1748.

AS soon as the convoy came,* Mr. Whitefield embarked, in the beginning of August, 1744, though in a

* "August 4. Our convoy is now come. I desire you all to bless God for what he is doing in these parts; for

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 colic, that he was obliged, immediately after his arrival, to go to bed. His friends were very apprehensive; but he himself had much inward peace. 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 every one thought, with death, in my dear friend Mr. Sherburne's house. What gave me most concern was, that notice had been given of my being 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.

preaching in the Dock is now like preaching at the Tabernacle. Our morning lectures are very delightful. O 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 ferry-men 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.'"

* His Letter to the Clergy of the Diocess of Litchfield and Coventry is dated during this voyage.

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, get 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. Tennent's going out as an itinerant, the awakening greatly increased in various places,* till, at length, the work so advanced every where, that many thought the latter-day glory was indeed come, and that a nation was to be born in a day. But, as the same sun that lightens and warms the earth, gives life to noxious insects, so the same work, that for a while carried all before it, was sadly blemished, through the subtilty 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 every thing. 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 min-

* See Prince's Christian History (or Historical Collections, &c. Vol. II. page 304) where are attestations of above a hundred and twenty ministers to the goodness of the work.

† Thus it was at the reformation in Germany.

isters came out against me,* almost every day.—And the disorders were also at the highest ; so that for a while my situation was rendered uncomfortable.† But amidst all

* He wrote an answer to a Testimony by Harvard College. See Works, Vol. IV.

† While some published testimonials against Mr. Whitefield, others published testimonials in his favour ; as Mr. Hobby, Mr. Loring, Fifteen Ministers convened at Taunton, March 5, 1745, And the following paragraph is in Prince's Christian History, No. XCIV :

“ Saturday, November 24, 1744, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield was so far revived as to be able to set out from Portsmouth to Boston, whither he came in a very feeble state the Monday evening after ; since which, he has been able to preach in several of our largest houses of public worship, particularly the Rev. Dr. Colman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, and Mr. Gee's, to crowded assemblies of people, and with great and growing acceptance. At Dr. Colman's desire, and the consent of the church, on the Lord's day after his arrival he administered to them the Holy Communion. And last Lord's day he preached for Mr. Cheever of Chelsea, and administered the Holy Supper there. The next day preached for the Rev. Mr. Emerson of Malden. Yesterday he set out to preach at some towns to the northward, proposes to return hither the next Wednesday-evening, and after a few days to comply with the earnest invitations of several ministers to go and preach to their congregations in the southern parts of the province. He comes with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence, as before. In opposition to the spirit of separation and bigotry, he 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

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."

It was now Spring, 1745, and at that time the first expedition was set on foot against Cape Breton. Colonel Pepperell, who was then at Boston, and constantly attended Mr. Whitefield's lecture, was pleased, the day before he accepted a commission to be General in that expedition, to ask Mr. Whitefield's opinion of the matter. He told him, with his usual frankness, "That he did not, indeed, think the scheme proposed for taking Louisburgh very promising; that the eyes of all would be upon him. If he did not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain soldiers would be like lions robbed of their whelps; but if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavour to eclipse his glory; he had need, therefore, if he went, to go with a single eye; and then there was no doubt, but if Providence really called him, he would find his strength proportioned to the day."—About the same

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. P. full of horror, confessed his crimes, and longed to ask my pardon."

time, Mr. Sherburne, another of Mr. Whitefield's friends, being appointed one of the Commissaries, told him, "He must favour the expedition, otherwise the serious people would be discouraged from enlisting; not only so, but insisted he should give him a motto for his flag, for the encouragement of the soldiers." This he refused to do, as it would be acting out of character. But Mr. Sherburne would take no denial. He therefore, at last, gave them one, *Nil desperandum, Christo Duce.* "If Christ be Captain, no fear of a defeat." Upon which great numbers enlisted. And before their embarkation, the officers desired him to give them a sermon. This he readily complied with, and preached from these words: "As many as were distressed, as many as were discontented, as many as were in debt, came to David, and he became a Captain over them." He spiritualized the subject, and told them, how distressed sinners came to Jesus Christ the Son of David; and in his application, exhorted the soldiers to behave like the soldiers of David, and the officers to act like David's worthies; then he made no manner of doubt, there would be good news from Cape-Breton. After this he preached to the General himself, who asked him if he would not be one of his chaplains. But he excused himself, and said, "He should think it an honour, but believed, as he generally preached three times a day, in various places, to large congregations, he could do more service by stirring up the people to pray, and thereby strengthening his and his soldiers' hands." And in this practice he persisted during the siege of Louisburgh. "I believe (adds he) if ever people went with a disinterested view, the New-Englanders did then. Though many of them were raw and undisciplined, yet numbers were substantial persons, who left their farms, and willingly ventured all for their country's good. An amazing scene of providences appeared,* and though some discouraging accounts were sent during the latter end of the siege, yet in about six weeks news was brought of the surrender of Louisburgh. Numbers flocked from all quarters to hear a thanksgiving sermon upon the occasion. And I trust

* See Mr. Prince's Sermon upon the occasion.

the blessing bestowed on the country, through the thanksgivings of many, redounded to the glory of God."

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 Casco-bay and North-Yarmouth, he went through Connecticut, Plymouth, Rhode-Island, preaching to thousands, 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 converted Indians, and of seeing near fifty young ones in one school, near Freehold, learning the Assembly's Catechism. A blessed awakening had been begun and carried on among the Delaware Indians, by the instrumentality of Mr. David Brainaird,* such a one as hath not been heard of since the awakening of New-England by the venerable Mr. Elliott, who used to be styled the Apostle of the Indians; his brother followed him. Mr. William Tennent, whose party I found much upon the advance, seemed to encourage his endeavours with all his heart.

"His brother, Mr. Gilbert Tennent, being early 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 preaching at Glasgow, some persons wrote some of my extempore sermons, and printed them almost

* See his Life and Journals.

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, it being cheap during the war; and a plantation, and a few negroes were purchased at Indian-land. Thus, for a while, the gap was stopped. I preached a sermon upon the Rebellion; was very sick at Philadelphia; kindly received at Bohemia and at New-York.

“ 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 stiches in my side, I was advised to go to Bermudas for the recovery of my health.”† He accordingly embarked, and landed there the 15th of March, 1748.

* See this more fully narrated, Hist. Coll. Book IV. Chap. V. Sect. 22.

† In his Letters during this period, are the following passages:

“ August 26, 1746. The door for my usefulness opens wider and wider. I love to range in the American woods, and sometimes think I shall never return to England any more.

“ November 8. I have lately been in seven counties in Maryland, and preached to great congregations. “ May

CHAP. XIII.

From his Arrival at the Bermudas, to his Return to London in July, 1748.

MR. WHITEFIELD met with the kindest reception at Bermudas, 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. The Rev. 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 respect to the Governor. All along

“ May 21, 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 carcase 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 dispose of among poor people, much good might be done.

“ June 1. The congregations yesterday were exceeding large. I am sick and well, as I used to be in England ; but the Redeemer fills me with comfort. I am determined, in his strength, to die fighting.

“ June 4. I have omitted preaching one night, to oblige my friends, that they may not charge me with murdering myself ; but I hope yet to die in the pulpit, or soon after I come out of it.

“ June 23. Since my last, I have been several times on the verge of eternity. At present, I am so weak that

we had a most pleasant prospect of the other part of the island ; 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 invitation, and all behaved with great civility and respect. After the Governor rose from the table, he desired, if I stayed in town on the Sunday, that I would dine with him at his own house.

“ Sunday, March 20, 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 Col. 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 !

I cannot preach. It is hard work to be silent, but I must be tried every way.

“ June 29. God has been pleased to bring my body to the very brink of the grave, by convulsions, gravel, a nervous colic, 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. I purpose to go to Boston, and return by land, so as to reach Charleston by November.

“ July 4. At present, I am very weakly, and scarce able to preach above once or twice a week.

“ September 11. We saw great things in New-England. The flocking and power that attended the word was like unto that seven years ago. Weak as I was, and have been, I was enabled to travel eleven hundred miles, and preach daily. I am now going to Georgia to winter.”

“ Wednesday, March 23, dined with Captain Gibbs, and went from thence and expounded at the house of Capt. F—le, at Hunboy, 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 8th 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 25. 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.

“ Sunday, March 27. Glory to God! I hope this has been a profitable Sabbath to many souls: it has been a pleasant one to mine. Both morning and afternoon I preached to a large auditory, in Bermudas, 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 28. Dined this day at Mrs. D—l's, mother-in-law to my dear friend the Rev. Mr. Smith; and afterwards preached to more than a large house full of people, on Matt. 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 31. Dined on Tuesday at Colonel Corbusiers, 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 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 round 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 every 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 large 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, and it was very pleasant after sermon to see so many boats full of people returning from the worship of God. I talked seriously to some in our own boat, and began to sing a psalm, in which they readily joined.

“ Sunday, April 3. Preached twice this day at Mr. Paul's meeting-house, as on the last Sabbath, but with greater freedom and power, especially in the morning, and I think to as great, if not greater, auditories. Dined with Col. 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 Dorrel's, Mrs. D—l's son, who with his wife courteously entertained me, and desired me to make his house my home.—So true is that promise

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

“ Wednesday, April 6. Preached yesterday at the house of Mr. Anthony Smith, of Bylis Bay, with a considerable degree of warmth, and rode afterwards to St. George's the only town in 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 that 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 priest by letters dismissory from my Lord of London, and 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 further, that a minister's pulpit was looked upon as his free-hold, 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 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 town's-people, assembled in great order. I was very ill, through a cold I caught last night; but I read the prayers, (the first lesson was the fifteenth of the first of Samuel) and preached on those words, 'Righteousness

exalteth a nation.' Being weak and faint, and having much of the head-ache, I did not do that justice to my subject as 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's, 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. O 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!

“ Friday, April 8. Preached yesterday with great clearness and freedom to about four-score 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; after which I took the sacrament from him. 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. Tod'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 it will be a *Good Friday* indeed to their souls.

“ Sunday, April 10. Dined and conversed yesterday, very agreeably, with Judge Bascome ; who seems to have the greatest insight into the difference between the Arminian and Calvinistical scheme of any one I have yet met with upon the island. In the afternoon I visited a sick paralytic ; and this day I preached twice again at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. The congregations were rather 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 lodging 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 !

“ Saturday, April 16. 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 of this week, I dined with the President and Captain Spafford, both of whom entertained me with the utmost civility.

“ Sunday, 17. 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, I, at the desire of the parents, 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 24. 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 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 disease. 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!

“Saturday, April 30. 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 1. This morning I 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 endeavor 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, every thing was carried on with great decency; and, I believe, the Lord enabled me so to discourse, as to touch the negroes, and yet not 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 with the harmlessness of the dove, it must be when discoursing to negroes. Vouchsafe me this favor, O God, for thy dear Son's sake!

"Monday, May 2. 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 any thing, 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. Every thing is beautiful in its season. Lord, 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 master's houses, saying 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.

"Saturday, May 7. 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, I was sure it never had 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 would not 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 him any answer, till at last he seemed to point at me, and I was ashamed that nobody should answer him, and therefore I 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 Bermudas negroes are more knowing than I supposed; that their consciences are awake, and consequently prepared, in a good measure, for hearing the gospel preached unto them.

"Sunday, May 8. This also, I trust has been a good Sabbath. 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, that worketh repentance not to be repented of!

"Friday, May 13. This afternoon preached over the corpse of Mr. Paul's eldest son, about 24 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

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their Redeemer in the days of their youth. Grant it, O Lord, for thy dear Son's sake!

"Sunday, May 15. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, 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 around 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 every where. 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 Bermudas. 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 the 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 Counsellors, 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 22. Blessed be God! the little leaven thrown into three measures of meal, begins to ferment and work almost every day, for the week past. 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 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 a one at Mr. Harvey's house, round which stood many hundreds of people. But in the morning and evening how did the poor souls weep! 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 Bermudas 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 mean while, 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 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 seastore; and in the several parishes, by a private voluntary contribution, have raised me upwards of a hundred pounds sterling. 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 thousand fold! I hear that what was given was given exceeding 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, and 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.* The next evening, July 6, 1748, he reached London, after an absence of near four years.

* During this voyage, among other letters, he wrote the following :—

“ June 24, 1748, (on board.) Yesterday I made an end of revising all my Journals. Alas! alas! in how many things I have 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 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 former mistakes.”

At this time also he finished his “ Abridgment of Mr. Law's Serious Call ;” which he endeavored to make more useful, by excluding whatever is not truly evangelical, and illustrating the subject more fully from the Holy Scriptures.—See his Works, Vol. IV.

CHAP. 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 far 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."

71 In September, 1748, he made a third visit to Scotland, where he met with a hearty welcome. Great multitudes

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

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 the Lord should call me thither again. Two Synods,* and one Presbytery,

* He means the Synods of Glasgow and Perth, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh. What happened in the Synod of Glasgow, may be seen in a pamphlet, entitled, "a fair and impartial Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, 6 October, 1748, against employing Mr. Whitefield," published at Edinburgh the same year, and supposed to be written by the Rev. Dr. Erskine, who was then minister at Kirkintilloch. The short history of the matter is this: A motion was made, tending to prohibit or discourage ministers from employing Mr. Whitefield. The speeches made in support of the motion were upon the following topics: His being a priest of the Church of England—That he had not subscribed the Formula—His 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 Ruth-

brought me upon the carpet; but all has worked for good." While he was in Scotland, he endeavoured to do all the service he could to the New-Jersey College, and in conjunction with some ministers who wished well to that institution, advised the sending over a minister from America, to make application in person: which was after-

erford, 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 XII, 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 characters have 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 inquiry into his character: whereas those on the other side have made a careful inquiry; and that inquiry 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 in 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

wards done in the year 1754, when Mr. Tennent and Mr. Davies applied to the General Assembly, and obtained an appointment of a general collection. He also began to

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 we are justified, are very different things, and that a holy life is the best evidence of a gracious state. These retractions are owing to a real change of sentiment. Letters from correspondents in New-England shew, 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 a 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.

think of making his Orphan-house not only a receptacle for fatherless children, but also a place of literature and academical studies. Such a place, he thought was much wanted in the southern parts of America, and if conducted in a proper manner would be of great service to the colony. He therefore, after his return to England, wrote to the Trustees, signifying that this was his intention, if they would be pleased to put the colony upon another footing, and allow a limited use of negroes, without which, he had long been of opinion, Georgia never could be a flourishing province. Meantime, he went on in his usual way, and with his usual success, at London, Bristol and Gloucester, during the winter; and in February, 1749, made an excursion to Exeter and Plymouth, where he found a strange alteration in the people since he had been first there, about five years before; they now received him with the greatest joy, and were importunate to hear him: and many of them gave proofs of a solid conversion to God.—“Now, (says he) Plymouth seems to be quite a new place to me.” As his health was impaired in London, he loved to range (as he calls it) after precious souls; though he never wanted to make a sect, or 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 hence-forward.” 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 miracles; 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 to leave off that ungrateful caution, ‘Spare thyself.’ I speak this to encourage you.”*

* About this time he wrote “Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled, The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists com-

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 24, 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 eight Welch 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, Biddeford 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 above a thousand communicants, and in the church yard about six thousand hearers. At Leeds, the auditory consisted of above ten thousand. Thither Mr. Whitefield was invited by one of the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preachers, and by the societies. And Mr. Charles Wesley, coming there, gave

pared." Wherein (with a candour very uncommon in controversial writings) he says, "Several mistakes in some parts of my past writings and conduct are acknowledged, and my present sentiments concerning the Methodists explained." See his Works, Vol. IV.

notice of him to the people, and also introduced him to the pulpit in Newcastle, where he preached four times, and twice without 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 every where 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 arrived in London about the middle of November, and continued there till the beginning of February, employed in his usual manner. Having offered to assist occasionally at West-street chapel, it was accepted. Accordingly he preached four or five times there, and administered the sacrament twice or thrice. Congregations were very large.

February 6, 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 12—"Since I wrote last, we have been favoured both in Gloucester city, and in the country, with 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 the Rev. Mr. Pearsall, a dissenting minister at Taunton, and Mr. Daracott 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, he had the greater 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 Tavistock, St. Ginny's,* Port Isaac, Camelford, St. Andrews, Redruth,

* "Four of Mr. Wesley's preachers were present, and three clergymen, Mr. Bennet, aged fourscore, Mr.

Gwinnop, St. Mewens. All this he accomplished before the 21st of March, when we find him again 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 the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Hervey,* and Dr. —. But 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 offender 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."

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."

* Mr. Hervey thus wrote of his interview 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 provisions, 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.

After he left Ashby, he preached at Radcliff Church, Nottingham and Sutton, with great success.

At Nottingham (says he) several came to me, inquiring what they should do to be saved. I preached there four times. One evening Lord S. and several gentlemen, were present, and behaved with great decency. 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 in the end of May, and observes, "Methinks, 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 6; having preached near a hundred times since he left London, and, by a moderate computation, to above a hundred thousand 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

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 extravagance of behaviour; sweetened with the most engaging cheerfulness of temper, and regulated by all the sobriety of reason, and wisdom of 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."

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 4, 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. At 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, Eversham, 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 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 29—"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 turns."

Having left London, March 5, he went again into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, and preached at Taunton and Wellington, in his way to Plymouth. April 11, 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 will find strength to proceed in your book."

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.

CHAP. XV.

From his first visit to Ireland, to his opening the New Tabernacle at London, in the Year 1753.

AFTER a passage of five days from Wales, he arrived, May 24, 1751, at Dublin, where he was gladly received, and lodged at the house of Mr. L——, 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 10. 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."* At Limerick he preached seven times to large and affected auditories, and twice at Cork, (where the Methodists had lately been mobbed) to a great body of people, with all quietness. From thence he went to Bandon and Kinsale, where a

* In the MSS. he says, "I took a journey from near Hayerfordwest 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."

like blessing attended his preaching. At 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 12— "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 hanging, 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."* At this time he was glad

* 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 was no such extensive new awakenings, Mr. Whitefield's coming was always refreshing to serious persons, and seemed to put new life into them, and also to be the means of increasing their number. His preaching was still eminently useful in various respects. In the first place, it had an 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 several persons to hear the gospel, who seldom went to hear it from other ministers. Again, young people in general, were much benefited by his ministry, and particularly young students, who became afterwards serious evangelical preachers. Lastly, his morning discourses, which were mostly intended for

to understand that Mr. Dinwiddie, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. MacCulloch, of Cambuslang, was made Governor of Virginia. In that province there had been a con-

sincere but disconsolate souls, were peculiarly fitted to direct and encourage all such in the Christian life. 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, and many under deep impressions of the great objects of religion, and the concerns of eternity. These things will not soon be forgotten; and it is hoped the many good effects which by the divine blessing attended them, never will.

His conversation was no less reviving than his sermons. Many in Edinburgh and Glasgow are witnesses of this, especially at Glasgow, when in company with his good friends, Mr. MacLaurin, Mr. Robert Scott, &c. One might challenge the sons of pleasure, with all their wit, good humor and gaiety, to furnish entertainment so agreeable. At the same time, no part of it was more agreeable than it was useful and edifying.

His friends in Scotland, among whom were many of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, were very constant and steady in their great regard for him. And his opposers grew more and more mild. 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 inquiry, 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 honor.—He used to smile at good Mr. MacLaurin's honest zeal, who on such occasions spared no pains to come at the truth, and, when he had discovered it, was no less eager

siderable awakening for some years past, especially in Hanover county and the places adjacent. As the ministers of the establishment did not favor the work, and the

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 at London; and her answer being received, a confutation of the calumny was published in the Glasgow Courant, in the following terms: "October 31, 1748. A story having been spread in this town of Mr. Whitefield's having received twenty pounds sterling from a gentlewoman in London, to give to 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 13, 1748.' There is likewise a receipt come down, dated September 3, to Mr. Stevens. Both the letter and the receipt are to be seen in the hands of the publisher."

But, indeed, Mr. Whitefield's whole behavior 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

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 licenced, 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 6—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 sorrowful parting with his friends in England, which grew still more

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.

A person of eminence, whom a sincere esteem of Mr. Whitefield made attentive to his reception and ministrations in Scotland, from first to last, writes thus to the compiler:

“Edinburgh, January, 1772. I think more might be said, with great justice, concerning the effects of his ministry in Scotland, after the first two years; as there was always a remarkable revival followed each of his visits; which many of the ministers testified from their particular knowledge, especially by the number of new communicants. Mention might be made of the great number of ministers in Scotland that employed him, and of the many affectionate letters he received from them, of which there were a good many printed, both in the London and Glasgow Weekly Histories, from some of the most eminent men in the Church, who had employed him to preach in their pulpits, and continued so to do, when opportunity offered; except in the Presbytery of Edinburgh; and even there the magistrates always allowed him a church to preach in, every time he came.”

distressing to him he went on board the *Antelope*, Capt. MacLellan, bound for Georgia, with Germans; and took along with him several children.

He arrived at Savannah, October 27, 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 high 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. At 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 saw Providence was appearing for Georgia and Bethesda, and determined therefore to sell his plantation, and give 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 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 17, he was in London. His letter of this date to his acquaintance Dr. F——, 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 preach 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 29—"At Edinburgh great multitudes, among whom were abundance 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.—The Lord reigns, that is enough for us." And again—"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 and Newcastle. From Sheffield he writes, November 1—"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, 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 10, he arrived at London, and proceeded in his usual way at the Tabernacle. December 15, 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. Our sacramental occasions have been exceedingly awful and refreshing."

He now began to think of erecting a new Tabernacle, a large building eighty feet square; which he accomplished in the spring and summer following.

About this time, also, we find Mr. Hervey and him employed in revising each others 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 foretel their fate; nothing but your scenery can screen you. Self will never bear to die, though slain in so genteel a manner, without shewing 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 the things that are. I write for the poor, you for 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 discouraged, 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 1, 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 Zinzendoff, which is in the 4th vol. 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 10, 1753, he opened his new Tabernacle, preaching in the morning from 1 Kings, viii. 11, and in the evening from 1 Chron. xxix, 9.

CHAP. 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 Oulney and Northampton. He preached also at Liecester 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 he 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 7.*

* After he had been in Glasgow, the following paragraph appeared in the Newcastle Journal, August 11, 1753:—"By a Letter from Edinburgh we are informed, that on the second instant Mr. Whitefield, the Itinerant, being at Glasgow, and preaching to a numerous audience near the Play-house lately built, he inflamed the mob so much against it, that they ran directly from before him,

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 desires and hopes soon to see his Divine Master in glory.

On his return to England, he went from Newcastle to Stockton, Osmotherly, York and Leeds. He assisted at the sacrament at Howarth, where they had a very extraordinary season, and a vast number of communicants. He went as far as Bolton, Manchester and Stockport. The more he preached, the more eager the people seemed to be. The last part of his circuit was to Lincolnshire, Rotherham, Sheffield, Nottingham and Northampton. He returned 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 Oulney, at Oxen, near Harborough, Bosworth, Kettering and Bedford; at all which places he preached 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

and pulled it down to the ground. Several of the rioters are since taken up, and committed to goal."

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 Play-houses, and to represent their pernicious influence on religion and morality, especially in a populous, commercial city, and the fear of a University. But there was no riot. It was the proprietor of the Play-house (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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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 16, writes from Gloucester—
 “After Lord’s-day, I am bound for Bristol and Plymouth; and hope to get into my winter-quarters for 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.”

On Sunday, November 25, 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 quality. 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 an eye of faith I saw Him who called 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 forever and ever.” At this time his friend and fellow-labourer, the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, had by his extraordinary labours brought his life into great danger, of which Mr. Whitefield thus writes:—“Bristol, December 3, 1753. I am 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. December 26, he had a visit from Messieurs Tennent 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 of 1753,* longing for a spring campaign, (as he expresses it) that he might begin to do something for his Divine Master.

March 7, 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 hath 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 a native tendency to make me thankful for the glorious reformation." After 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 moon-shine night, dragging along

* His letters, written about the beginning of the new year, shew the habitual frame of his mind. "Near forty years old, and such a dwarf! The winter come already, and so little done in the summer." Again—"I heartily wish your Lordship, not the compliments, but the blessings of the season; even all those blessings that have been purchased for a lost world by the death and sufferings of an incarnate God."

heavy chains fastened to their ankles, 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 swelled. He wrote a description of this to his friend, with expressions of praise and gratitude to Providence for the great wonder of the Reformation, and for delivering Britain from the return of such spiritual slavery, by defeating the unnatural rebellion. "Blessed be God, (says he) the snare is broken and we are delivered. O for Protestant practices to be added to Protestant principles!" He further observes, "The preachers here have also taught me something; their action is graceful, *Vivida osuli, 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 hath 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. O 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 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. "Every where," 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 September he had once more the pleasure of seeing his good old friend Governor Belcher 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. "Tomorrow, (says he) October 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 miles 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 9, 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 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 7, 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

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

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; continued in these places till the latter end of March, when he embarked for England, and on the 8th of May arrived at Need-Haven, in Sussex.

The first thing he took notice of was, the success of the gospel in his native country: "Glorify 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 re-animated him. He went on, preaching earnestly at London, Bristol, Bath, and in Gloucestershire, till the month of August. Then he went to Norwich, and opened the Tabernacle there. "At this place, (says he) notwithstanding offences have come, there has been a glorious work begun, and is now carrying on, (August 30, 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 labors 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 30, preaching twice and thrice a day, for two months, to many thousands. At this time, he says, "Next to Jesus, my king and coun-

* In the M. S. he puts down the names of Jones, Romaine, Madan: of whom it appears he intended to have written more particularly.

try were upon my heart. I hope I shall always think it my bounden duty, next to inviting sinners to the blessed Jesus, to exhort my hearers to exert themselves against the first approaches of Popish tyranny and arbitrary power. O that we may be enabled to watch and pray against all the opposition of Antichrist in our hearts; for, after all, there lies the most dangerous man of sin. About the end of November he preached in pain, occasioned by a sore throat, which was like to have terminated in an inflammatory quinsy. 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.† He was now applied to by many serious persons, to preach twice a week at Long-Acre Chapel, near the play-houses. Being informed that the place was licensed, he complied, and preached there for the first time December 29, 1755; but met with great difficulties. The Bishop of B—— 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 the neighboring 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 preaching, 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 B——, acknowledging, indeed, his Lordship's candor;

† This refers to the encroachments made by the French upon the British Colonies in America, and their threatening Great Britain with an invasion; which occasioned a Declaration of War against France next year.

† † "One Physician prescribed a perpetual blister; but I have found perpetual preaching to be a better remedy. When this grand catholicon fails, it is over with me."

and thanking him for his favorable opinion and good wishes; (for the Bishop had wrote an answer to his first petition) 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 the popular odium, I give 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 have only one favor 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 mean time 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 pound 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.*

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

* This year, 1756, he published "A short Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the alarm of an intended Invasion." Inserted in Vol. IV. of his Works.

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 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 H——n, May 2, 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 10, 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 27, 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 14, 1756. How swiftly doth my precious time fly away! 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 Saturday last at 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 20, and preached there* and at Glasgow, as usual, till September 22; about which time he received a message from the new Governor of Georgia in London, desiring to see and converse with him before he embarkad.

In his way to London he again visited Leeds, and went some days into good Mr. G——'s and Mr. J——'s round, 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.

* "Edinburgh, September 9, 1756. For near these three weeks the Rev. Mr. Whitefield hath been preaching in the Orphan-Hospital-Park, to very crowded auditories, twice every day. As he was frequently very explicit in opening the miseries of Popish tyranny, and arbitrary power, and very warm in exhorting his hearers to loyalty and courage at home, and in stirring them up to pray for the success of his Majesty's forces, both by sea and land, abroad, we have reason to believe that his visit at this juncture hath been particularly useful." *Glasgow Courant*.

"Edinburgh, September 23. On Tuesday-evening the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, after sermon, made a collection for the poor Highlanders, when upwards of sixty pounds sterling was collected." *Ibid*.

CHAP. 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 morning hundreds went away, not being able to get in. Some people of distinction came, and begged they might have a constant seat; 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.†

In spring, 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. 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

* "I could enlarge, but it is near six in the morning, and I must away to preach,"

† "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. — S——, the player, makes always one of the auditory, and, as I hear, is much impressed, and brings others with him."

‡ 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. The

a great many of the best rank, daily attended his ministrations, and the longer he staid, the more the congregations increased.

From Edinburgh he went to Glasgow, where, having preached twice by the way, he arrived, June 8, and continued till the 14th, preaching, as usual in the High-Church-yard, to great multitudes, both morning and evening, 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 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 all sorts seemed to be struck with a religious concern. But on Sunday afternoon, July 3, after preaching in Oxmantown-green, (a place frequented by the Ormond and Liberty boys, as they call them, who often fight 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; and prayed for success to the King of Prussia. 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

The Earl of L—— also, who was the King's Commissioner before Lord Cathcart, shewed particular attention to Mr. Whitefield; and, from the time of his first coming to Scotland, shewed great and constant regard for him.

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 home, 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."

After preaching at Port Arlington, Athlone, Limerick 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 every where.—"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, in 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 twice 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 the 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

* "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."

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 in execution. The foundation of the alms-houses was laid February 16, 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. 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 he 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. In his way he preached at Everton, St. Neots, Kayso, Bedford, Oulney, 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 19 and 24 : "For these four months last past I have been brought so exceeding 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."*

* "Edinburgh, September 14, 1758. Mr. Whitefield's presence, at this time, has been particularly useful to the Orphan-Hospital, for which upwards of two hundred pounds hath been raised from the collection at the doors, and seat-tents. Before he left Glasgow, he made a col-

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

He now talked of going over again to America, where his affairs were in a good situation: "Blessed be God, (says he) that 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 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 revisited Scotland.

lection for the Glasgow Charitable Highland Society, for supporting and educating poor Highland children; a scheme particularly useful at this time, when so many of their parents and friends are abroad in America, in his Majesty's service. During his stay here, he has had occasion to preach three thanksgiving sermons, for the victory at Crevelt, the taking of Cape Breton, and the late defeat of the Russians. By his warm and repeated exhortations to loyalty, and a steady adherence to the Protestant interest, on this and all other occasions, it must be acknowledged, even in this view, his visit here has been useful to the community, in a civil as well as religious light." [Glasgow Courant]

* "I am growing fat; but, as I take it to be a disease, hope I shall go home the sooner."

CHAP. 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 ;* 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 refutation 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 hundred 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. These facts the compiler has from undoubted authority.

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

* " Edinburgh, August 15, 1759. On Tuesday morning the Rev. Mr. Whitefield set out on his return for England. It is said that here and at Glasgow, within these six weeks, he has preached near a hundred times, and yet the congregations were always increasing. Whatever this be owing to, every one must judge for himself ; but it is certain he continually exerted all his rhetoric in stirring up a zeal for his God, his king and his country, in the time of danger ; and seemed particularly pleased, as were thousands more, that he had an opportunity, last Lord's day evening, of preaching a thanksgiving sermon to a most thronged auditory, on account of the glorious victory lately vouchsafed to Prince Ferdinand over the French.

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

March 14, 1760, he made a collection, at his Chapel 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 to excite 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 sentiments of the Bible with ridicule; or (to put the most favourable construction upon the matter)

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

† The compiler is uncertain as to the time when this was first done. Mr. Whitefield first takes notice of it in his letter dated August 15, 1760. It seems to have taken its rise from the resentment of the play-house 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.

‡ See a Letter to David Garrick, Esq. occasioned by the intended Representation of the Minor, at Drury-Lane Theatre, said to be written by the Rev. Mr. Madan.

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.* Be this as it may, they lost their labour, for they were so far from lessening the number of his congregations, that they increased them; and brought thousands of new persons to hear the gospel; which was the very thing he always aimed at: and thus Providence gave him the victory over them.

* Mr. Foote being manager of the Edinburgh Theatre in winter, 1770, the *Minor* was acted there. The first night it was pretty thronged, 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 (the Rev. 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. Bane, of the Kirk of Relief, preached a sermon upon the occasion, December 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 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!"

