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# George Whitefield: Pulpit Innovator

## Frankie Melton

George Whitefield was the premier preacher of the Great Awakening in America. Samuel Davies called him ‘the wonder of the age’.<sup>1</sup> Lord Bolingbroke acknowledged him as ‘the most extraordinary man in our times. He has the most commanding eloquence I ever heard in any person’.<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Franklin extolled Whitefield saying, “[I] 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 more weight, as we had no religious connection.”<sup>3</sup> Maxson called him the chief figure of the Great Awakening.<sup>4</sup> Stout labeled him Anglo-America’s first modern celebrity<sup>5</sup> and called his 1740 preaching tour of the colonies ‘the most sensational event in the history of New England preaching’.<sup>6</sup> Noll contended that Whitefield’s 1740 preaching tour of New England was the key event in the Great Awakening.<sup>7</sup> His life work was his pulpit ministry and according to Noll ‘his most enduring monument’.<sup>8</sup> Philip, an early biographer, said of him, “No man ever lived nearer to God, or approached nearer to the perfection of oratory.”<sup>9</sup> David Garrick, the famous British actor, reportedly said, “Whitefield could make his audiences weep or tremble merely by varying his pronunciation of the word Mesopotamia.”<sup>10</sup> On another occasion Garrick lamented, “I would give a hundred guineas if I could only say ‘O’ like Mr. Whitefield.”<sup>11</sup> Even philosopher and historian David Hume admitted it was worth walking twenty miles to hear Whitefield preach.<sup>12</sup>

Information about Whitefield’s life is scanty. Nearly all of the primary sources (i.e., private papers and diaries) from his life have been lost.<sup>13</sup> He was born on December 16, 1714, at the Bell Inn in Gloucester, England, and was the youngest of seven children. His father and mother were keepers of the Inn and Whitefield worked there as a boy. His father died when Whitefield was only two years old. In *A Short Account of God’s Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield*, he described himself as a mischievous young man. His youthful indiscretions included ‘lying’, ‘filthy talking’, ‘stealing from my mother’, breaking the Sabbath, irreverence in God’s sanctuary, ‘sauntering from place to place’, and he lamented, ‘I at length fell into abominable secret sin,

the dismal effects of which I have felt and groaned under ever since.<sup>14</sup> In a lecture on the Prodigal Son given on September 27, 1740, when Whitefield was twenty-five years old, he inveighed against going to balls and dancing. In a brief biographical aside he confessed—

Before I go forward, give me Leave to tell you who (because Musick and Dancing is mentioned) may think it lawful to dance and have Balls.—But my dear Friends, such Things are as much contrary to the Gospel of Christ, as Light is to Darkness. And whatever you may think, if God ever touch your Heart, and make you new Creatures, you will be sick of these things; you will no more be present at a Ball or Assembly, than you will thrust your Head into the Fire. I speak this by Experience. No one hath been a greater Sinner that Way, than that poor Creature that is now preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ to you. Many a precious Hour and Night have I spent this Way, and thought it no Harm, as you may do: I went to the Sacrament, I kept Fasts before the Sacrament; I thought it no Harm to go to dancing for all that. But my dear Friends, take Warning, it hath cost me many a Tear, many a gloomy Hour to reflect upon the many precious Hours I have spent this Way, and I am amazed that God did not send me to Hell. Take Warning by me, it cost me many a bitter Hour, as it will cost you if ever you come to God.<sup>15</sup>

Even as a mischievous young boy however, he had an interest in spiritual matters. He said, “I was always fond of the idea of being a clergyman, used frequently to imitate the ministers reading prayers....”<sup>16</sup> He exhibited an early giftedness for a public ministry of the Word. Whitefield was gifted with a good elocution and memory and was noted for making speeches before the corporation at their annual visitation while attending elementary school at St. Mary de Crypt in Gloucester.<sup>17</sup>

