# GEORGE WHITEFIELD: THE NECESSARY INTERDEPENDENCE OF PREACHING STYLE AND SERMON CONTENT TO EFFECT REVIVAL.

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## I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

George Whitefield was born on December 14, 1717, in the Bell Inn in Gloucester, England. The youngest of seven children, he was only two when his father died. One source comments, "He came of good stock; but his parents had met with the sorry fruits of bad fortune." Eight years later, Whitefield's mother married a second time. Hard times forced young Whitefield to leave school for a short period to serve as a "commondrawer" at the bar of the Bell Inn and to assist in duties there. During his years at the Free Grammar School of Gloucester he had "won a name for himself through his prowess in elocution and recitation." Whitefield therefore, as a youth of some ability, was not to be kept from his education. In 1733 he entered Pembroke College, Oxford, as a servitor and graduated in 1736. At about the age of seventeen "he paid a visit to an elder brother in Bristol, when he heard the sermon which first awoke his soul to serious thought for God." 1

During his years at Oxford, Whitefield met Charles and John Wesley and was exposed to their seriousness of commitment. He was particularly moved by a small book loaned to him by Charles Wesley entitled *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, written by Henry Scougal. While reading it he realized that union with God "meant that he must be a new creature." <sup>2</sup> But it was not until he read a book by Joseph Hall entitled *Contemplations on the New Testament* that he experienced in his own life that keynote message of his later preaching—that is, that man is justified before God not by works but by faith. These days were the beginnings of a lifetime relationship between the Wesleys and Whitefield. One writer says:

The history of the relationship between John Wesley and George Whitefield is a long and complicated one. For more than 35 years the two men knew and worked with each other in the general service of spreading the Christian gospel.

She goes on to add that their relationship "was always loving, even in the face of a doctrinal conflict which caused estrangement lasting a year and a half." Belden

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- <sup>1</sup>M. L. Loane, Oxford and the Evangelical Succession (London: Butterworth, 1950) 19.
- <sup>2</sup>F. E. Maser, "When Whitefield Swayed Philadelphia," Eternity (July 1960) 21.
- <sup>3</sup>J. Pollock, George Whitefield and the Great Awakening (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972) 17-19.
- $^4$ S. Harrington, "Friendship Under Fire: George Whitefield and John Wesley—1739-41," ANQ (January 1975) 167.

compares the two in their later service: "We may describe Whitefield as the pioneer evangelist of the great revival and Wesley as the constructive evangelist." But regarding their earlier service Loane contends that

Whitefield seems to have been the first of that little band at Oxford to get a clear grasp of the Gospel, and not one of them held it more tenaciously than he did to the end.<sup>6</sup>

The entire Oxford group, however, including Whitefield and both Wesleys may be characterized as moving from "a rigid asceticism" in their earlier days to "the more helpful discipline of evangelistic toil." <sup>7</sup>

After graduation the Oxford friends separated and Whitefield was ordained as a deacon in the Church of England by Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, on June 20, 1736. A biographer writes about Whitefield's sermon the very next Sunday that he

commandeered every art remembered from his play-reading days. He let the deep voice reach effortlessly right across the box-pews of the quality to the very last of the free benches at the back. People told him that no sermon had ever been delivered so well, and he blushed and fought down pride.<sup>8</sup>

Late 1736 and early 1737 saw the rise of Whitefield's popularity as he preached as often as five times each week while he anxiously waited to be taken to his American parish. It was during these early months of Whitefield's preaching ministry that he began to pray and preach extemporaneously. 10

On May 7, 1738, Whitefield finally arrived in America. He had been appointed to go to Fredrica, a settlement one hundred miles south of Savannah, Georgia. But finding that Wesley had vacated the rectorship of Savannah, and at the urging of the Georgia colonists, he left Georgia after a stay of only three months and returned to England to receive priest's orders and permission to remain in Savannah and to raise money for the establishment of an orphanage. He was ordained as a priest in the Church of England on January 10, 1739. Another milestone event soon took place for Whitefield. On Saturday, February 17, 1739, he first preached in the open air in an effort to attract the coal miners of Bristol who would likely never enter a church building to hear the gospel. Here it was that he saw "the white gutters made by their tears down their black cheeks." This marked the beginning of the Whitefield method of evangelism which was to become his trademark throughout his ministry, though it was more than a trade-

<sup>5</sup>A. D. Belden, "George Whitefield: His Influence On His Time," Evangelical Christian (March 1961) 2.

