

An image of Rev. George Whitefield (1714-1770) preaching to soldiers, from an edition of Gillies' *Life of Whitefield* (1772)

Whitefield the Methodist

Francis H. Tees (c. 1941)

Editor's note: this essay was written by Rev. Francis H. Tees (1875-1951), a clergy member of the Philadelphia Conference, and pastor of Old St. George's, Philadelphia, 1931-1947. Tees published a number of books, including Methodist Origins and The Story of Old St. George's. Tees often argued that the Philadelphia area was really the birthplace of American Methodism, because of the pioneering work there of evangelist George Whitefield. In Philadelphia by 1740, Whitefield had published the first collection of the hymns of the Wesleys in the colonies, established a preaching house, and sparked the creation of a number of societies. This article apparently was published in pamphlet form, though only stapled together pages, evidently typeset but without any publication date, survive in St. George's archives; one has minor corrections on it, apparently in Tees' hand, which have been incorporated into the text.

We are impressed by the peculiar treatment accorded Whitefield and his labors, especially in America, by most Methodist historians. Whether because of veneration for Wesley – “hero worship,” as an English Methodist preacher put it – or because to us “organization” has come to mean everything or most everything, or because of Whitefield’s views on “election,” as a Methodist figure he has not been given due proportion nor have his labors been duly appraised.

That Whitefield was a member of the Oxford group, and that after the departure of the Wesleys for America he assumed leadership among the Methodists are matters of record. “I do not know,” wrote the Countess of Hereford to a friend, “whether you have heard of the new sect who call themselves Methodists. There is one Whitefield at the head of them, a young man of five and twenty. He has for some months gone about preaching in the fields and market places in the country and in London at Mayfair and Moorfields to ten or twelve thousand people at a time.” The Anglican Church authorities made no distinction in their treatment of the Wesleys and Whitefield. Although all were members of that denomination to the last, its pulpits, in most instances, were denied them.

In America, Whitefield was looked upon both by the clergy and the laity as a Methodist, and his followers, by whatever other name they may have been called, were so classed. Moreover, it was generally accepted that Whitefield and Wesley were closely associated, and that their cause and aims were common ones. Further, the same treatment accorded Whitefield and the Wesleys in England was accorded the former here. Prior to the coming of the Methodist itinerants or "missionaries," as they were called and considered, missionaries of the Anglican Church, under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were laboring in America. Letters to their secretary in London written by these missionaries and by the regular clergy are quoted by Dr. William Stevens Perry in his book, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church*. These letters are illuminating, throwing as they do considerable light on the questions of Whitefield's relation to Methodism and the part he played in founding it in America.

Before quoting, however, letters of the S.P.G. missionaries, we quote several of Rev. Archibald Cummings, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia (1726-41). On November 14, 1739, Cummings wrote, "about the beginning of this month arrived here the famous Mr. Whitefield. I was under a necessity to allow him my pulpit, so anxious were our people to hear him, but that did not satisfy him. He preached every evening in our streets to vast multitudes of all sects. His doctrine turns mostly on the antinomian scheme and rail'ng against the regular clergy." On July 31, 1740, Cummings wrote the secretary of the S.P.G. that he had now refused his pulpit to Mr. Whitefield. He said some of his parishioners had left the church and others had threatened to leave, while "several have refused to contribute to my subsistence, which was bare and precarious before." On August 29, 1740, Cummings again wrote: "He [Whitefield] and his companion, Seward, have purchased 5,000 acres of land about 60 miles distant hence [Nazareth], and numbers of all denominations have raised large collections for him, and are now actually building a spacious structure [later called the Academy] for him or *his friends the Wesleys to hold forth in.*"