From an early age Whitefield had an affinity for acting. He admitted, “During my time at school, I was very fond of reading plays, and have kept away from school for days together to prepare myself for acting them. My master seeing how my and my schoolfellows’ vein ran, composed something of this kind for us himself, and caused me to dress myself in girls’ clothes, which I had often done, to act a part before the corporation.”<sup>18</sup> This desire for acting had not been forgotten even while preaching near the end of his life. He shared in one of his

last sermons, “I had a mind to be upon the stage, but then I had a qualm of conscience...and I thought to act my part for the devil as well as any body; but, blessed be God, he stopped me in my journey.”<sup>19</sup>

After the death of his father, the Whitefield family’s financial situation fluctuated. As a result, Whitefield gained entrance to Oxford as a servitor. This ‘work study’ program allowed Whitefield to perform chores for other, more affluent students in exchange for free tuition. ‘He might be required to waken them in the morning, black their shoes, run their errands and tidy their rooms, and might even be asked to do their college exercises for them.’<sup>20</sup> As a result of serving in this humble position, Whitefield was required to wear an identifying garment and could not talk to students of higher rank.<sup>21</sup> Dallimore stated, “It was not uncommon for men who began in a servitorship to leave the University rather than endure its humiliations.”<sup>22</sup> Whitefield matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford on November 7, 1732.<sup>23</sup>

While at Oxford two very significant events took place in Whitefield’s life. He met the Wesley brothers, John and Charles, and was converted to Christ. Whitefield had heard much about the “Methodists” before going to Oxford, and he longed to be in their company. However, because he was a servitor, he was forbidden from introducing himself to them. Fortunately and providentially, Whitefield’s sober and grave manner caught the eye of Charles Wesley. Wesley invited Whitefield to breakfast and he promptly accepted the invitation.<sup>24</sup> Whitefield exulted, “I thankfully embraced the opportunity and blessed be God, it was one of the most profitable visits I ever made in my life.”<sup>25</sup> Gillies, Whitefield’s first biographer, asserted Whitefield considered Charles Wesley his spiritual father.<sup>26</sup> In the sermon mentioned above, in which he addressed his desire to be an actor, he shared that his life’s direction was changed by a book titled *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* given to him by Charles Wesley.<sup>27</sup> After becoming friends with the Wesleys, Whitefield joined the ‘holy club’, which maintained a strict regimen of prayers, fastings, study, and religious work. Whitefield took these activities to an extreme. In the end, he was so weak from fasting he could barely walk up stairs.<sup>28</sup> Whitefield wrote, “Whole days and weeks have I spent in lying prostrate on the ground in silent or vocal prayer; and, having nobody to show me a better way, I thought to get peace and purity by outward austerities.”<sup>29</sup> All three of the men at that time were unconverted. Whitefield, however, had his conversion experience three

years before the Wesleys. His conversion resulted from his reading of *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. He recounted,

At my first reading it, I wondered what the author meant by saying that some falsely placed religion in going to church, doing hurt to no one, being constant in private devotions, and now and then reaching out their hands to give alms to their poor neighbours. ‘Alas!’ thought I, ‘if this be not true religion, what is?’ God soon showed me; for in reading a few lines further, that true religion was union of the soul with God, and Christ formed within us, a ray of divine light was instantaneously darted in upon my soul, and from that moment, but not till then, did I know that I must be a new creature.<sup>30</sup>

Although the bishop of Gloucester had a policy of not ordaining any man until he was twenty-three years old, he ordained Whitefield at the age of twenty-one. Whitefield was ordained a deacon on June 20, 1736, and began preaching immediately.<sup>31</sup> He preached his first sermon on a Sunday afternoon at St. Mary de Crypt, the church in which he was baptized and first took the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. He preached on the subject, “The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society,” to what he calls ‘a large congregation’ drawn together by curiosity.<sup>32</sup> After the sermon, someone complained to the bishop that he had driven fifteen people mad. The bishop responded by saying he hoped the madness would not be forgotten by the next Sunday. Whitefield became an immediate sensation. Invitations poured in from all over London for Whitefield to preach. Transcripts of his sermons began to be printed to meet the demand for his preaching.<sup>33</sup> This goodwill soon abated, however, and Whitefield was forced to turn to field preaching. The unwise publication of his journals, containing thoughts unfit for public consumption, turned many clergymen against him and they no longer invited him into their pulpits. Void of church or lyceum, Whitefield took his message of redemption to the fields and city squares.