March 14, 1760, he preached at the Chapel from Hos. 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, Feb. 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 noble purposes for which they 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

* Four hundred pounds were assigned to the Germans, and given into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen.

“ Boston, Feb. 27, 1764. At a meeting of the freeholders, and other inhabitants, of the town of Boston, on Friday last, it was voted unanimously, that the thanks of the town be given to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, for his charitable care and pains in collecting a considerable sum of money in Great-Britain, for the distressed sufferers by the great fire in Boston, 1760; and a respectable committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Whitefield, to inform him of the vote, and present him with a copy thereof.”

[Boston Gazette.]

† It was happy for him that he frequently got the assistance of clergymen from the country; and at this time particularly of the Rev. Mr. Berridge, late Moderator of Cambridge, of whom he writes—“ A new instrument is raised up, out of Cambridge University. He has been here preaching with great flame, and like an angel of the

grew worse and worse, so that in April, 1761, he was brought to the gates of death. After his recovery, being still exceeding 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; but 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 I feel 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^d 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 preaching 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 the length of 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 prescription 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 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

churches indeed."—The compiler is informed that the Rev. Mr. Berridge, at Everton, still continues zealous and successful.

* The MS. (which after the year 1748 contains only very short and imperfect hints) ends here.

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. O 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 31, "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 18, 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 13, when he returned to England; and was glad (now that peace was expected) of the prospect of embarking soon for America.

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 for 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

* He preached at Rotterdam four times.

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*, capt. 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 shift to preach twice a week. "Here (says he) are some young bright witnesses rising up in the church. Perhaps I have already conversed with forty 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."†

* "—— 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."

† "New-York, January 23, 1764. The Rev. Mr. Geo. Whitefield has spent seven weeks with us, preaching twice a week to more general acceptance than ever; and been treated with great respect by many of the gentle-

After leaving New-York, he preached at East-Hampton, Bridge-Hampton, and Southold, upon Long-Island; at Shelter-Island also; and at New-London, Norwich, and Providence, on the main land; then proceeded to Boston, where he arrived in the latter end of February, 1764, and was received with 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 friend Mr. S— S—, "How would you have been delighted to have seen Mr. Wheelock's Indians! 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.

Some years after, the gentlemen of Harvard College expressed their gratitude to Mr. Whitefield by the following vote: "At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard-College, August 22, 1768. The Rev. Mr. Geo. Whitefield having in addition to his former kindness to Harvard-College, lately presented to the Library a new Edition of his Journals, and having procured large benefactions from several benevolent and respectable gentlemen:—VOTED, That the Thanks of the Corporation be given to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield for these instances of Candour and Generosity.

PRESENT,

The President,
Mr. Appleton,
Mr. Professor Winthrop,
Dr. Elliot,
Dr. Cooper,
Treasurer Hubbard,

} A true Copy,

per

Edward Holyoke,
President.

men and merchants of this place.—During his stay, he preached two charity sermons; the one on the occasion of the annual collection for the poor, in which double the sum was collected that ever was upon the like occasion; the other was for the benefit of Mr. Wheelock's Indian School at Lebanon, in New-England, for which he collected (notwithstanding the present prejudices of many peo-

In the month of April he had a return of his disorder; but it did not keep him long 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 1, 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 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. 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; the Provost of the College there read prayers for him. Both the present and late Governor, with the principal gentlemen of the city, attended, and thanks were sent to him from the trustees, for speaking for the charity-children, and countenancing the institution.

From Philadelphia he proceeded southward through Virginia; and November 22, at New-Brunswick in Carolina, he writes, "At Newbern, last Sunday, good impressions were made. From that place to this I have met

ple against the Indians) the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds. 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 lustre) to a perfect state of health, and continue him long a blessing to the world, and the Church of Christ." Boston Gaz.

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 encumbrances."—And he was not disappointed in his expectations; for he writes, "Bethesda, January 14, 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 13. Yesterday morning the Governor and Lord J. A. G.—, with several other 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 shewed 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.‡

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

† See the Memorial, Address and Answer, in Vol. III. of his Works, page 469, &c.

‡ He adds, in the same Letter, "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

Having left Bethesda in such comfortable circumstances, February 18,* 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 5, 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. " O to end this 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 6, he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath|| when he preached from 2. Cor. vi. 16.

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.' O 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 21, he was very ill of a nervous fever.]

|| " The Chapel is extremely plain, and yet equally grand. A most beautiful original. All was conducted with great solemnity. Though a very wet day, the place was very full. I preached in the morning, Mr. Townsend in the evening."

CHAP. XIX.

From his opening Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, to his embarking for America, in the Year 1769.

AFTER preaching some little time at Bath, he returned to London, from whence, January 18, 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 17, he says, "The uncertainty of my motions 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 16, 1766. Stamp-Act repealed. *Gloria Deo.*"

Mr. Occum, an Indian Preacher, and Mr. Whitaker, 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 25. The prospect of a large and effectual door opening among the heathens, blessed be God, is very promising. Mr. Occum is a settled, humble 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 Majes-

ty is become a contributor. The King of kings and Lord of lords will bless them for it."*

June 19, 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 my 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. Tomorrow 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 administered the sacrament; and at Bath he preached to the most numerous assembly of nobility he had ever seen attend there.

In the month of January, 1767, he wrote a recommendatory preface to a new edition of Bunyan's Works, which is inserted with his Tracts in Vol. IV. and March 20, 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 Haverford-West in Wales; from whence he writes, May 31, "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 10, "Blessed be

* Mr. Occum and Mr. Whitaker came afterwards to Scotland, and preached at Edinburgh and Glasgow, where they got very considerable contributions; particularly from Mr. Sprewll's family in Glasgow, and from the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch at Cambuslang.

God, (says he) I am got on this side the Welch 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 11, he was at Leeds, having preached at Northampton and Sheffield in the way; and September 20, 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 28.) "My body feels much fatigued in travelling; comforts in the soul overbalance." And (Leeds, October 3) "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 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 judge 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 acknowledgements, 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 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 mean time, 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 broader bottom.

October 28, he preached at the Tabernacle, to the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, when the collection amounted to above a hundred

* See his works. vol. III. page 472—484, where the steps he took in this affair are more fully narrated in a letter to Governor Wright, and letter MCCCCLXXVII. in which he complains to his intimate friend, Mr. K——n— "None but God knows what a concern lies upon me now, in respect to Bethesda. As another voyage, perhaps, may be the issue and result of all at last, I would beg you, and my dear Mr. H——y, to let me have my papers and letters, that I may revise and dispose of them in a proper manner. This can do no hurt, come life or come death."

pounds, (about four times as much as usual) and eighty persons became new subscribers.*

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 3, 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 12, 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 Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, and a place of pious education in Wales."‡

* 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 the whole company at Draper's hall, where he was treated with great respect. All was very harmonious, and gave him great pleasure in reflection.

† See his Works, vol. IV.

‡ From his Memorandum-Book. "August 24, 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 25, 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 28. Preached in the Court before the College, (the congrega-

September 26, 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 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 12. Last night, I hope, the Redeemer manifested forth his glory. 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 H——n'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 23, 1769, he opened Lady Huntingdon's new Chapel at Tunbridge-Wells. Preached from Genesis 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; after which he gave a general exhortation; and next day administered the sacrament, and preached from 1. Thess. ii 11, 12.

Now he seriously began to prepare for another voyage;

tion consisting of some thousands) from 1 Cor. iii. 11—"Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.!"

and in the beginning of September he embarked the seventh and last time for America.*

CHAP. XX.

From his last embarking for America, to his Death, September 30, 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, and preaching on board ; and sometimes came ashore and preached, both at Deal and Ramsgate.

The following extract of Mr. Whitefield's Manuscript Journal, relative to this period, cannot be unacceptable.

“ Saturday, September 2. Had a most awful parting season at Tottenham-Court Chapel sacrament last Sunday morning ; the sermon from Genesis xxviii. 12 ; and the same at Tabernacle (which was more than full) on Wednesday morning at seven o'clock. 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 3. 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 mar-

* In the Friendship, Capt. Ball. “ I am comforted on every side. A civil Captain and passengers. All willing to attend on divine worship, and to hear of religious things.”

† One ship was lost, but the passengers escaped in the boats.

ket-place, from Genesis iii. 19, to a much larger but not more devout auditory. In the out-skirts, 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 !

“ Monday, September 4. Had my dear christian friends on board to breakfast with me this morning. Conversation was sweet, but parting bitter. “ What mean you (said the Apostle) to weep and 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 mercy’s sake, suffer me not to go one step farther.

But I believe thy promise, Lord ;

Oh ! help my unbelief.

“ Tuesday, 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 steerage passengers. All attended divine worship very orderly, and 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 !

“ Tuesday, September 12. Preached last Sunday morning to my little flock on board, and was most agreeably surprised to day with a kind, unexpected visit from the

Rev. Dr. Gibbons. His discourse was very friendly and devout.

Wednesday, September 13. I went ashore and attended on an ordination solemnity at the dissenting meeting. Several ministers associated. Several very important questions were asked and answered before, and a solemn charge given after, imposition of hands. But the prayer put up in the very act of laying on of hands, by Dr. Gibbons, was so affecting, and the looks and behaviour of those that joined so serious and solemn, that I hardly know when I was more struck, under any one's ministration. The Ordination being over, at the desire of the ministers, and other gentlemen, I went and dined with them. Our conversation was edifying. 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.

“Friday, September 14, 15. I had received most pressing invitations to visit Ramsgate, many weeks ago. These were now repeated by many of that place, who came to the ordination at Deal; 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 Farewel 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 may be well-meant zeal of the writer and publisher, be 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 secret malice of avowed enemies. However, if any one sentence is blessed to the conviction of one sinner, or the edification of any individual saint, I care not what becomes of my character, though I would always pray to be preserved from bringing upon myself or others needless, unnecessary contempt.

“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 that time we got to Fairlee the wind backed, 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-Rumsey and Dungeness. Lord, in thine own time thou wilt give the winds a commission to carry us forward toward 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 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

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. Every thing exceeds my most sanguine expectations. And the increase of this Colony is almost incredible."*

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

"Commons House of Assembly, Monday, January 29, 1770. Mr. Speaker reported, that he, with the House, having waited on the Rev. 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 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 31, 1770. Last Sunday, his Excellency the Governor, Council and Assembly, having been invited by the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, attended at divine service in the Chapel of the Orphan-house Academy, where prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and a very suitable sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, from Zechariah iv. 10. 'For who hath despised the day of

infinite mercy, on November 30, 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."

* Two wings were added to the Orphan-house, for the accommodation of students; of which Governor Wright condescends to lay the foundation, March 25, 1769. See Vol. III.

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 10. "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 mean while the buildings will be carried on."†

* See a Paper of College Rules, at the end of Vol. III. of his Works, which was found written with his own hand, and in which he orders the following authors in divinity to be read :—Henry, Doddridge, Guyle, 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 (with prayers on several occasions) is to be seen in Vol. IV.

† "Since my being in Charleston, I have shewn the draught to some persons of great eminence and influence. They highly approve of it, and willingly consent to be some of the Wardens. Near twenty are to be of

His letters of a later date are in the same strain, full of expressions of gratitude to Providence 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 summer) to return to his beloved Bethesda, late in the fall. But this event never happened.

From Philadelphia, May 24, 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 14. "This leaves me just returned from a one hundred and fifty miles circuit, in 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 30. "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. Every thing possible should be done to strengthen his hands. Perhaps I may not see Georgia till Christmas."*

And again, from New-York, July 29, he writes, "Du-

Georgia, and about six of this place ; one of Philadelphia ; one of New-York ; one of Boston ; three of Edinburgh ; two of Glasgow ; and six of London. Those of Georgia and South Carolina are to be qualified ; the others, to be only honorary, corresponding Wardens."

* In his Memorandum Book is the following remark : "July 2, 1770. Sailed from New-York with Mr. Kirkland, and two kind old friends, and arrived at Albany July 6. Was kindly received by Mr. Bays and Domaine Westaloe. Preached the same evening, and went the next day to see the Cohoes Falls, twelve miles from Albany. O thou wonder-working God ! Preached twice on the Lord's day at Albany, and the next day at Schenectady, 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 !"

ring 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, Schenectady, Great Barrington, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Smithfield, Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, New-Rumbart, New-Windsor, and Peckskill. Invitations crowd upon me both from ministers and people, from many quarters. I hope to set out for Boston in two or three days."

When he was at Boston, Sept. 17, he writes to Mr. W—— at Bethesda, "Fain would I contrive to 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 flux, 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 friend Mr. R—— K——n, in London: "Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, Sept. 23. By this time I thought to be moving southward; but never was greater importunity used to detain me longer in these 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 everlasting Gospel. I was so ill on Friday last 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 Sept. he preached daily at Boston; Sept. 20, at Newton; Sept. 21, he set out from Boston, upon a tour to the eastward, pretty much indisposed: preached at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, Sept. 23; and from that to the 29th continued preaching every day; thrice at Portsmouth, once at Kittery, and once at Old-York. Saturday morning, Sept. 29, he set out for Boston; but before he came to Newburyport, 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 Newburyport, 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 6 o'clock, on the Lord's-day morning, he expired in a fit of the 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, hath given a particular account of his death and interment, which it may not be improper to insert.

“ On Saturday, Sept. 29, 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.” Mr. Whitefield answered, ‘ True Sir,’ but turning aside, he clasped his hands together, and looking up, said, ‘ Lord Jesus, I am weary in thy work, but not of thy work. 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. xii. 5. He dined at Captain Gilman's. After dinner, Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Parsons rode to Newburyport. 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 up stairs. 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' Psalms lying open before him. He asked me for some water-gruel, and took about half his usual quantity; and, kneeling down by the bed-side, 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 cider; he drank about a wine glass full. I asked him how he felt, for he seemed to pant for breath. He told me his asthma was coming on him again; "I must have two or three days' rest.—Two three days riding, without preaching, would 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 a blessing on his Bethesda College, and his dear family there; for Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and all his connexions on the other side 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 fire-wood 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 his breath; he went towards the window, and we offered him some warm wine and 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 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 it was so; for he fetched but one gasp, stretched out his feet, and breathed no more. This was exactly at 6 o'clock. We continued rubbing his legs, 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 came in crowds to see him; I begged the doctor to shut the door.

The Rev. Mr. Parsons, at whose house my dear Master died, sent for Captain Fetcomb, and Mr. Boardman, 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 the Rev. Mr. Parsons, where several of them gave a very particular account of their 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. Then one and other of them pity and pray for his dear Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and it was truly affecting to hear them bemoan America's and England's loss. Thus they continued for two hours conversing about his great usefulness, and praying that God would scatter his gifts and drop his mantle among them. When the corpse was placed at the foot of the pulpit, close to the vault, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers made a very affecting prayer, and openly confessed that, under God, he owed his conversion to the labors 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. The Rev. Mr. Jewet 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 endeavor 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 Monday, Nov. 5, 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, 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 Chapel. His next step was to consider of a proper person to preach the funeral sermon; and recollecting he had often said to Mr. Whitefield, If you die abroad, whom shall we

get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend the Rev. Mr. John Wesley? and having received constantly for answer, "He is the man," Mr. Keen accordingly waited on the Rev. Mr. Wesley on the Saturday following, and engaged him to preach it on the Lord's day, Nov. 18, which he did to a very large, crowded and mournful auditory; many hundreds going away, who could not possibly get in.

In both the places of worship the pulpits, &c. were hung with black cloth, and the galleries with fine black baize. The pulpits had escutcheons placed in front, and on each of the houses adjoining, hatchments were put up: the motto on each was, *Mæ vita Solus, et Gloria Christus*. Six months expired before the mourning was taken down, and the escutcheons hung up in each vestry. The hatchments remained twelve months, and, when taken down, one was placed in the Tabernacle, and the other in the Chapel, over a neat marble monument Mr. Whitefield had erected for his wife, with room left for a few lines respecting himself after his disease, as he purposed lying in the same vault, had he died in England. Accordingly the Rev. Mr. Knight, of Halifax in Yorkshire, drew up the following lines:

IN MEMORY OF

The Rev. Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A. M. Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon, whose Soul, made meet for Glory, was taken to Immanuel's bosom on the 30th of Sept. 1770; and whose body now lies in the silent Grave at Newburyport, near Boston in New-England, there deposited in the hope of a joyful Resurrection to eternal Life and Glory.

He was a Man eminent in Piety, of a humane, benevolent and charitable Disposition: his Zeal in the Cause of God was singular, his Labours indefatigable, and his Success in preaching the Gospel, remarkable and astonishing.— He departed this Life in the 56th year of his age—

*And, like his Master, was by some despised;
Like him, by many others lov'd and priz'd:
But theirs shall be the everlasting Crown,
Not whom the World, but Jesus Christ, will own.*

Mr. Whitefield was not full fifty-six years of age at the time of his death: thirty-four years 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 do, though their lives were prolonged for many ages.

CHAP. XXI.

A Description of his Person; a Review of his Life; and the most striking Parts of his Character pointed out.

HIS person was graceful and well proportioned; his stature rather above the middle size. His complexion was very fair. His eyes were of a dark blue colour, and small, but sprightly. He had a squint with one of them.* His features were in general good and regular. His countenance was manly, and his voice exceeding strong; yet both were softened by an uncommon degree of sweetness. He was always very clean and neat, and often said, pleasantly, "that a minister of the gospel ought to be without spot." His deportment was decent and easy, without the least stiffness of formality; and his engaging, polite manner, made his company universally agreeable. In his youth he was very slender, and moved his body with great agility to action, suitable to his discourse; but about the fortieth year of his age he began to grow corpulent, which however was solely the effect of his disease, being always, even to a proverb, remarkable for his moderation both in eating and drinking. Several prints have been done of him, which exhibit a very bad likeness.

* Occasioned either by the ignorance or carelessness of the nurse who attended him in the measles, when he was about four years old.

In reviewing the life of this extraordinary man, the following particulars appear very remarkable :

First, we are struck with his unwearied diligence in the offices of religion, and his conscientious improvement of every portion of his time. Early in the morning he rose to his Master's work, and all the day long was employed in a continual succession of different duties. Take a view of his public conduct ; here he is engaged either in preaching the gospel, in visiting and giving counsel to the afflicted, in instructing the ignorant, or in celebrating the praises of God. Observe his behaviour in private company ; there you hear him introducing, upon all occasions, and among all sorts of people, discourse that tended to edification. And if you follow him to his retirements, you see him writing devout meditations upon the occurrences of the day, or letters to his christian acquaintance, full of piety and zeal. What a gloomy idea must a stranger to vital piety entertain of a life spent in this manner ! He will think it must have been not only joyless and disgusting, but intolerably burthensome. Far otherwise did it appear in the experience of this servant of Christ. He felt the greatest enjoyment when engaged in a constant round of social and religious duties. In these, whole weeks passed away like one day. And when he was visited with any distress or affliction, preaching, as he tells us himself, was his catholicon, and prayer his antidote against every trial. The pleasure of a man of business in successfully pushing his trade, or of a philosopher when pursuing his favorite studies, may give us some faint conception of the joys which he felt : yet, so ardent were his desires after the heavenly happiness, that he often longed to finish his work, and to go home to his Saviour.*

* " Ble-sed be God, the prospect of death is pleasant to my soul. I would not live here always. I want to be gone.

" Sometimes it arises from a fear of falling ; sometimes from a prospect of future labours and sufferings. But these are times when my soul hath such foretastes of God, that I long more eagerly to be with Him ; and the prospect of the happiness which the spirits of just men made perfect now enjoy, often carries me, as it were into another world."

Again, we are justly surprised at his frequent and fervent preaching under all the disadvantages of a sickly constitution, and the many fits of illness with which he was suddenly seized. It must indeed be confessed, that change of air, frequent travelling on horseback, and the many voyages he made, might contribute to the preservation of his health and vigour : but when we consider what exertion of voice was necessary to reach his large congregations ; that he preached generally twice or thrice every day, and often four times on the Lord's day ; and, above all, what waste of strength and spirits every sermon must have cost him, through the earnestness of his delivery ; it is truly astonishing how his constitution could hold out so long.*

But there is another circumstance not less remarkable than either of the former, which is, the uncommon desire that all sorts of people expressed to attend his preaching ; and that not upon the first or second visit only, but at every succeeding opportunity. Wherever he went, prodigious numbers flocked to hear him. His congregations often consisted of four or five thousand ; in populous places they swelled to ten, sometimes fourteen, and upon some occasions the concourse was so great that they have been computed to be from twenty to thirty thousand.

It is wonderful to think how he commanded the attention of such multitudes ; with what composure they listened when he began to speak ; how they hung upon his lips, and were often dissolved in tears ; and this was the case with persons of the most hardy and rugged, as well as those of softer tempers.

His eloquence was indeed very great, and of the truest and noblest kind. He was utterly devoid of all appearance of affectation. He seemed to be quite unconscious of the talents he possessed. The importance of his subject, and the regard due to his hearers, engrossed all his concern. He spake like one who did not seek their applause, but was concerned for their best interests, and who, from a principle of unfeigned love, earnestly endeavoured to lead them in the right way. And the effect in some measure corresponded to the design. They did not amuse themselves with commending his discourses ; but, being per-

* "I preach till I sweat through and through."

suaded by what he said, entered into his views, felt his passions, and were willing, for that time at least, to comply with all his requests. This was especially remarkable at his charity sermons,* when the most worldly-minded were made to part with their money in so generous a manner, that when they returned to their former temper they were ready to think that it had been conjured from them by some inexplicable charm. The charm, however, was nothing else than the power of his irresistible eloquence, in which respect it is not easy to say whether he was ever excelled, either in ancient or modern times.

He had a strong and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. His pronunciation was not only proper, but manly and graceful. Nor was he ever at a loss for the most natural and strong expressions. Yet these in him were but lower qualities. The grand sources of his eloquence were, an exceeding lively imagination, which made people think they saw what he described; an action still more lively, if possible, by which, while every accent of his voice spoke to the ear, every feature of his face, every motion of his hands and body, spoke to the eye; so that the most dissipated and thoughtless found their attention involuntarily fixed, and the dullest and most ignorant could not but understand. He had likewise a certain elevation of mind, which raised him equally above praise and censure, and added great authority to whatever he said.† But what was perhaps the most important of all, he had a heart deeply exercised in all the social, as well as pious and religious affections, and was at the same time most remarkably communicative, by which means he was peculiarly fitted to awaken like feelings in others, and to sympathize with every one that had them.

• This last, some have thought, was the distinguishing

* Which he preached for a great many others, besides his own Orphans in Georgia.

† “The Lord only knows how he will be pleased to dispose of me; great afflictions I am sure of having; and a sudden death, blessed be God, will not be terrible. I know that my Redeemer liveth. I every day long to see Him, that I may be free from the remainder of sin, and enjoy him, without interruption forever.”

part of his character. It was certainly, however, an eminent part of it. In his Journals and Letters an impartial reader will find instances thereof in almost every page : such as, lively gratitude to God in the first place, and to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him ; sincere love in dealing so plainly with his correspondents about the interest of their souls ; frequent and particular intercession for his friends, his enemies, and all mankind ; great delight in the society of christian acquaintance ; many very sorrowful partings and joyful meetings with his friends ; tender-heartedness to the afflicted ; the pleasure in procuring and administering seasonable supply to the indigent ; and condescension to people of the lowest rank, to instruct and converse with them for their good, in as kind and sociable a manner as if he had been their brother or intimate friend. These are manifest proofs that he had a heart easily susceptible of every humane, tender and compassionate feeling. And this was certainly a great mean of enabling him so strongly to affect the hearts of others.

Had his natural talents for oratory been employed in secular affairs, and been somewhat more improved by the refinements of art and the embellishments of erudition, it is possible they would soon have advanced him to distinguished wealth and renown. But his sole ambition was, to serve a crucified Saviour, in the ministry of the gospel. And, being early convinced of the great hurt that has been done to christianity by a bigoted spirit, he insisted not upon the peculiar* tenets of a party, but upon the universally interesting doctrines of holy scripture concerning the ruin of mankind by sin, and their recovery by divine grace ; doctrines, the truth of which he himself had deeply felt. To make men sensible of the misery of their alienation from God, and of the necessity of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and of a life of devotedness to God, was the principal aim

* "I love all that love our Lord Jesus Christ."

"Oh ! how do I long to see bigotry and party-zeal taken away, and all the Lord's servants more knit together !"

"I wish all names among the saints of God were swallowed up in that one of Christian."

of all his discourses. "The only Methodism I desire to know (says he, in the Preface to his Journals, 1756) is a holy method of dying to ourselves, and of living to God." By this description he was far from intending to confine true religion to the exercises of devotion. By "living to God," he meant a constant endeavor after conformity to the divine will in all things. For he says in another place, "It is a great mistake to suppose that religion consists only in saying our prayers. Every christian lies under a necessity to have some particular calling whereby he may be a useful member of the society to which he belongs. A man is no further holy than he is relatively holy: and he only will adorn the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in all things, who is careful to perform all the civil offices of life, with a single eye to God's glory, and from a principle of lively faith in Jesus Christ our Saviour. This is the morality which we preach." He used also to give this definition of true religion—"that it is a universal morality founded upon the love of God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Licentiousness and luxury, and all sorts of time wasting and dissipating amusements, how fashionable soever, he constantly inveighed against. These were the topics on which he employed his eloquence.

But, not to dwell any longer on his accomplishments as an orator, and the excellent purposes to which, through the grace of God, he devoted them; one thing remains to be mentioned, of an infinitely higher order than any human powers whatever: and that is, the power of God which so remarkably accompanied the labors of his servant, and without which both scripture and experience teach us, that all external means, however excellent, are ineffectual and vain. It is here Mr. Whitefield is most to be envied, were it lawful to envy any man. When we consider the multitudes that were not only awakened, but brought under lasting religious impressions, by his ministry, and the multitudes that were wrought upon in the same manner by the ministry of others, excited by his example, both in Great Britain and America, we are naturally led into the same sentiments with Mr. Wesley in his funeral sermon—"What an honor hath it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant! Have we read or heard of

any person, since the apostles, who testified the gospel of the grace of God through so widely-extended a space, through so large a part of the habitable world? Have we read or heard of any person who called so many thousands, so many myriads, of sinners to repentance? Above all, have we read or heard of any who has been a blessed instrument in his hand of bringing so many sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God?"

This excellent character, joined to talents so extraordinary, and to labors which God was pleased to bless with almost unequalled success, was shaded with some infirmities. And what else could be expected in the present condition of humanity? These have been sufficiently laid open in the preceding Narrative of his Life. And it ought to be observed, that as there was something very amiable in the frankness and unreservedness which prevented his concealing them, so, through his openness to conviction, his teachableness,* and his readiness to confess and correct

* "May God reward you for watching over my soul. It is difficult, I believe, to go through the fiery trial of popularity and applause, untainted."

"When I am unwilling to be told of my faults, correspond with me no more. If I know any thing of my heart, I love those best who are most faithful to me in this respect. Henceforward, dear Sir, I beseech you, by the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, spare me not."

"We must be helps to each other on this side eternity. Nothing gives me more comfort, next to the assurance of the eternal continuance of God's love, than the pleasing reflection of having so many christian friends to watch with my soul. I wish they would smite me friendly, and reprove me oftener than they do."

"I rejoice that you begin to know yourself. If possible, Satan will make us think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think. I can tell this by fatal experience. It is not sudden flashes of joy, but having the humility of Christ Jesus, that must denominate us christians. If we hate reproof, we are so far from being true followers of the Lamb of God, that, in the opinion of the wisest of men, we are brutish."

"O my

his mistakes, they became still fewer and smaller, decreased continually as he advanced in knowledge and experience.

It would be unjust to his memory not to take notice upon this occasion of that uniformity of sentiment which runs through all his sermons and writings, after he was thoroughly enlightened in the truth. Indeed, when he first set out in the ministry, his youth and inexperience led him into many expressions which were contrary to sound doctrine, and which made many of the sermons he first printed justly exceptionable; but reading, experience, and a deeper knowledge of his own heart, convinced him of his errors, and upon all occasions he avowed his belief of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, and the Standards of the Church of Scotland, as expressly founded on the word of God. He loved his friend, but he would not part with a grain of sacred truth for the brother of his heart. Thus we see him constrained to write and print against the Arminian tenets of Mr. John Wesley, whom he loved in the bowels of Jesus Christ.— And it appears, from several other Tracts in the 4th vol. of his Works, that he neglected no opportunity of stepping forth as a bold champion in defence of that faith which was once delivered to the saints.

“ O my dear brother, still continue faithful to my soul; do not hate me in your heart; in any wise reprove me.

“ You need make no apology for your plain dealing. I love those best who deal most sincerely with me. Whatever errors I have been or shall be guilty of in my ministry, I hope the Lord will shew me, and give me grace to amend.”

EXTRACTS

FROM SOME OF THE

FUNERAL SERMONS

Which were Preached on the Occasion of his Death.

MANY Sermons were preached upon the occasion of his death, both in America and England. From these, though they contain nothing materially different from the above accounts, yet the reader will probably not be displeased to see the following extracts, as they not only set the character of Mr. Whitefield in a variety of lights, but are so many testimonies to it, by witnesses of undoubted credit, in different parts of the world.

The first was preached by Mr. Parsons, the very day on which he died,* from Phil. i. 21.—“For, to me to live is

* Early next morning, Mr. Sherburn of Portsmouth, sent Mr. Clarkson and Dr. Haven with a message to Mr. Parsons, desiring that Mr. Whitefield's remains might be buried in his own new tomb, at his own expence; and in the evening several gentlemen from Boston came to Mr. Parsons, desiring the body might be carried there. But as Mr. Whitefield had repeatedly desired he might be buried before Mr. Parsons' pulpit, if he died at Newburyport, Mr. Parsons thought himself obliged to deny both of these requests. The following account of his interment is subjoined to this sermon, viz. “October 2, 1770. At one o'clock all the bells in town were tolled for half an hour, and all the vessels in the harbor gave their proper signals of mourning. At two the bells tolled a second time. At three the bells called to attend the funeral. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Haven of Portsmouth, the Rev. Messrs. Daniel Rogers of Exeter, Jedediah Jewet and James Chandler, of Rowley, Moses Parsons of Newbury, and Edward Bass of Newburyport, were pall-bearers. The procession was from the Rev. Mr. Parsons' of Newbury-

Christ, and to die is gain." And this is the character he gives of his departed friend :—

"Christ became a principle of spiritual life in his soul, while he was an Under-graduate at the University in Oxford. Before his conversion he was a Pharisee of the

port, where Mr. Whitefield died. Mr. Parsons and his family, together with many other respectable persons, followed the corpse in mourning. The procession was only one mile, and then the corpse was carried into the Presbyterian church, and placed on the bier in the broad-alley ; when Mr. Rogers made a very suitable prayer, in the presence of about six thousand persons, within the walls of the church, while many thousands were on the outside, not being able to find admittance. Then, the third hymn of the second book of Dr. Watts' Spiritual Songs was sung by the congregation. After this the corpse was put into a new tomb, before Mr. Parsons' pulpit, which the gentlemen of the congregation had prepared for that purpose ; and before it was sealed, the Rev. Mr. Jewet gave a suitable exhortation, &c."

The following epitaph, (by THOMAS GIBBONS, S. T. P.) was afterwards inscribed in Latin.

EPITAPH.

