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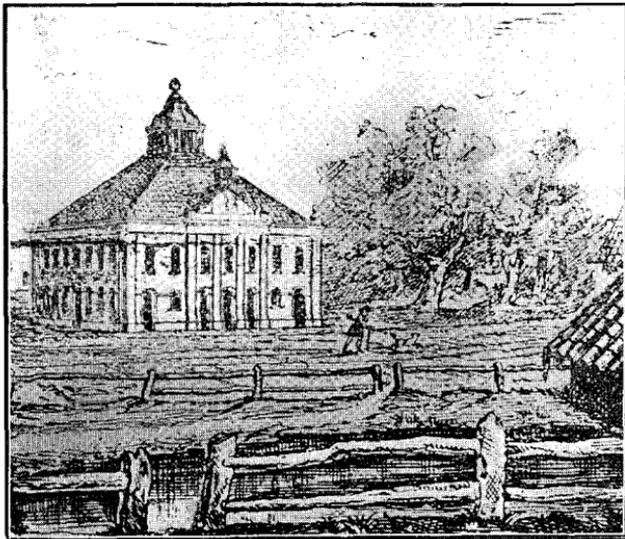
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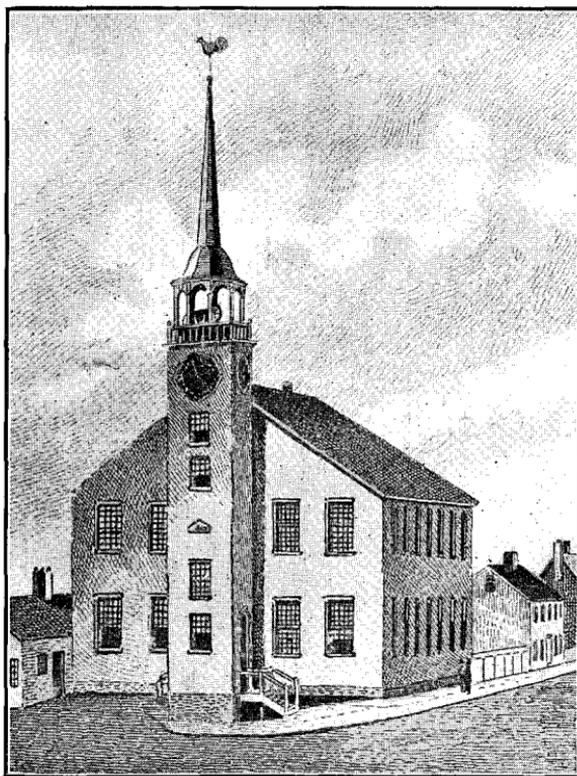
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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php



**WHITEFIELD'S FIRST TABERNACLE IN TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD,
LONDON, 1756.**



**THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH (PRESBYTERIAN) WHERE WHITEFIELD
WAS BURIED ; NEWBURYPORT, MASS. : 1772.**

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. *Whitefield's first Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road, London,* from a contemporary print, inscribed :

'A prospect of the Chapple in Tottenham Court Road built A.D. 1756 by Voluntary Subscriptions for the Rev^d Mr. George Whitefield, Chaplain to the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Countess of Huntingdon.'

The chapel was built on the site of a large pond called in Pine and Tinney's Maps, 1742 and 1746, 'The Little Sea.' It was surrounded by fields and gardens. On the north side of it were but two houses. The chapel when first erected was seventy feet square within the walls. About a year afterwards it was lengthened to 127 feet, retaining its breadth of 70 feet.

2. *The Old South (Presbyterian) Church, Newburyport, Mass,* where Whitefield preached Sep 30th, 1740, and on subsequent occasions. He died in the Manse at Newburyport, on Sunday morning, Sept. 30, 1770, and was buried in the Church the following Tuesday afternoon, Oct 2nd. The Rev. Jonathan Parsons was minister of the Church at the time. One of the pall-bearers at the funeral was Dr. Edward Bass, afterwards the first Bishop of the Church of England in Massachusetts. The illustration is from an old print. T.E.B.

THE MINISTRY OF GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Watkinson, and by permission of Rev J. Alfred Sharp, we are able to reproduce the excellent articles by the former on the characteristics of George Whitefield's ministry, which appeared in *The Magazine*, February to May. Dr. Watkinson's unique gifts as a preacher and the wide range of his reading make his appreciation and criticism of Whitefield singularly valuable.

IMPASSIONED HUMANITY IN THE PULPIT.

A distinguished American minister, who preached a funeral sermon for Whitefield, ventured on the prediction that 'Posterity

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

will view Mr. Whitefield, in many respects, as one of the most extraordinary characters of the present age.' It is dangerous to prophesy, and never more so than when we anticipate any considerable measure of immortality for our contemporaries. In this instance, however, the prediction is verified. As a rule, our struggle with oblivion is pathetic and unavailing; but the memory of Whitefield has survived the stern test of two centuries, and still we witness his growing fame. John Wesley wrote of him as 'that great and good man,' and he must have possessed in an eminent degree the elements of greatness to be still able to challenge our admiration and gratitude.

In Whitefield we recognize, first of all, the foremost preacher of his age, in many respects the foremost preacher of any age. Wesley was the last of men to indulge in exaggeration, and yet he speaks thus glowingly of his illustrious comrade: '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 the hand of God of bringing so many sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God?' The sources of his amazing achievements are well worth tracing.

Whitefield's natural gift of extraordinary eloquence fitted him as a special instrument in the Almighty hand. From childhood he was an orator. On account of 'his good elocution and memory' he was 'remarked for making speeches before the Corporation at their annual visitation,' and he delighted in theatrical literature. 'During the time of my being at school, I was very fond of reading plays, and have kept from school for days together to prepare myself for acting them.' Lord Bacon somewhere remarks that it is a happy thing when a man's inclination and calling run on the same lines, and this happiness throughout life was Whitefield's to perfection. In him, physically and mentally, the equipment of the orator was complete, and when uplifted by the Breath Divine it would appear that he was irresistible. Critics have expressed disappointment because so little sign of Whitefield's eloquence appears in his published sermons. But this need occasion no surprise. If we scatter dry sand on a plate, and then take it into a room where music is being played, the sand will at once resolve itself into a variety of patterns according to the tunes; but however geometrically

PROCEEDINGS.

accurate may be the figures fashioned in the sand, they will give to the stranger a faint idea of the Hallelujah Chorus. So the black lettering of the printed page may be a record exact enough, but at best it gives only a dim notion of the magical eloquence of an orator like Whitefield, or, in another sphere, William Pitt. Unique as was his natural gift it is evident that he did not neglect its cultivation. Once whilst detained at Lisbon he attended the services of the Roman Catholic Church, and thus records his experience: 'The preachers here have also taught me something; their action is graceful. *Vividi oculi—vividae 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?' He felt the value of an animated and attractive style, and a keen observer like Benjamin Franklin noted how certain sermons of the great preacher continued to acquire increased grace and power. He had a vivid ideal of the effective preacher, and laboured to embody it.

The literary quality of his sermons was the minimum. Their preparation was of the slightest, generally it would seem that they were little more than improvisation. His preaching was as nearly impromptu as we can well imagine. Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* contains an instructive passage concerning Otway the dramatist. 'He went to London and commenced player; but found himself unable to gain any reputation on the stage. This kind of inability he shared with Shakespeare and Jonson. It seems reasonable to expect that a great dramatic poet should without difficulty become a great actor; that he who can feel could express; that he who can excite passion should exhibit with great readiness its external modes: but since experience has fully proved that of those powers, whatever be their affinity, one may be possessed in a great degree by him who has very little of the other, it must be allowed that they depend upon different faculties, or on different use of the same faculty; that the actor must have a pliancy of mien, a flexibility of countenance, and a variety of tones, which the poet may be easily supposed to want.' Do we not often witness a similar phenomenon in the sanctuary? We have preachers who can compose sermons of the greatest excellence, who create what may be justly esteemed literary masterpieces, but who fail suitably to impress the congregation; whilst, on the other hand, we have orators who with far inferior discourses captivate the multitude. Of course there may be unhappy ministers, and unhappier congregations, who suffer by

falling between the two ; but that the rostrum, as well as the stage, supplies the contrast described by Johnson, is evident to all who think about it. Whitefield, with his dramatic instinct and marvellous voice, his gestures, his striking countenance and tones, acted the great sermon that he was incapable of writing. The moral of all this is, not that we adopt Whitefield as an example and attempt similar improvisation, for hardly one speaker in a century possesses his miraculous powers of imagination, expression, and action ; but the bi-centenary of the great preacher may remind his modern successors of the vast importance of delivery. The pulpit of to-day need not do less in the labour of preparation ; it might, we think, with advantage, give greater heed to the matter of presentment.