On February 17, 1739, Whitefield took the unusual step of preaching out-of-doors after several pulpits had been closed to him. Tyerman said it was ‘the boldest step that any of the Methodists had yet taken; and perhaps none of them but the impulsive, large-hearted Whitefield would have had sufficient courage to be the first in such a shocking departure from church rules and usages’.<sup>34</sup>

Whitefield made thirteen Atlantic crossings between 1738 and 1769, and toured the American colonies seven times. Belden stated, “Thirteen times he crossed the Atlantic, in days when one such voyage was deemed a great adventure, and never in a vessel bigger than fifty tons, and for the sole purpose of commending Christ to the American people.”<sup>35</sup> He first made landfall in North America on May 7, 1738, in Savannah, Georgia. His most successful trip to the colonies extended from October 30, 1739 to January 16, 1741. This preaching tour stoked the fires of the Awakening and fixed Whitefield as its leader. Noll described this preaching tour as the most spectacular of that era and ‘among the most remarkable events in American religious history’.<sup>36</sup> He preached in seven of the American colonies to throngs estimated to total half the population of those colonies.<sup>37</sup> Stout insisted that prior to 1740 ‘hellfire and brimstone’ preaching was tempered in the American colonies with the exception of special days like fasts or executions. Stout maintained, “Although sin and damnation were not ignored in regular preaching, neither were they used to dominate and terrorize congregations, at least not before 1740.”<sup>38</sup> Although Stout did not directly connect Whitefield with this shift, one is left to wonder what influence he had on this development as a result of his 1740 preaching tour of the American colonies.

Whitefield was a relentless preacher. Stout asserted that on many of his tours he spent as many as forty to fifty hours per week in the act of preaching.<sup>39</sup> That did not include preparation time, prayer, and traveling from location to location for services. One journal entry in 1739 was typical, saying, “Near nine Times has God enabled me to preach this Week, and to expound 12 or 14 Times.”<sup>40</sup> At the age of fifty-five, he stated that he seldom slept past 3 a.m. so that he might spend time in prayer.<sup>41</sup> He was a man always in a hurry. His most fruitful times of writing were during the confines of his sea crossings. On his last preaching jaunt in America, Whitefield preached for two hours, despite bad health, in an open-air service in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on September 29, 1770. In all of his many labors, Whitefield stated, “My one design is to bring poor souls to Jesus Christ.”<sup>42</sup>

Dallimore painted an inspiring portrait of his last night alive. He retired to the home of Rev. Jonathan Parsons and was having dinner. He rose from the table and said he was tired and would go to bed. However, as he was ascending the stairs for bed, people came entreating him to preach once more. He turned on the stairs, holding a candle, and preached until the candle burned into the socket

and went out. At 2am the next morning he awoke unable to breathe. Richard Smith, his young traveling companion, related how Whitefield expected a ‘good pulpit sweat’ that day would be good for him. Smith told him it was probably best if he did not preach so much. Whitefield responded, “I had rather wear out than rust out.” At 4 a.m. he awoke again and opened a window saying, “I am almost suffocated, I can scarce breathe.” Witnesses described him running from one window to another trying to catch his breath. A doctor was summoned, but nothing could be done to save him. He died from an asthma attack at 7 a.m. on Sunday, September 30, 1770, in the Parson home.<sup>43</sup>

Whitefield’s preaching could be both topical and running commentary. He had a great tendency to allegorize texts of Scripture and his habit was always to preach extemporaneously. He had great gifts of oratory that are unmatched in history. Stout contended that Whitefield ‘applied the methods and ethos of acting to preaching with revolutionary results’. Stout became more caustic in his assessment when he claimed, “From his youth, Whitefield wanted to be a star, and the particular egotistical self-promotion he displayed in his career was very much in the manner of the great actor.”<sup>45</sup> He further stated that Whitefield lived his life exclusively for public performance.<sup>46</sup> This low estimate of Whitefield’s motives is belied by the merciless pace he maintained and his passionate display of empathy for sinners. Though Whitefield’s critics charged him with malversating offerings taken for the orphan house, no substantive evidence was ever presented.