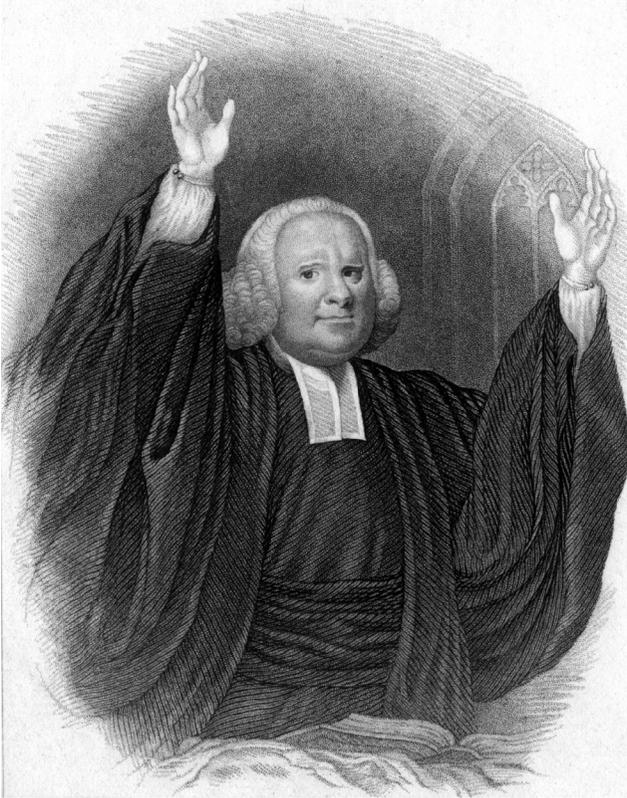
Cummings' letters bear out Franklin's statement in his autobiography, "He was at first permitted to preach in some of the churches; but the clergy taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields." As a result of Whitefield's labor, the *Annals of Philadelphia* inform us, "the enemies of Methodism were aroused. Pamphlets and broadsides were issued with great frequency denouncing the innovation in regular and formal religious worship." A pamphlet was issued entitled, *Methodism Anatomized, or An Alarm to Pennsylvania by a Lover of True Piety*. This was answered by a pamphlet entitled, *All's Well; or an Address to the Public, Occasioned by Methodism Anatomized or the (unreasonable) Alarm to Pennsylvania*.

Let us now look at some of the letters of the S.P.G. agents or missionaries. In 1742, a Mr. Lindsay wrote from Bristol, Pennsylvania, "In every congregation some of Mr. Whitefield's disciples are lately settled and then Society's raised up in which are put up powerful prayers for reforming and converting all churches to their communion." (i.e., the Methodist)

On June 24, 1743, a Mr. Jenney wrote from Philadelphia: "The party set up by Whitefield here hath affected the Presbyterians much more than the church – one of their preachers told me that he hath scarce a dozen hearers when any of these vagrant preachers (as he calls them) holds forth in *Whitefield's Building*." In October 1763, a Mr. Neill wrote to the S.P.G. secretary from Oxford, Pennsylvania that a change had taken place in the attitude of the Philadelphia clergy; that "they have now received him [Whitefield] with open arms;" that "Mr. Duche, of Christ's Church, and Mr. Wrangle, the Swedish minister, have appeared more openly than others in preaching up his doctrine;" and that "*they have set up private meetings* in town [Philadelphia], where they admit of none but such as they deem converted."

The Mr. Wrangle referred to was the minister of Old Swede's, who on his return to Sweden in 1768 dined at Bristol, England with Wesley, and urged him to send preachers to Philadelphia. John Hood and Mr. and Mrs. Lambert Wilmer, original members of Old St. George's, were previously members of Old Swedes. Wrangle's sympathy with and activity in behalf of the Methodists are revealed in another of Neill's letters from Oxford, dated June 25, 1764. Neill writes, "Mr. Wrangle, the Swedish missionary in Philadelphia, has labored (even since Mr. Whitefield was here last fall) with the utmost assiduity *to establish a Methodist's place of worship* in the center of my people. Some of the descendants of the Swedes who originally settled in these parts, having fell in with him, he preached at their house according to the Dissenting Mode, without any forms, which drew a collection of Dissentees to hear him. He set a subscription on foot in order to raise money for *building a church*. One of the Wardens of Christ Church in Philadelphia has offered £40 towards building this church near Oxford."