Whitefield's skill in the happy art of mingling the sublime and familiar, which is one of the main secrets of popular oratory, is worthy of attention. In Constable's last lecture to his students he begs them to observe how in Milton the simplest imagery is mingled with the most sublime, and gives an instance where the poet introduces the homely incident of the farm labourer's evening return, and calling up all the rustic fireside associations connected with it in the midst of a description of the host of heaven. And Naegely has pointed out in his *J. F. Millet and Rustic Art* how the great painter, in common with poets like Dante, Shakespeare, and Bunyan, possessed the power to express the sublime by the use of trivial images. And he concludes, 'The pompous, magnificent works from which all trivial elements are eliminated have little power to touch us, however much we may admire their ample phrase, their skilful rhetoric, or their wealth of gorgeous imagery.' Whitefield understood this art perfectly. Take the testimony of David Hume, which could not be predisposed in the preacher's favour : 'Whitefield addressed his audience thus : "The attendant angel is about to leave us, and ascend to heaven. Shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner reclaimed from the error of his way?" And, then, stamping with his foot, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he cried aloud. "Stop, Gabriel, stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the tidings of one sinner being saved." The address surpassed anything I ever saw or heard in any other preacher.' And yet he who could reach the most sublime effects, interspersed his discourses with simple anecdotes, familiar figures, commonplaces, condescensions, and the utilization of passing scenes and incidents. He despised nothing human, and his repeated touches of the nature that make

PROCEEDINGS.

the whole world kin completed the charm and power of his address. The bi-centenary may teach us at this point. On one occasion Dr. Dale regretted that his sermons had become too stately, and that in consequence they had become less effective. Is not this the fault of much modern preaching? It is too uniformly dignified, it is throughout smooth excellence; the preacher scorns the human touch, tone, or gesture. It is a serious mistake, one that every successful politician and lecturer avoids. With the grandest thought, the finest image, the most scholarly elucidation, mix the homely and conversational. The greatest masters in all spheres do it. Are you sculpturesque? Tint your Venus. Are you severe and elegant in thought and diction? A little peppery curry imported into the otherwise tasteless discourse will give it a relish, as it does introduced into our cuisine. There is no Whitefieldian success without it. And when the classical preacher is incapable of such naturalisms, let him be generous in his criticisms upon men who dare a freer style. Wesley writes in the *Journal* under date 1750, Sunday, January 28, 'I read prayers, and Mr. Whitefield preached. How wise is God in giving different talents to different preachers! Even the little improprieties both of his language and manner were a means of profiting many, who would not have been touched by a more correct discourse, or a more calm and regular manner of speaking.'

Scholars are now instructing us that the Greek of the New Testament is not a unique vehicle for the expression of transcendent truth as it was long supposed to be, but indeed the ordinary language of the common people. As the apostles employed the speech of the man in the street, and found it sufficient and best for their loftiest teaching, so Whitefield spoke to the crowd in its own language, simply, sympathetically. It will be remembered that he was a cultivated man, but he addressed the people as one of themselves. He understood the people. Speaking of his visitation of the poor peasantry, he says, 'The profit I reaped was unspeakable. I frequently learnt as much by an afternoon's visit as in a week's study.' It is impossible for a preacher to get at the people except as he knows them, knows them intimately, their joys and sorrows, strength and weakness, temptations and sins. And as Whitefield knew the people, he loved them. His ministry to the brilliant circle, of which the Countess of Huntingdon was the centre, was the merest episode in his career; his heart beat warm and true to the colliers, the peasantry, to the orphan, to the humble of every

kind and condition. Always happy when preaching, he was happiest in a crowd. And his love was a self-sacrificing, dying love. Without a selfish thought he served his generation, rich and poor; as the sailors say, 'he burnt all his coals,' and through his unexampled devotion was utterly spent by the time he reached his prime. The impassioned humanity of Whitefield is a lesson to be laid to heart by every one who ascends the pulpit stair.

What finally explains Whitefield's overmastering oratory is the preacher's intense spirituality. Considering his intellectual rank he is more or less of a puzzle to those who would explain his fame on the grounds on which fame ordinarily rests. We may believe that in an elect few there are elements of power and distinction, psychological qualities, which defy statement and analysis, and perhaps the magnetic power that distinguished Whitefield belonged to this category; but whatever may be the mysterious qualities and energies, dimly understood by us, which are inherited by exceptional individuals, and perhaps by Whitefield, the secret of his marvellous ministry must at last be sought in his intense spirituality. A certain sceptic has spoken of 'the disease of other-worldliness'; if a vivid, habitual sense of the invisible is a disease, Whitefield had it badly; it infected his whole personality, and whenever he appeared in the pulpit it was as a leper white as snow. To the slightest happening in daily life he gave a spiritual interpretation; without unctuousness his conversation was, to use the metaphor of our fathers, the language of Canaan, every letter that he wrote promised and implored prayer; steeped in the thought of eternity, his atmosphere was at once natural and unearthly, and whenever he addressed the people he and they felt overwhelmingly the powers of the world to come. He saw, heard, felt, knew, the reality, grandeur, terror, nearness of the things unseen and eternal. Great passions are kindled, great decisions are made, great transformations are wrought only by contact with reality; and Whitefield had this sense of the encompassing spiritual world, and the power in an eminent degree to awake it in others. He profoundly believed in the truths he proclaimed, they agitated his own soul, they were to him more actual and important than anything earthly; and speaking thus his words were spirit and life, the congregation was swayed by him as corn by the wind. His appeals were addressed to the conscience, he sought the salvation of the soul, his motives were derived from eternity. Much modern preaching is on a far different and a far lower level. Its atmosphere is secular. It is political, industrial, economical;

chiefly concerned with making the best of this world. Some chimneys in the neighbourhood of Greenwich have recently had to be lowered because they hid from the astronomer the sight of the north star ; and many gross utilitarian interests are now allowed to shut out from the view of the pulpit the vision of the heavens. If our fathers had succumbed to this snare, there would have been no evangelical revival. No patriots ever did their country a grander service than did our evangelical fathers to this commonwealth, and yet they ignored all political parties ; they hardly ever notice the parliamentary world. No socialist ever rendered society the service they did, and yet they never mention the subject. No friend of the working classes can compare with them, yet they never make capital and labour the themes of their discourses. They saw in the salvation of the soul the solution of all social problems ; they recognized in the converted sinner the secret and pledge of the ideal State. By manifestation of the truth, Whitefield commended himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God, and out of an exclusively spiritual ministration arose all that is best in modern society. The indirect and noiseless contribution of godly men to the improvement of the material interests of the community may seem to some negligible, yet is it of the very essence of progress. 'As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child ; even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all.' Let this bi-centenary of the great preacher recall us to the spirituality of thought and appeal that made his ministry so illustrious and fruitful.

THE SECRET OF WHITEFIELD'S MINISTRY.

Several aspects of Whitefield's career invite consideration, and would well repay it ; but in the limited space at our disposal it will be prudent to confine ourselves to the one aspect in which the modern apostle specially served his generation. The distinction he achieved as an orator is, of course, of trivial import when compared with the grandeur of the truths that his eloquence enforced. It is here that we must form our estimate of his historical significance. As great music is sometimes married to trifling verse, famous rhetoric not infrequently is enlisted in very poor causes : the amber of speech embellishes what in sentiment or principle is neither rich nor rare ; but in the instance before us the eloquence, however brilliant, is practically negligible in the

light of its great message and immense consequence. The main glory of Whitefield is not found in the fact that he was an incomparable orator, but that he was a mighty preacher of righteousness who turned many to righteousness. It is not now our purpose to vindicate the claim of such to the front rank of the servants of humanity; we content ourselves by observing that this is undoubtedly their place. We justly pay homage to many types of greatness; but amid illustrious scientists, philosophers, poets, and statesmen, we cannot forget that we are chiefly debtors to the leaders under God who deepen and vivify the spiritual and moral life of mankind.

The leaders of the Evangelical Revival began at the root of moral reform in their insistence upon the doctrine of human depravity. It is very remarkable how the popular philosophy of the eighteenth century was glaringly in contrast with the actual state of things. The historians of the period are unanimous as to the reigning ignorance, corruption, and misery. The rich were selfish, luxurious, oppressive; the poor disinherited, discontented, distressed. The crime was appalling, the laws cruel. The general condition of society was deplorable. Alike in England and France thoughtful observers predicted that the nations were fast drifting to anarchy. And yet in this very time the most optimistic philosophy arose and prevailed. It has repeatedly been observed that society is most pessimistic when most flourishing, that civilization entertains the saddest theories when most rich and powerful; but in the eighteenth century the opposite condition obtains: in the darkest days the philosophy is flattering and gay in the extreme. According to the teaching of Rousseau, man is born pure, inclined primarily to the innocent and virtuous. The goodness of human nature was his fundamental assumption. We are corrupted by society; all that is necessary to virtue and happiness are wise social and political conditions. And where human nature was not exactly painted in such flattering colours, the reality of its evil was practically ignored or denied. As a critic of the period writes, 'Of all the errors or delusions spread so widely in the eighteenth century, the deadliest and the least pardonable was the error most popular—a resolute *suppressio veri* respecting the corrupted moral state of mankind.'

There was no real hope for society whilst an error so profound vitiated the thought of the generation. A quaint Quaker observed concerning certain ambiguous professors that 'they had been starched before they were washed.' The

PROCEEDINGS.

philosophers, and to a considerable extent the theologians of the day in question fell into exactly the same error ; they sought to improve the condition, to refine the manners, to adorn the life of the people, before dealing with the radical evil in the human heart. Here, then, was the vital service that our evangelical fathers rendered to their age and ours. Wesley and Whitefield re-discovered the first pre-supposition of the gospel. They boldly appealed to the conscience of men ; they gave expression to the feeling that burdened the heart of the multitude ; they showed as by a lightning flash the seat, the power, the misery, the peril of sin. Theorists might accept the rosy doctrine of Rousseau, but the unsophisticated million knew that he was a liar. Hence the new preachers were listened to by the masses who were 'convicted of sin, righteousness, and judgement,' and here all hope began alike for them and for society. It is only when the physician has discovered and diagnosed the malady that the prospect of recovery can be entertained.