<sup>6</sup>Loane, Oxford, 23.

Review of L. Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, B.A., of Pembroke College, Oxford, in London Quarterly Review (July 1877) 407.

<sup>8</sup>Pollock, Whitefield, 28.

9Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 50, 57; see also J. Wesley, Sermon on the Death of the Rev. George Whitefield (Atlanta: Emory University Library, 1953) 6.

<sup>11</sup>Pollock, Whitefield, 83; see also "Whitefield, George," Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th ed.), 28. 603.

mark because of the overwhelming effectiveness of this means of preaching to reach unchurched people.

Whitefield's second trip to America was in 1739, and this time he remained there for two years "preaching in all the principal towns." Already "Whitefield had preached to more people than had any man alive, probably to more than any one man in history." During this trip the aforementioned breach with John Wesley took place and the need for reconciliation with his Christian brother helped motivate Whitefield to make another trip back to England. Wesley had begun "to preach in a strong Arminian strain." Loane quotes Wesley's Journal of March 28, 1741, regarding the breach with Whitefield:

He told me, he and I preached two different Gospels; and therefore, he not only would not join me or give me the right hand of fellowship, but was resolved to publicly preach against me and my brother, wheresoever he preached at all.<sup>14</sup>

Loane then cites Whitefield's works to show how the breach was healed less than six months later. Whitefield wrote to Wesley:

May God remove all obstacles that now prevent our union! Though I hold particular election, yet I offer Jesus freely to every individual soul.<sup>15</sup>

Another rift occurred, this time with Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, who had invited Whitefield to preach in Scotland but who wanted him to limit his ministry to the Seceders sect. His ecumenical spirit would not agree to such a limitation.

Another event took place in Whitefield's life in 1741 of, strangely enough, hard-to-determine importance. On November 14, 1741, he married a widow named Elizabeth James, a woman much older than himself. In late 1743 she gave birth to a son, John, who died on February 8, 1744, when only four months old. Elizabeth went to America with Whitefield in 1744. She died in England on August 9, 1768, and there Whitefield preached his wife's funeral sermon.

Of seemingly more importance to him than his wife was the orphanage he had established in Savannah. But it was under the constant pressure of financial worries. On one of his return trips to England from America, Whitefield sold his household furniture to pay off the orphanage debts. Financial relief finally came, the benefactor being Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who appointed Whitefield as one of her personal chaplains. This freed him from material concerns and allowed him to preach the gospel without having to add to the message a plea for money.

Ill health constantly plagued Whitefield and frequently determined his movement from one location to another. For instance in March, 1748, "ill health led him to make a voyage to Bermuda, whence an unexpected opportunity occurred for a free passage to England." <sup>16</sup> But just as certainly he seldom let poor health keep him from preaching, even preaching a two-hour sermon the day before his

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12"Whitefield," Britannica, 603.
13Pollock, Whitefield, 112.
14Loane, Oxford, 40-41.
15Ibid., p. 41.
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16Ibid., p. 48.

death. One authority says, "His soul was all passion; his heart was all fire. Repression for him would have meant extinction." In all he made seven visits to America, crossing the Atlantic thirteen times; two tours of Ireland; and fifteen trips to Scotland. Loane says:

As for England and Wales . . . there was hardly a single town of any size or note in north or south, in east or west, where he failed to lift up his voice like a silver trumpet with the Gospel message.  $^{18}$ 

In 1769 on his last trip to America the orphanage was converted into Bethesda College. Just four years later the complex burned down in a tragic fire, never to be rebuilt.