Once again, on October 18, 1764, Mr. Neill writes to the S.P.G. secretary that "Every means is made use of to fill up the churches of Philadelphia and New York with *Methodist* preachers. *Philadelphia is well stocked with them*. The Methodists in New York [sic] upon the death of Dr. Barclay wrote for Mr. Duche either to come himself or recommend a minister to them who was a sound Whitefieldian. Mr. Duche sent them a Mr. Inglis from Dover, a gentleman who had been approved by Mr. Whitefield. He was instantly chosen assistant to Mr. Archmuty. The agents (of the S. P. G.) who are to reside in the cities aforesaid will be surrounded



An image of George Whitefield preaching

with these men... It is easy to get *six or seven Methodists*, laymen and ministers, *in every city* who will be glad of an opportunity to give a guinea apiece to have the ruling of the church in North America.”

From the above letters it would seem that the unbiased would readily admit Whitefield as a Methodist figure, his followers as Methodist converts, and the building erected for his accommodation and that of other itinerants as a Methodist house of worship. These letters reveal that as a result of Whitefield's labors, that of his converts and of kindred spirits, Methodism had penetrated established churches. Methodists were increasingly asserting themselves, threatening even to gain control within, and holding meetings independent of the churches of which they were members. In a word, it seems clear that Methodism in America as a movement that found its place and expression finally in a new denomination must be dated considerably before the 1763-69 period.

In December 1766, Dr. Smith, then president of the school and academy known as the College of Philadelphia, which had taken over part of the building erected for Mr. Whitefield, wrote the bishop of London stating that Mr. Whitefield had been instrumental in appointing a minister to St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, and criticizing him on that account.

Here was a church admittedly built in 1762 "with a design to be more in accord with Wesley's church conceptions than was tolerated in other Anglican churches," *accepting a minister whom Whitefield was instrumental in having appointed*. It is significant, too, that on the very night of their landing in America Wesley's first two accredited missionaries found their way to St. Paul's. The minister at the time, and doubtless the one Dr. Smith referred to, was Dr. Stringer. Pilmoor speaks of him as that "Gospel Minister," and such not only Pilmoor but other Wesleyan itinerants, especially Asbury, found him, and his successor, Dr. McGaw, to be.

The judgment of Wesley's itinerants as to Whitefield's place in Methodism, as well as his own deep interest in the Methodist movement he had inaugurated and fostered this side the Atlantic is revealed in the following statement in Pilmoor's Journal, having to do with his and Boardman's activities immediately after they had volunteered for service: "When we had been a few days in London the Rev. Mr. Geo. Whitefield sent for us. As he had been long in America, he knew what directions to give us, and treated us with the kindness and tenderness of a father in Christ. Difference in sentiment made no difference in love and affection. He prayed heartily for us and commended us to God and the word of his grace, so we parted in love, hoping soon to meet where parting is no more." Even more significant are two other entries in Pilmoor's Journal:

Saturday, June 25, 1770, I had the honor to wait on the Rev. George Whitefield and congratulate him on his safe arrival in New York. He was remarkably loving and affectionate and desired me to be quite free and frequently call on him.

Sunday, June 26, as Mr. Whitefield was to preach, I began at six o'clock, that the people might be at liberty to attend him. In the evening *I did not think it proper to interfere with him and therefore did not preach in our Chapel*.

Perhaps no more harmonious or self-effacing relation between Methodists can be found.

Whitefield never thought of himself as anything else than a Methodist. He classed himself as such, and with pride he spoke over and over again of the saneness and success of the people called Methodists. "It is the glory of Methodists," us Methodists, he may have said, in his very last

sermon, “that while they have been preaching forty years there has not been, that I know of, one single pamphlet published by them about the non-essentials of religion.” Writing to Rev. Mr. Shirley April 1, 1769. Whitefield boasts, “The shout of the King of Kings is still heard in the midst of our *Methodist* camps.” Whitefield’s idea of a Methodist is revealed in the following exclamation he once uttered: “Oh Happy Methodists who are Methodists indeed, and all I account such who being dead to sects and parties, aim at nothing else but as holy a method of living to and dying in the blessed Jesus.”