*A vessel chosen and divine, replete
With Nature's gifts, and Grace's richer stores,
Thou, WHITEFIELD, wast : these thro' the world dispens'd,
In long laborious travels, thou at length
Hast reach'd the realms of rest, to which thy Lord
Has welcom'd thee with his immense applause.
All hail, my servant, in thy various trusts
Found vigilant and faithful : See the ports
See the eternal kingdoms of the skies,
With all their boundless glory, boundless joy,
Open'd for thy reception and thy bliss.
Mean-time, the body, in its peaceful cell
Reposing from its toils, awaits the Star,
Whose living lustres lead the promis'd morn,
Whose vivifying dews thy moulder'd corse
Shall visit, and immortal life inspire.*

Pharisees, as strict as ever Paul was before God met him on his way to Damascus, according to his own declaration in his last sermon, which I heard him preach at Exeter yesterday. He was, by means of reading a very searching, puritanical writer, convinced of the rottenness of all the duties he had done, and the danger of a self-righteous foundation of hope. When he heard Christ speak to him in the Gospel, he cried, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And it seems as if, at that time, it had been made known to him that he was a chosen vessel, to bear the name of Jesus Christ through the British nation and her colonies, to stand before kings and nobles, and all sorts of people, to preach Christ and him crucified. From that time the dawns of salvation had living power in his heart, and he had an ardent desire to furnish himself for the Gospel ministry. To this end, besides the usual studies at the College, he gave himself to reading the holy Scriptures, to meditation and prayer; and particularly he read Mr. Henry's Annotations on the Bible, upon his knees before God.

"Since my first acquaintance with him, which is about thirty years ago, I have highly esteemed him, as an excellent christian, and an eminent minister of the gospel. An heart so bent for Christ, with such a sprightly, active genius, could not admit of his stated, fixed residence in one place, as the pastor of a particular congregation; and therefore he chose to itinerate from place to place, and from one country to another; which indeed was much better suited to his talents than a fixed abode would have been. I often considered him as an angel flying through the midst of heaven, with the everlasting gospel, to preach unto them that dwell on the earth; for he preached the uncorrupted word of God, and gave solemn warnings against all corruptions of the gospel of Christ.* When

* This may be a proper place to mention what the compiler is just now informed of. The late Dr. Grosvenor, who was reputed one of the most eminent divines of his time, upon hearing Mr. Whitefield preach at Charles-square, Hoxton, about the year 1741, expressed himself in these very strong terms, in the presence of a very respectable gentleman now living, "That if the Apostle Paul had preached to this auditory, he would have preached in the same manner."

He came the first time to Boston, the venerable Dr. Colman (with whom I had a small acquaintance) condescended to write to me, 'That the wonderful man was come, and they had had a week of Sabbaths ; that his zeal for Christ was extraordinary ; and yet he recommended himself to his many thousand hearers by his engagedness for holiness and souls.' I soon had opportunity to observe that wherever he flew, like a flame of fire, his ministry gave a general alarm to all sorts of people, though before they had, for a long time, been amazingly sunk down into dead formality. It was then a time in New-England, that real christians generally had slacked their zeal for Christ, and fallen into a remiss and careless frame of spirit ; and hypocritical professors were sunk into a deep sleep of carnal security. Ministers and their congregations seemed to be at ease. But his preaching appeared to be from the heart, though too many who spake the same things, preached as if it were indifferent whether they were received or rejected. We were convinced that he believed the message he brought us to be of the last importance. Nevertheless, as soon as there was time for reflection, the enemies of Christ began to cavil and hold up some of his sallies as if they were unpardonable faults. By such means he met with a storm as tempestuous as the troubled sea, that casts up mire and dirt. Some of every station were too fond of their old way of formality, to part with it for such a despised cause as living religion. But the Spirit of Christ set home the message of the Lord upon the consciences of some, and shook them off their false hopes : but many began to find fault, and some to write against his evangelizing through the country, while others threatened firebrands, arrows, and death. Yet God gave room for his intense zeal to operate, and fit objects appeared, wherever he went, to engage him in preaching Christ and him crucified.

“ In his repeated visits to America, when his services had almost exhausted his animal spirits, and his friends were ready to cry, “ Spare thyself,” his hope of serving Christ, and winning souls to him, animated and engaged him to run almost any risque. Neither did he ever cross the Atlantic, on an itinerating visitation, without visiting his numerous brethren here, to see how religion prospered

amongst them : and we know that his labors have been unwearied among us, and to the applause of all his hearers ; and, through the infinite mercy of God, his labors have sometimes been crowned with great success, in the conversion of sinners, and the edification of saints. And though he often returned from the pulpit very feeble, after public preaching, yet his engaging sweetness of conversation changed the suspicions of many into passionate love and friendship.

“ In many things his example is worthy of imitation ; and if in any thing he exceeded or came short, his integrity, zeal for God, and love to Christ and his gospel, rendered him, in extensive usefulness, more than equal to any of his brethren. In preaching here, and through most parts of America, he has been in labors more abundant, approving himself a minister of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in watchings, in fastings ; by pureness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned ; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing ; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. And God, that comforteth those that are cast down, has often comforted us by his coming : and not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in us, so that we could rejoice the more.

“ His popularity exceeded all that I ever knew ; and, though the asthma was sometimes an obstruction to him, his delivery and entertaining method was so inviting to the last, that it would command the attention of the vast multitudes of his hearers. An apprehension of his concern to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and to do good to the souls of men, drew many thousands after him who never embraced the doctrines he taught. He had something so peculiar in his manner, expressive of sincerity, in all he delivered, that it constrained the most abandoned to think he believed what he said was not only true, but of the last importance to souls ; and by adapted texts adduced, and instances of the grace of God, related agreeable thereto, he often surprized his most judicious hearers.

“ His labors extended not only to New-England, and many other Colonies in British America, but were eminent and more abundant in Great Britain. Many thousands at his Chapel and Tabernacle in London, and in other places, were witnesses that he faithfully endeavored to

restore the interesting doctrines of the Reformation, and the purity of the Church to its primitive glory. Some among the learned, some of the mighty and noble, have been called, by his ministry, to testify for the gospel of the grace of God. The force of his reasonings against corrupt principles, and the easy method he had in exposing the danger of them, have astonished the most that heard him, in all places where he preached. How did he lament and withstand the modern, unscriptural notions of religion and salvation, that were palmed upon the churches of every denomination! The affecting change from primitive purity to fatal heresy, together with the sad effects of it in mere formality and open wickedness, would often make him cry, as the Prophet did in another case, 'How is the gold become dim, and the most fine gold changed! How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud, in his anger, and cast down from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel!'

"It is no wonder that this man of God should meet with enemies, and with great opposition to his ministry; for hell trembled before him. It is no more than may be always expected of the devil, that he should stir up his servants to load the most eminent ministers of Christ with calumny, and most impudent lies, and represent them as the filth and offscouring of all things. All this may be, and often has been done, under a pretence of great concern for the honor of Christ, and the preservation of gospel order. When Satan's kingdom totters and begins to fall, he can find men enough to cry, *the Church is in danger!* and that, he knows, is sufficient, with many, to hide his cloven foot, and make him appear as an angel of light.

"Through a variety of such labors and trials, our worthy friend, and extensively useful servant of Christ, Mr. Whitefield, passed, both in England and America: but the Lord was his Sun, to guide and animate him, and his shield to defend and help him unto the end: neither did he count his own life dear, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry that he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. The last sermon that he preached, though under the disadvantage of a stage in the open air, was delivered with such clearness, pathos, and eloquence, as to please and

surprise the surrounding thousands. And as he had been confirmed by the grace of God, many years before, and had been waiting and hoping for his last change, he then declared, that he hoped it was the last time he should ever preach. Doubtless, he then had such clear views of the blessedness of open vision, and the complete fruition of God in Christ, that he felt the pleasures of heaven in his raptured soul, which made his countenance shine like the unclouded sun."

The next Sermon was preached by Dr. Pemberton, of Boston.* Oct. 11, 1770, upon 1 Pet. i. 4. "To an inheritance—reserved in heaven for you." In which he says :

"I am not fond of funeral panegyrics. But where persons have been distinguishingly honored by Heaven, and employed to uncommon service for God's church upon

* The following lines are a part of a poem on Mr. Whitefield, which is published along with this sermon, written by a Negro servant-girl of seventeen years of age; and who has been but nine years from Africa, belonging to Mr. J. Wheatley, of Boston.

*He pray'd that grace in every heart might dwell ;
 He long'd to see America excel ;
 He charg'd its youth to let the grace divine
 Arise, and in their future actions shine.
 He offer'd that he did himself receive :
 A greater gift not God himself can give.
 He urg'd the need of Him to every one ;
 It was no less than God's co-equal Son.
 Take Him, ye wretched, for your only good ;
 Take Him, ye starving souls, to be your food.
 Ye thirsty, come to this life-giving stream ;
 Ye preachers, take Him for joyful theme ;
 Take Him, my dear Americans, he said,
 Be your complaints in His kind bosom laid.
 Take Him, ye Africans ; he longs for you :
 Impartial Saviour is his title due.
 If you will choose to walk in grace's road,
 You shall be Sons, and Kings, and Priests, to God,
 Great Countess ! we Americans revere
 Thy name, and thus condole thy grief sincere.*

earth, it would be criminal ingratitude to suffer them to drop into the dust without the most respectful notice. "The memory of the just is blessed!" Posterity will view Mr. Whitefield, in many respects, as one of the most extraordinary characters of the present age. His zealous, incessant and successful labors, in Europe and America, are without a parallel.

"Devoted early to God, he took orders as soon as the constitution of the established Church in England allowed. His first appearance in the work of the ministry was attended with surprising success. The largest churches in London were not able to contain the numbers that perpetually flocked to hear his awakening discourses. The crowds daily increased. He was soon forced into the fields, followed by multitudes, who hung with silent attention upon his lips, and with avidity received the word of life. The Spirit of God, in an uncommon measure, descended upon the hearers. The secure were awakened to a salutary fear of divine wrath; and inquiring minds were directed to Jesus, the only Saviour of a revolted world. The vicious were visibly reclaimed, and those who had hitherto rested in a form of godliness, were made acquainted with the power of a divine life. The people of God were refreshed with the consolation of the blessed Spirit, and rejoiced to see their exalted Master going on from conquering to conquer, and sinners of all orders and characters bowing to the sceptre of a crucified Saviour.

"His zeal could not be confined within the British islands. His ardent desire for the welfare of immortal souls conveyed him to the distant shores of America. We beheld a new star arise in the hemisphere of these western churches, and its salutary influences were diffused through a great part of the British settlements in these remote re-

*New-England sure doth feel; the Orphan's smart
Reveals the true sensations of his heart.*

*His lonely Tabernacle sees no more,
A Whitefield landing on the British shore.*

Then let us view him in yon azure skies:

Let every mind with this lov'd object rise.

Thou, tomb, shalt safe retain thy sacred trust,

'Till life divine re-animates his dust."

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gions. We heard with pleasure, from a divine of the Episcopal communion, those great doctrines of the gospel which our venerable ancestors brought with them from their native country. With a soul elevated above a fond attachment to forms and ceremonies, he inculcated that pure and unadulterated religion, for the preservation of which our fathers banished themselves into an uncultivated desert. In his repeated progresses through the Colonies, he was favored with the same success which attended him on the other side of the Atlantic. He preached from day to day in thronged assemblies; yet his hearers never discovered the least weariness, but always followed him with increasing ardor. When in the pulpit, every eye was fixed upon his expressive countenance; every ear was charmed with his melodious voice; all sorts of persons were captivated with the propriety and beauty of his address.

“But it is not the fine speaker, the accomplished orator, that we are to celebrate from the sacred desk; these engaging qualities, if not sanctified by divine grace, and consecrated to the service of Heaven, are as the sounding brass, and the tinkling cymbal. When misimproved, instead of conveying happiness to mankind, they render us more illustriously miserable.

“The gifts of nature, the acquisitions of art, which adorned the character of Mr. Whitefield, were devoted to the honor of God, and the enlargement of the Kingdom of our divine Redeemer.—While he preached the gospel, the Holy Ghost was sent down to apply it to the consciences of the hearers; the eyes of the blind were opened, to behold the glories of the compassionate Saviour; the ears of the deaf were unstopped, to attend to the invitations of incarnate love; the dead were animated with a divine principle of life; many in all parts of the land were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. These doctrines, which we had been instructed in from our infancy by our faithful pastors, seemed to acquire new force, and were attended with uncommon success when delivered by him. His discourses were not trifling speculations, but contained the most interesting truths; they were not an empty play of wit, but solemn addresses to the hearts of men.

“To convince sinners that they were by nature children of wrath; by practice, transgressors of the divine law; and, in consequence of this, exposed to the vengeance of offended heaven; to display the transcendent excellency of a Saviour, and persuade awakened minds to confide in his merits and righteousness, as the only hope of a guilty world; to impress upon the professors of the gospel, the necessity, not only of an outward reformation, but an internal change, by the powerful influences of the Spirit; to lead the faithful to a zealous practice of the various duties of the christian life, that they may evidence the sincerity of their faith, and adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour; these were the reigning subjects of his pulpit discourses.

“If sinners were converted, if saints were built up in faith, holiness and comfort, he attained his utmost aim.

“He was no contracted bigot, but embraced christians of every denomination in the arms of his charity, and acknowledged them to be children of the same Father, servants of the same Master, heirs of the same undefiled inheritance.

“That I am not complimenting the dead, but speaking the words of truth and soberness, I am persuaded I have many witnesses in this assembly.

“He was always received by multitudes with pleasure, when he favored these parts with his labors; but he never had a more obliging reception than in his last visit. Men of the first distinction in the Province not only attended his ministry, but gave him the highest marks of their respect. With what faithfulness did he declare unto us the whole counsel of God! With what solemnity did he reprove us for our increasing degeneracy! With what zeal did he exhort us to remember from whence we were fallen, and repent and do our first works, lest God should come and remove our candlestick out of its place!

“Animated with a Godlike design of promoting the temporal and spiritual happiness of mankind, after the example of his Divine Master, he went about doing good. In this he persevered with unremitting ardour and assiduity, till death removed him to that rest which remains for the people of God. Perhaps no man, since

the apostolic age, preached oftener, or with greater success.*

"If we view his private character, he will appear in a

* "As a specimen of his indefatigable labors in the work of the ministry, I have set down an account of the Sermons he preached after his arrival at Newport, Rhode-Island, to the time of his death. He sailed from New-York, Tuesday, July 31, P. M. arrived at Newport, Friday, August 3, A. M. and preached,

August 4, at Newport,

5, do.

6, do.

7, do.

8, do.

9, Providence,

10, do.

11, do.

12, do.

13, Attleborough,

14, Wrentham,

15, Boston,

16, do.

17, do.

18, do.

19, Malden,

20, Boston,

21, do.

22, do.

23, do.

Aug. 24, at Boston,

25, do.

26, Medford,

27, Charlestown,

28, Cambridge,

29, Boston,

30, do.

31, Roxbury-Plain,

Sept. 1, Milton,

2, Roxbury,

3, Boston,

5, Salem,

6, Marblehead,

7, Salem,

8, Cape-Ann,

9, Ipswich,

10, Newburyport,

11, do.

12, Rowley,

13, do.

"From the 13th of Sept. to the 17th, he was detained from public service by a severe indisposition. When recovered, he preached,

Sept. 17, at Boston,

18, do.

Sept. 19, at Boston,

20, Newton.

"The 21st of Sept. he departed from Boston upon a tour to the eastward, pretty much indisposed. But on the 23d he preached.

Sept. 23, at Portsmouth,

24, do.

25, do.

26, Kittery,

Sept. 27, at Old-York,

28, Portsmouth,

29, Exeter,

most amiable point of light. The polite gentleman, the faithful friend, the engaging companion, above all, the sincere christian, were visible in the whole of his deportment.

“ With large opportunities of accumulating wealth, he never discovered the least tincture of avarice. What he received from the kindness of his friends he generously employed in offices of piety and charity. His benevolent mind was perpetually forming plans of extensive usefulness. The Orphan-house, which many years ago he erected in Georgia, and the College he was founding in that Province at the time of his death, will be lasting monuments of his care that religion and learning might be propagated to future generations.

“ I have not, my brethren, drawn an imaginary portrait, but described a character exhibited in real life. I have not mentioned his natural abilities, which were vastly above the common standard. I consider him principally in the light of a christian, and a minister of Jesus Christ, in which he shone with a superior lustre, as a star of the first magnitude.

“ After all, I am not representing a perfect man ; there are spots in the most shining characters upon earth. But this may be said of Mr. Whitefield with justice, that after the most public appearance for above thirty years, and the most critical examination of his conduct, no other blemish could be fixed upon him but what arose from the common frailties of human nature, and the peculiar circumstances which attended his first entrance into public life.

“ The imprudences of unexperienced youth he frequently acknowledged from the pulpit, with a frankness which will forever do honour to his memory. He took care to prevent any bad consequences that might flow from his unguarded censures in the early part of his ministry. The longer he lived, the more he evidently increased in purity of doctrine, in humility, meekness, prudence, patience, and the other amiable virtues of the christian life.”

Another funeral sermon on Mr. Whitefield was preached by Mr. Ellington, at Savannah in Georgia. November 11, 1770, upon Heb. xi. 26 : “ Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt : for he

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had respect unto the recompence of the reward?" In which are the following passages.*

"The receiving the melancholy news of the much lamented death of a particular friend to this province, a person who was once minister of this church, is the reason of this discourse; and my choice of the subject before us is, to pay my grateful respect to the memory of this well-known, able minister of the New-Testament, and faithful servant of the most high God, the Rev. George Whitefield; whose life was justly esteemed, and whose death will be greatly regretted, by the sincerely religious part of mankind of all denominations, as long as there is one remaining on earth, who knew him, to recollect the fervour of spirit, and holy zeal, with which he spake when preaching the everlasting gospel; and every other part of his disinterested conduct, consistent with the ministerial character in life and conversation. Mr. Whitefield's Works praise him loud enough; I am not able to say any thing that can add greater lustre to them. May every one that ministers in holy things, and all who partake of their ministrations, have equal right to the characteristic in the text as he had.

"It is the ruling opinion of many, that the offence of the cross is long since ceased, and that whatever evil treatment some of the singular turn may meet with, it is only the fruit of their own doings, and the reward of their own work, whereby they raise the resentment of mankind against them for uncharitable slander, and spiritual abuse. But whoever knoweth any thing of the gospel, and hath experienced it to be the power of God unto salvation, knoweth this is the language of persons who are unacquainted with the depravity of their nature, and through the degeneracy of their hearts are unwilling to be disturbed; therefore are saying to the ministers of Christ, 'Pro-

* "Savannah-Church was decently hung with mourning, by the legislative body of the province."

"The same public marks of regard were shewn at one of the churches in Philadelphia, of which Mr. Sprout is pastor, which, by desire of the session and committee, was put into mourning. Also, at their desire and expence, the bells of Christ-Church, in that city, were rung muffled."

phesy unto us smooth things.' But the ministers of the gospel are to be sons of thunder, and so to utter their voice, and conduct their lives, as to prove the nature of their work.

“ Our dear and reverend friend was highly honored for many years in being an happy instrument to do this successfully. With what a holy zeal he proceeded, long before he was publicly ordained to the sacred office, has been long attested; and no person has been able to contradict the testimony. No sooner did he appear in the work of the sanctuary, but he soon convinced his numerous auditories, that his Almighty Lord, who had given him the commission, had by his grace wrought him for the self-same thing: and, through the Holy Spirit attending his endeavors, made him a workman that needed not to be ashamed. One would think his great success in his public labors, the frequent opportunities he embraced of doing good, by the relief of people in distressing circumstances, every occasion he took to use his influence for the good of mankind, and the whole of his behaviour through a life of fifty-six years, being (so far as the frailty of our present state will admit) unblameable and unreprieveable, should have exempted him from contempt and reproach. But, quite the contrary, there was so near a resemblance to his blessed Master as obliged him to bear his reproach. He has suffered with him on earth, and he is now glorified with him in heaven. He has labored abundantly, and he has been as liberally reproached and maligned from every quarter. Clergy and laity have whet their tongues like a sword against him, and bent their bows to shoot their arrows; but the Lord, amongst all, has known and approved his righteous servant. Though it is well known he has had opportunity long since to enjoy episcopal emolument, yet, in his opinion, (and it will be found in the end that he judged like a wise man) sinners, through his instrumentality, being turned unto the Lord, and becoming his joy and crown of rejoicing in the day of our Lord Jesus, was esteemed a greater honor than any this world could afford him. His longing desire for the salvation of immortal souls would not admit of his being confined within the district of any walls; though it must be acknowledged he never thought of commencing field-

preacher till his invidious enemies refused him church-pulpits, with indignation of spirit unbecoming the lowest and vulgar class of mankind, much more men professing themselves preachers of godliness. Though he has, throughout the whole course of his ministry, given sufficient proof of his inviolable attachment to our happy establishment, he was desirous to countenance the image of Christ, wherever he saw it, well-knowing that political institutions, in any nation whatever, should not destroy the blessed union, or prevent the communion, which ought to subsist throughout the Holy Catholic Church, between real, sincere christians of all denominations. Some people may retain such a veneration for apostolic phrases as to suppose they ought not to be applied to other persons : sorry am I to observe, that few deserve the application. But of Mr. Whitefield we may say, with the strictest truth, in journeyings often, in perils of robbers, in perils of his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, he hath approved himself a minister of God. All who knew and were acquainted with him, soon discovered in him every mark of good sense and good manners. His company and conversation were so enlivening and entertaining, and at the same time so instructive and edifying, that no person, with the least degree of common sense, could behave improperly in his presence. In him met (which do not often meet in one person) the finished and complete gentleman, and the real and true christian. Why then did he take pleasure in reproaches, and submit to the taunts and insults both of the vulgar and politer part of mankind? He had respect to the recompence of reward. Though the believer's work will never entitle him to a reward of debt, yet the reward of grace will always excite a holy desire to render something unto the Lord. What wouldest thou have me do? is the incessant inquiry of that soul who by the Redeemer's death, and the virtue of his precious blood, is redeemed from sin, and made a partaker of the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. Faith operates by good works : and, let all the men of the world say to the contrary, or put ever so base a construction upon our doctrine, it will evidence itself by

these good fruits. It was from these principles that Mr. Whitefield acted, and they were productive of the desired effects ; not only in alms-giving, this was but a small matter, when compared with the happier and more important attempt which he made for the good of mankind, at the hazard of his life, and the expence of an unblemished character. How he has preached with showers of stones, and many other instruments of malice and revenge, about his ears, many of his surviving friends can witness : but having the salvation of sinners at heart, and a great desire to rescue them from the power of eternal death, he resolved to spend and be spent for the service of precious and immortal souls, and spared no pains, and refused no labour, so that he might but administer to their real and eternal good : and, glory be to our good God, he hath persevered and endured to the end of his life, having respect unto the recompence of reward. Surely nothing else could support him under such a weight of care, and enable him, amidst it all, for so many years, to bear it with so much cheerfulness. The worthy inhabitants of this province do not want my attestation either to the loss the province has sustained, or to the desire he has had for its prosperity. His indefatigable endeavors to promote it, and the many fervent prayers he has night and day offered for it, speak loud enough. Happy omens, we would hope, in favor of it, both as to its temporal increase, and spiritual prosperity. May God raise up some useful men to supply his place, and carry on unto perfection what he hath so disinterestedly begun, that the institution he hath founded in this province may be of public utility to the latest posterity ! As to his death, little more can be said of it than has been communicated to the public already. He died like a hero in the field of battle. He has been fighting the battles of the Lord of Hosts upwards of thirty years, against the world, sin and Satan ; and he hath been a conqueror ; he hath fought successfully : many, very many, converted sinners are the trophies of his victory. But now his warfare is accomplished, the Captain of his salvation has granted him a discharge, he is entered into his everlasting rest, and is reaping the benefits of a life sincerely dedicated to the service of the once crucified, but now exalted, Jesus. He preached the day before his dis-

ease. Though his death was sudden, he was not surprised: the morning of his departure, not many hours before his spirit took its flight to the regions of bliss, he prayed to the God of his salvation, and committed his departing soul into his hands, as his faithful Creator, and all-merciful Redeemer. Soon after, he said, "I am near my end;" then fell asleep; he fainted, and died! not one sigh or groan; the Lord heard his prayer, and granted him his request, and gave him an easy dismissal out of time into eternity: sudden death was his desire, and sudden death was to him sudden glory. He has fought the good fight. Few, if any, since the Apostles, have been more extensively useful, or labored more abundantly. Thousands, I believe I may with propriety say, in England, Scotland and America, have great reason to bless God for his ministrations; for he hath travelled far and wide, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, through faith in a crucified Saviour. Adorable Emanuel, make thou up the loss of him to thy church and people! Let a double portion of thy Spirit be poured out upon the remaining ministers! Let that holy fire which burnt so bright in thy departed servant, warm each of their hearts! And, O thou Lord of the harvest, send forth more such true and faithful laborers into thy harvest!"

A number of Funeral Sermons were preached for him in England as well as in America. In one by Mr. D. Edwards, November 11, 1770, upon Heb. xi. 4—"By it he, being dead, yet speaketh"—we have the following character of Mr. Whitefield:—

"1. The ardent love he bore to the Lord Jesus Christ was remarkable. This divine principle constrained him to an unwearied application to the service of the gospel, and transported him, at times, in the eyes of some, beyond the bounds of sober reason. He was content to be a fool for Christ's sake; to be despised, so Christ might be honored; to be nothing, that Jesus might be all in all. He had such a sense of the incomparable excellence of the person of Christ, of his adorable condescension in taking our nature upon him, and enduring the curses of the holy law; his complete suitableness and sufficiency, as the wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption of his people, that he could never say enough of him. He was

so convinced of the happy tendency and efficacy of this principle in his own mind, that he made use of it, and proposed it to others, in the room of a thousand arguments, whenever he would inculcate the most unreserved obedience to the whole will of God, or stir up believers to a holy diligence in adoring the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. Inspired by this principle, nothing frightened or flattered him from his duty.

“ 2. Another pleasing ingredient in his character, and a sure evidence of the former, was, love to the souls of mankind. He rejoiced in their prosperity as one that had found great spoil; and with St. Paul was willing to spend and be spent in promoting their happiness. He loved all who loved Jesus Christ in sincerity, however they might differ in some circumstantialia. He embraced all opportunities to expose the malignant leaven of a party, and to remove prejudices and misapprehensions which good people too often entertain of one another, when under the influence of a sectarian humour.

“ 3. His attachment to the great doctrines of the gospel was inflexible; having known their worth, and experienced their power in his own heart, he plainly saw, that though they were unacceptable to the carnal heart, yet they bore the plain impress of the infinite wisdom of God. Those important truths which tend to humble the sinner, to exalt Christ, and promote holiness in the heart and life, were his darling subjects. He did not disguise gospel truths by some artful sweetening, to render them more palatable to men of corrupt minds: he studied to preach the word in its purity, plainness and simplicity. The warmth of his zeal disgusted many who make a mighty outcry about candor and charity, and are willing to extend it to every sentiment, except the truths in which the Apostles gloried — It was his love to the truths of God and the souls of men that led him to expose those who plead for the rectitude and excellency of human nature; deny the proper Godhead of Jesus Christ, justification by faith in his righteousness imputed, or the New-Birth, and the absolute necessity of the operations of the Holy Ghost. Faith and holiness were ever united together in his system, in opposition to those who pretend to faith without obedience to the law of God as the rule of life. He knew, errors in

the great truths of the gospel are not indifferent, but dreadful and fatal; he knew it was not candor and charity to say that errors in judgment are not hurtful, but the greatest unmercifulness and cruelty; therefore he often reprov'd such sharply.

“Although he was so tenacious of the foundation-truths of the gospel, yet none more candid in things that are not essential; herein he was full of gentleness and forbearance. In things indifferent he became all things to all men.*

“4. To the foregoing particulars in Mr. Whitefield's character, I may add his zeal. His christian zeal was like the light of the sun, which did warm, shine, and cherish, but knew not to destroy; full of generous philanthropy and benevolence, his zeal made him exceeding earnest and importunate in his addresses to saints and sinners. His zeal returned blessings for curses, and prayers for ill-treatment; it kindled in him a becoming indignation against the errors, follies and sins of the times; it led him to weep bitterly over those who would not be persuaded to fly from the wrath to come; it made him bold and intrepid in the cause of God, and kept him from that flatness and deadness which is too visible in some good ministers. In these things he was an example to ministers of every denomination: and, if the limits of my discourse would admit, I could mention many things, as his great charity to the poor, his humility, &c.”

On Sunday, Nov. 18, 1770, a Sermon was preached on his death at the Chapel in Tottenham Court-Road, and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields, by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley.† The text was Numb. xxiii. 10—“Let me die

* As to the difference between essentials and non-essentials in religion, Mr. Edwards refers to the Rev. Mr. Newton's “Review of Ecclesiastical History, so far as it concerns the progress, declensions and revivals of Evangelical Doctrine and Practice.”

† London Chronicle, November 19, 1770. “Yesterday the Rev. Mr. Wesley preached a Funeral Sermon on Mr. Whitefield's death, in the morning at the Chapel, and in the afternoon at the Tabernacle: the inside of each place was lined with black cloth, and an escutcheon hung on the

the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." And in the sermon, after giving some particulars of his life and death, Mr. Wesley says—

"1. We are next to take some view of his character. A little sketch of this was, soon after his death, published in the Boston Gazette; an extract of which is subjoined: 'Little can be said of him but what every friend to vital christianity, who has sat under his ministry, will attest. In his public labors he has for many years astonished the world with his eloquence and devotion. With what divine pathos did he persuade the impenitent sinner to embrace the practice of piety and virtue! filled with the Spirit of Grace, he spoke from the heart, and, with a fervency of zeal perhaps unequalled since the days of the apostles, adorned the truths he delivered with the most graceful charms of rhetoric and oratory. From the pulpit he was unrivalled in the command of an ever-crowded auditory. Nor was he less agreeable and instructive in his private conversation; happy in a remarkable ease of address, willing to communicate, studious to edify. May the rising generation catch a spark of that flame which shone with such distinguished lustre in the spirit and practice of this faithful servant of the most high God.'

"2. A more particular and equally just character of him has appeared in the London Chronicle, of Nov. 8, 1770. It might not be disagreeable to you to add the substance of this likewise: 'The character of this truly pious person must be deeply impressed on the heart of every friend to vital religion. In spite of a tender and delicate constitution, he continued to the last day of his life preaching with a frequency and fervor that seemed to exceed the natural strength of the most robust. Being called to the exercise of his function at an age when most young men are only beginning to qualify themselves for it, he had not time to make a very considerable progress in the learned languages; but this defect was amply supplied by a lively and fertile genius, by fervent zeal, and by a forcible and most persuasive delivery. And though in the

pulpits. The multitudes that went with a design to hear the Sermon exceeded all belief. The Chapel and Tabernacle were both filled as soon as they were opened."

pulpit he often found it needful by the terrors of the Lord to persuade men, he had nothing gloomy in his nature, being singularly cheerful, as well as charitable and tender hearted. He was as ready to relieve the bodily as the spiritual necessities of those who applied to him. It ought also to be observed, that he constantly enforced upon his audience every moral duty, particularly industry in their several callings, and obedience to their superiors. He endeavored, by the most extraordinary efforts of preaching in different places, and even in the open fields, to rouse the lower class of people, from the last degree of inattention and ignorance, to a sense of religion. For this, and his other labors, the name of George Whitefield will long be remembered with esteem and veneration.'

" 3. That both these accounts are just and impartial, will readily be allowed; that is, as far as they go: but they go little farther than the outsides of his character: they shew you the preacher, but not the man, the christian, the saint of God. May I be permitted to add a little on this head, from a personal knowledge of near forty years? Indeed, I am thoroughly sensible how difficult it is to speak on so delicate a subject; what prudence is required to avoid both extremes, to say neither too little nor too much. Nay, I know it is impossible to speak at all, to say either less or more, without incurring from some the former, from others the latter, censure. Some will seriously think that too little is said, and others, that it is too much: but, without attending to this, I will speak just what I know, before him to whom we are all to give an account.

" 4. Mention has already been made of his unparalleled zeal, his indefatigable activity, his tender-heartedness to the afflicted, and charitableness toward the poor. But should we not likewise mention his deep gratitude to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him? of whom he did not cease to speak in the most respectful manner, even to his dying day. Should we not mention, that he had an heart susceptible of the most generous and the most tender friendship? I have frequently thought that this, of all others, was the distinguishing part of his character. How few have we known of so kind a temper, of such large and flowing affections! Was it not principally by this that the hearts of others were so strangely

drawn and knit to him? Can any thing but love beget love? This shone in his very countenance, and continually breathed in all his words, whether in public or private. Was it not this which, quick and penetrating as lightning, flew from heart to heart? which gave that life to his sermons, his conversation, his letters? Ye are witnesses.

