CHAPTER VI.

Some Account of the Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, A. M.

SECTION I.

OF HIS BIRTH, AND EDUCATION UNTIL HIS ORDINATION IN 1735.

Mr. Charles Wesley was born December 18, 1708, old style, several weeks before his time, at Epworth in Lincolnshire; being about five years younger than his brother John Wesley, and about sixteen younger than Samuel.

He appeared dead rather than alive when he was born. He did not cry, nor open his eyes, and was kept wrapt up in soft wool until the time when he should have been born according to the usual course of nature, and then he opened his eyes and cried.

He received the first rudiments of learning at home, under the pious care of his mother, as all the other children did. In 1716 he was sent to Westminster school, and placed under the care of his

eldest brother Samuel Wesley, an high churchman, who educated him in his own principles. He was exceedingly sprightly and active; very apt to learn, but arch and unlucky, though not ill-natured.

When he had been some years at school, Mr. R. Wesley, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, wrote to his father, and asked if he had any son named Charles; if so, he would make him his heir. Accordingly a gentleman in London brought money for his education several years. But one year another gentleman called, probably Mr. Wesley himself, talked largely with him, and asked if he was willing to go with him to Ireland. Mr. Charles desired to write to his father, who answered immediately, and referred it to his own choice. He chose to stay in England. Mr. W. then found and adopted another Charles Wesley, who was the late Earl of M—n—g—n. A fair escape, says Mr. John Wesley, from whose short account of his brother I have taken this anecdote.

From this time Mr. Charles Wesley depended chiefly on his brother Samuel till 1721, when he was admitted a scholar of St. Peter's College, Westminster.* He was now a King's scholar; and as he advanced in age and learning, he acted dramas, and at length became captain of the school. In 1726 he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford,† at which time his brother was Fellow of Lincoln College. Mr. John Wesley gives the following account of him after he came to Oxford: "He pursued his studies diligently, and led a regular harmless life: but if I spoke to him about religion, he would warmly answer, 'What, would you have me to be a saint all at once?' and would hear no more. I was then near three years my father's curate. During most of this time he continued much the same; but in the year 1729 I observed his letters grew much more serious, and when I returned to Oxford in November that year, I found him in great earnestness to save his soul."

Mr. Charles Wesley gives the following account of himself for the first year or two after he went to Oxford.‡ "My first year at college I lost in diversions: the next I set myself to study. Diligence led me into serious thinking: I went to the weekly sacrament, and persuaded two or three young students to accompany me, and to observe the method of study prescribed by the statutes of the university. This gained me the harmless name of Methodist. In half a year (after this) my brother left his curacy at Epworth, and came to our assistance. We then proceeded regularly in our studies, and in doing what good we could to the bodies and souls of men."

It was in the year 1728, in the twentieth year of his age, that he began to apply more closely to study, and to be more serious in his gene-

^{*} Welch's List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, as they were elected to Christ-church College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, p. 105.

[†] Ibid. p. 110.

¹ In his letter to Dr. Chandler.

ral deportment than usual. He soon gave proof of his sincere desire to be truly religious, by expressing a wish to write a diary, in which he intended to register daily the state of his mind, and the actions of the day. A diary of this kind, faithfully kept, is a delineation of a man's moral and religious character; it is a moral picture of the man accurately drawn. No man wishes to draw his own character in this way, in every little circumstance of life, and to review it often, but he who is desirous to think and act rightly, and to improve daily in knowledge and virtue. He knew that his brother, Mr. John Wesley, had kept such a diary for several years, and was able to give him instructions how to proceed. He therefore wrote to him in January, 1729, as follows: "I would willingly write a diary of my actions, but do not know how to go about it. What particulars am I to take notice Am I to give my thoughts and words, as well as deeds, a place in it? I am to mark all the good and ill I do; and what besides? Must I not take account of my progress in learning, as well as religion? What cypher can I make use of? If you would direct me to the same, or like method to your own, I would gladly follow it, for I am fully convinced of the usefulness of such an undertaking. I shall be at a stand till I hear from you.

"God has thought fit, it may be to increase my wariness, to deny me at present your company and assistance. It is through him strengthening me, I trust to maintain my ground till we meet. And I hope, that neither before nor after that time, I shall relapse into my former state of insensibility. It is through your means, I firmly believe, that God will establish what he has begun in me; and there is no one person I would so willingly have to be the instrument of good to me as you. It is owing, in great measure, to somebody's prayers (my mother's most likely) that I am come to think as I do; for I cannot tell myself, how or when I awoke out of my lethargy—only that it was not long after you went away."

The enemies of the Christian Revelation, and friends of Deism, were so much increased about this time, and were become so bold and daring in their attempts to propagate their principles in the university, as to rouse the attention of the Vice-Chancellor; who, with the consent of the Heads of Houses and Proctors, issued the following programma, or edict, which was fixed up in most of the halls of the university.