However our fathers were derided by shallow critics for this doctrine, which it was concluded spoiled 'the gaiety of nations,' the world at large has come round wonderfully to their point of view. Is any theory of morals more discredited than that of Rousseau? The Church at large has ceased to satisfy itself by propounding a few rules of behaviour, and concerns itself far more with the troubled consciousness of the congregation. Science in the person of Darwin stands by the pulpit. Fiction in the pages of Thomas Hardy reflects the deepest gloom of theology, if it mirrors little of its brightness. The romantic savage with his flowery barbarism as delineated by the French dreamer is a very different and far sadder creature in the stern depiction of the modern anthropologist. And Browning, the most optimistic poet of the age, in *Caliban upon Setebos* discovers his belief in the primal degradation of human nature. That there is in man a disturbing, irrational, lawless element working to his damnation, and that no grand philosophy, statesmanship, or art avails to any considerable advantage until this abnormal bias is effectually dealt with, is the belief of far more thinking men to-day than it was two centuries ago. This deeper thought is largely the result of the awaking of the national conscience by the evangelic preachers who afresh realized the majesty of the moral law, the reality of sin, the certainty and terror of retribution. Let no modern preacher hesitate to follow Whitefield in making manifest the night side of human nature. There is no salvation for the individual or the race except through the knowledge of

sin. The main problems of politics, socialism, of public happiness wait upon the recognition and solution of the problem of our ancestral, radical sinfulness. Where the chief question is suppressed nothing can be permanently the better.

The bold acknowledgement of the corruption of human nature led Whitefield to appreciate and to proclaim with memorable power the Christian verity of regeneration. This doctrine has little meaning to those who fail to understand the force and fatality of inborn evil, but it becomes exceedingly precious to all who groan under the body of death. Here we again come to the theme of which Whitefield was never weary, the power of grace to liberate the soul from the mastery of evil. We have spoken of Rousseau and his complacent interpretation of human nature; but in Germany in the same century arose one of the greatest of philosophers, Emanuel Kant, who differed by the breadth of the heavens from the Frenchman. Kant was not only a profound metaphysician, he was also a great moralist. Purely on rational lines he arrived at the knowledge of sin. He came to the conclusion that there is in our nature a radical, congenital tendency to evil. He was satisfied, without becoming a Christian, that the teaching of the New Testament respecting the human heart did correspond with the actual condition of mankind. The heart of man, his inmost will, has been perverted. Our depravity is not a superficial distortion or deflection; it is so profound that our will requires a change that must be called a regeneration. He totally and indignantly denied the doctrine of our native goodness. But having got so far, he could get no farther. Virtually he has no antidote for the strange, sad malady he so clearly saw. The situation in which he leaves us is altogether pathetic. The world by wisdom knew not God, certainly not the all-redeeming God.

Here was another secret of Whitefield's popular attractiveness. He appealed to the conscience of the people; he assumed that they had already the consciousness of sin, and they responded with cries and tears. Then it became his high privilege to assure them that in the grace of God was forgiveness for past sins, and power so utterly to change their nature that henceforth they were enabled to walk in newness of life; the believing soul had become a new creation in Christ Jesus. The moral law would be fulfilled not as by a mechanical obedience to an external rule, but instinctively and delightfully out of the promptings of a righteous nature, a nature that has been made one with the moral order. Rousseau taught that through the

PROCEEDINGS.

regeneration of society, society might regenerate the individual it had first corrupted, although it never regenerated him. Kant suggested a roundabout method of attaining moral emancipation for the individual through the Church, although he never went to church himself. Goethe recommended a system of self-culture, although his personal self-development left much to be desired. No wonder that these vague theories had little meaning for the sinful, sorrowing, despairing sons of men. How different the effect when Whitefield came to testify that the power of sin was broken, the guilt of it cancelled, through the penitent human heart trusting in the fatherhood of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. This simple plan all could comprehend and at once put to proof. The hearers of Chrysostom complained that 'he was always harping on one string.' Whitefield ever harped on one string, the new birth; only this time it seems to the fascination and satisfaction of hundreds of thousands through all the years.

The modern preacher must not neglect or give a second place to Whitefield's favourite theme. It has no implications of which we need to be ashamed. The present-day scientist finds in his sphere possibilities of transformation so profound and complete that practically they make creatures new. 'A good deal of the important variation in both plants and animals is not the variation of a minute part or confined to one organ, but has really an inner physiological basis, and may be a variation of a whole organic system.'¹ Our Lord taught Nicodemus the possibility of an analogous transformation in the moral sphere. Not that a minute part of our moral personality, a single organ, or some given aspect of character, might be improved, but that a new spiritual basis should be substituted for the entire being, and the whole organic system renewed and ennobled. 'Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God.' It is the special message of the gospel that such a change is possible; and it is in the grand function of the promised grace to effect such a change. This conversion is of the essence of the gospel, it is the gospel. The Christian pulpit that fails to insist upon it is an impertinence.

We need to remember how far more sublime was the righteousness enjoined by these great spiritual preachers than the popular morality of their times. The change to a more majestic and influential conception of the moral law effected by our

1. *The Kingdom of Man.* Ray Lankester.

evangelical fathers is of the very highest importance. No period perhaps has given more consideration to ethical science than did the eighteenth century; but the chief aim of the philosophical moralists, alike in England and Germany, was to eliminate the spiritual element from the conception of duty. The dominant idea in one school was that of humanitarianism, in another that of utilitarianism, but the mighty supernatural sanctions were severely ignored by both. The Lutheran and Anglican Churches, of course, recognized the religious sanctions in the sphere of obligation; yet, so far as they were concerned, morality had degenerated into formal maxims only slightly vivified by a spiritual faith. A recent writer has said, 'Nothing probably is more dangerous for the human race than science without poetry'; but we may be permitted to think that legalism without poetry, that is without spirituality, is more dangerous still. Within the Church and outside it there was a peculiar soullessness in this whole period. Here, then, Wesley and Whitefield interposed with ethical teaching of transcendent authority and power. No one ever enforced a purer humanitarianism than theirs; yet they displaced man as the centre of the moral world, and enthroned the righteous God. They were not unmindful of self-interest, properly understood; but they perceived that self-interest was best understood and served by a deeper philosophy than utilitarianism. Professor R. H. Forbes has described an acacia of Arizona which has a double root-system, one for absorption near the surface, and the other for searching deeply. There is a worldly prudence that acts near the surface, and that no man ought to despise; but if our leaf is to be always green and our branch rich in the fruits of light, we must have other roots that search more deeply than any grounds of mere temporal interest. Instead of the righteousness of man, these great spiritual preachers magnified the righteousness of God, and everything concerning law, duty, character, behaviour, at once became infinitely solemn and sublime. It is true they had little to say about morality—enough had been said about that and to little effect; but they spoke powerfully about holiness; and what is holiness but morality quickened by a new life, reinforced by higher motive, tested by intenser searchlights, touched to finer issues? The Evangelical Revival was an intensely ethical movement of the highest order, as Wesley defined its spirit and purpose, 'We aim to spread scriptural holiness through the land.' Whitefield gave as large a place to the moral law as did St. Paul, and enforced it as unflinchingly.

PROCEEDINGS.

THE EXTENT AND PERMANENCE OF WHITEFIELD'S INFLUENCE.

In his lectures on Church History, Principal Cunningham reminds us that the Reformers of the sixteenth century did not, in general, attain to a great age, and yet that they performed an amount of labour, physical and intellectual, the contemplation of which may well humble us of these modern days. Zwingli was cut off at the age of forty-seven; and yet, besides doing a great deal of work as the leading Reformer of Switzerland, he left four folio volumes dealing with the great theological topics that then occupied the public mind. And what a life was Calvin's! Though he lived only fifty-four years, and struggled during a large portion of it with bad health, yet how immense were his labours! Dealing incessantly with whatever affected the interests of the Reformed cause throughout Europe, he yet left twelve folio volumes, treating chiefly the most profound subjects. Luther and Melancthon just passed sixty. These famous men lived intensely, with unwearied zeal and diligence accomplishing manifold and marvellous results. Yet when we consider Whitefield's contribution to the Evangelical Revival, it is seen that in enthusiasm and fruitfulness he was not a whit inferior to the mightiest of the Reformers. It gives one a new conception of the vast possibilities of our brief existence when we survey the movement and service this consecrated man managed to compress within the narrow span of thirty-five ministerial years. Wesley's active career was nearly double that of Whitefield.