“ 5. But away with the vile misconstruction of men of corrupt minds, who know of no love but what is earthly and sensual! Be it remembered, at the same time, that he was endued with the most nice and unblemished modesty. His office called him to converse very frequently and largely with women as well as men, and those of every age and condition. But his whole behaviour towards them was a practical comment on that advice of St. Paul to Timothy—*Entreat the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity.*

“ 6. Meantime, how suitable to the friendliness of his spirit was the frankness and openness of his conversation! although it was as far removed from rudeness on the one hand, as from guile and disguise on the other. Was not this frankness at once a fruit and proof of his courage and intrepidity? Armed with these, he feared not the faces of men, but used great plainness of speech, to persons of every rank and condition, high and low, rich and poor; endeavoring, only by manifestation of the truth, to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

“ 7. Neither was he afraid of labor or pain, any more than of what man could do unto him, being equally

‘ Patient in bearing ill, and doing well.’

And this appeared in the steadiness wherewith he pursued whatever he undertook for his Master's sake. Witness one instance for all, the Orphan-house in Georgia, which he began and perfected, in spite of all discouragements. Indeed, in whatever concerned himself he was pliant and flexible: in this case he was easy to be entreated, easy to be either convinced or persuaded; but he was immovable in the things of God, or wherever his conscience was concerned. None could persuade any more than affright him to vary in the least point from that integrity which

was inseparable from his whole character, and regulated all his words and actions. Herein he did

*‘Stand as an iron pillar strong,
And stedfast as a wall of brass.’*

“ 8. If it be enquired, What was the foundation of this integrity, or of his sincerity, courage, patience, and every other valuable and amiable quality? it is easy to give the answer. It was not the excellence of his natural temper, not the strength of his understanding; it was not the force of education; no, nor the advice of his friends. It was no other than faith in a bleeding Lord; faith of the operation of God. It was a lively hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. It was the love of God, shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost, which was given unto him, filling his soul with tender, disinterested love to every child of man. From this source arose that torrent of eloquence which frequently bore down all before it. From this, that astonishing force of persuasion, which the most hardened sinners could not resist. This it was which often made his head as waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. This it was which enabled him to pour out his soul in prayer, in a manner peculiar to himself, with such fulness and ease united together, with such strength and variety, both of sentiment and expression.

“ 9. I may close this head with observing, what an honor it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant, by allowing him to declare his everlasting gospel, in so many various countries, to such numbers of people, and with so great an effect on so many of their precious souls! Have we read or heard of any person since the Apostles, &c.”

* On the same day (Nov. 10, 1770) the Rev. Mr. Venn

* A H Y M N.

Servant of God, well done!
The glorious warfare's past:
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crown'd at last;

Of all thy heart's desire
Triumphantly possess;
Lodg'd by the ministerial quire
In thy Redeemer's breast.

preached at the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, on Isaiah viii. 18—"Behold I, and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of Hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion." And of Mr. Whitefield he says: "Though the children of Christ are all for signs and for wonders in Israel, yet do they differ as one star differs from another star in glory. Talents, grace and zeal eminently dignify some, and draw the eyes of men upon them. In the foremost of this rank, doubtless, is the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to be placed; for his doctrine was the doctrine of the Reformers, of the Apostles, and of Christ: it was the doctrine of free-

II

In condescending love
 Thy ceaseless prayer he heard,
 And bade thee suddenly remove
 To thy complete reward:
 Ready to bring the peace,
 Thy beautiful feet were shod,
 When mercy sign'd thy soul's release,
 And caught thee up to God.

III.

With saints enthron'd on high
 Thou dost thy Lord proclaim,
 And still to God Salvation cry,
 Salvation to the Lamb!

O happy, happy soul,
 In extacies of praise,
 Long as eternal ages roll,
 Thou seest thy Saviour's face.

IV.

Redeem'd from earth and pain,
 Ah! when shall we ascend,
 And all in Jesus' presence reign
 With our translated friend!

Come, Lord, and quickly come!
 And when in Thee complete,
 Receive thy longing servants home,
 To triumph at thy feet!

§ 2.

grace, of God's everlasting love. Through Jesus he preached the forgiveness of sins, and perseverance in holy living, through his faithfulness and power engaged to his people. And the doctrine which he preached he eminently adorned by his zeal, and by his works. For if the greatness, extent, success and disinterestedness of a man's labours can give him distinction amongst the children of Christ, we are warranted to affirm, that scarce any one of his ministers, since the Apostles' days, has exceeded, scarce any one has equalled, Mr. Whitefield.

“What a sign and wonder was this man of God in the greatness of his labours! One cannot but stand amazed, that his mortal frame could, for the space of near thirty years, without interruption, sustain the weight of them. For what is so trying to the human frame, in youth especially, as long-continued, frequent and violent-straining of the lungs? Who, that knows their structure, would think it possible, that a person, little above the age of manhood, should speak in the compass of a single week (and that for years) in general, forty hours, and in very many weeks, sixty, and that to thousands; and after this labour, instead of taking any rest, should be offering up prayers, intercessions, with hymns and spiritual songs, as his manner was in every house to which he was invited. The history of the Church of Christ affords but very few instances of men thus incessantly employing their whole strength, and, as it were, every breath they drew, in the business of their sacred function. And the truth is, that in point of labour, this extraordinary servant of God did as much in a few weeks, as most of those who exert themselves are able to do in the space of a year. Thus labouring, not by fits and starts, but with constancy and perseverance, and ardour unabated, his mortal frame, about nine years since, began to sink under the weight of so much work. If, with the length and frequency of Mr. Whitefield's preaching, we consider the intenseness of voice and spirit with which he spoke, the greatness of his labours, will appear perfectly astonishing. He knew not how to speak with less zeal, in his whole manner, than became the subjects of his discourse. The total ruin of the human race by the fall, the complete recovery of believers in Christ, his dying love, and the unsearchable riches of his grace, to be

known experimentally in this life, though fully to be displayed in the next, and the infatuation of sinners, led captive by their lusts down to the chambers of death; these grand truths, of more weight than words can paint, fired his whole soul; they transported him as much as earthly spirits are transported into vehemence, when they contend personally for their own property; he cried out, therefore, as his dear Lord was wont to do, with a voice audible to an amazing distance: hence, in a thousand instances, where the cause of God more coolly pleaded would have been neglected, he gained it a hearing, and carried the day: for the unusual earnestness of the speaker roused the most stupid and lethargic; it compelled them to feel. The matter must be momentous indeed, which the speaker was urging as if a man would plead for his own life. Early and often his body suffered for this very violent exertion of his strength; early and often his inside has bled a considerable quantity, and cried out, Spare thyself: but prodigal of life in the best of causes, he would give himself no rest: expecting very soon to finish his course, and infinitely desirous to save the souls condemned to die, he perished. Though this may be blamed as an excess, it was an excess far above the reach of a selfish mind, or an ordinary faith.

“Equal to the greatness and intensesness of his labours, was their extent. The abilities and grace of most teachers have full employ in a small district, nor have common men talents for more. But when God lights up in the breast an apostolic zeal for his own glory, an apostolic love for the souls of men, it seems reasonable to conclude such an instrument is designed for the most extensive usefulness.

“Accordingly the compass of Mr. Whitefield’s labours exceeds any thing that others can pretend to. Not only in the south, the west and north of England did he lift up his voice, saying, ‘Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is come,’ but in Wales, in Scotland, in Ireland, and America, from Georgia to Boston, vast multitudes in each country were witnesses of his zeal for the salvation of souls.

“And to crown all, he was abundantly successful in his vast labours, and disinterested too. The seals of his min-

istry, from first to last, I am persuaded, are more than would be credited, could the number be fixed. This is certain, his amazing popularity was only from his usefulness; for he no sooner opened his mouth as a preacher, than God commanded an extraordinary blessing upon his word. The people were so deeply impressed with the sense of divine things, from what he delivered, that, to his own great surprise, they followed him from church to church, until the largest churches in London could no longer contain a fourth part of the crowds which pressed to hear the word of God from his lips.

“Should any one say, few in comparison, besides low, ignorant, common people were his followers; I would answer, the souls of the poor and ignorant are to be full as precious as those of the rich and learned: and the mob have shown the justest discernment, and have received the truth, whilst men of wealth, and learning, and education, have trampled it under their feet. Witness the chief Scribes and Pharisees, who rejected both the Baptist and the Saviour, when the common people justified God, and gave them both the honour of being sent from him. Indeed, in every age, we see the scripture fulfilled, ‘Not many rich, not many mighty, not many wise men after the flesh, are called: but God hath chosen the poor, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom.’

“However, when the fierceness of prejudice was worn off, numbers, who at first despised him, taught to do so by gross slanders, were happy under his ministry. And this honour was put upon him even to the last. He had a much larger audience steadily to hear him, than any man in the whole kingdom, perhaps in all Christendom.

“And that this vast multitude of people, were gathered, just as the primitive churches of Christ, by the truth they heard, and the spiritual benefit they received under his word, is evident beyond a reasonable doubt. For, if you trace his progress through the various cities and countries where he preached the Gospel, you will find, as the case was with St. Paul, so it was with this servant of Christ. Many were turned by him from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God, receiving remission of their sins, and an inheritance among those that are sanctified, through faith in Christ. Inquire of the effects of his

labours, from the only proper judges, those who live in the religious world, and they will aver, that many within their own knowledge, small as that circle must be, confess they owe their own selves to this faithful witness for his Lord. Add to this, that the letters he received of grateful acknowledgment from persons of all ages and conditions in life, for the spiritual blessings he had conveyed to them, would fill whole volumes. Nay, it is a well known fact, that the conversion of men's souls has been the fruit of a single sermon from his lips; so eminently was he made of God a fisher of men. But he was not more successful than he was disinterested in his labours; for though a vast multitude (which must ever be the case with those whom God is pleased remarkably to own) followed him, he had still no ambition to stand as the head of a party. His great object was to exalt Christ crucified; and when his hearers were brought to the knowledge of salvation, his point was gained and his soul was satisfied.—Hence, neither in his sermons nor more private exhortations did he cast disparaging reflections on other preachers of Christ. No base suggestion dropt from his mouth, as if to differ from him must be owing to blindness in the judgment, or coldness of the heart for the interest of holiness. Truly cordial and catholic in his love for all who appeared to love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, he never desired to see his congregation increased by those who had evangelical pastors of their own. Further, in proof of his disinterestedness, consider what he gained by his labours. The scourge of the tongue was let loose upon him, and his name was loaded with the foulest calumnies; he was often in tumults, and more than once in danger of his life, by the rage of the people; he wore himself away in the service of souls; and when he died he died quite exhausted by much speaking; but in his death he received an immediate answer to his own prayer, 'That if it were consistent with the Divine Will, he might finish that day his Master's work.'

“For such a life, and such a death, (though in tears under our great loss) we must yet thank God. And though we are allowed to sorrow, because we shall never see or hear him again, we must rejoice that millions have heard him so long, so often, and to such good effect; that out of

this mass of people, multitudes are gone before him, we doubt not, to hail his entrance into the world of glory ; and that in every period of life, from childhood to hoary age, many of his children in the Lord are still to follow ; all to be his crown of rejoicing : the only effectual, everlasting confutation of his adversaries ; that he ran not in vain, nor laboured in vain."

There were many other sermons preached on occasion of Mr. Whitefield's death ; in which the descriptions of his character are the same in substance with those already given.*

* Such as by the Rev. Messrs. Whitaker and Smith of Charleston ; Sprout of Philadelphia ; Langford, Elliott, W. M. and probably others, which have not come to the Compiler's knowledge.

The Rev. Mr. De Courcey, also wrote some Elegiac lines, among which are the following :—

Soon as the Spirit's unction from above,
 Throughout his soul diffus'd the Saviour's love,
 A fire enkindled in his eager breast,
 With pity burn'd to sinners lost—
 Straight like a trumpet, he his voice did raise,
 The wonders of redeeming love to praise ;
 Of health regardless, all things did forego,
 That sinners Jesus' boundless grace may know ;
 Where'er he preach'd, attentive crowds were seen,
 Astonish'd at his youth and zealous mein :
 Let Kennington, Blackheath, Moorfields, declare,
 How oft the gospel-trumpet sounded there.
 Nor could his zeal the vast Atlantic bound—
 Throughout the western world he Christ displays,
 And joyful news to Georgia's coast conveys.
 There Orphans yet unborn shall weeping tell
 How mourn'd the founder of Bethesda fell.
 The love of Jesus was his darling theme ;
 And heaven he felt in that dear precious name ;
 Hence, when his heart with sacred ardour glow'd ;
 His tongue in promptest elocution flow'd.
 With what compassion, energy and fire
 Would he the guilty heart for Christ require !

To be the subject of so many funeral sermons, both at home and abroad, is something singular; though quite suitable to his extraordinary manner of life. But it was still more singular to have a sermon preached upon his

Oft, whilst his Master's glorious grace he show'd,
 An arrow, dip't in Jesus' precious blood,
 Th' aspiring sinner in the dust brought low,
 And forc'd him at the bleeding cross to bow—
 Whene'er he meant the power of sin to kill,
 And carnal hearts with purest love to fill,
 Transgressors he to Calvary's summit led,
 Where Jesus, spotless victim, bow'd his head.
 But, as a glass, the sinner's guilt to show,
 The law he brought, with all its curse and woe;
 The conscience wounded with his flaming sword,
 While Sinai seem'd to thunder in his word.
 But—whilst each terror of the Lord, and threat,
 With zeal and faithfulness he did repeat,
 He all dissolv'd in sorrow would appear,
 While plenteous flow'd the sympathetic tear;
 Like Jesus, who o'er bloody Salem mourn'd,
 While wrath divine against it vengeful burn'd.
 In prayer, with a peculiar gift endow'd,
 Reverent before the throne of grace he bow'd;
 In tears, like Jacob, with the angel strove,
 Prevail'd, like Israel, with the God of Love.
 For all he pray'd—and all in love receiv'd,
 With heart capacious, who in Christ believ'd.
 In him there dwelt a spirit generous, bold,
 Unaw'd by threat'nings, unallur'd by gold.
 Preferments, honours, ease, he deem'd but loss,
 Vile and contemptible for Jesus' Cross.
 Inur'd to scandal, injuries, and pain,
 "To him to live was Christ; to die was gain."

In a note upon the last paragraph, the author says, "Whoever is acquainted with Mr. Whitefield's life, well knows that I have not exaggerated matters. For in a visit to Ireland he was solicited by the Primæ of that kingdom to accept of some considerable church-preferment, but declined the offer, because he looked upon himself as called to an itinerant life; and what makes this circum-

personal and ministerial character, in his own life-time, and when he was but twenty-six years of age. This sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Josiah Smith, of Charleston, South-Carolina, and was published at Boston, with a recommendatory preface by the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, in the year 1740. Of this it is worth while to make a short extract,* after all that has been said; that, by comparing it with the funeral sermons, the reader may see how consistent and uniform Mr. W's. conduct was from that early period of his ministry till his death.

After speaking of his doctrine concerning Original Sin—Justification by faith alone—Regeneration—The inward feelings of the spirit—Mr. Smith adds, “As to the manner of his preaching—With what a flow of words did he speak to us upon the great concern of our souls! In what a flaming light did he set out eternity before us! How earnestly did he press Christ upon us! How close, strong and pungent were his applications to the conscience; mingling light and heat; pointing the arrows of the Almighty at the hearts of sinners, while he poured in the balm on the wounds of the contrite! How bold and courageous did he look! He was no flatterer. He taught the way of God in truth, and regarded not the persons of men. The politest and most modish of our vices he struck at; the most fashionable entertainments; regardless of every one's presence, but His in whose name he spake.

“As to his personal character, while he preaches up faith alone in our justification before God, he is careful to maintain good works. These things the grace of God teaches us. And how much of this doctrine has he transcribed into his life! How rich has he been in all good

stance, the more remarkable is, that Mr. Whitefield, at that time, had no prospect whatever, as to temporals.”

See also a Pastoral on Mr. Whitefield, said to be written by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Shirley; an Elegy, containing a short History of his Life, by the Rev. Mr. Knight of Halifax, and another Elegy, and a Monody, by anonymous authors.

* A large Extract, both of the Preface and Sermon, is to be found in Prince's Christian History, No. XCIX.

works ! What an eminent pattern of piety towards God ! How holy and unblameable in all conversation and godliness ! How seasonable, how much to the use of edifying, all his discourses ! How naturally does he turn them to religion ! How much is he given to devotion himself, and how does he labour to excite it in others !

“ He affects no party in religion, nor sets himself at the head of any. He is not bigoted to the lesser rites and forms of religion, while zealous enough in all its essentials. He professes love to good men of every denomination. His heart seems set upon doing good. He goes about his great Master’s work with diligence and application, and with such cheerfulness as would make one in love with a life of religion. He is proof against reproach and invective. When he is reviled, he revileth not again ; but prays heartily for all his enemies.

“ He renders to all their due ; while zealous for the things of God, is a friend to Cæsar. And for charity, as it consists in compassion and acts of beneficence, we have few men like minded. Had he been under any criminal influence of a mercenary temper ; had he collected monies for himself in his journies, under the pretext of doing it for the poor, as was slanderously reported, he had certainly a fair opportunity to enrich himself. But we have seen, and plain fact cannot be denied, that he casts all into the treasury, and serves the tables of the poor with it. Strolling and vagabond orphans, without father and without mother, without purse and without a friend, he seeks out, picks up, and adopts into his family. He is now building accommodations, and laying the best foundation for their support and maintenance.” Thus far Mr J. Smith, who had the pleasure of seeing this character of his friend verified in the whole of his future life ; and who, in his Funeral Sermon upon him at Charleston, October 28. 1770, has this remarkable expression, concerning a visit he made to Mr. Whitefield at his Orphan-house : “ It was a scene that made me think I was in heaven.”

By a paper, written with Mr. Whitefield’s own hand, of the contents of his imperfect manuscript, frequently quoted in the above account of his life, it appears, that if he had lived to finish it, the conclusion would have been, “ Reflections upon the whole, containing arguments to prove

the divinity of the work : and answers to objections against Field-preaching—Lay preaching---Irregularities—and the blemishes that have attended it.”

As he did not live to execute this design, the Reader is referred to what has been published upon the subject, by the Rev. Messieurs Jonathan Edwards, Hobby, Shurtliff, &c. The Rev. Mr. Newton preached a sermon at Olney, November 11, 1770, on John v. 35.—“He was a burning and a shining light ;”—In which he speaks of Mr. Whitefield ; an extract of which follows : “Some ministers are burning and shining lights in a peculiar and eminent degree. Such a one, I doubt not, was the servant of God whose death we now lament. I have had some opportunities of looking over the History of the Church in past ages, and I am not backward to say, that I have not read or heard of any person, since the apostles’ days, of whom it may more emphatically be said, ‘He was a burning and a shining light,’ than the late Mr. Whitefield, whether we consider the warmth of his zeal, the greatness of his ministerial talents, or the extensive usefulness with which the Lord honoured him. I do not mean to praise the man, but the Lord, who furnished him, and made him what he was. He was raised up to shine in a dark place. The state of religion, when he first appeared in public, was very low in our established church. I speak the truth, though to some it may be an offensive truth. The doctrines of Grace were seldom heard from the pulpit, and the life and power of godliness were little known.—Many of the most spiritual among the Dissenters were mourning under the sense of a great spreading declension on their side. What a change has taken place throughout the land, within a little more than thirty years, that is, since the time when the first set of despised ministers came from Oxford, and how much of this change has been owing to God’s blessing on Mr. Whitefield’s labours, is well known to many who have lived through this period, and can hardly be denied by those who are least willing to allow it. First, He was a burning light. He had an ardent zeal for God, an enflamed desire for the salvation of sinners ; So that no labours could weary him, no difficulties or opposition discourage him, hardly any limits could confine him ; not content with the bounds of a

county, or a kingdom, this messenger of good tidings preached the everlasting Gospel in almost every considerable place in England, Scotland and Ireland, and throughout the British empire in America, which is an extent of more than a thousand miles. Most of these places he visited again and again ; nor did he confine his attention to places of note, but in the former part of his ministry was ready to preach to few, as well as to many, wherever a door was opened ; though in the latter part of his life, his frequent illness, and the necessity of his more immediate charge, confined him more at home. In some of his most early excursions, the good Providence of God led him here, and many, I trust, were made willing to rejoice in his light, and have reason to bless God that ever they saw and heard him. Secondly, He was a shining light : his zeal was not like wild fire, but directed by sound principles, and a sound judgment. In this part of his character, I would observe, 1st, Though he was very young when he came out, the Lord soon gave him a very clear view of the Gospel. In the sermons he published soon after his first appearance, there is the same evangelical strain observable as in those which he preached in his advanced years. Time and observation, what he felt, and what he saw, enlarged his experience, and gave his preaching an increasing ripeness and favor as he grew older in the work ; but from first to last he preached the same Gospel, and was determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified.—2dly, His steadiness and perseverance in the truth was the more remarkable, considering the difficulties and snares he was sometimes beset with. But the Lord kept him steady, so that neither the example, nor friendship, nor importunity, of those he dearly loved, were capable of moving him.

3dly. The Lord gave him a manner of preaching, which was peculiarly his own. He copied from none, and I never met any one who could imitate him with success. They who attempted, generally made themselves disagreeable. His familiar address, the power of his action, his marvelous talent in fixing the attention, even of the most careless, I need not describe to those who have heard him ; and to those who have not, the attempt would be vain. Other ministers could, perhaps, preach the gospel

as clearly, and in general say the same things ; but, I believe no man living could say them in his way. Here I always thought him unequalled, and I hardly expect to see his equal while I live.

“ 4th. But that which finished his character as a shining light, and is now his crown of rejoicing, was, the singular success which the Lord was pleased to give him in winning souls. What numbers entered the kingdom of glory before him, and what numbers are now lamenting his loss, who were awakened by his ministry ! It seemed as if he never preached in vain. Perhaps there is hardly a place, in all the extensive compass of his labours, where some may not be found who thankfully acknowledge him as their spiritual father. Nor was he an awakening preacher only, wherever he came : if he preached but a single discourse, he usually brought a season of refreshment and revival with him to those who had already received the truth. Great as his immediate and personal usefulness was, his occasional usefulness (if I may so call it) was perhaps much greater. Many have cause to be thankful for him, who never saw or heard him. I have already observed, that there was something peculiar in his manner of preaching, in which no person of sound judgment would venture to imitate him. But, notwithstanding this, he was in other respects a signal and happy pattern and model for preachers. He introduced a way of close and lively application to the conscience, for which I believe many of the most admired and eminent preachers now living will not be ashamed or unwilling to acknowledge themselves his debtors.”

There was also a Sermon preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Brewer, of Stepney, London, which his modesty would not permit him to print. And many others of the ministers, both of the Church, and among Dissenters, in England, in thier Sermons and Prayers upon the news of Mr. Whitefield's death, bewailed the loss of so great a man, and so faithful and successful a servant of Christ.*

On the 6th of February, 1771, the executors having re-

* Among these were the Rev. Mr. Rompine, Mr. Madan, Dr. Gibbons, and Dr. Trotter.

ceived the probate of Mr. Whitefield's Will, Mr. Keen, who was perfectly acquainted with every particular of his temporal affairs, immediately published it, with the following preamble :

As we make no doubt the numerous friends of the late Rev. Mr. George Whitefield will be glad of an opportunity of seeing a genuine copy of his last Will and Testament ; his Executors have favoured us with a copy of the same, transmitted to them from the Orphan-house in Georgia, and which they have proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. And as it was Mr. Whitefield's constant declaration, he never meant to raise either a purse or a party, it is to be remarked, that almost the whole money he died possessed of, came to him within two or three years of his death, in the following manner, viz. Mrs. Thompson, of Tower-Hill, bequeathed him 500l. By the death of his Wife, including a Bond of 300l. he got 700l. Mr. Whitmore bequeathed him 100l. and Mr. Winder 100l. and it is highly probable, that had he lived to reach Georgia from his late northern tour, he would have much lessened the above sums, by disposing of them in the same noble and disinterested manner that all the public or private sums he has been entrusted with have been.

“ GEORGIA.

“ By His Excellency JAMES WRIGHT, Esq. Captain-General, Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's said Province of Georgia, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, *Greeting :* Know ye, that Thomas Moodie, who hath certified the annexed copy from the original, in the Secretary's Office, is Deputy-Secretary of the said Province, and therefore all due faith and credit is and ought to be had and given to such his certificate.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of this his Majesty's said Province to be put and affixed, dated at Savannah the tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1770, and in the elev-

enth year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third.

By his Excellency's command,

J. WRIGHT.

THOS. MOODIE, Dep. Secretary.

“IN the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons, but one God ; I George Whitefield, Clerk, at present residing at the Orphan-house Academy, in the Province of Georgia, in North-America, being through infinite mercy in more than ordinary bodily health, and a perfect, sound and composed mind, knowing the certainty of death, and yet the uncertainty of the time I shall be called by it to my long wished-for home, do make this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, viz. Imprimis, In sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, I commit my body to the dust, to be buried in the most plain and decent manner ; and knowing in whom I have believed, and being persuaded that he will keep that which I have committed unto him, in the fullest assurance of faith I commend my soul into the hands of the ever-loving, altogether lovely, never-failing, Jesus, on whose complete and everlasting righteousness I entirely depend, for the justification of my person, and acceptance of my poor, worthless, though I trust sincere, performances, at that day when he shall come in the glory of his Father, his own glory, and the glory of his holy Angels, to judge both the quick and dead. In respect to my outward American concerns, which I have engaged in simply and solely for his great Name's sake, I leave that building commonly called the Orphan-house, at Bethesda, in the Province of Georgia, together with all the other buildings lately erected thereon, and likewise all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and every other thing whatsoever which I now stand possessed of in the Province of Georgia aforesaid, to that elect Lady, that mother in Israel, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honourable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon ; desiring that, as soon as may be, after my decease, the plan of the intended Orphan-house, Bethesda-College, may be prosecuted, or, if not practicable or eligible, to pursue the present plan of the Orphan-house Academy, on its old foundation and

usual channel ; but if her Ladyship should be called to enter into her glorious rest before my decease, I bequeath all the buildings, lands, negroes, and every thing before mentioned, which I now stand possessed of, in the Province of Georgia, aforesaid, to my dear first fellow-traveller and faithful, invariable friend, the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. President of his Majesty's Honourable Council : and should he survive her Ladyship, I earnestly recommend him as the most proper person to succeed her Ladyship, or to act for her during her Ladyship's life time, in the affairs of the Orphan-house Academy. With regard to my outward affairs in England ; whereas there is a building commonly called the Tabernacle, set apart many years ago for Divine Worship, I give and bequeath the said Tabernacle, with the adjacent house in which I usually reside when in London, with the stable and coach-house in the yard adjoining, together with all books, furniture, and every thing else whatsoever, that shall be found in the house and premises aforesaid ; and also the building commonly called Tottenham-Court Chapel, together with all the other buildings, houses, stable, coach-house, and every thing else whatsoever which I stand possessed of in that part of the town, to my worthy, trusty, tried friends, Daniel West, Esq. in Church-street, Spitalfields, and Mr. Robert Keen, Woollen-Draper, in the Minories, or the longer survivor of the two. As to the monies which a kind Providence, especially of late, in a most unexpected way, and unthought of means, has vouchsafed to entrust me with ; I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds sterling to the Right Honourable Countess Dowager of Huntingdon aforesaid, humbly beseeching her ladyship's acceptance of so small a mite, as a pepper corn of acknowledgment for the undeserved, unsought for honour her Ladyship conferred upon me, in appointing me, less than the least of all, to be one of her Ladyship's Domestic Chaplains. Item, I give and bequeath to my dearly beloved friend, the Honourable James Habersham aforesaid, my late Wife's gold watch, and ten pounds for mourning ; to my dear old friend, Gabriel Harris, Esq. of the city of Gloucester, who received and boarded me in his house, when I was helpless and destitute, above thirty five years ago, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty

pounds; to my humble, faithful servant and friend, Mr. Ambrose Wright, if in my service and employ, either in England or America, or elsewhere, at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the sum of five hundred pounds; to my brother, Mr. Richard Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; to my brother, Mr. Thomas Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, to be given him at the discretion of Mr. Robert Keen; to my brother-in-law, Mr. James Smith, Hosier, in the city of Bristol, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and thirty pounds also for family mourning; to my niece, Mrs. Frances Hartford, of Bath, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and twenty pounds for family mourning; to Mr. J. Crane, now a faithful steward at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of forty pounds; to Mr. Benjamin Stirk, as an acknowledgment of his past services at Bethesda, I give and bequeath the sum of ten pounds for mourning; to Peter Edwards, now at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; to William Trigg, at the same place, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; both the sums aforesaid to be laid out or laid up for them, at the discretion of Mr. Ambrose Wright: to Mr. Thomas Adams, of Rodborough, in Gloucestershire, my only surviving first fellow-labourer, and beloved much in the Lord, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; to the Rev. Mr. Howel Davies, of Pembrokeshire, in South-Wales, that good soldier of Jesus Christ; to Mr. Torial Joss, Mr. Cornelius Winter, and all my other dearly beloved present stated assistant-preachers at Tabernacle and Tottenham-Court Chapel, I give and bequeath ten pounds each for mourning; to the three brothers of Mr. Ambrose Wright, and the wife of his brother, Mr. Robert Wright, now faithfully and skilfully labouring and serving at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of ten pounds each for mourning; to Mr. Richard Smith, now a diligent attendant on me, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and all my wearing apparel which I shall have with me in my journey through America, or on my voyage to England, if it should please an all-wise God to shorten my days in either of those situations. Finally, I give and bequeath the sum of one hun-

dred pounds, to be distributed at the discretion of my executors, herein after mentioned, for mourning, among my old London servants, the poor widows at Tottenham-Court Chapel, and the Tabernacle poor, especially my old trusty, disinterested friend and servant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood. All the other residue, if there be any residue, of monies, goods, and chattels, or whatever profits may arise from the sale of my books, or any manuscripts that I may leave behind, I give and bequeath to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, or, in case of her Ladyship's being deceased at the time of my departure, to the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. before-mentioned, after my funeral expenses and just debts are discharged, towards paying off my arrears that may be due on the account of the Orphan-house Academy, or for annual prizes, as a reward for the best three orations that shall be made in English on the subjects mentioned in a paper annexed to this my Will. And I do hereby appoint the Hon. James Habersham, Esq. aforesaid to be my Executor in respect to my affairs in the province of Georgia, and my trusty, tried, dearly beloved friends, Charles Hardy, Esq. Daniel West, Esq. and Mr. Robert Keen, to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament, in respect of my affairs in England; begging each to accept of a mourning ring. To all my other christian benefactors, and more intimate acquaintance, I leave my most hearty thanks and blessing, assuring them that I am more and more convinced of the undoubted reality, and infinite importance, of the grand gospel truths which I have from time to time delivered; and am so far from repenting my delivering them in an itinerant way, that, had I strength equal to my inclination, I would preach them from pole to pole, not only because I have found them to be the power of God to the salvation of my own soul, but because I am as much assured that the Great Head of the Church hath called me by his word, providence and Spirit to act in this way, as that the sun shines at noon-day. As for my enemies, and mis-judging, mistaken friends, I most freely and heartily forgive them; and can only add, that the last tremendous day will soon discover what I have been, what I am, and what I shall be when time itself shall be no more; and therefore, from my inmost soul, I close

all by crying, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; even so, Lord Jesus, Amen and Amen:

“ This was written with the Testator’s own hand, and at his desire, and in his presence, signed, sealed, and delivered, at the Orphan-house Academy, in the province of Georgia, before these witnesses, March the twenty-second, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

(Signed) { ROBERT BOLTON,
THOMAS DIXTON,
CORNELIUS WINTER.