"Whereas there is too much reason to believe, that some members of the university have of late been in danger of being corrupted by ill-designing persons, who have not only entertained wicked and blasphemous notions, contrary to the truth of the christian religion; but have endeavored to instil the same ill principles into others: and the more effectually to propagate their infidelity, have applied their poison to the unguarded inexperience of less informed minds, where they thought it might operate with better success; carefully conceal-

ing their impious tenets from those whose riper judgment and more wary conduct might discover their false reasoning, and disappoint the intended progress of their infidelity. And whereas therefore, it is more especially necessary at this time, to guard the youth of this place against these wicked advocates for pretended human reason, against divine revelation, and to enable them the better to defend their religion, and to expose the pride and impiety of those who endeavor to undermine it; Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with the consent of the Heads of Houses and Proctors, has thought fit to recommend it, as a matter of the utmost consequence, to the several tutors of each college and hall in the university, that they discharge their duty by a double diligence, in informing their respective pupils in their christian duty, as also in explaining to them the articles of religion which they profess, and are often called upon to subscribe, and in recommending to them the frequent and careful reading of the Scriptures. and such other books as may serve more effectually to promote christianity, sound principles, and orthodox faith. And further, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with the same consent, does hereby forbid the said youth the reading of such books as may tend to the weakening of their faith, the subverting of the authority of the scripture, and the introducing of deism, profaneness and irreligion in their stead."-The Dean of Christ Church was so much a friend to infidelity, that he would not suffer this programma to be put up in the hall of his college.

It is always pleasing to a pious mind, to trace the ways of providence, not only as they relate to individuals, but as they affect large bodies of men, collectively considered. In the case before us there is something worthy of observation. At the very time when the friends of infidelity were making so strong an effort to propagate their principles in this celebrated seminary of learning, God was preparing two or three young men, to plant a religious society in the same place; which should grow up with vigor, and spread its branches through several countries, in opposition to the baneful influence of infidelity and profaneness.

In the course of the following summer Mr. Charles Wesley became more and more serious, and began to be singularly diligent, both in the means of grace and in his studies. His zeal for God began already to kindle, and manifest itself in exertions to do good beyond the common round of religious duties. He endeavored to awaken an attention to religion in the minds of some of the students, and was soon successful in one or two instances. This appears from the following letter, which he wrote to his brother John Wesley in May, 1729. "Providence has at present put it into my power to do some good. I have a modest, humble, well disposed youth lives next me, and have been, thank God, somewhat instrumental in keeping him so. He was got into vile hands, and is now broke loose. I assisted

in setting him free, and will do my utmost to hinder him from getting in with them again. He was of opinion that passive goodness was sufficient; and would fain have kept in with his acquaintance and God at the same time. He durst not receive the sacrament, but at the usual times, for fear of being laughed at. By convincing him of the duty of frequent communicating, I have prevailed on both of us to receive once a week.

"I earnestly long for, and desire the blessing God is about to send me in you. I am sensible *this* is my day of grace; and that upon my employing the time before our meeting and next parting, will in great measure depend my condition for eternity."

From these extracts of two of Mr. Charles Wesley's letters to his brother, and from the account which he has given of himself in a letter to Dr. Chandler, the following particulars appear evident. That he was awakened to a most serious and earnest desire of being truly religious and devoted to God, while his brother was at Epworth, as his father's curate. 2. That he observed an exact method in his studies, and in his attendance on the duties of religion; receiving the sacrament once a week. 3. That he persuaded two or three young gentlemen to join him in these things, among whom I believe Morgan was one. 4. That the exact method and order which he observed in spending his time, and regulating his conduct, gained him the name of Methodist. Hence it appears that Mr. Charles Wesley was the first Methodist, and laid the foundation of that little society at Oxford, which afterwards made so much noise in the world: but it does not appear that any regular meetings were held, or that the members had extended their views beyond their own improvement in knowledge and virtue, until Mr. John Wesley left his curacy, and came to reside wholly at Oxford in November, 1729. The beginning of this society was small, and it appeared contemptible to those around; but events have shown, that it was big with consequences of the utmost importance to the happiness of thousands. So little do men know beforehand of the designs of providence.

Man was made for social intercourse with man. A well regulated society of a few well chosen persons, improves the understanding, invigorates the powers of the mind, strengthens our resolutions, and animates us to perseverance in the execution of our designs. These were the happy effects of the union of the two brothers in November this year, when Mr. John Wesley left Epworth, and came to reside at Oxford. They now formed a regular society, and quickened the diligence and zeal of each other in the execution of their pious purposes. About this time Mr. Charles began to take pupils. On this occasion his father wrote to him as follows, in a letter dated January, 1730, when Charles had just passed the twenty-first year of his age. "I had your last, and you may easily guess whether I were not well pleased with it, both on your account and my own. You have a

double advantage by your pupils, which will soon bring you more, if you will improve it, as I firmly hope you will, by taking the utmost care to form their minds to piety as well as learning. As for yourself, between logic, grammar, and mathematics, be idle if you can. I give my blessing to the bishop for having tied you a little faster, by obliging you to rub up your Arabic: and a fixed and constant method will make the whole both pleasing and delightful to you. But for all that, you must find time every day for walking, which you know you may do with advantage to your pupils; and a little more robust exercise, now and then, will do you no harm. You are now launched fairly, Charles; hold up your head, and swim like a man; and when you cuff the wave beneath you, say to it, much as another hero did,

Carolum vehis, et Caroli fortunam.*

But always keep your eye fixed above the pole-star, and so God send you a good voyage through the troublesome sea of life, which is the hearty prayer of your loving father."