There is the less reason to enlarge on the work of the evangelist in England proper, for all interested in the subject have long been familiar with his figure throughout the classic ground of Methodism. Of the first disciples it is recorded, 'And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the signs that followed' (Mark xvi, 20). 'Everywhere' is the great word. The bearers of the good news are embarrassed by no topographical limitations; the violation of locality seemed the first law of the messengers of the churches. Thus no sooner did the modern preachers of the primitive doctrine arise, than by an instinct did they restore the spacious days of primitive Christianity and go forth, commanding all men everywhere to repent. In the metropolis, often for weeks together, Whitefield addressed vast assemblies on Moorfields, Kennington Common, and similar sites, which, if not consecrated before he preached, were after. Now he itinerated

in Kent and the southern counties ; directly we find him in full force in Bristol and the districts of the west. Now he traversed Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, and once more returned by the Midland Counties to the eager multitudes of his southern centre. The angel of the Apocalypse flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, paid little attention to parish boundaries, or to boundaries of any sort, and Whitefield was guilty of a similar oversight. And not only was he a familiar figure in the big cities, but he 'ranged' the country side. The first disciples 'went throughout the villages preaching the gospel and healing everywhere,' and Whitefield and Wesley closely followed in their steps. As Berridge said, they were Rural Deans, and installed in a barn cathedral they so preached that the peasantry were converted into priests and kings. In the light of ecclesiastical order much of this wandering was irregular, but these evangelists thought more of men than of institutions, and to save the former they took liberties with the latter. A distinguished critic writes, 'There are no rules in art which some great artist has not shown us how to break with advantage.' These fervent gossellers showed how accredited ecclesiastical rules might on occasion be broken with infinite advantage. Braving all weathers, daring the terrors of the road, in hunger and weariness, for years together these heralds compassed sea and land that they might make all men to know the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord.

Singularly enough Whitefield was not so successful in Ireland as in other parts of the United Kingdom. He went there but thrice, and his visits put together were not of three months' continuance. Wesley made twenty-one visits, most of them of long duration. This was not exactly what we might have expected. Remembering the temperament of the Irish people, their imaginativeness and emotionalism, and the large part that impassioned eloquence has played in their national history, one might have thought that they would immediately have been captivated by Whitefield's oratory, and that Ireland would have proved the field of a ready triumph. Yet it was not so. On the other hand, when we recall Wesley's calm, logical nature and style it might confidently have been predicted that he would not succeed with a Celtic audience, and yet it was here that his ministry was remarkably successful. It is another practical comment on the words of the Preacher, 'He that observeth the wind shall not sow ; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not

PROCEEDINGS.

reap.' It is best to sow beside all waters, for in evangelic effort we can decide only doubtfully in the mysteries of soils, sowers, and seasons. And yet it must not be supposed that Whitefield's influence on Ireland was inconsiderable. At the time of his first visit he was only twenty-three years of age, and he simply passed through the land on his way home after his return from America. Yet in Limerick he preached in the cathedral 'to a very numerous audience, who seemed universally affected'; and during the five days he spent in Dublin he preached several times, when 'God enabled him to speak with power.' His visit was greatly blessed, the seed so hastily sown by the wayside sprang up and bore fruit, and on his next visit in 1751 the Irish people gave him a warm welcome. His last journey to Ireland was made in 1757, when he narrowly escaped with his life, having received a deep scar in his head, which he carried to the grave. He writes, 'At Portarlington, Athlone, Limerick, and Cork, the word has run and been glorified, and especially at Dublin, where I preached near fifty times. The blows I received were like to send me where all partings would have been over. But I find we are immortal till our work is done.' Tyerman concludes, 'Ireland's debt to Whitefield is but small.' We would rather say, Small, when compared with the vaster benediction conferred by him on some other fields of labour. There is, I believe, in Ireland, a path which is said to owe its special greenness to the fact that a great saint once crossed it; if our eyes were finer we should see across the Emerald Isle a track of excelling beauty left by Whitefield's footsteps.

In 1739, when twenty-four years of age, he paid his first visit to Wales, and he was more or less closely associated with the Principality to the end of his career. His visits were frequent, and his preaching tours memorable for the immense congregations he commanded and the effectiveness of his ministry. His dramatic gift and rhetorical address were highly appreciated, and there was no hostile Catholic mob, as in Ireland, to damp his fire. Here he came into close association with a number of powerful native ministers, and together they created the Calvinistic Methodist Church. It seems strange how a religious creed that extols absolute sovereignty, that recognizes a highly privileged and exclusive nobility, and that exalts to the heavens every despotic and aristocratical principle, should become the popular creed of the most democratic classes; yet history shows how repeatedly this has been the case, the prevalent theological and political ideas being in direct antagonism. The

Evangelical Revival in Wales supplied another instance of the anomaly, a considerable section of the Methodists embracing a religious doctrine which virtually contradicted their social aspirations. But time with its stern logic has corrected the inconsistency ; and whilst the doctrine of election and reprobation has declined into little more than a metaphysical remainder, the undistinguishing regard of Eternal Love toward a lost but redeemed race has silently become a leading article in the faith of all influential churches. For some years Whitefield consented to act as Moderator of this powerful denomination, and contributed largely to its edification, chiefly by his ministrations. In 1748 he suggested to Wesley a union of the two Societies, but it was felt to be impracticable. A great schism, we are told, exists in Chinese Lamaism ; a dissenting party turning their praying wheels from left to right, whilst the orthodox insist on turning theirs from right to left. The points dividing Protestant sects are sometimes hardly more considerable, but the difference between Calvinism and Arminianism was profound and invincible, and it was best that the two theories should work themselves out independently. The Calvinistic Methodist Connexion has played a great and honourable part in the religious life of Wales, and in all its glory Whitefield claims a liberal share.

Scotland was, for an evangelist of Whitefield's type, an altogether unpromising sphere, yet here again he unexpectedly proved eminently successful. In 1741 he visited Scotland for the first time, and continued his preaching rounds until 1768, just previous to his final departure for America. Altogether within this period he visited Scotland fourteen times, and on each occasion went through the land like a flame of fire. On his opening tour he preached and lectured in Edinburgh not fewer than sixteen times in three days, and the rest of his stay is a record of brilliant activity and unwearied devotion in his Master's service. In the following year he returned, spending twelve successive days in Edinburgh, where he preached twice daily, and then setting out for the West of Scotland witnessed the greatest revival of his life, that of Cambuslang. Here, and in the neighbourhood, he continued his services for three weeks. 'Last Friday night I came to Cambuslang. On Saturday I preached to about 20,000 people. On the Sabbath again to upwards of 20,000. I preached about an hour and a half. On Monday morning I preached again to near as many. I am exceedingly strengthened both in soul and body, and cannot now do well without preaching three times a day.' 'On Thursday, August 19,

PROCEEDINGS.

I preached twice at Greenock ; on Friday, three times at Kilbride ; on Saturday, once at Kilbride, and twice at Stevenston. On Sunday, August 22, four times at Irvine ; on Monday, once at Irvine and three times at Kilmarnock ; on Tuesday, once at Kilmarnock and four times at Stewarton ; on Wednesday, once at Stewarton and twice at Mearnes ; and yesterday, twice at this place.' So he proceeded one week after another, and the minister of Cambuslang testified 'that upwards of five hundred souls have been awakened.' The amazing labours were repeated on each successive itinerary until his last visit in June, 1768, when 'his popularity was greater than ever.' A few years ago a monograph was published by the Rev. D. Butler, M.A., of Abernethy, entitled *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland, or The Influence of the Oxford Methodists on Scottish Religion.* (Blackwood.) Written in a fine spirit, it furnishes a vivid picture of the extent and preciousness of the service rendered by these vehement Evangelists to the spiritual life of Scotland. This charming book ought to be known by all interested in the great Revival.

When we review the work of Whitefield in the United Kingdom it seems as if we contemplated the achievements of a tribe rather than those of an individual. In art, literature, and in government a select few have proved so manifold and brilliant that they seem to pervade the whole city or country in which they once acted ; wherever we look some mirror flashes back their image ; and this is equally true of rare workers in the higher spheres of service : they make themselves felt in so many directions that one might think them possessed of the quality of omnipresence ; a thousand signs duly interpreted suggest the memory of their greatness. Of few indeed could this be said more truly than of Whitefield.

It remains that we crowd into a paragraph what is, perhaps, after all, Whitefield's greatest distinction, his influence upon America. He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, some voyages stretching to nine, and even twelve weeks. From Georgia to New England his labours were unparalleled, and coming at that specially critical hour were of the highest moment to the great Republic. He inspired the existing churches with a new and expansive life at a moment of languishing. His ministry in the States was followed by similar revivals to those which had invigorated the religious life of Scotland. His labours, again, in a wonderful manner, prepared the way for Wesley's itinerants. The Methodist Episcopal Church of America is a monument to Whitefield as well as to Wesley. And indeed the whole common-

wealth is singularly indebted to the great evangelist. America was on the eve of dangerous days. The War of Independence caused active fraternization with the agents of the French Revolution, and the peril was lest America should be infected by the dominant scepticism. How vast must be the difference in the destiny of a nation as to whether Voltaireianism or Christianity presided over its formative period! It is declared that the deviation of the compass of an iron ship is very perceptible, and that this is due solely to the position occupied by the vessel while it was lying on the building slip, where it acquires a definite magnetic character, the needle invariably turning to that part of the ship which was farthest from the north while she was in process of construction. When America was on the building slip the revivals which accompanied the sacred eloquence of Whitefield assisted in imparting to it that bias to godliness and righteousness which, thank God, it has never lost. It was most fitting that the incomparable evangelist should sleep on its shore.