On September 30, 1770, George Whitefield died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, and was buried there in front of the pulpit of the Presbyterian church of the town where he died, "in accordance with his own desire." <sup>19</sup> He was physically abused several times during his preaching career in such instances as this:

Volleys of stones came from all quarters, and every step I took, a fresh stone struck and made me reel backwards and forwards, till I was almost breathless, and all over a gore of blood.<sup>20</sup>

Nonetheless he died a hero's death rather than a martyr's death and was eulogized in England and America as a key figure in the Great Awakening and in the moral rebirth of both continents.

## II. PREACHING STYLE

#### Belden contends that it is

doubtful if there would have been any Evangelical Revival if Whitefield had been other than he was—the master evangelist of all time, and if he had not discovered the grace and the audacity to *initiate* out-of-church preaching.<sup>21</sup>

Whitefield said of himself, "Everyone hath his proper gift. Field preaching is my plan. In this I am carried as on eagles' wings."<sup>22</sup> John Wesley said that after Whitefield's first preaching in the open air "a flame of holy love was kindled, which will not easily be put out." Here is Wesley's account of how Whitefield began his open-air preaching:

On Sunday the 21st [of January, 1739, he] preached twice, but though the churches were large and crouded [sic] exceedingly, yet many hundreds stood in the church yard, and hundreds more returned home. This put him upon the first thought of preaching in the open air. But when he mentioned it to some of his friends, they judged it to be mere madness. So he did not carry it into execution, till after he had

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<sup>17</sup>Review of Tyerman, Life, 408.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Loane, Oxford, 55.

<sup>19&</sup>quot;Whitefield," Britannica, 604.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>O. J. Smith, "Giant Voice," Christian Life (October 1964) 34.

<sup>21</sup>Belden, "Whitefield," 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>R. Philip, The Life and Times of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (London: Joseph Rickerby, 1842) 385.

left London. It was on Wednesday, February 21, that finding all the church doors to be shut in Bristol, (beside that no church was able to contain one half of the congregation) at three in the afternoon he went to Kingswood, and preached abroad, to near two thousand people. On Friday he preached there to four or five thousand; and on Sunday to (it was supposed) ten thousand.<sup>23</sup>

It should be noted that, always faithful to the Church of England and never losing an opportunity to reaffirm his loyalty to the Church, <sup>24</sup> Whitefield was "always careful to time his Sabbath discourses, so as not to interfere with the stated hours of worship." This position has been disputed by those who feel that it was only his position as an anti-establishmentarian that gave him his "revivalist power." Kenney even states: "Clearly, Whitefield's attempts to convert the world had become an effort to repudiate the Church of England." Such a statement is clearly contrary to Whitefield's own words, written to the bishop of London:

My constant way of preaching is first to prove my propositions by scripture and then to illustrate them by the Articles and Collects of the Church of England.<sup>26</sup>

The open-air preaching of Whitefield allowed more people to hear the gospel than any other means in the eighteenth century would have permitted. Benjamin Franklin once computed that Whitefield could be heard by as many as thirty thousand people.<sup>29</sup> John Wesley says, "The thousands of hearers were as quiet as they could have been in a church."<sup>30</sup> Belden states that "no preacher of any generation commanded greater crowds or had a more extensive hearing" and estimates that from his open-air pulpit Whitefield preached to more than ten million people in his lifetime.<sup>31</sup> Even when his health was failing he "placed himself on what he called 'short allowance,' preaching only once every weekday and thrice on Sunday."<sup>32</sup> Such a demanding schedule with such strenuous, self-imposed standards came at great physical cost to Whitefield, for

often after leaving the pulpit he vomited blood, and those who knew him intimately tell us that "after a preaching paroxysm he lay panting on his couch, spent, breath-

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<sup>23</sup>Wesley, Sermon, 7.

<sup>24</sup>Loane, Oxford, 53.