Mr. Charles Wesley and his brother John had been always united in affection; they were now united in their pursuit of learning, their views of religion, and their endeavors to do good. Mr. Morgan was to them as another brother, and united together, they were as a threefold cord, which is not easily broken. Though few in number, of little reputation in the world, and unsupported by any powerful allies, yet they boldly lifted up their standard against infidelity and profaneness, the common enemies of religion and virtue. They did not indeed, at present, make any great inroads into the enemy's territory, but they bravely kept their ground, and defended their little fort with success, against every attempt of the enemy to dislodge When death robbed them of Morgan, the two brothers remained unshaken in their purpose. They were the bond of union between the members of their little society at Oxford; and if one or more of these deserted them, through fear, or shame, or being weary of restraint, they stood firm as a rock, persevering in their resolution to serve God and do good to men, without the least shadow of wavering, through evil report and good report, as if alike insensible to either. Happily, they were not hurried on by a rash intemperate zeal in their proceedings; which is the common failing of young men. They were cautious and wary, using every prudential means in their power, to prevent the good that was in them from being evil spoken Charles had much more fire, and openness of temper than his brother; but he was not less cautious in this respect. If any doubts arose in his mind; or if any practice, which he thought proper and commendable, seemed likely to give great offence to others, he asked the advice of those who were older and wiser than himself, how he

^{*} Thou carriest Charles, and Charles' fortune.

ought to proceed. This appears from a letter which he wrote to his father in June, 1731, in which he says, "On Whitsunday the whole college received the sacrament, except the servitors (for we are too well bred to communicate with them, though in the body and blood of Christ) to whom it was administered the next day; on which I was present at church, but with the Canons left the sacrament to those for whom alone it was prepared. What I would beg to be resolved in is, whether or no my being assured I should give infinite scandal by staying, could sufficiently justify me in turning my back of God's ordinance. It is a question my future conduct is much concerned in, and I shall therefore earnestly wait for your decision."

Mr. Charles Wesley proceeded Master of Arts in the usual course, and thought only of spending all his days at Oxford as a tutor; for he "exceedingly dreaded entering into holy orders."* In 1735, Mr. John Wesley yielded to the pressing solicitations of Mr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Burton, and some others, to go to Georgia as a missionary to preach to the Indians, and he prevailed on his brother Charles to accompany him. Their brother Samuel consented that Mr. John Wesley should go, but vehemently opposed the design of Charles to accompany him. But his opposition had no effect, for Mr. Charles engaged himself as secretary to Mr. Oglethorpe, and also as secretary to Indian affairs, and in this character he went to Georgia. before they left England, Dr. Burton suggested that it might be well if Mr. Charles Wesley was ordained before he left this country. His brother John overruled his inclination in this thing also, and he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford: and the Sunday following, Priest, by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London.†

SECTION II.

OF MR. CHARLES WESLEY'S VOYAGE TO GEORGIA, HIS SITUATION THERE, AND RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1736.

They sailed from Gravesend on the 22d of October, 1735, but meeting with contrary winds, they did not leave Cowes till the 10th of December. Mr. Charles Wesley preached several times while they were detained here, and great crowds attended his ministry. His brother Samuel, who was violently against his going abroad, observes, that he hoped Charles was convinced by this instance, that he needed not to have gone to Georgia to convert sinners. After a stormy passage they arrived in Savannah river, Feb. 5th, 1736, and Mr. John Wesley was appointed to take charge of Savannah; Mr. Charles of Frederica; waiting for an opportunity of preaching to the Indians.

^{*} His letter to Dr. Chandler.