“ N. B. I also leave a mourning ring to my honoured and dear friends, and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine.—Grace be with all them, of whatever denomination, that love our Lord Jesus, our common Lord, in sincerity.”

GEORGIA, *Secretary’s Office.*

“ A true copy, taken from the original in this office, examined and certified: and I do further certify, that the same was duly proved; and the Hon. James Habersham, Esq. one of the Executors therein named, was duly qualified as Executor before his Excellency James Wright, Esq. Governor and Ordinary of the said Province, this 10th day of December, 1770.

THOS. MOODIE, *Dep. Sec’ry.*”

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Concerning the manner in which Mr. Whitefield’s Tabernacle and Chapel are at present supplied, the compiler has received the following information:—

HAVING by his Will left both of his places of worship, his houses, library, and all things appertaining thereto, to two of his executors in survivorship, they have been enabled, through the abundant goodness of God, to carry on the work in the same manner as in Mr. Whitefield’s life-time, without the least diminution either of the large-

ness of the congregation, or the visible power of God attending the ministry there. And as neither of them are ministers, but engaged in extensive business, it appears the more wonderful, and shews the work to be begun and carried on by the power of God alone ; and it is their earnest prayer and study, that it may be transmitted down, and faithful ministers and upright persons raised to carry it on when their heads are laid in the dust. Two of his fellow-labourers were taken off by death whilst he was last abroad, viz. the Rev. Mr. Howel Davies, a clergyman, and Mr. Thomas Adams, a layman ; and, a little before, Mr. Middleton ; all tried and faithful ministers : but the Lord hath wonderfully raised up others in their stead. The present ministers are chiefly these, the Rev. Mr. Kinsman of Plymouth, the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Leeds, the Rev. Mr. Knight of Halifax, and the Rev. Mr. Ashburner of Pool in Dorsetshire : these visit London once, and, if wrote for, twice a year. The constant ones upon the spot are, Mr. Joss and Mr. Brooksbanks. The Rev. Mr. De Courcey, and the Rev. Mr. Piercy, and other clergymen, have often assisted. Besides these, the proprietors have been favoured with the occasional labours of Mr. Rowland Hill, and Mr. Heath of Plymouth ; also of many worthy clergymen and dissenting ministers from the country, who esteemed it their privilege to preach to very large, serious and attentive congregations, whose hearts have been filled with thankfulness, and at the same time engaged in prayer for every such minister, and an unusual blessing has commonly attended both sowers and reapers ; and it is the earnest desire of the proprietors that the pleasure of the Lord may thus prosper in their hands. They propose, through the blessing of God, to let the pulpits be open to every disinterested minister who may occasionally come to town, of good moral character, sound in the faith, of moderate Calvinistical principles, without distinction of parties or denominations, whose talents are suitable to preach with life and power to large congregations ; and hope for the concurrence of all well-wishers to the prosperity of Zion.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

AN
ENQUIRY

INTO THE FIRST AND CHIEF REASON WHY THE GENERALITY OF CHRISTIANS FALL SO FAR SHORT OF THE HOLINESS AND DEVOTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

[*Extracted from Mr. Whitefield's Tracts.*]

SINCE christian devotion is nothing less than a life wholly devoted unto God, and persons who are free from the necessities of labour and employments are to consider themselves as devoted to God in a higher degree, it may now reasonably be enquired how it comes to pass that the lives even of the moral and better sort of people are in general so directly contrary to the principles of christianity. I answer, because the generality of those who call themselves christians are destitute of a true, living faith in Jesus Christ; for want of which they never effectually intended to please God in all the actions of life, as the happiest and best thing in the world.

To be partaker of such a faith is every where represented in scripture as a fundamental and necessary part of true piety. For without a living faith in the righteousness of Jesus Christ, our persons cannot be justified, and consequently none of our performances acceptable in the sight of God. It is this faith that enables us to overcome the world, and to devote ourselves, without reserve, to promote the glory of Him who has loved and given himself for us. And therefore it is purely for want of such a faith, that you see such a mixture of sin and folly even in the lives of the better sort of people. It is for want of this faith, that you see clergymen given to pride, and covetousness, and worldly enjoyments. It is for want of such a faith, that you see women, who profess devotion, yet living in all the folly and vanity of dress, wasting their time in idleness and pleasures, and in all such instances of state and equipage as their estate will reach. Let but a woman

feel her heart full of this faith, and she will no more desire to shine at balls and assemblies, or to make a figure among those that are most finely dressed, than she will desire to dance upon a rope to please spectators; for she will then know that the one is as far from the true nature, wisdom and excellency of the christian spirit, as is the other.

Let a clergyman be but thus pious, and he will converse as if he had been brought up by an apostle; he will no more think and talk of noble preferment, than of noble eating, or a glorious chariot. He will no more complain of the frowns of the world, or a small cure, or the want of a patron, than he will complain of the want of a laced coat, or of a running horse. Let him but have such a faith in and love for God as will constrain him to make it his business to study to please God in all his actions, as the happiest and best thing in the world, and then he will know that there is nothing noble in clergymen, but burning zeal for the salvation of souls, nor any thing poor in his profession, but idleness and a worldly spirit.

Further: Let a tradesman but have such a faith, and it will make him a saint in his shop; his every-day business will be a course of wise and reasonable actions, made holy to God by flowing from faith, proceeding from love, and by being done in obedience to his will and pleasure. He will therefore not chiefly consider what arts, or methods, or application, will soonest make him greater and richer than his brethren, that he may remove from a shop to a life of state and pleasure; but he will chiefly consider what arts, what methods and what application can make worldly business most conducive to God's glory, and his neighbour's good; and consequently make a life of trade to be a life of holiness, devotion and undissembled piety.

It was this faith that made the primitive christians such eminent instances of religion, and that made the godly fellowship of the saints in all ages, and all the glorious army of confessors and martyrs. And if we will stop and ask ourselves, Why are we not as pious as the primitive christians and saints of old were? our hearts must tell us, that it is because we never yet perhaps earnestly sought after, and consequently were never really made partakers of that precious faith whereby they were constrained to

intend to please God in all their actions, as the best and happiest thing in the world.

Here then let us judge ourselves sincerely ; let us not vainly content ourselves with the common disorders of our lives, the vanity of our expences, the folly of our diversions, the pride of our habits, the idleness of our lives, and the wasting of our time, fancying that these are only such imperfections as we necessarily fall into, through the unavoidable weakness and frailty of our nature ; but let us be assured, that these habitual disorders of our common life are so many demonstrable proofs that we never yet truly accepted of the Lord Jesus and his righteousness by a living faith, and never really intended, as a proof and evidence of such a faith, to please God in all the actions of our life, as the best thing in the world.

Though this be a matter we can easily pass over at present, whilst the health of our bodies, the passions of our minds, the noise and hurry and pleasures and business of the world lead us on with " eyes that see not, and ears that hear not," yet, at death, it will set itself before us in a dreadful magnitude ; it will haunt us like a dismal ghost, and our consciences will never let us take our eyes from it, unless they are seared as with a red hot iron, and God shall have given us over to a reprobate mind.

Penitens was a busy, notable tradesman, and very prosperous in his dealings ; but died in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

A little before his death, when the doctors had given him over, some of his neighbours came one evening to see him ; at which time he spake thus to them :—

" I see (says he) my friends, the tender concern you have for me, by the grief that appears in your countenances, and I know the thoughts that you now have of me. You think how melancholy a case it is to see so young a man, and in such flourishing business, delivered up to death. And perhaps, had I visited any of you in my condition, I should have had the same thoughts of you. But now, my friends, my thoughts are no more like your thoughts, than my condition is like yours. It is no trouble to me now to think that I am to die young, or before I have raised an estate. These things are sunk into such mere nothings, that I have no name little enough to call

them by. For if in a few days, or hours, I am to leave this carcase to be buried in the earth, and to find myself either forever happy in the favour of God, or eternally separated from all light and peace; can any words sufficiently express the littleness of every thing else?

“Is there any dream like the dream of life, which amuses us with the neglect and disregard of these things? Is there any folly like the folly of our manly state, which is too wise and busy to be at leisure for these reflections?”

“When we consider death as a misery, we generally think of it as a miserable separation from the enjoyments of this life. We seldom mourn over an old man that dies rich, but we lament the young, that are taken away in the progress of their fortunes. You yourselves look upon me with pity, not that you think I am going unprepared to meet the Judge of quick and dead, but that I am to leave a prosperous trade in the flower of my life.

“This is the wisdom of our manly thoughts. And yet what folly of the silliest children is so great as this? For what is there miserable or dreadful in death, but the consequences of it? When a man is dead, what does any thing signify to him, but the state he is then in?”

“Our poor friend Lepidus, you know, died as he was dressing himself for a feast; do you think it is now part of his trouble that he did not live till that entertainment was over? Feasts, and business, and pleasures, and enjoyments, seem great things to us, whilst we think of nothing else; but as soon as we add death to them, they all sink into littleness not to be expressed; and the soul that is separated from the body no more laments the loss of business, than the losing of a feast.

“If I am now going to the joys of God, could there be any reason to grieve that this happened to me before I was forty years of age? Can it be a sad thing to go to heaven, before I have made a few more bargains, or stood a little longer behind a counter?”

“And if I am to go amongst lost spirits, could there be any reason to be content, that this did not happen to me till I was old and full of riches?”

“If good angels were ready to receive my soul, could it be any grief to me that I was dying on a poor bed in a garret?”

“ And if God has delivered me up to evil spirits, to be dragged by them to places of torment, could it be any comfort to me, that they found me upon a bed of state? When you are as near death as I am, you will know, that all the different states of life, whether of youth or age, riches or poverty, greatness or meanness, signify no more to you than whether you die in a poor or stately apartment.

“ The greatness of the things which follow death, makes all that goes before it sink into nothing.

“ Now that judgment is the next thing which I look for, and everlasting happiness or misery is come so near to me, all the enjoyments and prosperities of life seem as vain and insignificant, and to have no more to do with my happiness, than the clothes that I wore when I was a little child.

“ What a strange thing! that a little health, or the poor business of a shop, should keep us so senseless of these great things that are coming so fast upon us!

“ Just as you came into my chamber, I was thinking with myself, what numbers of souls there are in the world in my condition at this very time, surprised with a summons to the other world; some taken from their shops and farms, others from their sports and pleasures; these at suits at law, those at gaming-tables; some on the road, others at their own fire-sides; and all seized at an hour when they thought nothing of it; frightened at the approach of death, confounded at the vanity of all their labours, designs and projects, astonished at the folly of their past lives, and not knowing which way to turn their thoughts to find any comfort; their consciences flying in their faces, bringing all their sins to remembrance, tormenting them with the deepest convictions of their own folly, presenting them with the sight of the angry Judge, and the worm that never dies. the fire that is never quenched, the gates of hell, the power of darkness, and the bitter pains of eternal death.

“ O my friends? bless God that you are not of this number; and take this along with you, that there is nothing but a real faith in the Lord Jesus, and a life of true piety, or a death of great stupidity, that can keep off these apprehensions.

“ Had I now a thousand worlds, I would give them all.

for one moment's scriptural assurance that I had really received the Lord Jesus by a living faith into my heart, and for one more year's continuance in life, that I might evidence the sincerity of that faith, by presenting unto God one year of such devotion and good works as I am persuaded I have hitherto never done.

"Perhaps, when you consider that I have lived free from scandal and debauchery, and in the communion of the church, you wonder to see me so full of remorse and self condemnation at the approach of death.

"But, alas! what a poor thing is it to have lived only free from murder, theft and adultery, which is all that I can say of myself. Was not the slothful servant, that is condemned in the gospel, thus negatively good? And did not the Saviour of mankind tell the young man, who led a more blameless and moral life than I have done, that yet one thing he lacked?

"But the thing that now surprises me above all wonders is this, that till of late I never was convinced of that reigning, soul-destroying sin of unbelief; and that I was out of a state of salvation, notwithstanding my negative goodness, my seemingly strict morality, and attendance on public worship and the holy sacrament. It never entered into my head or heart, that the righteousness of Jesus Christ alone could recommend me to the favour of a sin-avenging God, and that I must be born again of God, and have Christ formed in my heart, before I could have any well-guarded assurance that I was a Christian indeed, or have any solid foundation whereon I might build the superstructure of a truly holy and pious life.

"Alas! I thought I had faith in Christ, because I was born in a Christian country, and said in my creed, that 'I believed on Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord.' I thought I was certainly regenerate and born again, and was a real Christian, because I was baptized when I was young, and received the holy sacrament in my adult age. But, alas! little did I consider that faith is something more than the world generally thinks of; a work of the heart and not merely of the head, and that I must know and feel that there is no other name given under heaven, whereby I can be saved, but that of Jesus Christ.

"It is true, indeed, you have frequently seen me at

church, and the sacrament; but, alas! you little think what remorse of conscience I now feel for so frequently saying, 'the remembrance of our sins is grievous unto us, and the burden of them is intolerable,' when I never experienced the meaning of them in all my life. You have also seen me join with the minister when he said, 'we do not approach thy table trusting on our own righteousness;' but all this while I was utterly ignorant of God's righteousness; which is by faith in Christ Jesus, and was going about to establish a righteousness of my own. It is true, indeed, I have kept the fasts and feasts of the church, and have called Christ Lord, Lord; but little did I think that no one could call Christ truly Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. I have attended upon ordinations, and heard the Bishop ask the candidates, 'whether they were called by the Holy Ghost;' I have seriously attended to the minister, when he exhorted us to pray for true repentance, and God's Holy Spirit; but, alas! I never inquired whether I myself had received the Holy Ghost, to sanctify and purify my heart, and work a true evangelical repentance on my soul. I have prayed in the litany that I might bring forth fruits of the Spirit, but, alas! my whole life has been nothing but a dead life, a round of duties, and model of performances, without any living faith for their foundation. I have professed myself a member of the church of England; I have cried out, 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' and in my zeal have exclaimed against Dissenters; but little did I think that I was ignorant all this while of most of her essential articles, and that my practice, as well as the want of a real experience of a work of regeneration and true conversion, when I was using her offices, and reading her homilies, gave my conscience the lie.

"O my friends! a form of Godliness without the power, and dead morality not founded on a living faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, is such a dreadful delusion, so contrary to the lively oracles of God, that did not I know (though alas, how late!) that the righteousness of Jesus Christ was revealed in them, and that there was mercy to be found with God, if we venture by a real faith on that righteousness, though at the eleventh hour, I must now sink into total despair."

Penitens was here going on, but had his mouth stopped by a convulsion, which never suffered him to speak any more. He lay convulsed about twelve hours, and then gave up the ghost.

Now if every reader would imagine this *Penitens* to have been some particular acquaintance or relation of his, and fancy that he saw and heard all which is here described; that he stood by his bed-side when his poor friend lay in such distress and agony, lamenting the want of a living faith in Jesus Christ, as the cause of a dead, lifeless, indeavour life; besides this, should he consider how often he himself might have been surprised in the same formal, dead state, and made an example to the rest of the world; this double reflection, both upon the distress of his friend, and that goodness of God which ought to have led him to repentance, would in all likelihood set him upon seeking and earnestly praying for such a faith, of which *Penitens* felt himself void, and constrain him to let the Lord have no rest, till he should be pleased to apply the righteousness of his dear Son to his sin-sick soul, and enable him henceforward to study, out of love, to glorify him in all the actions of his future life, as the best and happiest thing in the world.

This therefore being so useful a meditation, I shall here leave the reader, I hope, seriously engaged in it.

From the London Evangelical Magazine for 1793.

TO THE READER.

SINCE the death of the late Mr. WESLEY, many controversies have taken place between the hearers of the late Mr. WHITFIELD, and those of Mr. WESLEY, respecting the sentiments of each, it has been thought adviseable to republish, literally, this Pamphlet, that all may be enabled to judge for themselves.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Prefixed by M. WHITFIELD to the First Edition

THE Reader will find the following pages a full answer to two little tracts lately published, entitled, *Serious Thoughts upon the Perseverance of the Saints, and Predestination calmly considered.*

PREFACE.

I Am very well aware what different effects the publishing this Letter against the dear Mr. Wesley's Sermon will produce. Many of my friends, that are strenuous advocates for Universal Redemption, will immediately be offended. Many that are zealous on the other side will be much rejoiced. They that are lukewarm on both sides, and are carried away with carnal reasoning will wish this matter had never brought under debate. The reasons I have given at

the beginning of the letter, I think sufficient to satisfy all of my conduct herein. I desire, therefore, that they who hold Election would not triumph, or make a party on one hand (for I detest any such thing;) and that they who are prejudiced against that doctrine, be not too much concerned or offended on the other. Known unto God are all his ways from the beginning of the world. The great day will discover why the Lord permits dear Mr. Wesley and me to be of a different way of thinking. At present I shall make no enquiry into that matter beyond the account which he has given of it himself in the following letter, which I lately received from his own dear hands.



“ LONDON, AUGUST 9, 1740

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ I Thank you for yours May 24th. The case is quite plain. There are bigots both for Predestination and against it. God is sending a message to those on either side; but neither will receive it, unless from one who is of their own opinion. Therefore, for a time, you are suffered to be of one opinion, and I of another. But when his time is come, God will do what man cannot, namely, make us both of one mind. Then persecution will flame out, and it will be seen whether we count our lives dear unto ourselves, so that we may finish our course with joy.

“ I am, my dearest Brother, ever yours.

“ J. WESLEY.”

Thus my honoured friend. I heartily pray God to hasten the time for his being clearly enlightened into all the Doctrines of Divine Revelation, that we may thus be closely united in principle and judgment, as well as heart and affection. And then, if the Lord should call us to it, I care not if I go with him to prison, or to death. For, like Paul and Silas, I hope we shall sing praises to God, and count it our highest honour to suffer for Christ's sake, and lay down our lives for the brethren.

A LETTER

FROM THE REVEREND

MR. GEORGE WHITEFIELD,

TO THE REVEREND

MR. JOHN WESLEY.



BETHESDA, IN GEORGIA, DECEMBER 24, 1740.

Reverend and very Dear Brother,

GOD only knows what unspeakable sorrow of heart I have felt on your account, since I left England last. Whether it be my infirmity or not. I frankly confess, that Jonah could not go with more reluctance against Nineveh, than I now take pen in hand to write against you. Was nature to speak, I had rather die than do it; and yet, if I am faithful to God, and to my own and others souls, I must not stand neuter any longer. I am very apprehensive that our common adversaries will rejoice to see us differing among ourselves. But what can I say? The children of God are in danger of falling into error.—Nay, numbers have been misled, whom God has been pleased to work upon by my ministry, and a greater number are still calling aloud upon me to shew my opinion. I must then shew, that I know no man after the flesh; and that I have no respect to persons, any farther than is consistent with my duty to my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.

This letter, no doubt, will lose me many friends. And for this cause, perhaps, God has laid this difficult task upon me, even to see whether I am willing to forsake all for Him, or not. From such considerations as these, I think it my duty to bear an humble testimony, and earnestly plead for the truths which, I am convinced, are clearly revealed in the word of God. In the defence whereof I must use great plainness of speech, and treat my dearest

friends upon earth with the greatest simplicity, faithfulness, and freedom, leaving the consequences of all to God.

For some time before, and especially since my last departure from England, both in public and private, by preaching and printing, you have been propagating the doctrine of *Universal Redemption*. And when I remember how Paul reprov'd Peter for his dissimulation, I fear I have been sinfully silent too long. Oh! then, be not angry with me, dear and honoured sir, if now I deliver my soul, by telling you, that I think, in this, you greatly err.

It is not my design to enter into a long debate on God's DECREES. I refer you to Dr. Edward's *Veritas Redux*, which, I think, is unanswerable, except in a *certain point*, concerning a middle sort between elect and reprobate, which he himself in effect afterwards condemns.

I shall only make a few remarks upon your sermon, entitled *Free Grace*. And before I enter upon the discourse itself, give me leave to take a little notice of what, in your preface, you term *an indispensable obligation* to make it public to all the world. I must own, that I always thought you were quite mistaken upon that head. The case (you know) stands thus: when you was at Bristol, I think you received a letter from a private hand, charging you with not preaching the Gospel, because you did not preach up Election. Upon this, you drew a lot. The answer was—*Preach and print*. I have often questioned, as I do now, whether, in so doing, you did not tempt the Lord. A due exercise of religious prudence, without a lot, would have directed you in that matter. Besides, I never heard that you enquired of God, whether or not Election was a Gospel doctrine. But I fear, taking it for granted it was not, you only enquired whether you should be silent, or preach and print against it? However this be, the lot came out—*Preach and print*; accordingly, you preached and printed against Election. At my desire, you suppressed the publishing the sermon whilst I was in England! but soon sent it into the world after my departure. Oh, that you had kept it in! However, if that sermon was printed in answer to a lot, I am apt to think, one upon why God should suffer you to be deceived was, that

hereby a special obligation might be laid upon me faithfully to declare the Scripture Doctrine of Election, that thus the Lord might give me a fresh opportunity of seeing what was in my heart, and whether I would be true to His cause or not; as you could not but grant, He did once before, by giving you such another lot at Deal. The morning I sailed from Deal for Gibraltar, you arrived from Georgia. Instead of giving me an opportunity to converse with you, though the ship was not far off the shore, you drew a lot, and immediately set forward to London. You left a letter behind you, in which were words to this effect—"When I saw God, by the wind which was carrying you out, brought me in, I asked counsel of God. His answer you have inclosed." This was a piece of paper, in which was written these words—"Let him return to London."

When I received this, I was somewhat surprised. Here was a good man telling me he had cast a lot, and God would have me return to London. On the other hand, I knew my call was to Georgia, and that I had taken leave of London, and could not justly go from the soldiers who were committed to my charge. I betook myself with a friend to prayer. That passage on the first book of Kings, chap. xiii. where we are told—"That the Prophet was slain by a lion, that was tempted to go back contrary to God's express order, upon another Prophet's telling him God would have him do so:"—this passage, I say, was powerfully impressed upon my soul. I wrote you word that I could not return to London. We sailed immediately. Some months after, I received a letter from you at Georgia, wherein you wrote words to this effect—"Though God never before gave me a wrong lot, yet perhaps, he suffered me to have such a lot at that time, to try what was in your heart." I should never have published this private transaction to the world, did not the glory of God call me to it.—It is plain you had a wrong lot given you here; and justly, because you tempted God in drawing one. And thus I believe it is in the present case. And if so, let not the children of God, who are mine and your intimate friends, and advocates for *Universal Redemption*, think that doctrine true, because you preached it up in compliance with a lot given out from God.

This, I think, may serve as an answer to that part of the preface to your printed sermon, wherein you say—“Nothing but the strongest conviction, not only that what is here advanced is the truth as it is in Jesus, but also that I am *indispensably obliged* to declare this truth to all the world.” That you believe what you have wrote to be truth, and that you honestly aimed at God’s glory in writing, I do not in the least doubt. But then, honoured sir, I can’t but think you have been much mistaken in imagining that your tempting God, by casting a lot in the manner you did, could lay you under an *indispensable obligation* to any action, much less to publish your sermon against the doctrine of Predestination to Life.

I must next observe, that as you have been unhappy in printing at all, upon such an *imaginary warrant*, so you have been as unhappy in the choice of your text. Honoured sir, how could it enter into your heart to chuse a text to disprove the doctrine of Election, out of the 8th of the Romans; where this doctrine is so plainly asserted, that once talking with a quaker upon this subject, he had no other way of evading the force of the Apostle’s assertion, than by saying—“I believe Paul was in the wrong.” And another friend lately, who was once highly prejudiced against Election, ingenuously confessed, that he used to think St. Paul himself was mistaken, or that he was not truly translated.

Indeed, honoured sir, it is plain, beyond all contradiction, that St. Paul, through the whole eighth of Romans, is speaking of the privileges of those only who are really in Christ. And let any unprejudiced person read what goes before, and what follows your text, and he must confess the word *all* only signifies those that are in Christ; and the latter part of the text plainly proves what, I find, dear Mr. Wesley will by no means grant; I mean, the final perseverance of the children of God—“He that spared not his own Son, but freely gave him for us all, (*i. e.* all Saints;) how shall he not, with him, also freely give us all things?”—*Grace*, in particular, to enable us to persevere, and every thing else necessary to carry us home to our Father’s heavenly kingdom.

Had any one a mind to prove the doctrine of Election, as well as of *Final Perseverance*, he could hardly wish for

a text more fit for his purpose than that which you have chosen to *disprove* it. One that does not know you, would suspect you yourself was sensible of this: for, after the first paragraph, I scarce know whether you have mentioned it so much as once, through your whole sermon.

But your discourse, in my opinion, is as little to the purpose as your text; and, instead of warping, does but more and more confirm me in the belief of the doctrine of God's Eternal Election.

I shall not mention how illogically you have proceeded. Had you wrote clearly, you should first, honoured sir, have proved your proposition—"That God's Grace is free to all;" and then, by way of inference, exclaimed against what you call the *horrible decree*. But you knew people (because *Arminianism*, of late, has so much abounded amongst us) were generally prejudiced against the doctrine of Reprobation; and therefore thought, if you kept up their dislike of that, you could overthrow the doctrine of election entirely. For, without doubt, the doctrine of Election and Reprobation must stand or fall together.

But, passing by this, as also your equivocal definition of the word *Grace*, and your false definition of the word *Free*; and that I may be as short as possible, I frankly acknowledge, I believe the doctrine of Reprobation, that God intends to give saving Grace, through Jesus Christ, only to a certain number; and that the rest of mankind, after the fall of Adam, being justly left of God to continue in sin, will at last suffer that eternal death which is its proper wages.

This is the established doctrine of Scripture: and acknowledged as such in the 17th Article of the Church of England, as Bishop Burnet himself confesses—yet dear Mr. Wesley absolutely denies it.

But the most important objections which you have urged against this Doctrine, as reasons why you reject it, being seriously considered, and faithfully tried by the word of God, will appear to be of no force at all. Let the matter be humbly and calmly reviewed, as to the following heads.

"*First*, You say, "If this be so, (*i. e.* if there be an "Election) then is all preaching vain: it is needless to

“them that are elected; for they, whether with preaching or without, will infallibly be saved. Therefore the end of preaching, to save souls, is void with regard to them. As it is useless to them that are not elected, for they cannot possibly be saved; they, whether with preaching or without, will infallibly be damned. The end of preaching is therefore void with regard to them likewise. So that, in either case, our preaching is vain, and your hearing also vain.” Page 10th Paragraph the 9th.

Oh, dear sir, what kind of reasoning, or rather sophistry, is this! Hath not God, who hath appointed salvation for a certain number, appointed also the preaching of the word, as a means to bring them to it? Does any one hold Election in any other sense? And if so, how is preaching needless to them that are elected, when the Gospel is designed by God himself to be the power of God unto their eternal salvation? And since we know not who are elect, and who reprobate, we are to preach promiscuously to all; for the word may be useful, even to the non-elect, in restraining them from much wickedness and sin. However, it is enough to excite to the utmost diligence in preaching and hearing, when we consider that, by these means, some, even as many as the Lord hath ordained to eternal life, shall certainly be quickened, and enabled to believe. And who that attends, especially with reverence and care, can tell but he may be found of that happy number?

Secondly, You say, “that it (viz. the doctrine of Election and Reprobation) directly tends to destroy that holiness which is the end of all the ordinances of God. For, (says the dear mistaken Mr. Wesley) it wholly takes away those first motives to follow after it, so frequently proposed in Scripture. The hope of future reward, and fear of punishment; the hope of Heaven, and fear of Hell, &c.” Page 11th.

I thought one, that carries Perfection to such an exalted pitch as dear Mr. Wesley does, would know that a true lover of the Lord Jesus Christ would strive to be holy for the sake of being holy, and work for Christ out of love and gratitude, without any regard to the rewards of Heaven, or fear of Hell. You remember, dear sir, what Scougall says—“Love’s a more powerful motive, that

“does them move.” But passing by this, and granting that rewards and punishments (as they certainly are) may be motives from which a christian may be honestly stirred up to act for God. how does the doctrine of Election destroy these motives? Do not the elect know, that the more good works they do, the greater will be their reward? And is not that encouragement enough to set them upon, and cause them to persevere in working for Jesus Christ? And how does the doctrine of Election destroy Holiness? Who ever preached any other Election than what the Apostle preached, when he said—“Chosen through sanctification of the Spirit?” Nay, is not Holiness made a mark of our Election by all that preach it? And how, then, can the doctrine of Election destroy holiness?

The instance which you bring to illustrate your assertion, indeed, dear sir, is quite impertinent. For you say—“If a sick man knows that he must unavoidably die or unavoidably recover, though he knows not which, it is not reasonable to take any physic at all.” Page 11. Dear sir, what absurd reasoning is here! Was you ever sick in your life? If so, did not the bare probability or possibility of your recovering, though you knew it was unalterably fixed that you must live or die, encourage you to take physic? For how did you know but that very physic might be the means God intended to recover you by? Just thus it is as to the doctrine of Election. “I know that it is unalterably fixed.” may one say, “that I must be damned or saved. But since I know not which for a certainty, why should I not strive, though at present in a state of nature, since I know not but this striving may be the means God has intended to bless, in order to bring me into a state of grace?” Dear sir, consider these things. Make an impartial application; and then judge what little reason you had to conclude the 10th paragraph, page 12, in these words—“So directly does this doctrine tend to shut the very gate of holiness in general, to hinder unholy men from ever approaching thereto, or striving to enter in thereat!”

“As directly,” (paragraph 11.) say you, “does the doctrine tend to destroy several particular branches of holiness, such as Meekness, Love, &c.” I shall say little, dear sir, in answer to this paragraph. Dear Mr. Wesley,

perhaps, has been disputing with some warm, narrow-spirited men that held Election, and then infers, that their warmth and narrowness of spirit was owing to their principles. But does not dear Mr. Wesley know many dear-children of God, who are Predestinarians, and yet are meek, lowly, pitiful, courteous, tender-hearted, of a Catholic spirit, and kind, and hope to see the most vile and profligate of men converted? And why? Because they know God saved them by an act of his electing love, and they know not but he may have elected those who now seem to be the most abandoned. But dear sir, we must not judge of the truth of principles in general, nor of this of Election in particular, entirely from the practice of some that profess to hold them. If so, I am sure much might be said against your own. For I appeal to your own heart, whether or not you have not felt in yourself, or observed in others, a narrow-spiritedness, and some disunion of soul, towards those that hold particular redemption? If so, then, according to your own rule, *Universal Redemption* is wrong, because it destroys several branches of holiness, such as Meekness, Love, &c. But not to insist upon this, I beg you would observe, that your inference is entirely set aside by the force of the Apostle's argument, and the language which he expressly uses: For, Col. iii. 12, and 13, he says, *Put on, therefore, (as the Elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.* Here we see that the Apostle exhorts them to put on bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, &c. upon this consideration, namely, because they were elect of God. And all who have experimentally felt this doctrine in their hearts, feel that these graces are the genuine effects of their being elected of God.

But, perhaps, dear Mr. Wesley may be mistaken in this point, and call that passion, which is only zeal for God's truths. You know, dear sir, the Apostle exhorts us to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints;" and therefore you must not condemn all that appear zealous for the doctrine of Election, as narrow-

spirited or persecutors, because they think it their duty to oppose you. I am sure, I love you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and think I could lay down my life for your sake; but yet, dear sir, I cannot help strenuously opposing your errors upon this important subject, because I think you warmly, though not designedly, oppose the truth, as it is in Jesus. May the Lord remove the scales of prejudice from off the eyes of your mind, and give you a zeal according to true christian knowledge!

Thirdly, Says your sermon, page 13th, paragraph 12—
 “This doctrine tends to destroy the comforts of religion,
 & the happiness of christianity, &c.”

But how does Mr. Wesley know this, who never believed Election? I believe, they who have experienced it, will agree with our 17th Article, “That the godly consolation of Predestination, and Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, unspeakable comfort, to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it does greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God, &c.” This plainly shows that our godly Reformers did not think Election destroyed holiness, or the comforts of religion. As for my own part, this doctrine is my daily support. I should utterly sink under a dread of my impending trials, was I not firmly persuaded that God has chosen me in Christ from before the foundation of the world; and that now being effectually called, he will suffer none to pluck me out of his Almighty Hand.