### Whitefield the Preacher

As a preacher Whitefield was an innovator. His pulpit ministry brought about several of only a handful of major shifts in the history of preaching. An anonymous Scottish author wrote of Whitefield’s preaching, “The dead, cold moderatism of the predominant body in the church was pervaded by the electric influence of a style of preaching that commanded and compelled attention....”<sup>47</sup> Philip agreed saying, “His doctrine, as well as his manner, was a novelty then, even in London, to the multitude.”<sup>48</sup> The doctrine of which Philip speaks is the doctrine of the new birth.

One facet of Whitefield’s pulpit innovation was the interjection of passion in the delivery of his sermons. The sermons in publication are far more acclaimed for their passion than their profundity. This stratagem of emotion was not

something Whitefield did unconsciously. He was very aware of his approach and the lack of passion in other sermons. In his letter to Dr. Durell, Whitefield attributed the success of the stage and the foundering of the pulpit to the presence of passion in one and its lack in the other. Whitefield lambasted those clergymen who preach in a cool and indifferent manner. He exhorted them to preach with ‘persuasive pathetic address’ and seek to ‘move the affections, and warm the heart’.<sup>49</sup> He bemoaned the absence of pathos in the pulpit and hypothesized how other professions would fare if their passion equaled that of the clergy. He contended,

Were our Lawyers, our Counsellors, or our Players to act thus, both the Bar and the Stage would soon be deserted; and therefore that answer of Mr. Betterton, to a worthy prelate, when he asked him ‘how it came to pass that the clergy, who spoke of things real, affected the people so little, and the Players, who spoke of things barely imaginary, affected them so much’, is worthy of lasting regard. “My Lord, says Mr. Betterton, I can assign but one reason, which is, We Players speak of things imaginary as though they were real, and too many of the Clergy speak of things real as though they were imaginary.” Thus it was in his, and all know it is too much the case in our time.<sup>50</sup>

Whitefield burst on the scene in the American colonies at a time when preaching was said to be easily described with the simple vocabulary of dull, duller, and dullest.<sup>51</sup> His passionate, extempore preaching accompanied by his loud, dramatic voice, clapping of the hands and stomping of the feet was indeed fundamental to awakening New England. It was this preaching that jolted the colonists and ignited what is commonly called the First Great Awakening.

Tracy maintained that Whitefield’s meeting and subsequent friendship with Gilbert Tennent was one of the most important facets of Whitefield’s first tour of the American colonies.<sup>52</sup> In fact, Maxson asserts Whitefield was noticeably influenced in his preaching by Tennent. When he visited New York the next year, his hearers recognized a roughness in his preaching that had not been there before.<sup>53</sup> Maxson described Tennent’s preaching style as containing such vituperation that some left his sermons with disgust.<sup>54</sup> Tennent also made use of fear in his preaching. The use of fear by Tennent may have been part of his influence on Whitefield’s preaching.



When Whitefield heard Tennent preach in his pulpit in Brunswick, New Jersey, the experience had a profound effect on him. Whitefield's impressions of the event were later recorded in his journal. He wrote,

Then I went to the Meeting House to hear Mr. Gilbert Tennent preach, and never before heard such a searching sermon. He went to the Bottom indeed, and did not daub with untempered Mortar. He convinced me more and more that we can preach the Gospel of Christ no further than we have experienced the Power of it in our own hearts. Being deeply convicted of Sin, and driven from Time to Time off his false Bottom and Dependencies, by God's Holy Spirit, at his first Conversion, he has learned experimentally to dissect the Heart of the natural Man. Hypocrites must either soon be converted or enraged at his Preaching. He is a Son of Thunder, and does not fear the Faces of Men. After Sermon we spent the Evening together at Mr. Noble's House. My Soul was humbled and melted down with a Sense of God's Mercies, and I found more and more what a Babe and Novice I was in the Things of God.<sup>55</sup>