Mr. Charles Wesley did not enter on his ministry till March 9th, when he first set foot on Simon's Island, and his spirit immediately revived. No sooner did I enter on my ministry, says he, than God gave me a new heart; so true is that saying of Bishop Hall, "The calling of God never leaves a man unchanged; neither did God ever employ any in his service whom he did not enable for the work." The first person that saluted him on landing, was his friend Mr. Ingham: "Never," says he, "did I more rejoice to see him; especially when he told me the treatment he had met with for vindicating the Lord's day. This specimen of the ignorance and unteachable temper of the people among whom he had to labor was unpromising, but he little expected the trials and dangers which lay before him." Like a faithful and diligent pastor, he immediately entered on his office; not with joy at the prospect of a good income, but with fear and trembling, at the views which he had of the importance and difficulty of the ministerial office. In the afternoon he began to converse with his parishioners, without which he well knew, that general instructions often lose their effect. But he observes on this occasion, "With what trembling should I call them mine." He felt as every minister of the gospel ought to feel when he takes upon him to guide others in the ways of God. In the evening he read prayers in the open air, at which Mr. Oglethorpe was present. The lesson was remarkably adapted to his situation, and he felt the full force of it, both in the way of direction and encouragement. "Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving; withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak. Walk in wisdom toward those that are without, redeeming the time.—Say to Archippus, take heed to the ministry which thou hast received of the Lord that thou fulfil it." After the labors of the day, he returned and slept in the

The colony was at this time very scantily provided with accommodations. There was no place erected where the people could assemble for public worship; for on March 10th between five and six in the morning, Mr. Charles Wesley read short prayers to a few persons, before Mr. Oglethorpe's tent, in a hard shower of rain. He afterwards talked with Mrs. W. who had come in the ship with him and his brother, and endeavored to guard her against the cares of the world, and to persuade her to give herself up to God; but in vain. In the evening he endeavored to reconcile her and Mrs. H. who were greatly at variance, but to no purpose.

Some of the women now began to be jealous of each other, and to raise animosities and divisions in the colony, which gave a great deal of trouble to Mr. Oglethorpe. Mr. Wesley's serious and religious deportment, his constant presence with them, and his frequent reproof of their licentious behavior, soon made him an object of hatred; and

plans were formed either to ruin him in the opinion of Mr. Oglethorpe, or to take him off by violence. We shall see these plans open by degrees.

March 11th, at ten in the morning, he began the full service to about a dozen women whom he had got together, intending to continue it, and only to read a few prayers to the men before they went to work. He also expounded the second lesson with some degree of boldness, which he had done several times before; and it is probable that he did this extempore. After prayers he met Mrs. H.'s maid in a great passion and flood of tears, at the treatment she had received from her mistress. She seemed determined to destroy herself, to escape her Egyptian bondage. He prevailed with her to return, and went with her home. He asked Mrs. H. to forgive her; but she refused with the utmost roughness, rage, and almost reviling. He next met Mr. Tackner, who, he observes, made him full amends: he was in an excellent temper, resolved to strive, not with his wife, but with himself, in putting off the old man, and putting on the new. In the evening he received the first harsh word from Mr. Oglethorpe, when he asked for something for a poor woman. The next day he received a rougher answer in a matter which deserved still greater encouragement. 'I know not,' says he, 'how to account for his increasing coldness.' His encouragement, he observes, was the same in speaking with Mrs. W. whom he found all storm and tempest; so wilful, so untractable, so fierce, that he could not bear to stay near her. This evening Mr. Oglethorpe was with the men under arms, in expectation of an enemy, but in the same ill humor with Mr. Wesley. "I staid," says he, "as long as I could, however unsafe, within the wind of such commotion; but at last the hurricane of his passion drove me away."

Mr. Wesley's situation was now truly alarming; not only as it regarded his usefulness, but as it affected his safety. Many persons lost all decency in their behavior towards him, and Mr. Oglethorpe's treatment of him showed that he had received impressions greatly to his disadvantage; at the same time he was totally ignorant of his accusers, and of what he was accused. But being conscious of his own innocence he trusted in God, and considered his sufferings as a part of the portion of those who will live godly in Christ Jesus, especially if they persuade others to walk in the same rule. Sunday, March 14th, he read prayers, and preached with boldness in singleness of intention, under a great tree, to about twenty people, among whom was Mr. Oglethorpe. "In the Epistle," says he, "I was plainly shown what I ought to be, and what I ought to expect. 'Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed, but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of Christ; in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distress, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings,' &c."

At night he found himself exceedingly faint; but had no better bed

to lie down upon than the ground; on which he says, "I slept very comfortably before a great fire, and waked next morning perfectly well."

He spent March 16th wholly in writing letters for Mr. Oglethorpe. He had now been six days at Frederica; and observes, "I would not spend six days more in the same manner for all Georgia." But he had more than six days to spend in no better a situation, without being able to make any conditions.

Mr. Charles Wesley, as well as his brother John, was so fully convinced at this time, that immersion was the ancient mode of baptizing, that he determined to adhere strictly to the rubric of the church of England in relation to it, and not to baptize any child by sprinkling, unless it was sickly and weak. This occasioned some contention among his people, who were governed chiefly by their passions, and a spirit of opposition. However, by perseverance and mild persuasion, he prevailed with some of them to consent to it, and about this time, he adds with apparent pleasure, "I baptized Mr. Colwell's child by true immersion, before a large congregation."

March 18, Mr. Oglethorpe set out with the Indians to hunt the buffalo upon the main, and to see the utmost limits of what they claimed.—This day Mrs. W. discovered to Mr. Wesley "the whole mystery of iniquity." I suppose he means the plots and designs which were formed, chiefly against himself.