<sup>25</sup>J. Smith, "A sermon on the Character, Preaching, &c. of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield," in G. Whitefield, Fifteen Sermons Preached on Various Important Subjects (Glascow: J. & M. Robertson, 1972) 22.

<sup>25</sup>W. H. Kenney, "George Whitefield, Dissenter Priest of the Great Awakening, 1739-1741," William and Mary Quarterly (January 1969) 92.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>Loane, Oxford, 54.

<sup>29</sup>Belden, "Whitefield," 2.

<sup>30</sup>Wesley, Sermon, 8.
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32"Whitefield," Britannica, 604.

less and deathlike." No wonder he wielded power! 33

To describe the preaching of Whitefield is an impossible task. The most one can hope to do is to convey the feeling that here was a man who "spake as never man spoke before him." <sup>34</sup> Such was the opinion of Joseph Smith in his sermonic introduction to a book of Whitefield's collected sermons. Realizing the extreme claim of such a statement, yet wishing to defend the accuracy of any statement made by Smith, the publishers of this collection even prefaced Smith's introductory words with what may be called a "character reference" to assure the reader of the dependability of anything by Smith that sounded overstated. B. Colman and W. Cooper, the collaborators in the writing of the preface, say:

We receive his testimony because we know him to be a gentleman of good sense and strict veracity; and also free from enthusiastic impressions . . . and the same things have been reported to us by our Reverend brethren, of the like character, whom we know and correspond with, in places where Mr. Whitefield hath visited in.<sup>35</sup>

The assured objectivity of Smith as an eye and ear witness to this magnificent preacher makes his words significant:

So charmed were people with his manner of address, that they shut up their shops, forgot their secular business, and laid aside their schemes for the world; and the oftener he preached, the keener edge he seemed to put upon their desires of hearing him again!—How awfully, with what thunder and sound did he discharge the artillery of heaven upon us? And yet, how could he soften and melt even a soldier of Ulysses, with the love and mercy of God.<sup>36</sup>

Words are apparently inadequate to describe Whitefield's preaching though many, like Smith, try. John Wesley speaks of "divine pathos" when describing Whitefield's appeal, and he also referred to his "fervency of zeal, perhaps unequalled since the days of the apostles." One writer says Whitefield spoke in a "conversational style... with spontaneous flights of oratory." Another adds that "a noble negligence runs through his style." One mid-nineteenth-century source reports:

He thinks aloud about himself, only to enable others to know what to think about their own perplexities, dilemmas and temptations. He shows them his own soul, merely to prove that "no strange thing has befallen" their souls. 40

Though many make the effort, it would be difficult to determine whether it was what Whitefield said or the way he said it that captivated his audiences:

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<sup>33</sup>Belden, "Whitefield," 2.
<sup>34</sup>Whitefield, Fifteen, 20.
<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 6.
<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 20.
<sup>37</sup>Wesley, Sermon, 11.
<sup>38</sup>Loane, Oxford, 63.
<sup>39</sup>Whitefield, Fifteen, 19.
<sup>40</sup>Philip, Life, 574.
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Franklin, a deist, attributed Whitefield's influence more to his oratory than to his doctrine and the power of the Holy Spirit. But a student of Whitefield's soon perceives there was more to this itinerant preacher than clever oratory or well-turned phrases.<sup>41</sup>

Such does appear to be the general consensus of the students of Whitefield's life. Purcell cites the opinion of Thomas Prince that Whitefield spoke with "a mighty sense of God" and "a sense of eternity." Wesley agrees in these memorable words:

What was the foundation of this integrity, or of his sincerity, courage, patience, and every other valuable and amiable quality . . . ? It was not the excellency of his natural temper; not the strength of his understanding: It was not the force of education; no, nor the advice of his friends. It was no other than faith in a bleeding Lord. . . . From this source arose that torrent of Eloquence which frequently bore down all before it: From this, that astonishing force of Persuasion, which the most hardened sinners could not resist. This it was, which often made his head as waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. 43

Regarding weeping while he was preaching, Loane writes of Whitefield:

Few could withstand the sight. It woke up affections and touched the hidden springs of the heart as nothing else could ever do; men could not hate one who loved and wept for their souls.<sup>44</sup>

Such public devotion was, for Whitefield, the natural expression of his private devotion. Smith contends: "He prays in public, with that spirit, variety, and fluency, which can only be expected from a man, who was no stranger to the sacred duty in private." 45

As for his preparation, Whitefield studied in the early morning for "an hour or so if he could with Henry or Cruden beside him," though he never set aside a particular time daily for his study. 46 Whether one would expect a man with his preaching schedule to have a longer or shorter devotional period, one could not doubt that "the grand secret of Whitefield's power was, as we have seen and felt, his devotional spirit. Had he been less prayerful, he would have been less powerful." 47

No one would deny, however, that alongside Whitefield's passion for his message he was an unusually gifted speaker. One writer claims that Whitefield possessed "possibly the greatest voice any human ever had." Belden suggests that

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41Maser, "Whitefield," 21.

42M. Purcell, "Preacher for the Ages," Moody Monthly (April 1971) 48.

43Wesley, Sermon, 14.

44Loane, Oxford, 61.

45Whitefield, Fifteen, 22.

46Loane, Oxford, 62.

47Philip, Life, 565.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>A. Dallimore, "Man Who Loved His Critics," Christianity Today (August 19, 1957) 14.

"his work was dependent upon his amazingly expressive features and his organlike voice" (but Belden's word "dependent" seems too strong, for he mentions that on at least one occasion, after a volume of Whitefield's sermons was read, "a fire of conversion was kindled"). 49 John Newton's analysis, cited by Pollock, seems accurate:

Other ministers could, perhaps, preach the Gospel as clearly, and in general say the same things. But, I believe, no man living could say them in his way. Here I always thought him unequalled, and I hardly expect to see his equal while I live.<sup>50</sup>

### III. SERMON CONTENT

Any analysis of Whitefield and his preaching must consider the content of his messages as well as his preaching style. Regarding Whitefield's printed sermons Loane warns: "The student who turns to them without warning will find himself keenly disappointed." The Encyclopaedia Britannica overstates the case, however, when it says, "Whitefield's printed works convey a totally inadequate idea of his oratorical powers and are all in fact below mediocrity." Whitefield himself says that his sermons "contain the sum and substance, I will not say word for word, of what was delivered from the pulpit," and ample testimony has been given in the preceding section of this paper to attest that there was more to his appeal than mere dramatic entertainment.

Whitefield "used great plainness of speech" in his delivery but supportively embellished that plain speech with a dramatic flair, as the following example from one of his sermons shows:

Alas, my heart almost bleeds! What a multitude of precious souls are now before me! How shortly must all be ushered into eternity:—And yet, O cutting thought! was God now to require your souls. . . . 55

He also well illustrated his sermons in ways that his audience could understand. In one sermon, for example, he says, "I remember a story of a prelate, who. . . ."56 He even told stories about himself and gave personal testimony. Loane cites an example from Whitefield's Seventy-Five Sermons:

When I was sixteen years of age, I began to fast twice a week for thirty-six hours all together. . . . Yet I knew no more that I was born again in God, born a new creature

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<sup>49</sup>Belden, "Whitefield," 3.
<sup>50</sup>Pollock, Whitefield, 191.
<sup>51</sup>Loane, Oxford, 62.
<sup>52</sup>"Whitefield," Britannica, 604.
<sup>53</sup>Whitefield, Fifteen, 28.
<sup>54</sup>Wesley, Sermon, 13.
<sup>55</sup>Whitefield, Fifteen, 48.
<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 45.
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in Christ Jesus, than if I were never born at all.57

Certainly those who would disparage the content of Whitefield's sermons are either unfamiliar with his work, are of exceptional insight themselves, or are simply saying something that they believe only in their own moments of uninspired writing. For instance Whitefield shows his depth when he says, "It is not sudden flashes of joy, but having the humility of Christ Jesus, that must dominate us christians." <sup>58</sup>