The permanence of Whitefield's influence is a moot point with many, but not with us. Dr. Etheridge, in his life of Dr. Coke, after a tribute to the heart-stirring ministry of Whitefield, adds, 'But the labours of that great man were attended by a result comparatively ephemeral, not being followed up by a systematic endeavour to embody his converts by church-organization.' And once more Mr. Silvester Horne, in our own day, has sanctioned this view. He thought that Whitefield's defect in intellectual power was 'responsible for the lack of real human statesmanship, which spelled failure to secure the full results of his unparalleled labours.' Whitefield himself was tempted to think his work 'a rope of sand.' It will, however, be remembered that if Whitefield did not create a Church he breathed the breath of life into expiring Churches. The Establishment excluded him from her pulpits, but the spirit that stirred her dry bones was first invoked by the outcast. The dissenting Churches repulsed the young prophet, but they quickly became conscious of their debt to his arousing ministry. We have seen the effect of his preaching on the Church of Scotland, and on the American Church. Preservation is as great a miracle as creation, and to vitalize existing Churches was to conserve his influence in their persistence as really as if he had elaborated a new ecclesiastical system. Beside this, the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales, and the Connexion of the Countess of Huntingdon in England, approach very nearly to creations of Whitefield's, perpetuating the impulse

that he gave to the whole spiritual life of the nation. Whitefield was great in soul, with no faculty for organization; Wesley was great in soul and system. The Evangelical Revival would have profited little by rival statesmen, and it is well to consider each man in his place. Writing concerning a fine picture of Gainsborough's that brought tears to his eyes, Constable adds, 'Mind, I use no comparisons in my delight in thinking of this lovely canvas; nothing injures one's mind more than such modes of reasoning; no fine things will bear, or want comparisons; every fine thing is unique.' If that is true of fine things, it is true of extraordinary men; they are unique, they will not bear, nor do they want comparisons. Whitefield was a flaming preacher, Wesley a supreme systematizer; they are unique, and we do injustice to ourselves by comparisons; it was when combined that they exquisitely met the need of a great crisis. But we must not conclude that because Whitefield was no statesman therefore his influence was 'ephemeral,' or that the word 'failure' must be attached to it. The Rose of Sharon was content to shed, not to waste, His sweetness on the desert air; and as no efforts toward organization marked the career of his Master, so the modern disciple with sublime confidence committed his life work to the operation of those spiritual laws which render immortal all noble effort and influence. The soul of Whitefield walks abroad, revealing itself in divers forms and movements where least suspected. When institutionalism, enginery, officialism, statistics, are all lacking not an atom of vital influence is lost. The conservation of force in the moral universe is a precious truth that the most admirable organization must not be allowed to obscure.

Mark Rutherford complains concerning the sacred orator, 'It is a pity that no record is possible of a great speaker. The writer of this history remembers when it was his privilege to listen continually to a man whose power over his audience was so great that he could sway them unanimously by a passion which was sufficient for any heroic deed. The noblest resolutions were formed under that burning oratory, and were kept, too, for the voice of the dead preacher still vibrates in the ears of those who heard him. And yet, except in their hearts, no trace abides, and when they are dead he will be forgotten. excepting in so far as 'that which has once lived can never die.' At first sight this kind of regret seems reasonable. The author lives in his book, the architect in his cathedral, the painter in his picture, the musician in his symphony, whilst the preacher leaves no tangible record whatever of his not less divine workmanship. It is pathetic to

watch Michael Angelo fashioning statues in snow ; but orators work in a yet more ethereal medium, their masterpieces wrought in air, and nothing is left of the eloquence which moved thousands, except perhaps a few notes which give about the same idea of an oration that a photograph gives of a rainbow. Yet this is a very superficial way of looking at the matter. Really the sacred orator works on the most enduring of all materials—hearts, minds, consciences, wills, the living and immortal soul. The pictures he paints, the shrines he raises, the epics he sings, the images he fashions will all be found again in beatified spirits who are the glory of eternity, the ornaments and joy of the City of God.

SOME EARLY ESTIMATES OF WHITEFIELD.

How do we account for many of the unfavourable and violent criticisms of Whitefield by some of his contemporaries ?

1. Some of the attacks on Whitefield have the aspect of an assault upon vital religion in general, rather than upon Whitefield's presentation of it. This may be said of more than a score of virulent pamphlets whose very title pages betray their authors' detestation of any type of religion in earnest. They simply reveal the natural man at his worst, writing in the venomous controversial style common in the century. Even Bishop Lavington, as Miss Wedgewood says "deserves to be coupled with the men who flung dead cats and rotten eggs at the Methodists ; not with those who assailed their tenets with arguments or even serious rebuke."

2. Some of the contemporary estimates of Whitefield were based on second-hand information, and on impressions gathered from the ephemeral publications of the day. This applies even to the paragraphs of "the Father of Modern Church History," Lawrence Von Mosheim, whose work (1775) formed the basis of Wesley's *Ecclesiastical History*, (1781). Mosheim generally wrote from the standpoint of liberal orthodoxy. Even Gibbon considered him 'full, rational, correct, and moderate.' Wesley writes characteristically: "To speak without restraint my naked sentiments, I do not find proof in any of his writings that Dr. Mosheim himself, though a very learned man, was much acquainted with inward religion. Perhaps it is owing to this that he so severely condemns all the Mystic writers in a lump." This not only throws light on Wesley's own later attitude towards Mysticism. It prepares us

PROCEEDINGS.

for Mosheim's estimate of Whitefield. And we must note Mosheim's caution, and admission, in the first three sentences :

"It is scarcely possible for any historian who has not resided for some time in England, and examined with attention, upon the spot, the laws, the privileges, the factions, and opinions of that free and happy people, to give a just and accurate account of these religious sects and controversies. Even the names of the greatest part of these sects have not, as yet, reached us, and many of those that have come to our knowledge, we know but imperfectly. We are destitute of the sources from which proper information must be drawn. At present the ministerial labours of George Whitefield make a considerable noise in England, and are not destitute of success. If there is any consistency in this man's theological system, his doctrine seems to amount to these two propositions—that true religion consists in a certain inward *feeling*, which it is impossible to explain—and that Christians ought not to seek truth by the dictates of reason, or by the aids of learning, but by laying their minds open to the direction and influence of Divine Illumination."²

Wesley immediately follows this up in his adaptation of Mosheim's *History* with a chapter of his own: *A Short History of the people called Methodists*. He says that he writes as an eye or ear witness for fifty years, of what he, himself relates. Wesley does this also because Dr. Maclaine in his Chronological tables², under the title of HERETICKS, "is pleased to place Mr. Whitefield and me. Mr. Whitefield has given a large account of himself. And so indeed have I." It is evident that Mosheim and Maclaine both regarded Whitefield, and not Wesley, as the premier leader of these Methodist Hereticks, who had made "so considerable a noise in England."³ In Walpole's *Letters*, and literature of that stamp, the late Canon Overton observed that the name of Wesley rarely occurs, that of Whitefield continually, "partly because it was much easier to ridicule Whitefield than Wesley, who was always beyond all dispute, a scholar and gentleman, as well as a Christian."

3. Now it was Whitefield's "large account of himself" in his perfectly frank, transparent, ill-written *Journals*, that supplied the

1. Wesley's *Eccles. His.* iv. pp 167, 168 and Maclaine's Trans.

2. In the Appendix to his Translation of Mosheim's *History*, 1764.

3. Whitefield also occupies the same *first* place in Tindal's translation of the French *History of England* by Rapin. Smollet (1757) gives Whitefield the same priority. Tindal calls "one Whitefield, a young clergyman, the founder of an institution of a set of fanatics under the name of Methodists"

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

most notable quotations in the offensive Anti-Methodist publications of the time, as well as in Bishop Gibson's quarto pamphlet, "*Observations upon the conduct and behaviour of a Certain Sect, usually distinguished by the name of Methodists.*" It was mainly this "account of himself" that laid Whitefield open to the charge of "Enthusiasm," in the unfavourable 18th century application of that term.

In a review of the Rev. R. Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications* the late Rev. H. J. Foster (who succeeded Mr. Green as Editor of these W.H.S. *Proceedings*) once wrote :

"We are soon struck with the fact that much of the earliest press-assault was concentrated upon the personality of Whitefield. Like young Spurgeon of the Park Street days, young Whitefield in his crudity invited attack. His Journals offered many an obvious mark to an assailant. His personal experiences are written with scarcely any reserve, and in a religious dialect that to-day, even to the soundest Evangelical, is exceedingly repellent ; very far removed from Wesley's simple, clear, strong, excellence of thought and vocabulary. No great wonder that his claim to the help and inspiration of the Spirit was misunderstood, exaggerated, and then ridiculed. He defended himself vigorously ; he found many to back him. But there was reason in some of the attacks, and after a very short experiment he ceased to publish and to write Journals. His strength never lay in literary work. He had none of the logic of Wesley, so clear and vigorous against even himself. His experience was warm and rich ; but his theology was at first confused. It was only as he defended himself against a famous Charge of Bishop Gibson of London, that he cleared his own views on justification ; and on regeneration, in the course of his reply to the bishop of Gloucester.