He went to his myrtle grove, and while he was repeating, "I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation," a gun was fired from the other side of the bushes. Providentially he had the moment before turned from that end of the walk where the shot entered, and heard it pass close by him. This was, apparently, a design upon his life.

A circumstance now took place which soon brought on an explanation between Mr. Oglethrope and Mr. Wesley. Mr. Oglethorpe had, more than once, given orders that no man should shoot on a Sunday: and Germain had been confined in the guard-room for it. In the midst of sermon, on Sunday the 21st, a gun was fired: the constable ran out, and found it was the Doctor, and told him it was contrary to orders, and he must go with him to the officer. The Doctor's passion kindled; "What," said he, "don't you know that I am not to be looked upon as a common fellow?" The constable not knowing what to do, went back, and after consulting with Hermsdorff, returned with two sentinels, and took him to the guardroom. His wife then charged and fired a gun, and ran thither like a mad woman, and said she had shot, and would be confined too. She curst and swore in the utmost transport of rage, threatening to kill the first man that should come near her; but at last was persuaded to go away. In the afternoon she fell upon Mr. Wesley in the street with the greatest bitterness and scurrility: said he was the cause of

her husband's confinement, but she would be revenged, &c. &c. He replied, that he pitied her, but defied all that she or the devil could do; and he hoped she would soon be of a better mind. "In my evening hour of retirement," says he, "I resigned myself to God, in prayer for conformity to a suffering Saviour."

Before prayers this evening he took a walk with Mr. Ingham, who seemed surprized that he should not think innocence a sufficient protection: but Mr. Wesley had not acquainted him with the information he had received of designs formed against him.—At night, he tells us, "I was forced to exchange my usual bed, the ground, for a chest, being almost speechless with a violent cold."

Mr. Oglethorpe was now expected to return from his excursion with the Indians, and such was the violence of the party formed against Mr. Wesley, that the Doctor sent his wife to arm herself from the case of instruments, and forcibly to make her escape to speak to him first on his landing, and even to stab any person who should oppose her. "I was encouraged," says Mr. Wesley, "from the lesson, God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power-Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord," &c. March 24th, "I was enabled to pray earnestly for my enemies, particularly for Mr. Oglethorpe, whom I now looked upon as the chief of them-Then gave myself up entirely to God's disposal, desiring that I might not now want power to pray, when I most of all needed it-Mr. Ingham then came and read the 37th psalm, a glorious exhortation to patience, and confidence in God.—When notice was given us of Mr. Oglethorpe's landing, Mr. H., Mr. Ingham, and I were sent for. We found him in his tent, with the people around it, and Mr. and Mrs. H. within. After a short hearing the officers were reprimanded, and the prisoners dismissed. At going out Mrs. H. modestly told me, she had something more to say against me, but she would take another opportunity-I only answered, 'you know, Madam, it is impossible for me to fear you.' When they were gone, Mr. Oglethorpe said, he was convinced and glad that I had no hand in all this—I told him that I had something to impart of the last importance, when he was at leisure. He took no notice, but read his letters, and I walked away with Mr. Ingham, who was utterly aston-The issue is just what I expected—I was struck with these words in the evening lesson: 'Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus: remember that Jesus Christ was raised from the dead, according to my gospel, wherein I suffer trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds, but the word of God is not bound, therefore I endure all things for the elect's sake. It is a faithful saying; for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we suffer, we shall also reign with him-After reading these words, I could not forbear adding, I need say nothing; God will shortly apply this-Glory be to God for my confidence hitherto-O! what am I, if

left to myself; but I can do and suffer all things through Christ strengthening me."

He goes on: "Thursday, March 25th, I heard the second drum beat for prayers, which I had desired Mr. Ingham to read, being much weakened by my fever; but considering that I ought to appear at this time especially, I rose, and heard those animating words, 'If any man serve me, let him follow me, and where I am there shall my servant be. If any man serve me, him will my Father honor,' &c. At half past seven, Mr. Oglethorpe called me out of my hut; I looked up to God and went. He charged me with mutiny and sedition; with stirring up the people to leave the colony. Accordingly he said, they had a meeting last night, and sent to him this morning. desiring leave to go—That their speaker had informed against them, and me the spring of all—That the men were such as constantly came to prayers, therefore I must have instigated them-That he should not scruple shooting half a dozen of them at once, but that he had, out of kindness, first spoken to me. My answer was, 'I desire, sir, that you would have no regard to my friends, or the love you had for me, if any thing of this charge be made out against me-I know nothing of their meeting or designs. Of those you have mentioned, not one comes to prayers or sacrament—I never invited any one to leave the colony-I desire to answer accusers face to face.' He said my accuser was Mr. Lawley, whom he would bring, if I would wait here I added, Mr. Lawley is a man who has declared, that he knows no reason for keeping fair with any one, but a design to get all he can by him; but there was nothing to be got by the poor parson. I asked whether he was not assured that there were men enough in Frederica, who would say or swear any thing against any man, if he were in disgrace—Whether if he himself was removed, or succeeded ill, the whole stream of the people would not be turned against him; and even this Lawley, who was of all others the most violent in condemning the prisoners, and justifying the officers? I observed, this was the old cry, away with the Christians to the lions -I mentioned R. and his wife scandalizing my brother and me, and vowing revenge against us both, threatening me yesterday even in his presence. I asked what satisfaction or redress was due to my character-What good I could do in my parish, if cut off by calumnies from ever seeing one half of it? I ended with assuring him, that I had, and should make it my business to promote peace among all."