Whatever may have been his belief in “election” there was no Methodist preacher of his day, nor has there been one since, who gave more prominence to the great truths of the gospel and less to his own peculiar notions than did Whitefield. He emphasized, particularly, justification, regeneration and sanctification – all through faith in the Christ whom he constantly exalted. If Whitefield believed in election, he preached as if everyone was elected, or might be.

When once preaching from the balcony of a house in Philadelphia Whitefield exclaimed: “Father Abraham, who have you in heaven? Any Episcopalians?” “No.” “Any Presbyterians?” “No.” “Any Baptists?” “No.” “Have you any Methodists, Seceders or Independents, then?” “No, No!” “Why, who have you then?” “We don’t know their names here. All who are here are Christians, believers in Christ – men who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb.”

That Whitefield believed in “election” as taught by Calvin he personally declared; that his belief may have led in some instances to the organization of Calvinistic Methodist Societies may be true, but that he personally, or otherwise, took definite steps to perpetuate Calvinism is contrary to all we know of the man or his methods. If, as it is generally conceded, “he organized no societies,” certainly Calvinistic societies and sects are included.

Nor was the doctrine of “election” confined to the group that followed Cennick, Lady Huntington and Howell Harris. Many of the Methodist people and preachers followed Wesley’s leadership, though holding to the peculiar view of Calvin. In the Conference of 1744, the question was asked, “Have we not then unawares *leaned* too much toward Calvinism?” Answer: “We are afraid we have.” In 1748, Howell Harris, who is credited with the introduction in 1736 and the growth of Calvinism in Wales, is himself listed in the Wesleyan Conference Minutes as an “Assistant.” Year after year, the Calvinistic doctrine was injected into the Conference, and not until 1771 was the controversy settled.

“The Methodism of that day [1769] was not so exclusive as now [1830-1844], [as] it collected people of any faith who professed to believe in the sensible perceptions of divine regeneration, etc., and required no other rule of association than ‘a desire to flee the wrath to come and having the form of godliness were seeking after the power thereof.’ Calvinists and Arminians were therefore actual members of this [St. George’s] first association.” (Watson’s *Annals*). It may be added that Calvinists and Arminians were actual members doubtless of other early Methodist associations or societies.

Methodists do not all agree today. On some so-called doctrinal points they disagree strongly. As long, however, as they agree on the fundamentals of the gospel we are pleased to own both them and their labors. If then we eliminate Whitefield because of his so-called Calvinism, we must in all fairness eliminate many another Methodist preacher of his day and ours. If we are to ignore Whitefield’s labors on that score, we should ignore their labors on the same or other scores. Unfortunately for Whitefield, the Calvinistic tag, for which cause, it would seem, due honor and credit are denied him, has stuck.

If it be said that Whitefield built tabernacles or that they were built for him, it may be answered, they were never built because he either had a desire to found a separate sect from Methodism or to organize societies of his own. The building of these structures was due partly at least to his belief that “people preferred sermons when not delivered within church walls,” to accommodate him when weather conditions did not permit open-air preaching, to escape annoyance and to assure preaching places for himself and other itinerants.

Whitefield had, apparently, a dread of anything that would tie him down or prevent his itinerating. “Everything I meet with,” says he, “seems to carry this voice with it: ‘Go thou and preach the gospel: be a pilgrim on earth; have no party, or certain dwelling place.’ My heart echoes back, ‘Lord Jesus, help me to do or suffer thy will. When thou seest me in danger of nesting, in pity, in tender pity put a thorn in my nest to prevent me from it.’”

Much is made of Whitefield’s temporary breach with Wesley. Unless that breach led to Whitefield’s opposing the organizing of Wesley’s societies or to the organizing of societies of his own, neither of which is true, it is no valid reason for ignoring or discounting his invaluable contribution to Methodism. Through the efforts of the Countess of Huntington, complete reconciliation between the two great Methodists was effected. That this reconciliation was complete is revealed not only in Whitefield’s co-operation with Wesley’s itinerants and their co-operation with him, but in that between the two great leaders themselves. From 1765,

when Whitefield arrived home for the last time, until September 1769, when he left finally for America, he and Wesley were together frequently and co-operated closely.