You proceed thus—“This is evident as to all those who believe themselves to be reprobate, or only suspect or fear it; all the great and precious promises are lost to them; they afford them no ray of comfort.”

In answer to this, let me observe, that none living, especially none who are desirous of salvation, can know that they are not of the number of God's elect. None but the unconverted can have any just reason so much as to fear it. And would dear Mr. Wesley give comfort, or dare you apply the precious promises of the Gospel, being

children's bread, to men in a natural state, while they continue so? God forbid! What if the doctrine of Election and Reprobation does put some upon doubting? So does that of Regeneration. But is not this doubting a good means to put them upon searching and striving, and that striving a good means to make their Calling and their Election sure? This is one reason, among many others, why I admire the doctrine of Election, and am convinced that it should have a place in Gospel Ministry, and should be insisted on with faithfulness and care. It has a natural tendency to rouse the soul out of its carnal security, and therefore many carnal men cry out against it; whereas *Universal Redemption* is a notion sadly adapted to keep the soul in its lethargic, sleepy condition; and therefore so many natural men admire and applaud it.

Your 13th, 14th, and 15th paragraphs, come next to be considered. "The witness of the Spirit," (you say, paragraph 14th, page 14) Experience shews to be much obstructed by this doctrine." But, dear sir, whose experience? Not your own; for in your Journal, from your embarking for Georgia to your return to London, page the last, you seem to acknowledge that you have it not, and therefore you are no competent judge in this matter: You must mean, then, the experience of others. For you say in the same paragraph—"Even in those, who have tasted of that good gift, who yet have soon lost it again," (I suppose you mean lost the *sense* of it again) "and fallen back into doubts and fears, and darkness, even horrible darkness, that might be felt, &c." Now as to the darkness of desertion, was not this the case of Jesus Christ himself, after he had received an unanswerable unction of the Holy Ghost? *Was not his soul exceeding sorrowful, even unto death, in the garden?* And was he not surrounded with an horrible darkness, even "a darkness that might be felt," when on the Cross he cried out; "*My God! My God! Why hast thou forsaken me?*" And that all his followers are liable to the same, is it not evident from Scripture? For says the Apostle, "*He was tempted in all things like unto his brethren, that he might be able to succour those that are tempted.*" And is not their liableness thereunto well consistent with that conformity to him in suffering, which his members are to

bear? Why then should persons falling into darkness, af-
 they have received the witness of the spirit, be any argu-
 ment against the doctrine of Election? "Yes, (you say)
 " many, very many of those that hold it not in all parts of
 " the earth, have enjoyed the uninterrupted witness of the
 " spirit, the continual light of God's countenance, from
 " the moment wherein they first believed for many months
 " or years to this very day." But how does dear Mr.
 Wesley know this? Has he consulted the experience of
 many, very many, in all parts of the earth? Or, could he
 be sure of what he hath advanced without sufficient
 grounds, would it follow, that their being kept in this light
 is owing to their not believing the doctrine of Election? No;
 this, according to the sentiments of our church,
 " greatly confirms and establishes a true christian's faith
 " of eternal salvation through Christ;" and is an anchor
 of hope, both sure and stedfast, when he walks in dark-
 ness and sees no light, as certainly he may, even after he
 hath received the witness of the spirit, whatever you or
 others may unadvisedly assert to the contrary. Then to
 have respect to God's everlasting covenant, and to throw
 himself upon the free distinguishing love of that God
 who changeth not, will make him lift up the hands that
 hang down, and strengthen the feeble knees. But with-
 out the belief of the doctrine of Election, and the immu-
 tability of the free love of God, I cannot see how it is
 possible that any should have a comfortable assurance of
 eternal salvation. What could it signify to a man whose
 conscience is thoroughly awakened, and who is warned in
 good earnest to seek deliverance from the wrath to come,
 though he should be assured that all his past sins are for-
 given, and that he is now a child of God; if, notwithstand-
 ing this, he may hereafter become a child of the Devil,
 and be cast into Hell at last? Could such an assurance
 yield any solid, lasting comfort, to a person convinced of
 the corruption and treachery of his own heart, and of the
 malice, subtlety, and power of Satan? No! That which
 alone deserves the name of a *full assurance of Faith*, is
 such an assurance as emboldens the believer, under the
 sense of his interest in distinguishing love, to give the
 challenge to all his adversaries, whether men or devils,
 and that with regard to all their future as well as present

attempts to destroy ; saying with the Apostle, " Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's Elect ? It is God that justifies me ? It is Christ that died ; yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for me. Who shall separate me from the love of Christ ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword ? Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror, through Him that loved me. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord."

This, dear Sir, is the triumphant language of every soul that has attained a full assurance of faith. And this assurance can only arise from a belief of God's electing, everlasting love. That many have an assurance that they are in Christ to-day, but take no thought for, or are not assured they shall be in him to-morrow, nay, to all eternity, is rather their imperfection and unhappiness than their privilege. I pray God bring all such to a sense of his eternal love, that they may no longer build upon their own faithfulness, but on the unchangeableness of that God whose gifts and callings are without repentance. For those whom God has once justified, he also will glorify. I observed before, dear Sir, it is not always a safe rule to judge of the truth of principles from people's practice. And therefore, supposing all that held *Universal Redemption* in your way of explaining it, after they received faith, enjoyed ~~the~~ *the continual, uninterrupted light of God's countenance*, it does not follow, that this is a fruit of their principle : for that, I am sure, has a natural tendency to keep the soul in darkness forever ; because the creature thereby is taught, that his being kept in a state of salvation is owing to his own free will. And what a sandy foundation is that for a poor creature to build his hopes of perseverance upon ! Every relapse into sin, every surprise by temptation, must throw him " into doubts and fears, into horrible darkness, even darkness that may be felt." Hence it is, that the letters which have been lately sent me by those who hold *Universal Redemption*, are dead and life-

less, dry and inconsistent, in comparison of those I receive from persons on the contrary side. Those who settle in the *universal* scheme, though they might begin in the spirit, whatever they may say to the contrary, are ending in the flesh, and building up a righteousness founded on their own free-will; whilst the others triumph in hopes of the glory of God, and build upon God's never-failing promise and unchangeable love, even when his sensible presence is withdrawn from them. But I would not judge of the truth of Election by the experience of any particular persons: if I did, (O bear with me in this foolishness of boasting!) I think I myself might glory in Election. For these five or six years, I have received the witness of God's spirit. Since that, blessed be God, I have not doubted a quarter of an hour of having a saving interest in Jesus Christ. But with grief and humble shame I do acknowledge, I have fallen into sin often since that. Though I do not, dare not, allow of any one transgression, yet hitherto I have not been (nor do I expect that while I am in this present world I ever shall be) able to live one day perfectly free from all defects and sin. And since the scriptures declare, *that there is not a just man upon earth, no not among those of the highest attainments in Grace, that doeth good, and sinneth not*; we are sure that this will be the case of all the children of God. The universal experience and acknowledgment of this, among the godly in every age, is abundantly sufficient to confute the error of those who hold it in an absolute sense, *that after a man is born again, he cannot commit sin; especially since the Holy Ghost condemns the persons who say they have no sin, as deceiving themselves, as being destitute of the truth, and making God a liar*, 1 Epist. John i. 8, 10. I have been also in heaviness through manifold temptations, and expect to be often so before I die. Thus were the Apostles and primitive christians themselves. Thus was Luther, that man of God, who, as far as I can find, did not, peremptorily at least, hold Election; and the great John Arndt was in the utmost perplexity a quarter of an hour before he died; and yet he was no Predestinarian. And if I must speak freely, I believe your fighting so strenuously against the doctrine of Election, and pleading so vehemently for a sinless perfection, are among the rea-

sons or culpable causes, why you are kept out of the liberties of the Gospel, and that full assurance of faith, which they enjoy, who have experimentally tasted and daily feed upon God's electing, everlasting love.

But, perhaps, you may say, that Luther and Arndt were no christians, at least very weak ones. I know you think meanly of Abraham, though he was eminently called the friend of God; and I believe also of David, the man after God's own heart. No wonder, therefore, that, in a letter you sent me not long since, you should tell me, "That no Baptist or Presbyterian writer whom you have read, knew any thing of the liberties of Christ." What! neither Bunyan, Henry, Flavel, Halyburton, or none of the New-England and Scotch divines! See, dear sir, what narrow-spiritedness and want of charity arise from your principles! and then do not cry out against Election any more, on account of its being "destructive of meekness and love!"

Fourthly, I shall now proceed to another head. Again, says the dear Mr. Wesley, page 15. paragraph 16. "How uncomfortable a thought is this, that thousands and millions of men, without any preceding offence or fault of theirs, were unchangeably doomed to everlasting burnings!"

But who ever asserted, that thousands and millions of men, without any preceding offence or fault of theirs, were unchangeably doomed to everlasting burnings? Do not they who believe God's dooming men to everlasting burnings, also believe that God looked upon them as men fallen in Adam? and that that decree which ordained the punishment. first regarded the crime by which it was deserved? How then are they doomed without any preceding fault? Surely Mr. Wesley will own God's justice in imputing Adam's sin to his posterity; and also that, after Adam fell, and his posterity in him, God might justly have passed them ALL by, without sending his own Son to be our Saviour for ANY ONE. Unless you heartily agree to both these points, you do not believe original sin aright. If you do own them, then you must acknowledge the doctrine of Election and Reprobation to be highly just and reasonable: for, if God might justly impute Adam's sin to all, and afterwards have passed by all, then he might

Justly pass by *some*. Turn on the right-hand, or on the left, you are reduced to an inextricable dilemma. And, if you would be consistent, you must either give up the doctrine of the Imputation of Adam's sin, or receive the amiable doctrine of Election, with a holy and righteous reprobation, as its consequent: for, whether you can believe it or no, the word of God abides faithful.—*The election has obtained it, and the rest were blinded.*

Your 17th Paragh. I pass over. What has been said on Paragh. the 9th and 10th, with little alteration, will answer it. I shall only say, it is the doctrine of Election that mostly presses me to abound in good works. I am made willing to suffer all things for the elect's sake.—This makes me preach with comfort, because I know salvation does not depend on man's free-will, but the Lord makes them willing in the day of his power; and can make use of me to bring some of his elect home, when and where he pleases. But,

Fifthly, You say, Paragh. 18, Page 17—"This doctrine has a direct, manifest tendency, to overthrow the whole christian religion. For, (say you) supposing that eternal, unchangeable decree, one part of mankind must be saved, though the christian revelation were not in being."

But, dear Sir, how does that follow, since it is only by the christian revelation that we are acquainted with God's design of saving his Church by the death of his Son? Yea, it is settled in the Everlasting Covenant, that this salvation shall be applied to the elect through the knowledge and faith of him; as the prophet says, *By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many*, Isa. liii 11. How, then, has the doctrine of Election a direct tendency to overthrow the whole christian revelation? Who ever thought, that God's declaration to Noah, that seed-time and harvest should never cease, could afford an argument for the neglect of ploughing or sowing? or that the unchangeable purpose of God, that harvest should not fail, rendered the heat of the sun, or the influence of the heavenly bodies, unnecessary to produce it? No more does God's absolute purpose of saving his chosen preclude the necessity of the gospel revelation, or the use of any of the means through which he has determined the decree shall

take effect. Nor will the right understanding, or the reverent belief of God's decree, ever allow or suffer a christian, in any case, to separate the means from the end, or the end from the means. And since we are taught by the revelation itself, that this was intended and given by God as a means of bringing home his elect, we therefore receive it with joy, prize it highly, using it in faith; and endeavor to spread it through all the world, in the full assurance that wherever God sends it, sooner or later, it shall be savingly useful to all the elect within its call. How, then, in holding this doctrine, do we join with modern unbelievers in making the Christian Revelation unnecessary? No, dear Sir, you mistake. Infidels of all kinds are on your side of the question. Deists, Arians, Socinians, arraign God's sovereignty, and stand up for Universal Redemption. I pray God, dear Mr. Wesley's Sermon, as it has grieved the hearts of many of God's children, may not also strengthen the hands of many of his most avowed enemies! Here I could almost lie down and weep! *O, tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice, lest the sons of unbelief should triumph!*

Farther, you say, page 18th, paragraph. 19th—"This doctrine makes revelation contradict itself." For instance, say you, "The asserters of this doctrine interpret that text of Scripture, *Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated*, as implying that God, in a literal sense, hated Esau and all the reprobates from eternity!" And when considered as *fallen in Adam*, were they not objects of his hatred? And might not God, of his own good pleasure, love or shew mercy to Jacob and the elect, and yet at the same time do the reprobate no wrong? But you say, "God is love." And cannot God be love, unless he shews the same mercy to all?

Again, says dear Mr. Wesley, "They infer from that text, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy*, that God is mercy only to some men, *viz.* the elect, and that he has mercy for those only; flatly contrary to which is the whole tenor of the Scripture, as is that express declaration in particular, *The Lord is loving to every man, and his mercy is over all his works.*" And so it is, but not his saving mercy. God is loving to every man, he

sends his rain upon the evil and upon the good. But you say, "God is no respecter of persons." No! For every one, whether Jew or Gentile, that believeth on Jesus, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. *But he that believeth not shall be damned.* For God is no respecter of persons, i. e. upon the account of any outward condition or circumstance in life whatever. Nor does the doctrine of election in the least suppose him to be so; but as the sovereign Lord of all, who is debtor to none, he has a right to do what he will with his own, and dispense his favours to what objects he sees fit, merely at his pleasure. And his supreme right herein is clearly and strongly asserted in those passages of Scripture, where he says, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and have compassion on whom I will have compassion,* Rom. ix. 15. Exodus, xxxiii. 19.

Farther, in page 19th, you represent us as inferring from the text—"The children not being yet born, neither having done good or evil, that the purpose of God, according to election, might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth; it was said unto her, (unto Rebecca) *The elder shall serve the younger;*"—that our predestination to life no way depends on the fore-knowledge of God. But who infers this, dear Sir? For if fore-knowledge signifies approbation, as it does in several parts of scripture, then we confess that predestination and election do depend on God's fore-knowledge. But if by God's fore-knowledge you understand God's foreseeing some good works done by his creature as the foundation or reason of chusing them, and therefore electing them; then we say that, in this sense, predestination does not any way depend on God's fore-knowledge. But I referred you, at the beginning of this letter, to Dr. Edwards's *Veritas Redux*, which I recommended to you in a late letter, with Elisha Cole on *God's Sovereignty*. Be pleased to read those; and also the excellent sermons of Mr. Cooper, of Boston, in New-England, which I also sent you, and I doubt not but you will see all your objections answered. Though I would observe, that after all our reading on both sides the question, we shall never in this life be able to search out God's decrees to perfection. No: we must humbly adore what we cannot comprehend; and, with

the great Apostle, at the end of our enquiries, cry out, *Oh! the depth, &c.* Or with our Lord, when he was admiring God's Sovereignty, "*Even so Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.*"

However, it may not be amiss to take notice, that if those texts "*God willeth that none should perish—I have no pleasure in him that dieth,*" and such like, be taken in their strictest sense, then no one will be damned.

But here's the distinction: God taketh no pleasure in the death of sinners, so as to delight simply in their death; but he delights to magnify his justice, by inflicting the punishment which their iniquities have deserved—as a righteous judge, who takes no pleasure in condemning a criminal, may yet justly command him to be executed, that law and justice may be satisfied, even though it be in his power to procure him a reprieve.

I would hint farther, that you unjustly charge the doctrine of *Reprobation* with blasphemy; whereas the doctrine of *Universal Redemption*, as you set it forth, is really the highest reproach upon the dignity of the Son of God, and the merit of his blood. Consider, therefore, whether it be not blasphemy rather, to say, as you do, (page 20.) "Christ not only died for those that are saved, but also for those that perish." The text you have misapplied to gloss over this, see explained by Ridgely, Edwards, Henry; and I purposely omit answering your texts myself, that you may be brought to read such treatises, which, under God, would shew you your error. You cannot make good this assertion, "That Christ died for them that perish," without holding (as Peter Boehler, one of the Moravian brethren, in order to make out *Universal Redemption*, lately frankly confessed in a letter,) "That all the damned souls would hereafter be brought out of Hell." I cannot think Mr. Wesley is thus minded. And yet, without this can be proved, *Universal Redemption*, taken in a literal sense, falls entirely to the ground. For how can *all* be universally redeemed, if *all* are not finally saved?

Dear Sir, For Jesus Christ's sake, consider how you dishonor God by denying election. You plainly make salvation depend, not on God's *Free Grace*, but on man's *Free Will*. And it is more than probable, Jesus Christ

would not have had the satisfaction of seeing the fruit of his death in the eternal salvation of one soul. Our preaching would then be vain, and all invitations for people to believe in him, would also be in vain.

But blessed be God, our Lord knew for whom he died. There was an eternal compact between the Father and Son. A certain number was then given him, as the purchase and reward of his obedience and death. For these he prayed; (John, xvii.) and not for the world. For these, and these only, he is now interceding, and with their salvation he will be fully satisfied.

I purposely omit making any farther particular remarks on the several last pages of your sermon. Indeed, had not your name, dear sir, been prefixed to the sermon, I could not have been so uncharitable as to think you were the author of such sophistry. You beg the question, in saying that God has declared, (notwithstanding you own, I suppose, some will be damned) that he would save all, *i. e.* every *individual* person. You take it for granted (for solid proof you have none) that God is unjust, if he passes by any; and then you exclaim against the *horrible decree*. And yet, as I before hinted, in holding the doctrine of *Original Sin*, you profess to believe that he might justly have passed by all.

Dear, dear sir! O be not offended! For Christ's sake, be not rash! Give yourself to reading. Study the Covenant of Grace. Down with your carnal reasoning. Be a little child. And then, instead of pawning your salvation, as you have done in a late Hymn-Book, if the doctrine of *Universal Redemption* be not true; instead of talking of sinless perfection, as you have done in the Preface to that Hymn-Book, and making man's salvation depend on his own free-will, as you have in this sermon; you will compose a Hymn in praise of sovereign, distinguishing love. You will caution believers against striving to work a perfection out of their own hearts; and print another sermon the reverse of this, and entitle it, *Free Grace* indeed. *Free*, because not *free to all*; but *free*, because God may withhold or give it to whom and when he pleases.

Till you do this, I must doubt whether or not you know yourself. In the mean while, I cannot but blame you for censuring the clergy of our Church for not keeping to

their Articles, when you yourself, by your principles, positively deny the 9th, 10th, and 17th. Dear sir, these things ought not so to be. God knows my heart, as I told you before, so I declare again, nothing but a single regard to the honour of Christ has forced this Letter from me. I love and honor you for his sake ; and, when I come to judgment, will thank you, before men and angels, for what you have, under God, done for my soul.

There, I am persuaded. I shall see dear Mr. Wesley, convinced of *election* and everlasting love. And it often fills me with pleasure, to think how I shall behold you casting your crown down at the feet of the Lamb ; and, as it were, filled with a holy blushing for opposing the Divine Sovereignty in the manner you have done.

But I hope the Lord will shew you this before you go hence. O how do I long for that day ! If the Lord should be pleased to make use of this Letter for that purpose, it would abundantly rejoice the heart of, dear and honored Sir,

Your affectionate, though unworthy,

Brother and servant in Christ,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

EXTRACTS

FROM MR. WHITEFIELD'S JOURNALS.

Bristol, Monday, July 9, 1740. On Thursday I received a letter from the Bishop of Gloucester, in which his Lordship affectionately admonished me, to exercise my authority I received in the manner it was given me. His Lordship being of opinion, that I ought to preach the gospel only in the congregation wherein I was lawfully appointed thereunto.

To-day I sent his Lordship the following Answer.

THE ANSWER.

My Lord,

“I thank your Lordship for your Lordship’s kind Letter.—My frequent removes from place to place prevented my answering it sooner. I am greatly obliged to your Lordship, in that you are pleased to watch over my soul, and to caution me against acting contrary to the commission given me at Ordination. But if the commission we then receive, obliges us to preach no where but in that parish which is committed to our care, then all persons act contrary to their commission when they preach occasionally in any strange place.—And consequently, your Lordship equally offends when you preach out of your own Diocese. As for inveighing against the Clergy (without a cause) I deny the charge. What I say I am ready to make good whenever your Lordship pleases. Let those that bring reports to your Lordship about my preaching, be brought face to face, and I am ready to give them an answer.—St. Paul exhorts Timothy, *not to receive an accusation against an Elder under two or three witnesses.* And even Nicodemus could say, *the Law suffered no man to be condemned unheard.* I shall only add, that I hope your Lordship will inspect into the lives of your other Clergy, and censure them for being *over remiss*, as much as you censure me for being *over righteous*.”

It is their falling from their Articles, and not preaching the truth as it is Jesus, that has excited the present zeal of (whom they in derision call) *the Methodist Preachers*. Dr. Stebbing's Sermon, (for which I thank your Lordship) confirms me more and more in my opinion, that I ought to be instant in season and out of season. For to me, he seems to know no more of the true nature of Regeneration, than Nicodemus did when he came to Jesus by night. Your Lordship may observe, that he does not speak a word of Original Sin, or the dreadful consequences of our Fall in Adam, upon which the doctrine of the New-Birth is entirely founded. No; like other polite preachers, he seems to think, in the very beginning of his Discourse, that St. Paul's description of the wickedness of the Heathen is only to be referred, to them of past ages. Whereas I affirm, we are all included as much under the guilt and consequences of sin as they were, and if any Man preach any other doctrine, he shall bear his punishment whosoever he be. Again, My Lord, the Doctor entirely mistakes us when we talk of the *sensible* operations of the Holy Ghost. He understands us just as those carnal Jews understood Jesus Christ, who, when our Lord talked of giving them that bread which came down from heaven, said, *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* Indeed I know not that we do use the word *sensible*, when we are talking of the operations of the Spirit of God.—But if we do, we do not mean, that God's Spirit does manifest itself to our *senses*, but that it may be perceived by the soul, as really, as is any sensible impression made upon the body. But to disprove this the Doctor brings our Lord's allusion to the wind in the third of St. John, which is one of the best texts he could urge to prove it. For if the analogy of our Lord's Discourse be carried on, we shall find it amounts to thus much:—That although the operations of the Spirit of God can no more be accounted for, than how the wind cometh and whither it goeth; yet may they be as easily felt by the soul as the wind may be felt by the body. My Lord, indeed we speak what we know.—But, says the Doctor, 'These men have no proof to offer for their *inward* manifestations.' What proof, my Lord, does the Doctor require; would he have us raise dead bodies? Have we not done greater things than

these? I speak with all humility, has not God by our ministry raised many dead souls to a spiritual life. Verily, if men will not believe the evidence God has given that he sent us, neither would they believe though one rose from the dead. Besides, my Lord, the Doctor charges us with things we are entire strangers to, such as the denying men the use of God's creatures—encouraging abstinence, prayer, &c. to the neglect of the duties of our stations. Lord lay not this sin to his charge. Again, he says, 'I suppose Mr. Benjamin Seward to be a person *believing in Christ, and blameless in his conversation*, before what I call his conversion.' But this is a direct untruth.—For it was through the want of a *living faith in Jesus Christ*, which he now has, that he was not a Christian before, but a mere moralist. Your Lordship knows that our Article says, 'Works done without the Spirit of God, and true faith in Jesus Christ, have the nature of sin.' And such were all the works done by Mr. Benjamin Seward before the time mentioned in my Journal. Again, my Lord, the Doctor represents that as my opinion concerning Quakers in general, which I only meant of those I conversed with in particular.—But the Doctor, and the rest of my Reverend Brethren, are welcome to judge me as they please.—*Yet a little while, and we shall all appear before the great Shepherd of our souls.* There, there my Lord, shall it be determined who are his true ministers, and who are only wolves in Sheep's clothing. Our Lord, I believe, will not be ashamed to *confess us publicly in that day*.—I pray God we all may approve ourselves such faithful ministers of the New-Testament, that we may be able to lift up our heads with boldness. As for declining the work in which I am engaged, my blood runs chill at the very thoughts of it. I am as much convinced, it is my duty to act as I do, as that the sun shines at noon-day. I can foresee the consequences very well. They have already in one sense thrust us out of the Synagogues. By and by they will think it is doing God service to kill us.—But, my Lord, if you and the rest of the Bishops cast us out, our great and common Master will take us up.—Though all men should deny us, yet will not he.—And however you may censure us as evil doers, and disturbers of the peace, yet if we do suffer for our present way of

acting, your Lordship at the Great Day will find, that we suffer only for *Righteousness sake*. In patience therefore do I possess my soul. I willingly tarry the Lord's leisure. In the mean while I shall continually bear your Lordship's favours upon my Heart, and endeavor to behave, so as to subscribe myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Son,

And obliged Servant,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD."

Boston, Sept. 19, 1741. Slept pretty well, and in the morning perceived fresh emanations of the divine light break in upon and refresh my soul. Was visited by several gentlemen and ministers, and went to the Governor's with Esquire Willard, Secretary of the Province, a man fearing God, and with whom (though before unknown in person) I have corresponded some time. The Governor received me with the utmost respect: He seemed to savour the things which were of God, and desired me to see him as often as I could. At eleven I went to public worship at the church of England, and afterwards went home with the Commissary, who read prayers. He received me very courteously, and it being a day whereon the clergy of the established church met, I had an opportunity of conversing with five of them together. I think one of them began with me for calling "*That Tennent and his brethren faithful ministers of Jesus Christ.*" I answered, "I believed they were." They then questioned me about "the validity of the Presbyterian Ordination." I replied, "I believed it was valid." They then urged against me a passage in my first Journal, where I said, "That a Baptist Minister at Deal did not give a satisfactory answer concerning his mission." I answered, "Perhaps my sentiments were altered." "And is Mr. Wesley altered, said one, in his sentiments? For he was very strenuous for the church, and rigorous against all other forms of government when he was at Boston." I answered, "He was then a great bigot, but God has since enlarged his heart, and I believe he is now like-minded with me

"in this particular." I then urged, "That a Catholic Spirit was best, and that a Baptist minister had communicated lately with me at Savannah." And, "I suppose, says another, you would do him as good a turn, and would communicate with him." I answered, "Yes." I then urged, "That it was best to preach up the New Birth, and the power of godliness, and not to insist so much upon the form: For people would never be brought to one mind as to that; nor did Jesus Christ ever intend it." "Yes, but, says Doctor Cutler, he did." "How do you prove it." Why, says he, "Christ prayed *That all might be one, even as thou Father and I are one.*" I replied, "That was spoken of the inward union of the souls of believers with Jesus Christ, and not of the outward church." "That cannot be, says Dr. Cutler, for how then could it be said, *That the world might know that thou hast sent me?*" He then (taking it for granted that the Church of England was the only true Apostolical Church) drew a parallel between the Jewish and our Church, urging how God required all things to be made according to the pattern given in the Mount. I answered, "That before the parallel could be just, it must be proved, that every thing enjoined in our church was as much of a divine Institution as any rite or ceremony under the Jewish dispensation." I added further, "That I saw regenerate souls among the Baptists, among the Presbyterians, among the Independents, and among the Church folks, all children of God, and yet all born again in a different way of worship, and who can tell which is most evangelical?"— "What, says the Commissary, can you see Regeneration with your eyes?" or something to that purpose. Soon after we began to talk of the righteousness of Christ, and the Commissary said, "Christ was to make up the defects of our righteousness." I asked him, "Whether *conversion* was not instantaneous?" He was unwilling to confess it, but he having just before baptized an infant at public worship, I asked him, "Whether he believed that very instant in which he sprinkled the child with water, the Holy Ghost fell upon the child?" He answered, "Yes." "Then, said I, according to your own principles, regeneration is instantaneous, and since you

I will judge of the New Birth, by the fruits, pray watch
 that child, and see if it brings forth the fruits of the
 Spirit." I also said, "That if every child was really
 born again in baptism, then every baptized infant would
 be saved." "And so they are," says Doctor Cutler.
 "How do you prove that?" Why, says he, "The Ru-
 brick says, that all infants dying after baptism, before
 they have committed actual sin, are undoubtedly saved."
 I asked, "What text of scripture there was to prove it?"
 "Here, says he, (holding a Prayer-Book in his hand) the
 Church says so." We then just hinted at Predestina-
 tion. I said, I subscribed to the seventeenth Article of
 the Church in its literal sense with all my heart." We
 then talked a little about falling away finally from Grace.
 I said, "A true child of God, though he might fall foully,
 yet could never fall finally." But, says he, the Article
 says, "Men may fall away from grace given." But
 then, said I, observe what follows, "And by the grace of
 God they may rise again." Several other things of less
 consequence passed between us. But, being engaged to
 dine at my lodging, and finding how inconsistent they
 were, I took my leave, resolving they should not have an
 opportunity of denying me the use of their pulpits:
 However, they treated me with more civility than any set
 of our own clergymen have done for a long while. The
 Commissary very kindly urged me to dine with them:
 But being pre-engaged, I went to my lodging; and, in the
 afternoon, preached to about 4000 people in Dr. Colman's
 Meeting-House; and, as I afterwards was told by several,
 with great success. I exhorted and prayed with many
 that came to my lodgings, and inwardly rejoiced at the
 prospect there was of bringing many souls in Boston, to
 the saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. *Grant
 this, O Father, for thy dear Son's sake. Amen.*

Annapolis, Thursday, Dec. 6, 1740. Had a providential opportunity of writing some Letters last Night and this morning to England. Waited on Gov. Ogle, and was received with much civility. Went to pay my respects to Mr. Stirling, the minister of the parish, who happened not to be within; but whilst we were at dinner, he came with the greatest civility, offered me his pulpit, his house, or any thing he could supply me with. About four, he came and introduced me and my friends to a gentleman's house, where we had some useful conversation. Our discourse run chiefly on the *new-birth*, and the folly and sinfulness of those amusements, whereby the polite part of the world are so *fatally diverted* from the pursuit after *this one thing needful*. Some in company I believe thought me too strict, and were very strenuous in defence of what they called *innocent diversions*; but when I told them every thing was sinful which was not done with a single eye to God's glory, and that such entertainments not only discovered a levity of mind, but were contrary to the whole tenor of the gospel of Christ, they seemed somewhat convinced, at least I trust it set them upon *doubting*, and I pray God they may *doubt* more and more—for cards, dancing, and such like, draw the soul from God, and *lull it asleep* as much as drunkenness and debauchery. And every minister of Christ ought, with the authority of an apostle, to declare and testify the dreadful snare of the devil, whereby he leads many captive at his will, by the falsely called *innocent entertainments* of the polite part of the World; for women are as much enslaved to their *fashionable diversions*, as men are to their bottle and their hounds: self-pleasing, self-seeking, is the *ruling principle* in both; and therefore such things are to be spoken against, not only as so many *trifling amusements*, but as things which shew that the heart is *wholly alienated* from the Life of God. For if I may speak by my own, as well as others experience, as soon as ever the soul is stirred up to seek after God, it *cannot away with any such thing*; nothing but what leads towards God *can delight it*. And therefore, when in company, I love to lay the axe to the root of the tree, show the necessity of a thorough change

of heart, and then all things fall to the ground at once—
My friend, C. Wesley, well describes the misery of a
modern fine Lady in the following verses.

1 TIM. v. 6.

She that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.

HOW hapless is the applauded Virgin's lot,
Her God forgetting, by her God forgot !
Stranger to truth, unknowing to obey,
In error nurs'd, and disciplin'd to stray ;
Sworn with self-will, and principled with pride,
Sense all her good, and passion all her guide :
Pleasure its tide, and flatt'ry lends its breath,
And smoothly waft her to eternal death !