"When Mr. Oglethorpe returned with Lawley, he observed the place was too public—I offered to take him to my usual walk in the woods—In the way, it came into my mind to say to Mr. Oglethorpe, 'show only the least disinclination to find me guilty, and you shall see what a turn it will give to the accusation.' He took the hint, and insisted on Lawley to make good his charge. He began with the quarrel in general, but did not show himself angry with me, or

desirous to find me to blame. Lawley, who appeared full of guilt and fear, upon this dropt his accusation, or rather shrunk it into my forcing the people to prayers. I replied, the people themselves would acquit me of that; and as to the quarrel of the officers, I appealed to the officers themselves for the truth of my assertion, that I had no hand at all in it. I professed my desire and resolution of promoting peace and obedience—Here Mr. Oglethorpe spoke of reconciling matters: bid Lawley tell the people, that he would not so much as ask who they were, if they were but quiet for the future. 'I hope,' added he, 'they will be so; and Mr. Wesley here, hopes so too.' 'Yes,' says Lawley, 'I really believe it of Mr. Wesley: I had always a great respect for him.' I turned and said to Mr. Oglethorpe, 'did I not tell you it would be so?' He replied to Lawley, 'yes, you had always a very great respect for Mr. Wesley; you told me he was a stirrer up of sedition, and at the bottom of all this disturbance.' With this gentle reproof he dismissed him; and I thanked Mr. Oglethorpe for having first spoken to me of the things of which I was accused, begging he would always do so, which he promised. I walked with him to Mrs. H.'s door; she came out aghast to see me with him. He there left me, and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion."

"I went to my hut, where I found Mr. Ingham; he said, this was but the beginning of sorrows—'Not as I will, but as thou wilt.' About noon, in the midst of a storm of thunder and lightning, I read the 28th psalm, and found it gloriously suited to my circumstances. I never felt the Scriptures as now. I now find them all written for my instruction or comfort. At the same time I felt great joy in the expectation of our Saviour's thus coming to judgment: when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, and God shall make my innocency as clear as the light, and my just dealing as the noon day."

"At three in the afternoon I walked with Mr. Ingham, and read him the history of this amazing day. We rejoiced together in the protection of God, and through comfort of the Scriptures. The evening lesson was full of encouragement. 'This know, that in the last days perilous times shall come; for men shall be false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, highminded; but they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be made manifest to all men, &c. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable,' &c. Blessed be God that I begin to find them so. Meeting with Mr. Hird, I persuaded him to use all his interest with the people, to lay aside their thoughts of leaving the colony. He told me that he had assured Mr. Oglethorpe that this was always my language to him and the rest; and that I had no hand in the late disturbance; but was answered short, 'You must not tell me that; I know better.' After spending an hour at the camp, in singing such psalms as suited the occasion, I went to bed in the hut, which was thoroughly wet with to-day's rain."

"March 26. My soul is always in my hand, therefore will I not forget thy law. This morning early Mr. Oglethorpe called me out to tell me of Mrs. Lawley's miscarriage, by being denied access to the Doctor for bleeding. He seemed very angry, and to charge me with it; saying he should be the tyrant if he passed by such intolerable injuries. I answered, that I knew nothing of the matter, and it was hard that it should be imputed to me. That from the first Hermsdorf told the Doctor he might visit any patients that he pleased, but the Doctor would not visit any. I denied that I had the least hand in the business, as Hermsdorf himself had declared; and yet I must be charged with all the mischief. 'How else can it be,' said he, 'that there is no love, no meekness, no true religion among the people: but instead of this, mere formal prayers?' I said, 'as to that I can answer for them, that they have no more of the form of godliness than the power: for I have seldom more than six at the public service.' 'But what would an unbeliever say to your raising these disorders?' answered, 'if I had raised them, he might say there is nothing in religion, but what would that signify to those who had experienced it? they would not say so.' He said the people were full of dread and confusion—that it was much more easy to govern a thousand than sixty persons—that he durst not leave them before they were settled. I asked him whether he would have me altogether forbear to converse with my parishioners? To this I could get no answer. I went on to observe, that the reason why I did not interpose for or against the Doctor, was his having at the beginning charged me with his confinement. I said, 'I have talked less with my parishioners these five days past, than I had done in any one afternoon before. I have shunned appearing in public, lest my advice should be asked; or, lest if I heard others talking, my silence should be deciphered into advice. But one argument of my innocence I can give, which will convince even you of it. I know my life is in your hands; and you know that were you to frown upon me, and give the least intimation that it would be agreeable to you, the generality of this wretched people would say or swear anything.' To this he agreed, and owned the case was so with them all. 'You see,' said I, 'that my safety depends on your single opinion of me: must I not therefore be mad, if, in such a situation, I should provoke you by disturbing the public peace? Innocence, I know, is not the least protection, but my sure trust is in God.' Here company interrupted us, and I left him. I was no longer careful for the event, after reading those words in the morning lesson, 'Thou shalt not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me afterwards.' Amen: When thou pleasest, thy time is best."