Of course Whitefield's allegiance to a "singularly pure Gospel" bept him from preaching the latest theological innovations, and he believed that on the "doctrines of a less essential nature" Christians may "agree to disagree." Wesley also reports that "the fundamental doctrines which he everywhere insisted on may be summed up' in two words, *The new birth*, and *Justification by faith*." Smith reports that the doctrines preached by Whitefield in his (Smith's) pulpit were (1) original sin, (2) justification by faith alone, and (3) regeneration. Yet Smith assures his readers and his hearers in this sermonic description of Whitefield:

While he preaches up faith alone, in our justification before God, yet he is careful to maintain good work, and denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live soberly, righteously, and godly.<sup>62</sup>

Whitefield's sermon introductions generally move directly into spiritual truth and reality. For example, he begins one sermon this way:

It is an undoubted truth, however, it may seem a paradox to natural men, that "whosoever will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution..." 63

Such would be Whitefield's normal method of beginning a sermon. In some sermons, however, he does begin with an attention-getting phrase: "There is nothing new under the sun." <sup>64</sup> At the end of his introductory paragraphs, typically, he gives his sermon outline. An example of this follows:

I trust God, in the following discourse, will enable me to make it good by showing,

I. What it is to live godly in Christ Jesus.

II. The different kinds of persecution to which they who live godly are exposed.

III. Why it is, that godly men must expect to suffer persecution? Lastly, we shall apply the whole.<sup>65</sup>

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57Loane, Oxford, 20.
58Philip, Life, 382.
59Loane, Oxford, 63.
60Wesley, Sermon, 15.
61Ibid., p. 16.
62Whitefield, Fifteen, 12-13, 21.
63Ibid., p. 110.
64G. Whitefield, Eighteen Sermons (Springfield: Thomas Dickman, 1868) 233.
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His sermons were sometimes preached topically, as immediately above, and sometimes were "expository" as is his treatment of Genesis 3.66 His conclusions were most often abrupt with "formula" endings such as "even so Lord Jesus, Amen." He would even anticlimactically add on special interest items to the conclusion such as, for example, an appeal for a "poor offering." 68

### IV. CONCLUSION

Even Whitefield's modern-day critics, as they view the eighteenth-century spiritual renaissance in retrospect, acknowledge the deep (as opposed to surface or emotional) effect of his preaching. One such writer says:

Granting Whitefield's youth and dramatic flair, one still asks what he had to say that masses of colonists wished to hear. To answer this question in terms of eloquence alone is to relegate his revivals to a species of entertainment. Although he certainly charmed many a provincial, the revivals of 1740 were not solely entertainment.<sup>69</sup>

## Whitefield's own contemporaries say:

He is the wonder of the age; and no man more employs the pens, and fills up the conversations of people, than he does at this day: none more admired and applauded by some, contemned and reproached by others.<sup>70</sup>

But regarding Whitefield's personal character and his behavior Smith challenges "his worst enemies to lay anything to the charge of his morals, or to arraign his sincerity." Belden says, "He was above all preachers in history the Apostle of the Common People." And John Wesley, "from a personal knowledge of near forty years," writes about Whitefield's "unparallelled Zeal, his Tender-heartedness to the afflicted, and Charitableness toward the poor." Such "unparalleled" attributes combined with his unparalleled preaching give Whitefield the highest rank among the leaders of the eighteenth-century revival. As one authority concludes: "Of this great movement, while Wesley was the head, Whitefield was undeniably the heart and soul."

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66 Ibid., p. 53.
67 Whitefield, Eighteen, 251, 295, 314.
68 Ibid., p. 177.
69 Kenney, "Whitefield," 76.
70 Whitefield, Fifteen, 72; see also Dallimore, "Man," 14.
71 Whitefield, Fifteen, 21.
72 Belden, "Whitefield," 3.
73 Wesley, Sermon, 12.
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74Review of Tyerman, Life, 408.