"The student finds the one gleam of relief in the flowers of wit with which attack and rejoinder are now and then garnished. One Joseph Trapp, D.D., in 1739 led the way in a long wrangle with "four fiery sermons," on "The Danger of being Righteous Overmuch." ("The Devil can quote Scripture to his own purpose.") A nameless writer proposed to show Dr. Trapp "The Sin and Folly of being Angry Overmuch." Another ironically set himself "to vindicate Dr. Trapp from the suspicion of being a Christian." Whitefield countered Trapp with a sermon on "The Danger of not being Righteous Enough." (He had said of the popular Tillotson, that he "knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet," and of another Doctor of Divinity, that he "knew no more of regeneration than did Nicodemus.") Moorfields was in those

PROCEEDINGS.

days bounded on the south side of "Bedlam" Hospital. Whitefield is told that his place should have been within the building, rather than in the Fields outside. It is often amusing to watch the chain of attack and reply lengthen itself out, joint after joint, until we get, for example, (5) *An Answer to (4) the Examination of (3) the remarks upon (2) the Controversy between the Author of (1) The Trial of Mr. Whitefield's Spirit and . . .* Some series read like a religious House-that-Jack-built."

4. The religious history of the 18th century cannot be clearly understood if we overlook the suspicion generally entertained against anything that bore the name of "Enthusiasm." It was the catchword of the period, applied in opprobrium to all who, as Henry More wrote, in 1678, held "a misconceit of inspiration" or as Isaac Taylor, as late as 1829, defined it: "Fictitious sentiment in matters of religion." Limited space forbids illustrations of its derisive use in Whitefield's day, not only in the pamphlets referred to, in plays, and in Hogarth's famous print, but in the serious treatises of so good a man as Bishop Horne. The reason for this may be found not entirely in the perversity of unregenerate minds as some have supposed, but in the reaction from the political and religious turmoil of the previous century, in the dread of the return of some forms of fanaticism of the Commonwealth period, not yet forgotten, and in fear of any disturbance of 'our present happy establishment in Church and State.' This created an atmosphere of prejudice which most of Whitefield's bitter assailants breathed in home, school, university and church. It was not the 'breath of life.'

5. The appreciations of Whitefield's natural oratorical powers by men of letters, and other contemporaries, have been quoted in almost every spoken or written tribute to his memory, and have a real value. The late Canon Overton thought that Whitefield was not at all likely to make any *permanent* mark upon such men as those who have left what one may call testimonials to his preaching powers, hard-headed men like David Hume and Benjamin Franklin, and clever rakes like Lord Bolingbroke and Lord Chesterfield.⁴

But "hard-headed men" like Hume are not always insusceptible to "the powers of the world to come," preached by Whitefield. It was probably about 1749 that Hume heard him. Hume was in London this year, and during his stay there, his mother died, to his heartfelt sorrow. It is strange to find in

4. Balleine's *Evangelical Revival*, pp. 30, 31.

Professor Huxley's *Life of Hume* (pp. 29, 37), what Huxley calls, "a curious story in connection with this event, told by Dr. Carlyle, who knew Hume well, and whose authority is perfectly trustworthy." Mr. Boyle went to Hume's room "where he found him in a flood of tears." After the usual condolences, Boyle ventured to say that if his friend had not thrown off the principles of religion he might "have been consoled with the firm belief that the good lady, who was not only the best of mothers, but the most pious of Christians, was completely happy in the realms of the just." To which David replied, "Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical world, yet in other things I do not think so differently from the rest of the world as you imagine." Possibly Whitefield's preaching appealed more deeply to Hume's heart than we might at first suppose. Huxley writes of "Hume's cool head . . . and thorough kindness of heart." Was the "cool head" always dominant?

6. It is disappointing to find the 'literary dictator' of the day, Dr. Johnson, attributing everything to "the peculiarity of Whitefield's manner," and adding, "he would be followed by crowds were he to wear a nightcap in the pulpit, or were he to preach from a tree." At a later period, however he says, "I never treated Whitefield's ministry with contempt; I believe he did good. He had devoted himself to the lower classes of mankind, and among them he was of use."⁵ What would Lady Huntingdon and Lord Dartmouth say of this? Johnson is now generally regarded as greater as a man than as a critic, and what Mr. Seccombe says of his place in literature may be applied here: "When we speak of Johnson as a literary dictator, the mental reservations we have to make are truly considerable."⁶

There have been differences of opinion as to Dr. Johnson's place among Evangelical laymen.⁷ His intense "orthodoxy" may account for his prejudices against Whitefield, but there is good evidence that towards the close of his life he was much influenced by Evangelical doctrines. "My dear Doctor," he said to Dr. Brocklesby, "believe a dying man: there is no salvation but in the sacrifice of the Son of God."⁸ In his will he wrote:

5. Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, pp. 19-20, 200, 515 (Globe Edn.).

6. *The Age of Johnson* by Thos. Seccombe, p. 2.

7. *The Quarterly Review*, 1843. *The Christian Observer*, May, 1843.

8. W. Roberts' *Life of Hannah More*. 1838, p. 221. Canon Overton considered that this story "rests upon unimpeachable testimony." See also Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, pp. 681, 686. (Globe Edn.).

PROCEEDINGS.

"I bequeath to God, a soul polluted by many sins, but I hope purified by JESUS CHRIST."

Here the two old students of Pembroke College, the man of letters and the Methodist preacher, found a common faith, though the spheres of their life-work were so strangely different. In the *Edinburgh Review* (136) Sir James Stephen once wrote : "In 1731 the gates of Pembroke College closed on the rude figure of one of her illustrious sons, expelled by poverty to seek a precarious subsistence, and to earn a lasting reputation, in the obscure alleys of London. In the following year they were opened to a pupil as ill provided with this world's wealth as Samuel Johnson, but destined to acquire a still more extensive and a more enduring celebrity." Was the Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge right? Or has each man 'enduring celebrity' in his own order?

7. It would not be difficult to convict Whitefield as well as Wesley, of ecclesiastical 'irregularities,' very trying to the dull dignitaries of his day ; and so said they in language that was not always dull.

8. Perhaps the best judicial appreciation of Whitefield's place in the Evangelical succession is to be found in Sir James Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1844). He maintained that 'even the defects in Whitefield's character were rendered subservient to the one end for which he lived. From the days of the Apostles to our own, history records the career of no man who, with less alloy of motives terminating in self . . . concentrated all the faculties of his soul, with intensity and perseverance for the accomplishment of one great purpose'; and Canon Overton affirms that this great design was 'to preach in every part of the world the everlasting Gospel . . . this was his work in life.' Stephen, (b 1789) as a worthy son of 'the Clapham Sect,' considered that 'the great body of the Church of England, assuming the title of *Evangelical*⁹, may trace back their spiritual genealogy by regular

9. In the Rev. O. R. Balleine's lucid monograph, *A History of the Evangelical Party*, (1908) there is a glowing appreciation of Whitefield, and a useful note on the term *Evangelical* and its history. He finds Sir Thomas More applying it to the adherents of the Reformation in 1531. It occurs in a letter from Haweis to Walker in 1759, and in Toplady's letter to Wesley, 1770 "You complain that the Evangelical clergy are leaving no stone unturned to raise John Calvin's ghost." Apparently the word was first applied to the preacher's doctrines, their teaching was obviously different from the fashionable teaching of morality. Later, the parochial system became a dividing line. "All the Methodists, like their leader, claimed the world as their parish. . . The Evangelicals, on the other hand, were in danger of making the parish their world."

descent from him. The consanguinity is attested by historical records and by the strongest family resemblance. The quarterings of Whitefield are entitled to a conspicuous place in the Evangelical scutcheon, and they who bear it are not wise in being ashamed of its blazonry." The essayist shows "that Newton was the disciple of Whitefield, that Scott was the disciple of Newton, and that Milner was his imitator; and it would be easy to show that Venn lived in a long and friendly intercourse with the great Itinerant, and officiated with him in places of worship, which rejected Episcopal control."¹⁰

John Foster, in his *Wesley and Methodism* (1851) allows Whitefield to occupy "the luminous centre upon the field of Methodism," and thinks "no preacher, whose history is on record, has trod so wide a field as did Whitefield." We are reminded of Hone's portrait (re-produced in our last issue of these *Proceedings*), by one of Foster's sentences. "As well attempt to stich his arms down to his sides while preaching, as to shackle him with logic when, with uplifted hands and a true heart, he made known to the thousands around him the "unsearchable riches of Christ." Foster, in his philosophical style, considers how "The basis of Whitefield's mind, or that power upon which his singular gifts as a preacher worked, was the *conceptive faculty*, as related to those objects that are purely spiritual, both abstract and concrete; and with him this faculty had a compass, a depth, and an intensity of sensitiveness, never perhaps equalled." But no quotation can do justice to Foster's whole argument for this. And he thinks that no paragraph, perhaps, could be produced from Whitefield's works, "indicative of what might be called a philosophic breadth of view in relation to religion; yet practically, all that such breadth could imply was his own. . . . This breadth, this greatness, was not with him the product of philosophy, or the promptings of a powerful intellect; nor was it liberalism, nor was it indifference: it was the greatness of the Gospel, well lodged in a large heart."