While we pity the situation, we cannot but admire the genuine piety, the patience and prudent conduct of this good man, in the midst of such severe and unexpected trials. Though yet in the storm, he writes to his brother with a degree of calmness and moderation which shows the greatness of his mind.

"Frederica, March 27th.

"DEAR BROTHER,-

"I received your letter and box. My last to you was opened, the contents being publicly proclaimed by those who were so ungenerous as to intercept it. I have not yet complained to Mr. Oglethorpe—Though I trust I shall never either write or speak what I will not justify both to God and man, yet I would not have the secrets of my soul revealed to every one. For their sakes, therefore, as well as for my own, I shall write no more, and desire you will not. Nor will you have occasion, as you visit us so soon. I hope your coming may be of use to many.

"Mr. Oglethorpe gave me an exceeding necessary piece of advice for you—'Beware of hypocrites, in particular of log-house converts.' They consider you as favored by Mr. Oglethorpe, and will therefore put on the form of religion, to please—not God, but you. To this I shall only add, Give no temporal encouragement whatsoever to any seeming converts, else they will follow you for the sake of the loaves. Convince them thus, that it can never be worth their while to be hypocrites. Stay till you are in disgrace, in persecution, by the heathen, by your own countrymen; till you are accounted the offscouring of all things (as you must infallibly be, if God is true), and then see who will follow you.—I.

"God, you believe, has much work to do in America. I believe so too, and begin to enter into the designs which he has over me. I see why he brought me hither; and hope ere long to say with Ignatius, 'It is now that I begin to be a disciple of Christ.' God direct you to pray for me. Adieu."

On the evening of the day when Mr. Charles Wesley wrote this letter, a thought came into his mind to send Mr. Ingham for his brother. Mr. Ingham was at first much averse to leave him in his trials, but at length was persuaded to go to Savannah, and Mr. John Wesley set out from thence on the 4th of April.* I shall now pursue Mr. Charles' narrative.

"Sunday, March 28. I went to the storehouse, our tabernacle at present, to hearken what the Lord God would say concerning both myself and the congregation. I was struck with the first lesson, Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The second was still more animating. 'If the world hate you, ye know it hated me before it hated you; if ye were of the world,' &c. After prayers, poor Mr. Davison staid behind to take his leave of Mr. Ingham. He burst into tears, and said, 'one good man is leaving us already; I foresee nothing but desolation. Must my poor children be brought up like these savages?' We endeavored to comfort him, by showing him his calling. At ten o'clock Mr. Ingham preached an alarming sermon on the day of judgment. In my walk at noon I was full of heaviness; I complained to God.

^{*} See Mr. Wesley's Journal, vol. xxvi. of his Works, pp. 127, 128.

that I had no friend but him, and even in him could find no comfort. Immediately I received power to pray; then opening my Bible, I read as follows: 'Hearken unto me, ye that seek the Lord; look unto the rock from whence you were hewn: fear not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their reviling. Awake, awake, flee away; who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and hast feared continually every day, because of the fury of the oppressor! and where is the fury of the oppressor?' After reading this, it is no wonder that I found myself renewed in confidence. While Mr. Ingham waited for the boat, I took a turn with Mr. Horton: he fully convinced me of the true character of Mrs. II. In the highest degree ungrateful, &c. &c. I then hasted to the water-side, where I found Mr. Ingham just put off. O! happy happy friend! abiit, erupit, evasit: * but woe is me that I am still constrained to dwell in Meshech. I languished to bear him company, followed him with my eye till out of sight, and then sunk into deeper dejection of spirit than I had known before."

"March 29. I was revived with those words of our Lord: 'These things have I spoken unto you, that you should not be offended. They shall put you out of their synagogues; yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he doeth God service,' &c. Knowing when I left England, that I was to live with Mr. Oglethorpe, I brought nothing with me but my clothes and books. This morning asking a servant for something I wanted, I think a tea-kettle, he told me that Mr. Oglethorpe had given orders that no one should use his things. I answered, that order, I supposed, did not extend to me: 'yes, sir,' said he, 'you were excepted by name.' Thanks be to God, that it is not yet made capital to give me a morsel of bread.