Though Whitefield may not be the originator of fearful preaching, he may very well be the popularizer of it.<sup>56</sup> Whitefield conducted seven preaching tours of the American colonies during which he preached multiple times each day to throngs of thousands. During his 1740 preaching tour, which intensified the Great Awakening, Whitefield preached to audiences equaling half the population of the seven colonies.<sup>57</sup> The magnitude of his labors during this preaching tour is capsulized in one statement: "Preached to ten thousand persons every day for twenty days."<sup>58</sup> In all, it is estimated eighty percent of the colonial population heard Whitefield preach through his seven preaching tours of the colonies from 1738 to 1770.<sup>59</sup> With such broad exposure, Whitefield's style of preaching would have had a tremendous influence on local pastors and other itinerants. In short, Whitefield changed people's expectations of preaching. Noll concurred, saying,

By the mid-1740s, evangelical preaching had also emerged as a distinct form of Christian proclamation. Whitefield was critical in this process, since he influenced so many people in so many places by what he said, as well as how he said it. Forthright preaching of repentance, the redemptive work of Christ, the necessity of faith and the privileges of holy living were

Whitefield's sermonic stock in trade. But because he usually dispensed with a written-out sermon text, because he preached intentionally for emotional as well as intellectual effect, and because he called on individuals to respond as individuals to his message, these traits also became characteristic of evangelical preaching in general.<sup>60</sup>

Gaustad agreed, saying, "Sermon style, primarily by reason of Whitefield's example, was altered to a looser, more extemporaneous delivery."<sup>61</sup>

A further innovation Whitefield brought to the evangelical pulpit was his use of extemporaneous preaching. He recorded in his journal of 1739, 'Friday, February 2. Slept about two Hours, rose and went and preached at Islington, and collected twenty-two Pounds for my Orphan-house. Had a great Number of Communicants, and was told my preaching was attended with uncommon Power. This is the first Time I have preached without Notes (for when I preached at Deptford and Gravesend, I only repeated a written Sermon) but I find myself now, as it were, constrained to it.'<sup>62</sup> Maxson asserted that extemporaneous preaching during this period was a sign of an extreme evangelical.<sup>63</sup> With no manuscript before him, Whitefield was able to preach spontaneously, engage the audience, unleash his emotions, and use improvisation while preaching. As Philip stated, 'every accent of his voice spoke to the ear; every feature of his face, every motion of his hands, every gesture, spoke to the eye; so that the most dissipated and thoughtless found their attention involuntarily fixed'.<sup>64</sup> Gaustad said of his preaching, "To congregations accustomed to sermons stolidly read from closely written manuscripts, the free-flowing eloquence of the youthful and impassioned orator had much appeal. His sermons were simple, intrinsically logical, emotional, extemporaneous."<sup>65</sup> Whitefield disdained the use of notes by others. He said, "I think the ministers preaching almost universally by note, is a mark that they have, in great measure, lost the old spirit of preaching. Though they are not to be condemned who use notes, yet it is a symptom of the decay of religion, when reading sermons becomes fashionable where extempore preaching did once almost universally prevail."<sup>66</sup> Josiah Smith, in a sermon defending Whitefield's doctrine and character, said of his preaching, 'his Discourses were very extraordinary, when we consider, how little they were premeditated'.<sup>67</sup>

A final innovation was Whitefield's preaching out-of-doors. Having the pulpits of the established church closed to him, Whitefield rebelled against the common

mores and preached in fields, city squares, graveyards, private domiciles, and events of fete to proclaim his message of the New Birth. He used as a place to stand whatever was available. He used once a tombstone,<sup>68</sup> the coffin of a condemned criminal under the gallows,<sup>69</sup> a mount,<sup>70</sup> steps,<sup>71</sup> a wall,<sup>72</sup> a horse-block,<sup>73</sup> some turf,<sup>74</sup> a porch window,<sup>75</sup> a wagon,<sup>76</sup> a balcony,<sup>77</sup> a scaffold,<sup>78</sup> a chaise,<sup>79</sup> stairs of a windmill,<sup>80</sup> a starting-post,<sup>81</sup> a stump,<sup>82</sup> a staircase in a house,<sup>83</sup> and a table<sup>84</sup> in the street. Eventually, an old Quaker built him a collapsible pulpit for open-air preaching.<sup>85</sup> Belden asserted, “It is estimated that from this pulpit alone he preached the gospel, with overwhelming power every time, to no less than ten million souls in England, Wales, Scotland, and America.”<sup>86</sup>