Whitefield's and Wesley's "good opinion," says Dr. Whitehead, "of each other's integrity and usefulness founded on long and intimate acquaintance, could not be injured by such a difference of sentiment, and their mutual affection was only obscured by a cloud for a season." In 1755, Charles Wesley wrote a friendly epistle to Whitefield. The following are extracts:

Come on, my Whitefield (since the strife is past
And friends at first are friends again at last)
Our hands, and hearts and counsels let us join
In mutual league, to advance the work Divine.
Our one contention now, our single aim
To pluck poor souls as brands out of the flame;
To spread the victory of that bloody Cross,
And gasp our latest breath in the Redeemer's cause.
Ah! wherefore did we ever seem to part
Or clash in sentiment, while one in heart?

As to the Calvinistic Methodists – there are approximately eighty thousand in the world today, all members of two uninfluential branches of Methodism. Sixty thousand of these are in Wales, and may be traced to the influence and labors of Howell Harris. Sixteen thousand may be traced to John Cennick, who began the Calvinistic controversy, the Countess of Huntington and the preachers that were supported by her. Indeed, without the Countess of Huntington, says another, "there would have been no Calvinistic Methodist body, as there could certainly have been no Lady Huntington connection. She was the personal link that kept the Calvinists together. As a peeress she could appoint her own chaplains, and as a wealthy woman she could purchase land and erect meeting houses." In America, there are approximately four thousand Calvinistic Methodists – not a very impressive number after two hundred years. Most of these are Welsh people, a fact that indicates their origin.

The history of religious movements reveals among other things that the converts of a particular evangelist do not all or always accept his particular notions, doctrines, or denomination. It is *salvation* with which they are primarily concerned. Another has pointed out, that in the religious world of that time "a man might travel the length and breadth of England without finding a congregation that even knew what he was talking about when he spoke of 'Election' and the final perseverance of the saints." The preaching of such a doctrine would discourage rather than encourage men in giving their hearts to God.

In the main Whitefield's converts evidently did not distinguish between "Calvinism" or "Arminianism" or any other "ism." Consequently, in the Wesleyan Societies there were found great numbers of Methodists who owed their conversion directly or indirectly to Whitefield. Thomas Rankin, who presided over the first Conference of American Methodism, was a convert of Whitefield.

Writing October 9, 1770, Pilmoor said: "Of all the pious and useful ministers that have ever visited America... [Whitefield] was by far the most useful. There are many thousands of souls in this country that have been deeply affected and savingly wrought upon under his ministry, and will undoubtedly be a crown of rejoicing to him in the day of the Lord." How well he spoke both he and Boardman were to discover when between 1771 and 1773 they covered (Boardman to the north and Pilmoor to the south) the same territory Whitefield had ploughed, sowed and cultivated before them.

What then became of the thousands of Whitefield's converts in America? Many of them were absorbed by established churches, but untold numbers of them allying themselves with Wesley and his itinerants, became the backbone of the great Methodist movement that came to be known in England as the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and in America as the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Benjamin Franklin on George Whitefield



Editor's note: the following is excerpted from the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), scientist, founding father, statesman and civic leader. Published in France a year after his death, the first English version appeared in London in 1793. His recollections of Whitefield appear in part three, written in 1788. Franklin's work, which covers his life to age 51, is considered the greatest autobiographical work of the colonial period, and has been reprinted many times. A fine recent edition can be found as part of a volume of Franklin's works in the Library of America Series (New York, 1987), in which the section on Whitefield is found on pages 1406-1410.

In 1739 arriv'd among us from England the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refus'd him their pulpits, and he was oblig'd to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admir'd & respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them that they were naturally *half beasts and half devils*.