Like Sir James Stephen, Foster considers that "as to the fervent affections of his soul, one could not always say that Whitefield's loins were always girt about." "His spirituality was—if the phrase may be allowed—somewhat loosely garbed." "In connection with the Methodist Revival there did in fact come into use a religious style and tone which has given occasion to those who have sought it, in opposing themselves to Evangelic

10. See also Bishop J. C. Ryle's *Christian Leaders of the 18th Century*. (1880), p. 47.

PROCEEDINGS.

doctrine. . . . Something of the taste for antithesis and exaggeration, something of spiritual lusciousness, and much that is quite out of keeping with the chasteness, simplicity, severity of the Apostolic writings. It does not appear that to Whitefield *mainly* this faulty style should be attributed,—as if he had been its author ; but doubtless he had his share in giving it currency. . . . In other instances this style became nauseating, and it has been the source of serious evils. . . . It should be the duty of the next age to remove from religious parlance these factitious phrases.” This is a criticism we might expect from a man who wrote the famous essay ‘On the aversion of men of taste to evangelical religion.’ It does not prevent him from seeing in Whitefield “one of the three or four greatest preachers since the Apostolic age.”

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD'S GREEK TESTAMENT.

Among my large collection of letters and MSS. written by and relating to the Revd. George Whitefield, there are the two volumes which form his copy of the Greek Testament. The Greek text, as originally published, was a duodecimo volume bearing the following imprint on the title-page :

Londini :

Ex Officinâ Jacobi Tonson, &
Johannis Watts

Immediately afterwards is a page bearing the royal publishing warrant, ending : “Given at our Court at *St. James's*, the fourth Day of *April* 1713, in the Twelfth Year of our reign. *By Her Majesty's Command*, DARTMOUTH.” The original book has been carefully taken to pieces, and mounted, leaf by leaf, on the blank sheets of two volumes, small quarto, the margins of which are used for Whitefield's MS. notes. At the beginning of the first volume there are nine pages of notes chiefly on the parties among the Jews and the different sects of Church history. Prefixed to each of the gospels, except that of Mark, is a short introductory note : the one to the first gospel is as follows : “The Ancients assure us that the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, were wrote in Hebrew, that is, in the language the Jews then

spoke, which was the Syriac, and all the Other Books of the N.T. in Greek. It is true the Hebrew Text of St. Matthew and of the Epistle to the Hebrews have been long lost. The Greek version we have of them may be of the very time of the Apostles, and may serve instead of an original (Dupin *Eccles. Hist* vol. ii p. 390)." There are few notes in St. Matthew's Gospel until ch 28 v 19, when a long exegetical note is given. There are short notes to several passages in St. Mark and St. Luke, and frequent ones throughout St. John and the Acts, many being initialled with the letter "W." The second volume, which contains all the Epistles and the Revelation, is more liberally furnished with notes, several being signed "W," and all show a wide, if not deep, knowledge of the Greek language.

GEORGE STAMPE.

WHITEFIELD'S FIRST HYMNBOOK.

It is generally thought that *Hymns for Social Worship*, published in 1753, was the first hymnbook published by Whitefield. (See Tyerman, ii, 294). But in the Wesleyan Conference Office Library there is a little book, hitherto unnoticed,¹ entitled

DIVINE MELODY: or, a HELP TO DEVOTION; being a choice Collection of Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs for the USE of the Pious and Sincere CHRISTIAN. [1 Cor. xiv. 15, Eph. v. 19, Jas. v. 13.] Selected, Approved, and Recommended by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield. London: Printed by W. Rayner, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXXIX.

The volume contains 254 pages, and there is a preface of four pages, presumably by Whitefield. Part of this is as follows:

For this purpose [thanksgiving to God] we have collected from the works of those authors that are most eminently distinguished for their piety, such pieces of sacred poesy as are best adapted to the various circumstances of a Christian while on this side Heaven; and it ought to be esteemed as a singular mercy of God that he has inclined the hearts of so many learned and ingenious men to employ their talents and abilities in the service of his Church and to furnish their weaker brethren with thoughts and expressions suited to the diversity of their occasions. . . .

. . . If this small Collection shall in any way assist the piously disposed Christian, in his solemn Addresses to God, our ends are answered; and let him ascribe the glory to the infinite Supreme Being, to whom it most properly belongs.

1. At all events, I do not see it mentioned either by Tyerman or Julian, nor is it in the British Museum Library Catalogue.

PROCEEDINGS.

On closer examination the book is seen to show traces of much hurry and carelessness in preparation, especially if it was ever intended to be used in public worship, which seems doubtful. There is no index, and there are no numbers. If the hymns are all counted as printed, there are 253; but no less than 12 are printed twice over, and one actually three times! This is Watts' "Great God, how infinite art Thou," on pp. 38, 147, 181. The versions of several of those that appear twice differ slightly, e.g. in "Come Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove," line 3 of verse 2 varies thus :

Our souls, how heavily they go (p. 33).
Our souls can neither fly nor go (p. 105)

and line 1 of verse 4 :

Dear Lord, and shall we ever live (p. 33)
Father, shall we then ever live (p. 105).

Only two of the hymns are acknowledged : "Come blessed Jesus, quickly come," at the head of which is "A Hymn composed by Mr. Benjamin Seward" (see Tyerman's *Whitefield*, i. 163, for the hymn in full); and the other "Meet and right it is to sing, Glory to our God and King," headed "A Hymn by the Reverend Mr. Charles Wesley." Of the hymns as a whole, 157 are by Isaac Watts, 61 are from J. and C. Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739, 7 from Tate and Brady's New Version, 3 by Ken (Morning, Evening, and Midnight hymns), one each by Dryden, Addison, Prior, and B. Seward, one ("A Sinner's Sighs") from *Psalms and Hymns*, 1738²; two which appeared in the Wesley hymn-books later than this book was published, viz. : "But that Thou art my wisdom, Lord" (Herbert), from *Psalms and Hymns*, 1741, and "Meet and right it is to sing," from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1740. Three others I have not yet identified, viz. : "O glorious God, and Christ on high" (very inferior), "Not unto us, we all disclaim," and "To Thee we owe our wealth and friends." There is also a long paraphrase of Ps. civ., beginning, "Thee Lord, my soul aspires to sing."

As might be expected, there is no classification in the book. "Sweet day, so cool so bright" is next to "Come to judgement, come away." A line is omitted altogether from one of the verses of "I'll praise my Maker." Evidences of the printer's shortcomings abound everywhere.

Was the book ever put into circulation? Or if so, was it

2. See Osborn's *Wesley Poetry*, ii., pp. 35, 41 : *Wesleyan Bibliography*, pp. 3, 4.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

speedily withdrawn? Whitefield was exceedingly busy in the former part of 1739, and in August went to America. Perhaps he entrusted it to his impulsive friend and companion William Seward, whose Journal is also in the Conference Office Library, and who has been described as "the first Methodist martyr."

A. WALLINGTON.

ANOTHER WHITEFIELD LETTER.

To Mrs. Cox.

Near Leeds Oct^{br} 24, 1761

D^r Mrs. Cox

I am still in this dying world, but frequently tempted to wish the report of my death had been true, since my disorder keeps me from my old delightful work of preaching. But Jesus can teach us to exercise our passive as well as active Graces. Feign w^d I say thy will be done. I am now riding for my health, But I think a voyage w^d brace me up. I impute my present disorder in a great measure to the want of my usual sea Voyages. Blessed be God for supporting me so well under the news of Dear M^r Polhills sudden translation—In that respect I rather envy than pity Him. To be carried to heaven in an instant from a ship's Cabbin into Abraham's bosom. Oh, what a blessing! God sanctify and make up the loss! But we shall find few Polhills. Blessed be God that I have such faithful Ones left behind. I repose in you the utmost confidence and hope the Lord will give you double strength and vouchsafe us all a speedy and happy meeting. I know who adds a hearty Amen. My nephew never so much as mention'd being employ'd at Bethesda, Through the goodness of Providence he hath gotten a Cargoe and I hope will succeed. You will make use of His store. Never think of Bet Dilly's returning unless I am Dead—she is now in the fittest Place. I wish Goster and Andrew Whitefield were put out—Keeping such Great Boys is expensive and there is nothing to be expected by my coming over. I hope my Nephew will take the boy that comes over with Him—If not he must be received at Bethesda. Surely God will yet provide for that House of Mercy. But I can at present bear very little of outward care. Writing these few letters I fear will hurt me—But I could not help venturing. The Lord bless and reward you my D^r M^{rs} Cox for all your labours of love

PROCEEDINGS.

—I commend You and your dear charge to His never failing
mercy, and am with ten thousand thanks for all favours

Yours most affectionately
for Xt's sake

G.W.

P.S. I know of Nobody that had given me any ill impressions of
the Deceased.

From the collection of Mr. Geo. Stampe.

This letter is partly given in Tyerman's *Whitefield* ii. 444, 445.

REPETITIONS IN WESLEY'S HYMNS.