Itinerancy was a major area of contention and one of five points of antagonism from the anti-revivalists during the Great Awakening.<sup>87</sup> In fact, Charles Chauncy, the chief antagonist of the Awakening, put itinerant preaching first in his list of grievances with the leaders of the Awakening. Chauncy said, “Among the bad Things attending this Work, I shall first mention Itinerant Preaching. This has its Rise (lest in these Parts) from Mr. Whitefield; though I could never see, I own, upon what Warrant, either from Scripture or Reason, he went about Preaching from one Province and Parish to another, where the Gospel was already preach’d, and by Persons as well qualified for the Work, as he can pretend to be.”<sup>88</sup> Whitefield was suited to such work, for Benjamin Franklin said of him, “He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words so perfectly that he might be heard and understood at a great distance, especially as his auditories observed the most perfect silence.”<sup>89</sup>

Whitefield first took to the field on Saturday, February 17, 1739, preaching from a mount at Rose-Green near Kingswood. His audience was composed of around two hundred colliers.<sup>90</sup> This move made Whitefield’s message accessible to common people and cleared a vista for massive crowds to hear him. As for Whitefield, he reveled in preaching out-of-doors. He declared, “My preaching in the Fields may displease some timorous bigotted Men; but I am throughly perswaded [sic] it pleases God; and why should I fear any Thing else?”<sup>91</sup> Again he exclaimed, “Blessed be God, all Things happen for the Furtherance of the Gospel. I now preach to ten Times more People than I should, if I had been confined to the Churches.”<sup>92</sup> Maxson concluded, “Itinerancy of this sort was then a novelty and one of the most effective engines of the movement.”<sup>93</sup> Whitefield wrote of the experience, “The firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields,

with the sight of thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees; and at times all affected and drenched in tears together; to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening,—was almost too much for me, and quite overcame me.”<sup>94</sup> Hay describes scenes pulsating with excitement as Whitefield preached at Kennington Common. He wrote,

Kennington Common soon became one of Whitefield’s favourite grounds, especially on week–days. Here prodigious multitudes gathered together to hear him. He had sometimes eighty carriages, (in those days no inconsiderable number for even London to send forth on such an occasion) very many on horseback, and from thirty to forty thousand on foot. Their singing could be heard two miles off, and his own voice a mile. Waggon and scaffolds were hired by the people, that they might the better see and hear the wonderful preacher, who, ordained by a bishop, and gowned as a clergyman of the Established Church, had broken away from its rigid decorum, and, like his Divine Master, had gone into the highways and hedges to save the neglected souls of the masses of his countrymen.<sup>95</sup>

Historians estimate Whitefield preached eighteen thousand times over the course of his thirty-four year ministry by utilizing such venues.<sup>96</sup> If his times of group exhortation in society meetings and homes are calculated, it is estimated he expounded the Word of God thirty thousand times in toto.<sup>97</sup>

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47. George Whitefield, *Sketches of the Life and Labours of the Rev. George Whitefield* (London: John Johnstone, n.d.), p. 90 [on-line]; accessed 17 July 2009; available from <<http://openlibrary.org>>.
48. Robert Philip, *The Life and Times of George Whitefield* (Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2007), 555.
49. George Whitefield, *A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Durell, Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford* (London: J. Millan, E. and C. Dilly, and M. Folingsby, 1768), 46 [on-line]; accessed 17 July 2009; available from <<http://openlibrary.org>>.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