It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants; from being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seem'd as if all the world were growing religious; so that one could not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner propos'd and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon receiv'd to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of Westminster Hall; and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia, the design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.¹

Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way thro' the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun,

¹The building was on Fourth Street, below Arch (then called Mulberry), and was erected in 1740 as a preaching house and a charity school, much like the school for orphans Whitefield established in Georgia. The school was unsuccessful, and in 1749 the building was purchased by a new set of trustees, headed by Franklin, who organized a new school; this developed into the University of Pennsylvania. The structure erected for Whitefield was later occupied by the Union Methodist Episcopal Church, which rebuilt it in 1833, and then moved to a new stone structure at Diamond and Woodstock Streets in 1888. After closing in 1946, proceeds from its sale went to the Union United Methodist Church of Havertown, Pennsylvania, which today has the cornerstones of 1740, 1833 and 1888. See Francis Tees, et al, *Pioneering in Penn's Woods* (Philadelphia: Conference Tract Society, 1937), 14; and Harold C. Koch, *The Leaven of the Kingdom: the Amazing Growth of the Philadelphia Conference, 1767-1968* (Ephrata: Science Press, 1983), 8, 92-93.

but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent & idle habits, taken out of the goals, who being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, & unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for.

The sight of their miserable situation inspir'd the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an orphan house there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward he preach'd up this charity, & made large collections; – for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts & purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance. I did not disapprove of the design, but as Georgia was then destitute of materials & workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expence, I thought it would have been better to have built the house here, & brought the children to it. This I advis'd; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refus'd to contribute.

I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, & I silently resolv'd he should get nothing from me, I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determin'd me to give the silver; & he finish'd so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club, who being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had by precaution emptied his pockets before he came from home; towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and apply'd to a neighbour, who stood near him, to borrow some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy right senses."

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I, who was intimately acquainted with him (being employed in printing his Sermons and Journals, &c.), never had the least suspicion of his integrity, but am to this day decidedly of the opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly honest man, and methinks my testimony in his favour ought to have the



The statue of Whitefield that stands on the campus of Philadelphia's University of Pennsylvania, which developed out of the "Academy" built for him in 1740 by Benjamin Franklin and others.

more weight, as we had no religious connection. He us'd indeed sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death.

The following instance will show something of the terms on which we stood. Upon one of his arrivals from England at Boston, he wrote to me that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but knew not where he could lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, "You know my house, if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations, you will be most heartily welcome." He reply'd, that if I made that kind offer for Christ's sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, "Don't let me be mistaken; it was not for Christ's sake, but for your sake." One of our common acquaintance jocosely remark'd that, knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favour, to shift the burthen of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contriv'd to fix it on earth. –

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield was in London, when he consulted me about his Orphan House concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words & sentences so perfectly that he might be heard and understood at a great distance, especially as his auditories, however numerous, observ'd the most exact silence. He preach'd one evening from the top of the court-house steps, which are in the middle of Market Street, and on the west side of Second Street, which crosses it at right angles. Both streets were fill'd with his hearers to a considerable distance. Being among the hindmost in Market-street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river; and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front Street, when some noise in that street obscur'd it. Imagining then a semi-circle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it were fill'd with auditors, to each of whom I allow'd two square feet, I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty-thousand. This reconcil'd me to the newspaper accounts of his having preach'd to 25,000 people in the fields, and to the ancient histories of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted. –

By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly compos'd, & those which he had often preach'd in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improv'd by frequent repetitions that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly well turn'd and well plac'd, that without being interested in the

subject, one could not help being pleas'd with the discourse; a pleasure of much the same kind with that receiv'd from an excellent piece of musick. This is an advantage itinerant preachers have over those who are stationary, as the latter can not well improve their delivery of a sermon by so many rehearsals. –

His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies. Unguarded expressions and even erroneous opinions del^d in preaching, might have been afterwards explain'd, or qualify'd by supposing others that might have accompany'd them, or they might have been deny'd; but *litera scripta monet*. Critics attack'd his writings violently, and with so much appearance of reason as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their encrease; so that I am of opinion if he had never written any thing, he would have left behind him a much more numerous and important sect. And his reputation might in that case have been still growing, even after his death, as there being nothing of his writing on which to found a censure; and give him a lower character, his proselytes would be left at liberty to feign for him as great a variety of excellence as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.