A goddess here, she sees her vot'ries meet,
Crowd to her shrine, and tremble at her feet ;
She hears their vows, believes their life and death
Hangs on the wrath and mercy of her breath ;
Supreme in fancy'd state she reigns her hour,
And glories in her plenitude of power.
Herself the only object worth her care,
Since all the kneeling world was made for her.
For her Creation all its stores displays ;
The silk worm's labour, and the diamond's blaze ;
Air, earth, and sea conspire to tempt her taste,
And ransack'd nature furnishes the feast.
Life's gaudiest pride attracts her willing eyes,
And balls, and theatres, and courts arise :
Italian Songsters pant, her ear to please,
Bid the first cries of infant reason cease,
Save her from thought, and lull her soul to peace. }

Deep sunk in sense th' imprison'd soul remains,
Nor knows its fall from God, nor feels its chains :
Unconscious still, sleeps on in error's night,
Nor strives to rise, nor struggles into light :
Heaven-born in vain, degen'rate cleaves to earth,
(No pangs experienc'd of the second birth)
She only fallen, yet unwaken'd found,
While all th' enthrall'd creation groans around !

Philadelphia, Sunday Nov. 25. Had great travail of soul, and struggling within myself about a text to preach from, and could not conceive the reason of such uncommon perplexity: At last I fixed on one for the morning, and trusted to God to direct me to one for the evening.— But before I came from Church God shewed me what I should do. For after I had done preaching, a young gentleman, once a minister of the Church of England, but now a Secretary to Mr. Penn, stood up with a loud voice, and warned the people against the doctrine I had been delivering, urging, that there was no such term as *imputed righteousness* in holy scripture; that such a doctrine put a stop to all goodness; that we were to be judged for our good works and obedience; and were commanded *to do and live*.—When he had ended, I denied his first proposition, and brought a text to prove an imputed righteousness was a scriptural expression; but thinking the Church an improper place for disputation, I said no more at that time. The portion of scripture appointed for the epistle, was Jer. xxiii. wherein were these words, *The Lord our righteousness*. Upon these I discoursed in the afternoon, and shewed how the Lord Jesus was to be *our whole righteousness*. Proved how the contrary doctrine overthrew all Divine revelation. Answered all the objections that were made against the doctrine of an imputed righteousness. Produced the Articles of our Church to illustrate it, and concluded with an exhortation to all to lay aside a Reasoning Infidelity; and to submit to Jesus Christ, who is the end of the law for *righteousness*, to every one that believeth. The verses at the beginning of the chapter out of which the text was taken, are very remarkable....(Jer. xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4.) God was pleased to fulfil that promise in me; for, blessed be his name, I was not dismayed. The word came with power; the Church was thronged within and without, all wonderfully attentive, and many, as I was informed, convinced that the Lord Christ was *our righteousness*. In the evening the gentleman came to me, but alas! was so very dark in all the fundamentals of christianity, and such an intire stranger to inward feelings, that I was obliged to say to him, *Art thou a Master of Israel, and knowest not these things? Lord, convict and convert him for thy infinite mercy's sake.*

SERMON I.

SOUL PROSPERITY.

3 JOHN i. 2.

Beloved, I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper, and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth.

WHAT a horrid blunder has one of the famous, or rather infamous, deistical writers made, when he says, that the gospel cannot be of God, because there is no such thing as friendship mentioned in it. Surely if he ever read the gospel, *having eyes he saw not, having ears he heard not*: but I believe the chief reason is, his heart being waxen gross, he could not understand; for this is so far from being the case, that the world never yet saw such a specimen of steady disinterested friendship, as was displayed in the life, example, and conduct of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.

John, the writer of this epistle, had the honor of leaning on his bosom, and of being called, by way of emphasis, *the disciple whom Jesus loved*; and that very disciple, which is very remarkable concerning him, though he was one of those whom the Lord himself named Sons of Thunder, Mark iv. 17, and was so suddenly, as bishop Hall observes, turned into a son of lightning, that he would have called down fire from heaven to consume his master's enemies; consequently, though he was of a natural fiery temper, yet the change in his heart was so remarkable, that if a judgment may be formed by his writings, he seems as full of love, if not fuller, than any of his fellow apostles. He learned pity and benevolence of the father of mercies; and to show how christian friendship is to be cultivated, he not only wrote letters to churches in general, even to those he never saw in the flesh, but private letters to particular saints, friends to whom he

was attached, and wealthy rich friends, whom God had, by his spirit, raised up to be helpers of the distressed. Happy would it be for us, if we could all learn that simplicity of heart which is displayed in these particular words; happy if we could learn this one rule, never to write a letter without something of Jesus Christ in it: for, as Mr. Henry observes, if we are to answer for idle words much more for idle letters; and if God has given us our pens, especially if he has given us *the pen of a ready writer*, it will be happy if we can improve our literary correspondence for his glory and one another's good. But what an unfashionable style, if compared to our modern ones, is that of the apostle to Gaius. The superscription *from the elder to the well-beloved Gaius, whom I love in the truth*; there is fine language for you! Many who call themselves Christ's disciples, would be ashamed to write so now. *I send this, and that, and the other; I send my compliments*. Observe what he styles himself, not as the pope;* but he styles himself the elder. A judicious expositor is of opinion, that all the other apostles were dead, and poor John left behind. I remember a remark of his, "the taller we grow, the lower we shall stoop." The apostle puts himself upon a level with the common elders of a church, that he might not seem to take start upon him, not to rule as a lion, but with a rod of love: *the elder to the well-beloved Gaius, whom I love in the truth*. This Gaius seems to be in our modern language, what we call a gentleman, particularly remarkable for his hospitality, *Gaius mine host*; and this Gaius was well-beloved—not only beloved, but well beloved; that is, one who I greatly esteem and am fond of; but then he shews likewise upon what this fondness is founded, *whom I love in the truth*. There are a great many people in writing say, *dear sir*, or *good sir*, and subscribe *your humble servant, sir*; and not one word of truth either in the beginning or end; but John and Gaius's love was in truth, not only in words, but in

* *Whether Universal Bishop, or Vicar of Christ, Supreme Head, Lord or Governor of the World, or a more blasphemous title, is uncertain, the writer not hearing distinctly the Latin words in which it was expressed.*

deed and in truth ; as if he had said, my heart goes along with my hand while I am writing, and it gives me pleasure in such a correspondence as this, or *whom I love for the truth's sake*, that is, whom I love for being particularly attached to the truth ; and then our friendship has a proper foundation, when the love of God and the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, is the basis and bond of it. One would think this was enough now ; the epistles originally were not divided into verses as now, that people may the better find out particular places, though perhaps not altogether so properly as they might. The apostle's saying *beloved*, is not needless tautology, but proves the strength of his affection ; *I wish that thou mayest prosper, and be in health. even as thy soul prospereth.* Gaius, it seems, at this time felt a weak constitution, or a bad habit of body : this may show, that the most useful persons, the choicest favorites of heaven, must not expect to be without the common infirmities of the human frame ? so far from this, that it is often found that a thousand useful christians have weakly constitutions. That great and sweet singer of Israel, Dr. Watts, I remember about two and thirty years ago told me that he had got no sleep for three months, but what was procured by the most exquisite art of the most eminent physicians ; and, my dear hearers, none but those that have such habits of body can sympathize with those that are under them. When we are in high spirits we think people might do if they would, but when brought down ourselves, we cannot ; but notwithstanding his body was in this condition, his soul prospered so eminently, so very eminently, that the apostle could not think it a greater mercy, or the church a greater blessing, than that his bodily health might be as vigorous as the health of his soul. I remember the great Col Gardiner, who had the honor of being killed in his country's cause, closes one of his last letters to me, with wishing I might enjoy a thriving soul in a healthy body ; but this is peculiar to the followers of Jesus, they find the soul prospers most when the body is worst ; and observe, he wishes him a prospering body above all things. that he might have joy and health with a prosperous soul ; for if we have a good heart, and good health at the same time, and our hearts are alive to God, we go on with a fresh

gale. I observe, that the soul of man in general must be made a partaker of a divine life before it can be said to prosper at all. The words of our text are particularly applicable to a renewed heart, to one that is really alive to God. When a tree is dead we don't so much as expect leaves from it, nor to see any beauty at all in a plant or flower that we know is absolutely dead; and therefore the foundation of the apostle's wish lies here, that the soul of Gaius, and consequently the souls of all true believers, have life communicated to them from the Spirit of the living God. Such a life may God of his infinite mercy impart to each of us! and I think, if I am not mistaken, and I believe I may venture to say that I am not, that where the divine life is implanted by the Spirit of the living God, that life admits of decrease and increase, admits of dreadful decays, and also of some blessed revivings. The rays of the divine life being once implanted, it will grow up to eternal life; the new creation is just like the old, when God said: *let there be light, and there was light*, which never ceased since the universe was made, and the favorite creature man was born. Upon a survey of his own works, God pronounced *every thing good, and entered into his rest*; so it will be with all those who are made partakers of the divine nature. *The water that I shall give him, shall be a well of water springing up into everlasting life.* My brethren, from our first coming into the world, till our passing out of it to *the spirits of just men made perfect*, all the Lord's children have found, some more, and others less, that they have had dreadful as well as blessed times, and all has been over-ruled to bring them nearer unto God: but I believe, I am sure, I speak to some this night, that if it was put to their choice, had rather know that their souls prospered, than to have ten thousand pounds left them: and it is supposed that we may not only know it ourselves, but that others may know it, *that their profiting, as Paul says, may appear to all.*—Because John says, *I wish above all things, that thy body may be in health, as thy soul prospers.* O, may all that converse with us see it in us. We may frequently sit under the gospel, but if we do not take a great deal of care, however orthodox we are, we shall fall into practical Antinomianism, and be contented that we were converted.

twenty or thirty years ago, and learn, as some Antinomians, *to live by faith*. Thank God, say some, we met with God so many months ago, but are not at all solicitous whether they meet with him any more; and there is not a single individual here that is savingly acquainted with Jesus Christ, but wishes his soul prospered more than his body.

The great question is, how shall I know that my soul prospers? I have been told that there is such a thing as knowing this, and that I can be conscious of it myself, and others too. It may not be mispending an hour, to lay down some marks whereby we may know whether our souls prosper or no. If there be any of you of an Antinomian turn of mind, (I don't know there are any of you) I don't know but you will be of the same mind of the man that came to me in Leaden-hall twenty-five years ago: Sir, says he, you preached upon the marks of the new birth. Marks, says I, yes, Sir: O thank God, says he, I am above marks, I don't mind marks at all: and you may be assured persons are upon the brink of Antinomianism, that say, away with your legal preaching. I wonder they don't say as they go along the streets, away with your dials, away with your dials, we don't want marks, we know what o'clock it is without any. If the marks upon the soul of a believer are like the sun-dial, there are marks to prove that we are upon the right foundation: if the sun does not shine on the sun-dial, there is no knowing what o'clock it is: but let it shine, and instantaneously you know the time of the day; this is not known when it is cloudy; and who dare to say but that a child of God, for want of the sun of righteousness shining upon his heart, may write bitter things against himself. A good man may have the vapours, as one Mr. Brown had, that wrote a book of good hymns, who was so vapourish, that nobody could make him believe he had a soul at all. Let the sun shine, the believer can see whether the sun is in the meridian at the sixth, ninth, or twelfth hour. O that there might be great searching of heart. I have been looking up to God for direction; I hope the preaching of this may be to awaken some, to call back some back-sliders, to awaken some sinners that don't care whether their souls prosper or no. I don't mean the Tabernacle

comers, or the Foundery comers, or the church, or dissenters, but I speak to all of you, of whatever denomination you are; God of his infinite mercy give you his Spirit. You that are believers, come, let us have that common name among us all; if we have got it, we go off well. If you want to know whether your souls prosper; let me ask you how it is between you and God, with respect to secret prayer? Good Mr. Bunyan says, if we are prayerless, we are Christless. None of God's people says he, come into the world still-born. Good Mr. Birket (whose commentary has gone through five or six and twenty editions; and yet I think if he was now alive, and to preach once or twice a day, they would cry, Away with his commentary, and preaching and all) speaks to the same purpose. *Come into the world still-born!* what language is that in a preacher's mouth? but it will do for those that like to use marks and signs. *I will pour out a spirit of grace and supplication,* says the Lord; and I will venture to say, the spirit of supplication will not be wanting. Persons under their first love dare not go without God; they go to God, not as the formalist does, not for fear of going to hell, or being damned. It is a mercy any thing drives to prayer; and a person under the spirit of bondage, that has been just brought to the liberty of the sons of God, goes freely to his heavenly father, under the discoveries and constraints of divine love. Come, I will appeal to yourselves; did not you, like a dear fond mother, if the child, the beloved child, made but the least noise in the world, O, says the mother, the dear child cries, I must go and hush it: so time was, when many hearkened to the call of God, and could no more keep from the presence of God in secret, than a fond mother from the presence of her dear child. Now if your souls do prosper, this connection between you and God will be kept up; I do not say that you will always have the same fervour as when you first set out; I do not say you will always be carried up into the third heavens; the animal spirits possibly will not admit of such solace; but you should enquire with yourselves, whether you would be easy to be out of God's company? Steal from behind your counter, and go and converse with God. Sir Thomas Abney, who was observable for keeping up constant pray-

er in his family, being asked how he kept up prayer that night he was sworn in Lord Mayor? Very well, says he, I got the company into my room, and entertained them, and when the time came, I told them I must leave them a little, while I went and prayed with my family, and returned again. God grant we may have many such Lord-Mayors. If our souls prosper, the same principle will reign in us, and make us conscientiously attend on the means of grace. It is a most dreadful mark of an enthusiastic turn of mind, when persons think they are so high in grace, that they think God they have no need of ordinances. Our being the children of God, is so far from being the cause of our wanting no ordinances, that, properly speaking, the ordinances are intended for the nourishing of the children of God; not only for the awaking the soul at first, but for the feeding of the soul afterwards. If the same nourishment the child receives before, feeds it after it is born; and as the manna never failed, but the children of Israel partook of it daily while in the wilderness, till they came to Canaan, so we shall want our daily bread, we shall want the God of grace and mercy to convey his divine life into our hearts, till we get into the heavenly Canaan. There faith will be turned into vision, and then we shall not want ordinances; and let people say what they will, if our souls prosper we shall be glad of ordinances, we shall love the place where God dwells; we shall not say, *such a one preaches, and I will not go*, but if we are among them we shall be glad of a good plain country dish, as well as a fine garnished desert; and if our souls prosper, we shall be fond of the messengers as well as the message: we shall admire as much to hear a good ram's-horn, such as blowed down the walls of Jericho, as a fine silver trumpet. So in all the ordinances of the Lord, that of the Lord's supper for example; if the soul does not attend thereon, it is an evidence that it does not prosper. It is a wonder if that soul has not done something to make it afraid to meet God at his table. *Adam, where art thou?* says the eternal Logos to his fallen creature, and every time we miss, whether we think of it or no, the Redeemer puts it down; but if our souls prosper, how shall we run to the table of the Lord, and be glad to come often to the commemoration of his death.

I will venture to affirm farther, that if your souls prosper, you will grow downwards. What is that? why you will grow in the knowledge of yourselves. I heard, when I was at Lisbon, that some people there began at the top of the house first. It is odd kind of preaching, that will do for the Papists, resting merely in externals. The knowledge of ourselves is the first thing God implants—*Lord, let me know myself*, was a prayer that one of the Fathers put up for sixteen years together; and if you have high thoughts of yourselves, you may know you are light-headed, you forget what poor silly creatures you are. As our souls prosper we shall be more and more sensible, not only of the outside, but of the inside; we first battle with the outward man, but as we advance in the divine life, we have nearer views of the chambers of imagery that are in our hearts; and one day after another we shall find more and more abomination there, and consequently we shall see more of the glory of Jesus Christ, the wonders of that Immanuel, who daily delivers us from the body of sin and death; and I mention this, because there is nothing more common, especially with young christians. I used formerly to have at least a hundred or two hundred in a day, who would come and say, O dear, I am so and so, I met with God; ah! that is quite well: a week after they would come and say, O, sir, it is all delusion, there was nothing in it; what is the matter? O never was such a wretch as I am, I never thought I had such a wicked heart. Oh! God cannot love; now, sir, all my fervor, and all that I felt is gone; and what then? does a tree never grow but when it grows upward? some trees I fancy grow downward; and the deeper you grow in the knowledge of God and his grace, that discovers the corruptions of your hearts. Do not you find that aged men look upon some former states. I know some people can't look back to see how many sins they have been guilty of; but if grace helps us to a sight of our inherent corruptions, it will make us weary of it; and lead us to the blood of Christ to cleanse us from it; consequently, if your souls prosper, the more you will fall in love with the glorious Redeemer, and with his righteousness. I never knew a person in my life that diligently used the word, and other means, but as they improved in grace, saw more

and more of the necessity of depending upon a better righteousness than their own. Generally when we first set out, we have got better hearts than heads; but if we grow in the divine life, our heads will grow as well as our hearts, and the Spirit of God leads out of abominable self, and causes us to flee more and more to that glorious and complete righteousness that Jesus Christ wrought out.

The more your souls prosper, the more you will see of the freeness and distinguishing nature of God's grace, that all is of grace. We are all naturally free-willers, and generally young ones say, (O we have found the Messiah, of whom Moses and the Prophets spoke; which is right, except the word *we* have found; for the believer a little after learns, that the Messiah had found him. I mention this, because we ought not to make persons offenders for a word; we should bear with young christians, and not knock a young child's brains out, because he cannot speak blank verse.

Let it not be forgotten also, that the more your souls prosper, the more you will get above the world. You cannot think that I mean you should be negligent about the things of this life. Nothing tries my temper more, than to see any about me idle; an idle person tempts the devil to tempt him. In the state of paradise Adam and Eve were to dress the garden, and not to be idle there; after the fall they were to till the ground: but if any body says that the Methodists think to be idle, they injure them. We tell people to rise and be at their work early and late, that they may redeem time to attend the word. If all that speak against the Methodists were as diligent, it would be better for their wives and families. What, do you think a true Methodist will be idle? no, he will be busy with his hands, he knows time is precious, and therefore he will work hard that he may have to give to them that need, and at the same time he will live above the world; and you know the earth is under your feet, so is the world. When he goes to sleep he will say, I care not whether I awake more. I can look back, and tell you of hundreds and hundreds that once seemed alive to God, and have been drawn away with a little filthy, nasty dirt. How many places are there empty here, that have been filled with persons that once were zealous in their atten-

dance? As a person the other day, to whose having a place it was objected, that he was a Methodist; no, says he, I have not been a Methodist these two years. I do not, for my part, wish people joy when they get money; only take care it does get into, and put your eyes out; if your money increases, let your zeal for good works increase. Perhaps some stranger will say, I thought you was against good works. I tell you the truth, I am against good works. Don't run away before I have finished my sentence; we are against good works being put in the room of Christ, as the ground of our acceptance; but we look upon it, if we have a right faith, our faith will work by love. Ever since I was a boy, I remember to have heard a story of a poor indigent beggar, who asked a clergyman to give him his alms, which being refused, he said, will you please, Sir, to give me your blessing; says he, God bless you: O, replied the beggar, you would not give me that if it was worth any thing. There are many who will talk friendly to you, but if they suppose you are come for any thing, they will run away as from a pick-pocket; whereas, if our souls prospered, we should *count it more blessed to give than to receive*. When we rise from our beds, this would be our question to ourselves, what can I do for God to-day? what can I do for the poor? have I two, or five, or ten talents? God help me to do for the poor as much as if I knew I was to live only this day.

In a word, if your souls prosper, my dear hearers, you will grow in love, there are some good souls, but very narrow souls; they are so afraid of loving people that differ from them, that it makes me uneasy to see it.—Party spirit creeps in among christians, and whereas, it was formerly said, *see how these christians love one another!* now it may be said, *see how these christians hate one another!* I declare from the bottom of my heart, that I am more and more convinced that the principles I have preached are the word of God. Pray, what do you do at Change; is there such a thing as a Presbyterian, or Independent, or Church-walk there? is there any Chambers there for the Presbyterians, and Independents, and Churchmen to deal in; People may boast of their wildfire-zeal for God, till they can't bear the sight of a person that dif-

fers from them. The apostle commends Gaius for his catholic love to strangers. That was a glorious saying of a good woman in Scotland, *Come in, says she, ye blessed of the Lord; I have a house that will hold a hundred, and a heart that will hold ten thousand. God give us such a heart; he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God.* I could mention twenty marks, and so go on, wire-drawing till nine or ten o'clock; but it is best to deal with our souls as with our bodies, to eat but a little at a time. It is so with preaching; though I don't proceed any farther in my discourse, God bless what has been said.

But is there a child of God here that can go away, without a drooping heart; I don't speak that you may think me humble: I love sincerity, inward and outward, and hate guile. When I think what God has done for me, how often he has pruned me, and dug and dunged about me, and when I think how little I have done for God, it makes me weep, if possible, tears of blood; it makes me cry, *O my leanness, my leanness*, as I expressed myself with my friend to day. This makes me long, if my strength of body would permit, to begin to be in earnest for my Lord. What say you, my dear friends, have all of you got the same temper? have you made the progress you ought to have done! O London! London! highly favored London! what would some people give for thy privileges? what would the people I was called to preach to but this day se'ennight? A good, a right honorable lady, about three and twenty miles off, has brought the gospel there. The people that I preached to, longed and thirsted after the same message; they said they thought they never heard the truth before. You have the manna poured out round the camp, and I am afraid you are calling it *light bread*; at least, I am afraid you have had a bad digestion. Consider of it, and for Jesus Christ's sake tremble for fear *God should remove his candlestick from among you.* Laborers are sick; those that did once labor are almost worn out, and others they only bring themselves into a narrow sphere, and so confine their usefulness. There are few that like to go out into the fields; broken heads and dead cats are no more the ornaments of a Methodist, but silk scarves. Those honorable badges

are now no more : the languor has got from the ministers to the people, and if you don't take care, we shall all fall dead together. The Lord Jesus rouse us, the Son of God rouse us all. Ye should show the world the way, and ye that have been Methodists of many years standing, show the young ones that have not the cross to bear as we once had, what ancient Methodism was.

As for you who are quite negligent about the prosperity of your souls, who only mind your bodies, who are more afraid of a pimple in your faces, than of the rottenness of your hearts ; that will say, O give me a good bottle and a fowl, and keep the prosperity of your souls to yourselves, You had better take care what you say, for fear God should take you at your word. I knew some tradesmen and farmers, and one had got a wife, perhaps with a fortune too, who prayed they might be excused, they never came to the supper, and God sent them to hell for it too ; this may be your case. I was told to-day of a young woman, that was very well on Sunday when she left her friends, when she came home was racked with pain, had an inflammation in her bowels, and is now a breathless corpse. Another that I heard of, a Christless preacher, that always minded his body, when he was near death, he said to his wife, I see hell opened for me, I see the damned tormented, I see such a one in hell that I debauched ; in the midst of his agony he said, I am coming to thee, I am coming, I must be damned, God will damn my soul, and died. Take care of jesting with God ; there is room enough in hell, and if you neglect the prosperity of your souls what will become of you ? what will you give for a grain of hope, when God requires your souls ? *awake thou that sleepest ; hark ! hark ! hark !* hear the work of the Lord, the living God. Help me, O ye children of God : I am come with a warrant from Jesus of Nazareth to night. Ye ministers of Christ that are here, help me with your prayers : ye servants of the living God, help with your prayers. O with what success did I preach in Moorfields when I had ten thousand of God's people praying for me ; pray to God to strengthen my body : don't be afraid I shall hurt myself to-night : I don't care what hurt I do myself, if God may bless it ; I can preach

but little, but may God bless that little. I weep and cry, and humble myself before my God daily for being laid aside; I would not give others the trouble if I could preach myself. You have had the first of me, and you will have the last of me: the angels of God waited for your conversion, and are now ready to take care of the soul when it leaves the rotten carcase. The worst creature under heaven, that has not a penny in the world, may be welcome unto God. However it has been with us in times past, may our souls prosper in time to come; which God grant of his infinite mercy. Amen.



SERMON XVI.

GOD A BELIEVER'S GLORY.



ISAIAH lx. 19.

And thy God thy Glory.

I LATELY had occasion to speak on the verse immediately following that of our text; but when I am reading God's word, I often find it is like being in a tempted garden, when we pluck a little fruit, and find it good, we are apt to look after and pluck a little more, only with this difference, the fruit we gather below often hurts the body at the same time that it pleases the appetite, but when we walk in God's garden, when we gather fruit of the Redeemer's plants, the more we eat the more we are delighted, and the freer we are, the more welcome; if any chapter in the bible deserves this character and description of an evangelical Eden. this does.

It is very remarkable, and I have often told you of it, that all the apostles preach first the law, and then the gospel, which finds man in a state of death, points out to him

how he is to get life, and then sweetly conducts him to it. Great and glorious things are spoken of the church of God in this chapter ; and it struck me very much this evening ever since I came into the pulpit, that the great God speaks of the church in a singular number : how can that be, when the church is composed of so many millions gathered out of all nations, languages, and tongues ? how is it, that God says thy maker, and not your maker, that he speaks of the church as though it consisted only of one individual person ? the reason of it is this, and is very obvious, that though the church is composed of many members, they have but one Head, and they are united by the bond of one Spirit, by whom they have the same vital union of the soul with God ; and therefore it teaches Christians not to say to one another, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, or Cephas*, but to behave and live so, that the world may know that we all belong to one common Christ : God revive, continue, and increase this true christian love among us ! Of this church, thus collectively considered, united under one head, the blessed evangelical prophet thus speaks—*Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders, but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates, (where the magistrates assemble, and the people go in and out,) praise.* From this text, a great many good and great men have gathered what they call the Millenium, that Jesus Christ is to come and reign a thousand years on earth, but I must acknowledge that I have always rejected a great many good men's positive opinion about the season when this state commences, and I would warn you all against fixing any time ; for what signifies whether Christ comes to reign a thousand years, or when he comes, since you and I are to die very soon ; and therefore instead of puzzling our heads about it, God grant we may live so that we may reign with him forever ; and it seems to me, that whatsoever is said of this state on earth, that the millenium is to be understood in a spiritual sense, as an emblem of a glorious, eternal, beatific state in the kingdom of heaven. *The sun shall no more be thy light by day, nor for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee, but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light ;*

and in order to prepare us for that light, and show us the nature of it, while we speak of it may it come with light and power to our souls. He adds in our text, *and thy God shall be thy glory*: this is spoken to all believers in general, but it is spoken to all fearful believers in particular; and I don't know that I can possibly close my poor, feeble ministration among you here, better than with these words; though, God willing, I intend, if he shall strengthen me this week, to give you a parting word next Wednesday morning; and O that what has been my comfort this day in the meditation on this passage, may be yours and mine to all eternity. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the evangelic prophet saith, *Thy God thy glory*.

The Holy Ghost seems, as it were, particularly fond of this expression; when God published the ten commandments upon mount Sinai, he prefaced it thus, *I am the Lord*, and not content with that, he adds, *thy God*: and the frequency of it, I suppose, made Luther say, that *the gospel deals much in pronouns, in which consists a believer's comfort*; but if there were no other argument than this, it would cut up that destructive principle by the very root that pretends to tell us that there is no such thing as appropriation in the Bible; that our faith is only to be a rational assent to the word of God, without a particular application of that word made to our souls: this is as contrary to the gospel, and to the experience of every real saint, as light is contrary to darkness, and heaven to hell. My brethren, I appeal to any of you, what good would it do you, if you had ten thousand notes wrote in large characters by the finest hand that can write in London; suppose you have got them, as many men have, and as it is a very convenient way, that they were put into your little pockets, made on the inside of your coat; suppose you should say, my coat is buttoned, I have all these here next my heart: when I come to look at them, I find there is not one note payable to me, they are all forged, or payable to some body else, and therefore are good for nothing to me. All the promises of the gospel, all that is said of God and Christ, is ours. The great question therefore is, whether the God we profess to believe in, is our God?

not only, whether he is so in general, that the devils may say ; but whether he is our God in particular. The devils can say, O God ; but the devils cannot say, my God : that is a privilege peculiar to God's chosen people, who really believe on the Lord Jesus Christ : and therefore, my brethren, a deist cannot say, my God, my Christ, because he does not believe on that medium by which God becomes our God. That was a noble saying of Luther, " I will have nothing to do with an absolute God ;" that is, I will have nothing to do with a God out of Christ.— Now this is a deist's glory : Lord Bolingbroke values himself upon it ; I am astonished at that man's infidelity and cowardice. I don't like those men that leave their writings to be published after their death : I love to see men bold in their writings : I like an honest man that will put out his writings while alive, that he may see, what men can say against him, and then answer them ; but it is mere cowardice to leave it to the world to answer for it, to set us a cavelling after they are got into the grave : says he, I will have nothing to do with the God of Moses ; and I suppose the principles of that deist, made one pretty near to him, ask as soon as the breath was out of his body, where do you think he is gone to ? another replies, where do you think, but to hell. God grant that may not be the portion of any here !

The question then is, how God is our God ; *thy God*, My brethren, our all depends upon it ; what signifies saying, this is mine, and that is mine, if you cannot say, God is mine. The best thing that God has left in the New Testament, is himself ; *I will be their God*, that is one of the legacies ; and *a new heart also will I give them*, that is another, *I will put my laws in their mind, and write them in their hearts*, that is another : but all that is good for nothing, comparatively speaking, unless God has said at the same time, for they are all inseparable, *I will be their God, and they shall be my people*. Now how shall I know that God is my God ? I am afraid, some people think there is no knowing ; well then, if you think so, you set up a worship, and go and erect an altar, and instead of receiving God in the sacrament as yours, go and worship an unknown God. I am so far from believing that we cannot

know that God is ours, that I am fully persuaded of it, and would speak it with humility, and I would not chuse to leave you with a lie in my mouth, that I have known it for about thirty-five years as clear as the sun is in the meridian, that God is my God. And how shall I know it, my brethren? I would ask you this question, didst thou ever feel the want of God to be thy God? Nobody knows God to be their God that did not feel him to be his God in Christ: out of Christ, God is a consuming fire. I know there are a great variety of ways in people's conversions; but still, my brethren, we must all feel our misery, we must all feel our distance from God, all feel that we are estranged from God, that we bring into the world with us a nature that is not agreeable to the law of God, nor possibly can be; we cannot be said to believe that God is our God, till we are brought to be reconciled to him through his Son. Can I say a person is my friend, till I am reconciled to him? and therefore the gospel only is the ministration of reconciliation. Paul saith, *We beseech you as ambassadors of Christ, that you would be reconciled unto God*: this is to be the grand topic of our preaching; we are to beseech them, and God himself turns beggar to his own creatures to be reconciled to him: now this reconciliation is brought about by a poor sinner's being brought to Jesus Christ; and when once he sees his enmity and hatred to God, feeling the misery of departing from him, and being conscious that he is obnoxious to eternal wrath, flies to Jesus as to a place of refuge, and expects only a reconciliation through the blood of the Lamb; without this, neither you nor I can say, God is my God: *there is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked*. The ministers of Christ must take care they don't preach an unknown God, and we must take care we don't pretend to live upon an unknown God, a God that is not appropriated and brought home to our souls by the efficacy of the Spirit. But, my brethren, we cannot say, God is our God, unless we are in Jesus Christ. Can you say, such a one is your father, unless you can give proof of it? You may be bastards, there are many bastards laid at Christ's door. Now, God cannot be my God, at least I cannot know him to be so, unless he is pleased to send into my heart the spirit of adoption, and to admit me to enjoy familiarity with Christ.