51. Edwin S. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper, 1957), 14.
52. Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening. A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston: Published by Charles Tappan, 1845), 53 [on-line]; accessed 17 July 2009; available from <<http://books.google.com>>.
53. Maxson, *The Great Awakening*, p. 49.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
55. Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From His Embarking After the Embargo, to His Arrival at Savannah in Georgia*, p. 35.
56. Many itinerants, including Davenport and Tennent, also employed fear appeals in their preaching. Gaustad stated, "Throughout New England, other itinerant ministers had begun to follow the example of Whitefield and Tennent, while many resident pastors became zealous evangelists in and around their own respective parishes," Gaustad, *The Great Awakening*, 35. Also, in 1713 Solomon Stoddard had published *The Efficacy of the Fear of Hell to Restrain Men From Sin*, in which he advocates using the fear of hell to persuade auditors.
57. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, p. 13.
58. Edwin Noah Hardy, *George Whitefield: The Matchless Soul Winner* (New York: American Tract Society, 1938), p. 278.
59. Kevin A. Miller, "Did You Know?" *Christian History* 38, no. 2 (1993): 2.
60. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, p. 132.
61. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening*, p. 107.
62. Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From His Arrival in London, to His Departure from thence on His Way to Georgia*, p. 16.
63. Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*, p. 26.
64. Philip, *The Life and Times of George Whitefield*, p. 558.
65. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, p. 28.
66. Stout, *The New England Soul*, p. 192.
67. Josiah Smith, *The Character, Preaching, Etc. of the Reverend Mr. Geo. Whitefield* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1740), p. 14 [on-line]; accessed 14 September 2009; available from <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>.
68. Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*, p. 42.
69. David Hay, *George Whitefield; or Consecrated Eloquence* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1867), p. 51 [on-line]; accessed 17 July 2009; available from <<http://openlibrary.org>>.
70. Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From His Arrival in London, to His Departure from thence on His Way to Georgia*, p. 31.

71. *Ibid.*, 68.
72. *Ibid.*, 45-46.
73. *Ibid.*, 72.
74. *Ibid.*, 58
75. George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From His Embarking After the Embargo, to His Arrival at Savannah in Georgia*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed by W. Strahan for James Hutton, 1740), 45 [on-line]; accessed 20 August 2009; available from <<http://books.google.com>>.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
78. George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, After His Arrival at Georgia, to a Few Days After His Second Return Thither From Philadelphia* (London: Printed by W. Strahan for James Hutton, 1741), 30 [on-line]; accessed 20 August 2009; available from <<http://books.google.com>>.
79. George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, During the Time He Was Detained in England by the Embargo*, 4th ed. (London: Printed by W. Strahan, 1739), 8 [on-line]; accessed 20 August 2009; available from <<http://books.google.com>>.
80. Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From His Arrival in London, to His Departure from thence on His Way to Georgia*, 108.
81. *Ibid.*, 106.
82. George Whitefield, *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771), 2:11.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
84. Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Letters*, p. 495.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 387. Whitefield's pulpit is in the possession of the American Tract Society in Garland, Texas.
86. Belden, "What America Owes George Whitefield," 446.
87. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, 70. The others were lay exhorting, censoriousness, church divisions and separations, and doctrinal errors.
88. Charles Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England, A Treatise in Five Parts* (Boston: Printed by Rogers and Fowle for Samuel Eliot, 1743), 36 [on-line]; accessed 17 July 2009; available from <<http://openlibrary.org>>.
89. Franklin, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, p. 257.
90. Hay, *Whitefield*, p. 14.
91. Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, From His Arrival in London, to His Departure from thence on His Way to Georgia*, p. 46.



92. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
93. Maxson, *The Great Awakening*, p. 145.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
95. Hay, *Whitefield*, p. 22.
96. John Gillies, *Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield* (New Haven, CT: Whitmore & Buckingham and H. Mansfield, 1834), p. 284 [on-line]; accessed 17 July 2009; available from <<http://openlibrary.org>>. The number eighteen thousand is also given by J. C. Ryle, *Select Sermons of George Whitefield With An Account of His Life*, 22. Ryle does not cite Gillies, but it is likely he borrows the information from him.
97. Timothy K. Beougher, ed., *Is Your Christian Faith Real? Sermons by George Whitefield* (Wheaton: The Institute of Evangelism, 1999), p. 9. Beougher also cites the number eighteen thousand as the number of times Whitefield formally preached.