A poet who rivalled Solomon in the number of his songs might be expected to use repetitions, and therefore it is no surprise to discover many of these in the selection of Wesley's hymns found in the *Methodist Hymn Book*. These repetitions consist of favourite expressions, lines, couplets, and, in one instance a whole quatrain. They are not the result of poverty of thought or diction, nor must they be considered "vain" repetitions, seeing they frequently recur in new settings. The most numerous are, of course, those adapted from the Scriptures, e.g., the line "In the work of faith fulfil" in hymn 43, is found again in the second verse of that noble hymn, 345, and again, with a slight transposition, in the third verse of hymn 708. "Chief of sinners" is read in hymns 308 and 316, and used as a refrain in the three verses of hymn 323. "Break this heart of stone" appears in hymns 305, 309 314 and 319; but the breaking in one case is to be effected by the "hammer of Thy word," in another "a look" and in the others by "love's resistless stroke"; while the related expression "stone to flesh convert," is seen in hymns 309, 338 and 339. The inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Index of Texts increases the interest of our present hymn book, as many a choice line we sing was suggested by these venerable books, which "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners." In the book of *Wisdom*, which some desire to make canonical, are two passages beloved of our poet: the first in xi, 24, is versified in hymn 47 v. 5, and 435 v. 4, and the second in xi. 26, "They are Thine, O Lord, Thou lover of souls." (A.V. not R.V.), which gave inspiration to the opening of hymn 106, which appears in Scheffler's hymn, No. 36, in No. 60 (by William Cowper), and in No.

281. Our poet had read this famous expression in *Thomas à Kempis* Book iii. ch. v., as well as in the *Wisdom of Solomon*: "Thou Holy Lover of my soul, when Thou comest into my heart, all that is within me shall rejoice."

But the origin of other favourite repetitions of our poet must be sought beyond the Sacred Word. The founders of Methodism supplied their followers with an abridged translation of the Apostolic Fathers, and many a pious soul must have been touched while reading the passionate protest of Ignatius to those who would fain have saved him from a martyr's agony. "Permit me to imitate the passion of my God. . . . My love is crucified." That the dying champion is speaking of being dead to the world is abundantly clear from the context, and the phrase is so used in hymn 179 v. 5; but who gave an apotheosis to love in this passage and referred it to the Divine Sufferer we know not. In this sense it is used by Bishop Ken in his "*Practice of Divine Love*," (See *Life of Ken*, i., 231), and repeatedly in our hymns, as may be seen in Wesley's translation from the German, No. 419, and especially in the refrain of each verse of hymn 160. "Love" as a title of Christ is used in Gerhardt's hymn, 414 v. 3, and in Rothe's hymn, 362 v. 3: elsewhere He is called "Essential Love," 530 v. 2, and in 206 v. 6 (by James Montgomery) He is worshipped under "His changeless name of Love." It is well known how greatly the Wesleys admired the *Miscellanies of John Norris*: from the poem on 'The Resignation' the following lines were borrowed, but with a difference:

He left true bliss and joys above,
Himself He emptied of all good but love.

At the risk of exaggerating the doctrine of the Kenosis our poet omits the word 'good,' and boldly says "Emptied Himself of all but love," hymn 360 v. 2, which he also uses in 135 v. 4. Christ the soul of the soul is one of the few relics of mysticism still remaining in our latest collection of hymns. As some of the early heresies denied a "reasonable soul" to our Lord, in their firm belief that the true Deity dwelt in Him, so the Paterines and some of the mystics as Tauler identified the Saviour with the soul of man. This beautiful, if not quite orthodox idea, is found in at least two of our hymns: No. 371 v. 3, and 527 v. 6. The close of the latter verse is from Macarius: "The Lord Himself doeth His own commandments in him."

Perhaps the most remarkable thing in the repetitions in our hymn-book is that in Wesley's translations from, or rather

PROCEEDINGS.

paraphrases of the German, he introduces lines taken from our English poets, and even from his own hymns. Take the fine hymn of Scheffler's, No. 421, and at the close of the sixth stanza we find the very same words as in the seventh verse of Ken's Morning Hymn 900 v. 7. So, also, the last line of the second verse of Tersteegen's hymn, No. 107, concludes the fourth verse of C. Wesley's fine hymn No. 345, and other comparisons are to be found between No. 107 v. 2 and No. 789 v. 2. Of Rothe's hymn 362, the last line of v. 1 is found in 38 v. 4; and the last line of this hymn also concludes hymn 333. But the most extensive borrowing is from Lange's hymn 39, of which the whole of the last strophe is transferred by the translator to his own version of the Lord's Prayer, pt. iii. (44 v. 6).

It is a temptation to linger on some of the favourite lines beloved by the men of old, e.g., "He breaks the power of cancelled sin"—in which a sharp division is made between the Divine absolution and the blasphemous, resultless "Te absolvo" of the priest, and which condemns all Antinomian solifidianism. This pregnant line has its encore in Hymns 233 v. 5 and 502 v. 6. So important is the truth placed on the very first page of our hymn book, that it were to be wished the revisers in 1874 had found room for that verse of an old Methodist hymn:—

The guilt and power, with all thine art,
Can never be disjoin'd ;
Nor will God bid the guilt depart,
And leave the power behind.

As the limits of our space forbid further quotations we conclude with the line often sung by the "Society at parting":—"We hand in hand go on," which, with slight variation, is found in hymns 794 v. 3, 695 v. 1, and 697 v. 3.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

WESLEY'S ORDINATIONS.

In the Rev. P. P. Sandford's *Memoirs of Mr. Wesley's Missionaries to America*, (p. 363, note), published, in 1843, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the Conference Office, New York, the following copy of Richard Whatcoat's Certificate of Ordination appears.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late

Fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting:

Whereas many of the people in the Southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers, to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the said church: and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers:

Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called, at this time, to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to His glory, I have this day set apart for the said work, as an elder, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by two other ordained ministers,) Richard Whatcoat, a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to feed the flock of Christ, and to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

JOHN WESLEY."

The certificate resembles that given to Dr. Coke when he was set apart to the office of a Superintendent. Certain necessary changes are made as the appointment of Richard Whatcoat was to the office of an elder.

It is interesting to note that by Mr. Sandford's statements, Mr. Bridgen's solution of the difficulty caused by an entry in Wesley's *Journal* is proved to be correct, (*Proc.* vii, pp.8-11). Mr. Sandford, evidently quoting from Whatcoat's *Journal* says: "September 1st, 1784, Rev. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and James Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England formed a presbytery, and ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, deacons. And on September 2d., by the same hands, etc., Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey were ordained elders, and Thomas Coke, L.L.D., was ordained superintendent, for the Church of God, under our care in North America." For Wesley's Ordinations, see *Proceedings*, vol. ix, pp 145-154.

JOHN S. SIMON.

THE "RUSSELL" PORTRAIT OF JOHN WESLEY AT KINGSWOOD SCHOOL.

(From the *Kingswood School Magazine*).

There is a strange mystery, not as yet quite definitely solved, connected with the portrait of our Founder which now hangs at the south end of the Dining Hall. Mr. Wesley's portrait was certainly painted in 1773 by John Russell, R.A. [1744-1806]. Of this painting a remarkably good mezzotint engraving was made by Bland, copies of which are still occasionally to be found, though very scarce, and there is a yet rarer mezzotint of the same by Jeffries & Faden. Now it has always been assumed that our portrait is the original from which Bland made his copy, and that a substantially identical oil painting of somewhat cruder workmanship which hangs in Wesley's House at City Road is a replica of it. The historians of the School who reproduce the picture as their frontispiece do not make any pronouncement on the subject (p. 208), but in the *Kingswood Magazine* (Vol. x., p. 276) Mr. R. Thursfield Smith gives a verdict in favour of the Kingswood original, and the Rev. R. Green, a second great authority on all matters pertaining to Wesley portraits, agrees with him.

The whole subject is treated in great detail in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (Vol. iii., p. 188) by a third authority, Mr. Joseph G. Wright, who states: "The original painting hangs in the dining-hall at Kingswood School, and a somewhat rough copy of it is in the Wesley house at City Road."

It would appear however to be very doubtful, after all, whether the Kingswood picture is the original. I have been favoured with the opinion of Dr. G. C. Williamson, the learned biographer of Russell, and quite the foremost authority upon the works of this Master. He writes: "In my opinion it is not the original work by Russell, but is, in all probability either a contemporary copy of Russell's picture, or else a very early copy of Bland's engraving. . . . There is far more expression both in the face

and the hands (in Bland's engraving) than your picture appears to possess . . . the details of the hair and gown are far more clear, and those of the hands are not exaggerated as they appear to be in your picture." Dr. Williamson has not seen our picture, it is true, but he writes that "the technique of John Russell is exceptional and unusual and it can generally be detected, even in a photograph."

In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that the original painting is lost, and that a similar fate befell the portrait of Whitefield, which Russell painted in the same year. The same statement is made in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*. The editor of the last edition of this work is Dr. Williamson, but the co-editor of previous editions is Sir Walter Armstrong, who has been kind enough to furnish me with his views upon the photograph of our picture which I sent to him. "As for the photo you sent me, it does not in any way suggest Russell. It is not like him in conception, the head is carried out in a tight laboured fashion which is not characteristic, and the hand is much too badly drawn for Russell. The hands, too, are very ill done."

Neither Dr. Williamson nor Sir W. Armstrong direct attention to two points in which the picture strikingly differs from Bland's engraving, perhaps because these points do not seem to them of great diagnostic value, namely that the Bible in the painting is represented with a small string hanging down from it, and this is not reproduced in the engraving, while the details of the gown, which in the painting are lost in blackness, and in the collotype frontispiece to the *History* disappear altogether, are in the engraving very minutely shown, and, to a less extent the same applies to the hair.

I have to thank Mr. Robert Lewis, of Cardiff, for help given in the investigation of this matter.

W. P. WORKMAN.