My brethren, I told you the other night that the grand controversy God has with England is for the slight put on the Holy Ghost. As soon as a person begins to talk of the work of the Holy Ghost, they cry, you are a methodist : as soon as you speak about the divine influences of the Holy Ghost, O ! say they, you are an enthusiast. May the Lord keep these methodistical enthusiasts amongst us to the latest posterity. Ignatius, supposed to have been one of the children that Jesus took up in his arms, in his first Epistle, (pray read it) wrote soon after St. John's death, and we valued nothing so authentic as what was wrote in the three first centuries, bears a noble testimony of this truth. When I was performing my first exercises at Oxford, I used to take delight to walk and read it, and could not help noting and putting down from time to time several remarkable passages. In the superscription of all his Epistles, I remember, he styles himself *Theophoros*, i. e. Bearer of God,* and believed that those he wrote to, were so too. Somebody went and told Trajan, that one Ignatius was an enthusiast, that he carried God about him : being brought before the emperor, who, though in other respects a good prince, was a cruel enemy to the christians ; but many a good prince does bad things by the influence of wicked counsellors, like our king Henry the Vth, who was brought in to persecute the poor Lollards, for assembling in St. Giles's fields to hear the pure gospel, by false accusation of being rebels against him. Before such a prince was Ignatius brought ; says Trajan who is this that calls himself a bearer of God ? says Ignatius, I am he, for which he quotes this passage, *I will dwell in them, and will walk in them, and they shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.* The emperor was so enraged, that, in order to cure him of his enthusiasm, he ordered him to be devoured by lions ; at which Ignatius laughed for joy : O ! says he, am I going to be devoured ? and when his friends came about him, he almost danced for gladness ; when they carried him to execution, he smiled, and turning about, said, now I begin to be a martyr of Jesus

* Deum ferens, *inspired, divine, holy.*

Christ! I have heard that the lions have leaped from the martyrs, but when they come to me, I will encourage them to fall on me with all their violence. God give you such enthusiasm in a trying hour! This is to have God for our God: *he that believeth hath the witness in himself*, as it is written in this blessed word of God. and I hope it will be the last book that I shall read. Farewel father, farewel mother, farewel sun, moon, and stars! was the language of one of the Scotch martyrs in king Charles' time, and it is amazing to me that even Mr. Hume (I believe) a professed deist, in his history of England, mentions this as a grand exit, and also that seraphic soul Mr. Hervey, now with God, that the last words of the martyr were, Farewel thou precious Bible, thou blessed book of God. This is my rock, this is my foundation; it is now about thirty-five years since I began to read the bible upon my pillow. I love to read this book, but the book is nothing but an account of the promises which it contains, and almost every word from the beginning to the end of it, speaks of a spiritual dispensation, and the Holy Ghost, that unites our souls to God, and helps a believer to say my Lord and my God! If you content yourselves with that, the devil will let you talk of doctrines enough: O you shall turn from Arminianism to Calvinism: O you shall be orthodox enough, if you will be content to live without Christ's living in you. Now when you have got the Spirit, then you may say, God is mine. O this is very fine, say some, every body pretends to the Spirit: and then you may go on as a bishop once told a nobleman—My Lord, these Methodists, say they, do all by the Spirit, so if the devil bids them murder any body, they will say, the Spirit bid them do it; and that very bishop died, how! why horrid! the last words he spoke were these, *The battle is fought, the battle is fought, the battle is fought, but the victory is lost forever.* God grant you and I may not die with such words as these. I hope you and I shall die, and say, *The battle is fought, the battle is fought, the battle is fought, I have fought the good fight, and the victory is gained forever.* Thus died Mr. Ralph Erskine—his last words were, Victory, victory, victory! and they that can call God their God, shall by and by cry, Victory,

victory ! and that forever God grant that we may all be of that happy number.

If we can call God our God, we shall endeavor by the Holy Ghost to be like God, we shall have his divine image stamped upon our souls, and endeavor to be followers of that God who is our Father : and this brings in the other part of the text, *thy God thy glory*. What is that ? The greatest honor that a poor believer thinks he can have on earth, is to boast that God is his God. When it was proposed to David, that if he killed an hundred Philistines, he should have the king's daughter for his wife, and a very sorry wife she was, no great gain turned out to him : says he, *do you think it is a small thing to be the son-in-law to a king ?* a poor stripling as I am here, come with my shepherd's crook, what ! to be married to a king's daughter ; do you think that is a small thing ? and if David thought it no small thing to be allied to a king by his daughter, what a great thing must it be to be allied to the Lord by one spirit ? I am afraid there are some people that were once poor that are now rich, that think it a great thing, that wish, O that my family had a coat of arms ; some people would give a thousand pounds, I believe, for one. Coats of arms are very proper to make distinction in life, a great many people wear coats of arms that their ancestors got honourably, but they are a disgrace to them as they wear them on their coaches. But this is our glory, whether we walk or ride, whatever our pedigree may be in life, this is our honor, that our God may be our glory. *O what manner of love is this, saith one, that the Lord doth bestow on us that we should be called the sons of God !* born not of the will of man, born not of flesh, but born from above. O God grant that this may be your glory and mine !

My brethren, if God is our God and our glory, I'll tell you what we shall prove it by : whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we should do all to the glory of God. Religion, as I have often told you, turns our whole life into one continued sacrifice of love to God. As a needle when once touched by a loadstone, turns to a particular pole, so the heart that is touched by the love of God, turns to his God again. I shall have occasion to take no-

Ace of it by and by, when I am aboard a ship : for as soon as I get on board I generally place myself in one particular place under the compass that hangs over my head, I often look at it by night and by day ; when I rise, the needle turns to one point, when I go to bed I find it turns to the same point : and often, while I have been looking at it, my heart has been turned to God, saying, Lord Jesus, as that needle touched by the loadstone, turns to one point, O may my heart, touched by the magnet of God's love, turn to him ? A great many people think, they never worship God but when at church ; and a great many are very demure on Lord's days, though many begin to leave that off. I know of no place upon the face of the earth where the Sabbath is kept as it is in Boston ; if a single person was to walk in Boston streets in time of worship, he would be taken up ; it is not trusted to poor insignificant men, but the justices go out in time of worship, they walk with a white wand, and if they catch any person walking in the streets, they put them under a black rod. O ! the great mischiefs the poor pious people have suffered lately through the town's being disturbed by the soldiers ! When the drums were beating before the house of Dr. Sawell, one of the holiest men that ever was, when he was sick and dying, on the sabbath-day, by his meeting, where the noise of a single person was never heard before, and he begged that for Christ's sake they would not beat the drum ; they damned, and said, that they would beat to make him worse ; this is not acting for the glory of God ; but when a soul is turned to God, every day is a sabbath, every meal is a spiritual refreshment, and every sentence he speaks, should be a sermon ; and whether he stays abroad or at home, whether he is on the exchange, or locked up in a closet, he can say, O God, thou art my God !

Now, my dear friends, can you, dare you say, that your God is your glory, and do you aim at glorifying the Lord you God : if your God is your glory, then say, *O God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified to me, and I am crucified to the world.* What say you to that now ? don't talk of God's being your glory, if you don't love his

cross. If God is our glory, we shall glory not only in doing, but in suffering for him; we shall glory in tribulation, and count ourselves most highly honored when we are called to suffer most for his great name sake. I might enlarge, but you may easily judge by my poor feeble voice this last week, that neither my strength of voice, or body, will permit me to be long to-night, and yet I will venture to give you your last parting salutation; and though I have been dissuaded from getting up to preach this night, yet I thought as my God was my glory, I should glory in preaching till I died. O that God may be all our glory! All our own glory fades away, there is nothing will be valuable at the great day, but this, Thou art my God, and thou art my glory. It was a glorious turn that good Mr. Shepherd of Bradford mentions in one of his sermons, where he represents Jesus Christ as coming to judgment, seated upon his throne, in a sermon preached before some ministers. Christ calls one minister to him, Pray what brought you into the church? O, says he, Lord, there was a living in the family, and I was presented to it because it was a family living: stand thou by, says Christ. A second comes, What didst thou enter the church for? O Lord, says he, I had a fine elocution, I had pretty parts, and I went into the church to shew my oratory and my parts: stand thou by, thou hast thy reward. A third was called, and what brought you into the church? Lord, says he, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I am a poor creature, vile and miserable, and unworthy, and helpless, but I appeal to thee my glory, thou sittest upon the throne, that thy glory and the good of souls brought me there: Christ immediately says, Make room, men; make room, angels, and bring up that soul to sit near me on my throne. Thus shall it be done to all that make God their glory here below. Glorify God on earth, and he will glorify you in heaven. *Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,* shall be your portion: and if so, Lord God Almighty make us content to be vilified whilst here, make us content to be despised while below, make us content to have evil things spoken of us, all for Christ's sake, yet a little while; and Christ

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will roll away the stone : and the more we are honored by his grace to suffer, the more we shall be honored in the kingdom of heaven. O that thought ! O that blessed thought ! O that soul transporting thought ! it is enough to make us leap into a fiery furnace ; in this spirit, in this temper, may God put every one us.

If there be any of you that have not yet called God your God, may God help you to do so to-night. When I was reasoning within myself, whether I should come up, or whether it was my duty or not ? I could not help thinking, who knows but God will bless a poor feeble worm to-night. I remember, a dear friend sent me word after I was gone to Georgia, " Your last sermon at the Tabernacle was " blessed to a particular person ; " I heard from that person to-day, and who knows but some may come to-night, and say, I will go and hear what the babler has to say ; who knows but curiosity may be over-ruled for good ? who knows but those that have served the lust of the flesh and the pride of life, for their god, may now take the Lord to be their God ? O ! if I could but see this, I think I could drop down dead for you.

My dear Christians, will you not help me to-night, you that go and call God your God ? go and beg of God for me, pray to heaven for me, do pray for those that are in the gall of bitterness, that have no God, no Christ to go to, and if they were to die to-night, would be damned forever. O poor sinner, where is your glory then ; where is your purple and fine linen then ; your purple robes will be turned into purple fire, and instead of calling God your God, will be damned with the devil : O think of your danger ! *O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord !* If you never was awakened before, may the arrows of God, steeped in the blood of Jesus Christ, reach your hearts now ! Think how you live at enmity with God, think of your danger every day and every hour, your danger of dropping into hell ; think how your friends in glory will leave you, and may this consideration, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, excite you to chuse God for your God ! Though the sun is going down, though the shadow of the evening is coming on, God is willing, O man, God is willing, O woman, to be a sinner's God,

he has found out a way whereby he can be reconciled to you. I remember when I saw a nobleman condemned to be hanged, the Lord High Stewart told him, that however he was obliged to pass sentence on him, and did not know that justice would be satisfied but by the execution of the law in this world, yet there might be a way whereby justice might be satisfied and mercy take place in another : when I heard his Lordship speak, I wished that he had not only said, there might be a way, but that he had found out the way wherein God could be just, and yet a poor murderer coming to Jesus Christ should be pardoned.

You that can call God yours, God help you from this moment to glorify him more and more : and if God be your God and your glory, I am persuaded, if the love of God abounds in your hearts, you will be willing on every occasion to do every thing to promote his honor and glory, and therefore you will be willing at all times to assist and help as far as lies in your power to keep up places of worship, to promote his glory in the salvation and conversion of sinners ; and I mention this because there is to be a collection this night ; I would have chose, if possible, to have evaded this point, but as this Tabernacle has been repaired, and as the expence is pretty large, and as I would chuse to leave every thing unincumbered, I told my friends, I would undertake to make a collection, that every thing might be left quite clear : remember, it is not for me, but for yourselves, I told you on Wednesday how matters were ; I am now going a thirteenth time over the water on my own expence, and you shall know at the great day what little, very little assistance I have had from those who owed, under God, their souls to my being here : but this is for the place where you are to meet, and where I hope God will meet you, when I am tossing on the water, when I am in a foreign clime. I think, I can say, thy glory, O God calls me away, and as I am going towards sixty years of age, I shall make what dispatch I can, and I hope, if I am spared to come back, that I shall hear that some of you are gone to heaven, or are nearer heaven than you were. I find there is 70*l.* arrears ; I hope you will not run away, if you can say God is my glory, you will not push one upon another, as though you

would loose yourselves in the crowd, and say nobody sees me ; but does not God Almighty see you ? I hope you will be ready to communicate, and when I am gone that God will be with you : as many of you will not hear me on Wednesday morning. O may this be your prayer, O for Jesus Christ's sake, in whose name I preach, in whose strength I desire to come up, and for whose honor I desire to be spent, O do put up a word for me, it will not cost you much time, it will not keep you a moment from your business ; O Lord Jesus Christ, thou art his God ! and, Lord Jesus Christ, let him be thy glory ! If I die in the waters, I shall go by water to heaven ; if I land at the Orphan-house, I hope it will be a means to settle a foundation for ten thousand persons to be instructed ; and if I go by the continent, as I intend to do, I hope God will enable me to preach Christ ; and if I return again, my life will be devoted to your service. You will excuse me, I cannot say much more, affection works, and I could heartily wish, and I beg it as a favor, when I come to leave you, that you will excuse me from a particular parting with you ; take my public farewel ; I will pray for you when in the cabin, I will pray for you when storms and tempests are about me ; and this shall be my prayer for the dear people of the Tabernacle, for the dear people of the Chapel, for the dear people of London ; O God, be thou their God ! and grant, that their God may be their glory. Even so, Lord Jesus ! Amen.

From the London Evangelical Magazine.

ADVERTISEMENT.

An Infallible Medicine for the cure of a dangerous Disorder, to be had Grátis.

WHEREAS, a most violent and dangerous disease has greatly prevailed in this neighborhood, as well as in many other places, much resembling the plague: a friend of mankind has thought it expedient to publish the following account of it, with its various symptoms and effects, and to recommend a method of cure, which has never failed in a single instance.

This disease has long been known among the learned by a variety of names. The Greek physicians called it *AMARTIA*. It may be discovered by the following symptoms. The *head* is always affected, particularly the eyes, so that most objects are mistaken for each other. The *understanding* is clouded. The patient is sometimes *deaf*, especially to certain subjects of discourse. The *tongue* is so strangely disordered, that it speaks perverse and and blasphemous words. The patient has occasional fits of *lunacy*, especially when it is proposed to walk to a place of worship. But the *heart* is the principal seat of the disease, from the affections of which, the senses and members are also disordered. This disease is, upon good grounds, supposed to be hereditary, and may be traced back to the common parent of mankind. It is therefore *universal*; so that there never was but one Man in the world exempted from a taint of it.

The present effects of this disorder are very dreadful. It sometimes produces a raging *fever*, insatiable *thirst*, and extreme *restlessness*. The mind is at times alarmed and filled with *anxiety*. The patient discovers *pride*,

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envy, malice, covetousness, and deceit. His family, friends, and neighbors, are frequently sufferers, as many in this place can testify. Magistrates are sometimes forced to interfere, and though they seldom attempt a cure, they prevent his doing further mischief.

But the final consequences of this disease are formidable in the utmost degree. Unless timely assistance be afforded (which must generally be in the early stages of it,) the patient inevitably perishes. Death, dreadful death, must ensue; and that, attended with such circumstances of misery, horror, and despair, that humanity is constrained to draw a veil over the terrible scene.

It is necessary to add, that by far the greater part of those on whom it preys, are utterly insensible of their condition, and unwilling to admit that they are ill. It is probable that some who read this advertisement may feel themselves angry with this representation of their case, and be ready to throw it aside with disdain. A certain indication th^ts, that the patient is dangerously disordered. But this may, at the same time, account for the general and fatal neglect of applying in time to

THE PHYSICIAN.

This extraordinary Man is not indeed a *seventh son*, but the *only Son* of a most high and distinguished personage. He was intended for the profession from his birth, and in all respects properly qualified for it. His skill, tenderness, and care, were never impeached by any one of the thousands of patients whom he has perfectly restored. His practice has been incomparably extensive, and millions can testify, that by Him the blind have received their sight, the lame have leaped as an hart, lepers have been cleansed, the deaf have been made quick of hearing, and many dead persons have been restored to life. After a life of the most benevolent exertions, he was put to death by the malice of some ignorant practitioners, who envied his fame and success. However, the world still reaps the benefit of that *specific medicine* which he prepared. Certain persons, appointed by him, committed his advice to writing, and have recorded it in a most excellent

family book, which has gone through a thousand editions, and is commonly called

THE BIBLE.

Here we learn that *sin* is the great disease of the human race, that it has the most unhappy effects on the bodies and souls of men; that it has introduced all the miseries under which they groan. Herein also we are taught that no man can cure himself of this disease; and though a multitude of quacks have recommended nostrums of their own, there is only one medicine in the world that can effect a cure.

Reader, go and learn what that meaneth: *The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth from all sin.*

ANECDOTE.

THERE was an Italian Bishop who had struggled through great difficulties without repining, and who met with much opposition in the discharge of his episcopal function, without ever betraying the least impatience. An intimate friend of his, who highly admired these virtues, which he thought it impossible to imitate, one day asked the prelate if he could communicate the secret of being always easy? "Yes," replied the old man, "I can teach you my secret, and with great facility: It consists in nothing more than in making a right use of my eyes." His friend begged him to explain himself. "Most willingly," returned the bishop. "In whatsoever state I am, I first of all look up to heaven, and I remember that my principal *business here*, is to get there. I then look down upon the earth, and call to mind how small a space I shall occupy in it, when I come to be interred. I then look abroad into the world, and observe what multitudes there are, who are in all respects more unhappy than myself. Thus I learn where true happiness is placed, where all our cares must end, and how very little reason I have to repine or to complain."

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Dirick Vanhorn	Gad Dickinson	Rev. E. Porter
White & Day	Fanny Franklin	Moses Stacy
Roger Williams	Charity Fish	Amasa Town
Martin Wilson	David Goodell	Nathan Tenny
B. Worthington	Eliz. Hastings	Nathan Thayer
Lewis Wariner	Martin Kellogg	Eliab Washburn.
Norman Wariner	Mary Morton	Jonathan Wright
Amb. Worthington	Geo. Nutting.	<i>Deerfield.</i>
A. Worthington	Sarah Paine	Thomas Bardwell
<i>Waterford.</i>	David Pomroy	Thos. Bardwell, jr.
Zebediah Bolles	Rev. N. Perkins, jr.	Nathl. Blanchard
David C. Brown	Isaac Robins	Erastus Grandy
David Daniels	Elizabeth Smith,	John Giles
Ezra Keeney	Rizba Stedman	Solomon Moulton
Mary Rogers	Timothy Smith	Samuel Moulton
Daniel Rodes	Anna Smith	Cyrus Martindale
Benjamin Rogers	J. Williams, jr.	Prudence Newton

Seviah Nichols	Lebbeus Curtis	Benj. Hooker, jr.
David Phinney	Wm. Cook	Timothy Hopkins
Rufus Rice	Pamela Dickinson	John H. Jones
Jesse Severance	Seth Field	Dorinda Kellogg
Joel Sexton	Solomon Graves	Elizabeth Kellogg
Rev. S. Willard	Timothy Graves	Aannah Kneeland
Frank Wells.	Hannah Graves	Parthena Lovelane
<i>Granby, Mass.</i>	Euroclydon Geary	Joseph Marsh
Rodney Ayres	Levi Graves	Jedediah Montague
Calver Ayres	Ruth Hubbard	Sylvester Smith
Doreas Ayres	Sibyl Hastings	John Shipman
Enoch Burnett	Bethiah Knight	Elizabeth Smith
Joshua Clark, jr.	Nancy W. Knight	Joseph Smith
Perez Cook, jr.	Chester Morton	Fanny Seymour
Jotham Clark	Peter Oliver	Isabel Thompson
Israel Clark	Jonathan Porter	Elihu White
Benj. Coats	Lois Partridge, 2d	Submit Wallis
Samuel Clark	Betsey Partridge	Elihu Warner
Elijah Clark	Abigail Smith	John Woodbridge.
Joseph Davenport	Oliver C. Smith	<i>South-Hadley.</i>
John Elder	Oliver Smith	Jesse Bellows
Chester Ferry	Rufus Smith	Reuben Burt
Solomon Gray	Samuel Smith	Josiah Bardwell
Joseph Johnson	Electa White	Hannah Browning
Samuel Kent	Lucinda Wait	Jonathan Burnet
Joseph Mason	Caroline Warner	Enoch Chapin
Clarissa Moody	Ebenezer White	Adam B. Cadwell
Augustine Payne	Mary Wait	Eli Clark
Benoni Preston	<i>Hadley.</i>	Ester Collins
Hannah Preston	Levi Butterfield	Eliza Collins
John Preston, jr.	Elihu Cooke	Abner Downing
David Smith	Solomon Cooke	Philah Frost
Chester Smith	Andrew Cooke	Moses Gaylord
Naomy Scranton	Silas Cooke	Ithamar Goodman
Ruth W. Stebbins	David Cooke	Otis Goodman
Sarah Taylor	Robert Cooke	David Hillyard
Hannah Tatman	Harvey Dickinson	Daniel Moffatt
<i>Greenfield.</i>	S. Dickinson	Betsey Nash
Anna Bascom	Cotton Dickinson	Mary Preston
Elijah Howards	Samuel Eastman	Gerusha Powers
<i>Hatfield.</i>	Hosea Grover	Reuben Parsons
Wm. Bardwell	Gamaliel Hooker	Cyrus Preston

Quartus Smith	Israel Allen	John White
Otis Smith	James Eldridge	Mary Woodward
Justus Smith	Mary Hall	B. Wilkinson
Ralph Snow	Eunice Latham	Chr. A. Whitman,
Phimela Smith	Silas Niles	<i>Stiffield.</i>
Ralph Stebbins (6)	Elijah Newton	Moses Austin
Enoch White	Isaac Smith	Thomas Austin
Simeon White	Erastus Stoddard	Ruth Austin
John Wright.	G. & I. Turner.	John Arnold
<i>Long-Meadow.</i>	<i>Plainfield.</i>	Elisha Allyn
Eliza Bowker	Job Angel	Stephen Adams
Gideon Burt	Samuel Backus	Arah Adams
Gaius Bliss	Augustus Bester	Joel Ackley
Lovisa Burt	Eunice Cutler	Zebulon Adams
Eunice Burt	Edward Clark	Joseph B. Blodget
Levi Baker	John Cozzens	Roswel Brown
Isaac Corkins	Joel Dimmick	Jonathan Bement
Anne G. Colton	John Dunlap	Harvey Bissell
Wm. Colton, 3d	Ebenezer Eaton	Peletiah Burbank
Dolly Coomes	Elkanah C. Eaton	Francis Bliss
Mirriam Coomes	Dr. S. Fuller	Joseph K. Bozrah
Silence Coomes	Dr. J. Fuller	Ebenezer Chaplin
Abigail Corkins	Levi Gates	Elizabeth Clark
Naomi Colton	James Gordon, jr.	David Cobb
Edmond Evarts	Jonathan Goff	Amos Cobb
Elijah Field	Allen Harris	Lois Chapin
Oliver D. Hawks	Nancy James	Peter M. Choice
I. & D. Gates	Lydia Ingraham	John Dewey
Samuel Morton	Lucy Johnson	Eli English
Lois Newell	Nathan Jordan	Samuel Eldridge
S. Pease	Wm. Jerington	Sabrina Fuller
Anne Parker	Edward Lovegrove	Clarissa Fuller
R. H. Robbins	John Lester	Julius Fowler
Nancy Silcock	Wm. Pierce	Bildad Fowler, jun,
Henry Wolcott.	Lyman Parkes	Apollus Fuller
<i>Lexington, Ms.</i>	Sanford Pearce	Austin Gillet
Abigail C. Smith	Ransom Perkins	Lavina Gillet
<i>New-Salem, Ms.</i>	Wm. E. Robinson	Epaph. K. Granger
Samuel Crossett	Ruth Smith	Hannah Granger
<i>Gales-Ferry.</i>	A. Tourtellott	Bildad Granger
Allen & Brown	James Thomas	Catherine Granger
Allen & Everitt	Luther Thwing	Rufus Gibbs

Mabel Gundy	S. Trumbull	Elisha Bisby
Naomy Howe	Gad Taylor.	Charles Gay
Lorinda Hatheway	<i>Windsor.</i>	Nath. Hubbard
Rufus Hatheway	Benj. Allyn, 2d	Samuel Marshall
S. Hatheway, jr.	Chauncey Alford	Joseph Tucker
Joseph Harris	Talcott Allyn	Tobe Talcott
Hez. Huntington	Margaret Barber	<i>Berlin.</i>
David Hale	Reuben Barber	Amadeus Botsford
Ezra Hanchett	Elijah Bridges	John Goodrich
Joel Hatheway	Abigail Brown	Elijah Nye.
Anna Kent	Elihu S. Benton	<i>Chatham.</i>
Samuel Kent	Geo. Belden	John Richmond
Jonah King, jr.	Isaac Chandler	<i>Canterbury.</i>
Horace King	Ithamar Cooley	Samuel Barsto.
Leicester King	Eph. Egelstone	<i>Enfield.</i>
Epaphras King	Allyn Ellsworth	Mary Chaffee
Luther Loomis	Wm. Howard	S. A. Stillman.
Aseneth Lester	Keziah Hayden	<i>East-Hampton, Ct.</i>
Martin Learned	Levi Hayden	Simeon Clark.
Eusebicus Mather	John Hayden	<i>Groton.</i>
Abm. Marshall	Sally Jacobs	Elijah Bailey
Ebenezer Nichols	Asher Loomis	Noyes Barber
Wm. Olds	Lyman Loomis	John Barber
Ebenezer Pomroy	Normand Loomis	Edward Jeffery
Oliver Pomroy	James Loomis	Daniel C. Lester
Jonathan Pomroy	Sabra Mather	Mary White.
Amos Pomroy	Dolly M'Lean	<i>Glastenbury.</i>
Seth Parsons	James Porter	Philenia Caswell
Levi Pease	Lestes Pease	Sarah Curtis
John F. Parsons	Nath'l W. Parkes	Sarah Eells
Stoughton Rising	Betsey Phelps	Roger L. Daniels
I. Remington	Ame Sheldon	Henry Fox
Chloe Spencer	Abel Strong	Rev. P. Hawes
Hezekiah Spencer	Horris Strong	Eliphalet Howe
Tirzah A. Smith	Polly Skinner	Onner Loveland
Ichabod Smith, jr.	Grove Taylor	John Phelps
Phineas Smith	Mercy Youngs.	John Smith
Joshua Smith, jr.	<i>Bozrah.</i>	Jedidiah Smith
Joseph Smith	Jedidiah L. Stark.	Nancy Scott
Alfred Sikes	<i>Buckland.</i>	Asa Talcott
Daniel Sikes	Urbank W. Butler.	Rachel Talcott
Amos Sikes, jr.	<i>Bolton.</i>	Calvin Whiney.
Thaddeus A. Sikes	Edmund Bliss	

<i>Providence, R. I.</i>	Chs. Williams	David S. Powers
Freelove Atwood	Josiah Whitaker.	George Petter
Wm. Allen	<i>New-London.</i>	Zebadiah Rogers
James Anthony, 2d	Enos Ayres	George Rogers
Samuel V. Allen	Amos Baldwin	Isaac Rogers
Artemas Brown	Hubbel Brooks	Chs. Seabury
John Babson	Thomas S. Badet	Nat. Sattonstall
Francis Baily	Sally Beebe	James Stocking
Nicholas Coffin	Chauncey Butler	Wm. M. Sistrar
Samuel Coe	Charles Butler	Betsey Savage
Ehad Cary	Alfred R. Beebe	Wm. Taylor
Thomas Chase	Hanson Burdick	Wm. Tate
Moses Chamberlain	Mary Bolton	Stella Taylor
John Cowen	Samuel Coit	Rebecca Waterman.
Robert G. Cary	Christ'r Chipman	<i>Norwich.</i>
Ahab Capron	Ezra Cheesebrough	Betsey Abbott
Simeon Drown	Rosater Chapman	Samuel Allen
Comfort Eddy	Esther Cadwell	Benjamin Chase
Israel Fenner	John Chapman	Wm. Cleveland
Shaddon Fish	Julia Cornell	Lydia Cogswell
T. & G. Gladding	Amos Dexter	Erastus Cooley
Seth Hunt	Betsey Douglass	Samuel Case
Jeremiah Heath	John B. Dirker	Abby Case
Wm. R. Henry	Elizabeth Dickinson	J. Davenport
John Lendenberger	Mark Edgar	Martin Edgerton
Job Olney	Silas Fish	James Howard
Elisha Olney	Hannah Fargo	Eliphas Hart
Moses Olney	Boyington Fellows	Mary Hyde
Geo. R. A. Olney	Matilda Fengar	Elizabeth Hillhouse]
Christy Potter	John Fague	Wm. Lee
Thurston Pond	Aaron Forseth	Edward Lathrop
Wm. Pabodie	Maryam Graham	Andrew Lathrop
Charles Potter, 2d	John James	Carpenter Morse
John M. Potter	Geo. J. Jewett	Wm. Mansfield
Jason M. Pike	Eunice Jeffrey	Samuel Manning
John Prentice	Gurdon Kimbalt	Sally H. Marsh
Rowse Potter	David Leach	James Ripley
Waterman Powers	John Lenox	Samuel Ripley
Thomas Reynolds	Thomas Lewis	Joseph Rogers
Wm. Sheldon	Peles Lewis	Elisha Tracy
John I. Smith	Joseph B. Manning	Mary Wilson
Thomas Sprague	Amasa Miller	John Yale
Silvester Sprague	Olive Miner	David Yeomans.
Augustus Saunders	Jeremiah Miner	<i>Norwich-Landing.</i>
Thomas L. Tuells	John Mason, 2d	Betsey E. Adams
Thomas Voax	Elisha Maynard	Solomon Adams
Nathl. P. Whiting	Ephraim H. Otis	Stephen Brewster
Samuel Westcott	Stephen Prentice, 2d	Nathan Babcock

Wm. C. Boon	Sally Fox	Rufus D. Taylor
John Butter	Wm. Hillhouse 2d	Gales B. Tanner
Joseph Chester	Peggy Hill	Randolph Taylor
Mary Comstock	Edgecomb Lee	Warner Weaver
H. S. Champlin	Andrew Maples	Mary Wilson.
John P. Chapman	Henry Maynard	<i>Lisbon.</i>
Eunice Denniss	Asahel Otis	Darius Bottom
Zachariah Dunham	Nathaniel Otis	Joel Hyde.
Thomas Dike	Nathaniel Paris	<i>Lebanon.</i>
Hannah Davison	David Patten	Betty Hall
James Fowler	Wm. Preston	Daniel Marsh, jr.
James Fibmore	Eliph. C. Parker	<i>Litchfield.</i>
Ebenezer Hubbard	Oliver Raymond	Oliver Goodwin, (6)
Ebenr. Hemstead	Phineas Rogers	<i>Hebron.</i>
Nat Herrick	Christ. Raymond	Pierce Darrow
Eunice King	Josiah Raymond	Nathan Smith.
Lucy Leffingwell	Mulford Raymond	<i>Marlborough.</i>
John Murray	Daniel F. Raymond	Sylvester Gilbert.
Nancy Moore	Oliver Raymond	<i>Mansfield.</i>
Lucy Parrish	Jehiel Rogers	Samuel Turner
Nathan Story	Azel F. Rogers	Arnold Hosmer.
Clark Somers	Samuel Rogers	<i>Middletown.</i>
Azel Tracy	Jewett Raymond	John Spear.
Jedidiah Willet	George Raymond	<i>Wethersfield.</i>
Ebenezer Wilson.	Jonathan Rogers	Joseph Goodrich
<i>Montville.</i>	Mary Rogers	Benj. Taylor.
Rev. Abishai Alden	John Smith 2d	<i>Windham.</i>
Pason Allen	Sabin H. Smith	George Welch.
Benjamin Bradford	Buril Thompson	
John Beebe	Isaac Turner	
A. F. Bradford	Williard Wickwire	
Bridges Bradford	Marvel Wheelock.	
Daniel Baker	<i>Preston, Jewett City.</i>	
Abigail Baker	Allen Anderson	
Nathaniel Bradford	Henry Church	
Elisha Baker	Chs. Fanning	
Wm. Bradford	Wm. Field	
Joseph L. Chapman	Samuel Green	
Solomon R. Chappel	Wilber Gardner	
Nathaniel Comstock	Marinus W. Hudson	
Phin. Crandall, jr.	John Keigwen	
Jared Comstock	Henry Lathrop	
Jemima Comstock	Jeremiah Phillips	
Lucy Dolbeane	Daniel Palmer	
Sarah Dolbeane	Walter Palmer	
Elisha Dolbeane	James Read, 2d	
Christ. Dolbeane	Russel Stark	
George Dolbeane	Benj. Tibbits	