"March 30. Having lain hitherto on the ground, in a corner of Mr. Reed's hut, and hearing some boards were to be disposed of, I attempted in vain to get some of them to lie upon—they were given to all besides—the minister of Frederica only must be αφφητωφ, αθεμιςτος, ανεστιος.† Yet are we not hereunto called αστατειν, κακοπαθειν.‡ Even the Son of Man had not where to lay his head—I find the Scriptures an inexhaustible fund of comfort—'Is my hand shortened at all that I cannot save, or have I no power to deliver'—Behold the Lord God will help me, who is he that shall condemn me?

"March 31. I begin now to be abused and slighted into an opinion of my own considerableness. I could not be more trampled upon, were I a fallen minister of state. The people have found out that I am in disgrace, and all the cry is, 'curramus præcipites, et dum jacet in ripa, calcemus Cæsaris hostem.' My few well-wishers are afraid to speak to me; some have turned out of the way to avoid me; oth-

^{*} He is gone; he has broke loose; he has escaped.

[†] Treated as an enemy to society, as an unjust person, and be destitute of an habitation.

[‡] To have no certain dwelling-place; to suffer afflictions. 1 Cor. iv. 11. 2 Tim. iv. 5.

[§] Let us run quick, and while he is down let us trample on the enemy of Cæsar.

ers have desired that I would not take it ill if they seemed not to know me when we should meet. The servant that used to wash my linen, sent it back unwashed. It was great cause of triumph that I was forbid the use of Mr. Oglethrope's things; which in effect debarred me of most of the conveniences, if not the necessaries of life—I sometimes pitied them, and sometimes diverted myself with the odd expressions of their contempt: but I found the benefit of having undergone a much lower degree of obloquy at Oxford."

"April 1. In the midst of morning service, a poor Scout boatman was brought in, who was almost killed by the bursting of a cannon. I found him senseless and dying; and all I could do, was to pray for him, and try by his example to wake his two companions. He languished till the next day, and then died. Hitherto I have been borne up by a spirit not my own: but exhausted nature sinks at last. It is amazing she has held out so long. My outward hardships and inward conflicts; the bitterness of reproach from the only man I wished to please, down at last have worn my boasted courage. Accordingly this afternoon, I was forced by a friendly fever to take my bed. sickness, I knew, could not be of long continuance, as I was in want of every help and convenience; it must either soon leave me, or release me from further sufferings. In the evening Mr. Hird and Mr. Robinson called to see me, and offered me all the assistance in their power. I thanked them, but desired they would not prejudice themselves by taking this notice of me. At that instant we were alarmed with a cry of the Spaniards being come; we heard many guns fired, and saw the people fly in great consternation to the fort. I felt not the least disturbance or surprise; bid the women not fear, for God was with us. In a few minutes, news was brought, that it was only a contrivance of Mr. Oglethorpe's to try the people. charitable visitants then left me and soon returned with some gruel, which threw me into a sweat. The next morning, April 2, they ventured to call again—at night, when my fever was somewhat abated, I was led out to bury the Scout boatman, and envied him his quiet grave. April 3. I found nature endeavored to throw off the disease by excessive sweating, I therefore drank whatever the women brought me. April 4. My flux returned; but notwithstanding this, I was obliged to go abroad, and preach and administer the sacrament. sermon, 'On keep innocency and take heed to the thing that is right, for this shall bring a man peace at the last,' was decyphered into a satire against Mrs. H. At night I got an old bedstead to sleep upon, being that on which the Scout boatman had died. April 6. I found myself so faint and weak, that it was with the utmost difficulty I got through the prayers. Mr. Davison, my good Samaritan, would often call or send his wife to attend me, and to their care, under God, I owe my life. To-day Mr. Oglethorpe gave away my bedstead from under me, and refused to spare one of the carpenters to mend me up another."

"April 10. Mr. Reed waked me with the news that my brother and Mr. Delamotte were on their way to Frederica. I found the encouragement I sought, in the Scripture for the day, Psalm lii. 'Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, that thou canst do mischief, whereas the goodness of God endureth yet daily. Thy tongue imagineth wickedness, and with lies thou cuttest like a sharp razor,' &c. six my brother and Mr. Delamotte landed, when my strength was so exhausted, that I could not have read prayers once more. He helped me into the woods, for there was no talking among a people of spies and ruffians; not even in the woods unless in an unknown tongue-And yet Mr. Oglethorpe received my brother with abundant kindness. I began my account of all that had passed, and continued it till prayers. It would be needless to mention all the Scriptures, which, for so many days, have been adapted to my circumstances. But I cannot pass by the lesson for this evening, Heb. xi. I was ashamed of having well nigh sunk under my sufferings, when I beheld the conflicts of those triumphant sufferers of whom the world was not worthy. 11. What words could more support our confidence, than the following? out of the Psalms for the day. 'Be merciful unto me O God, for man goeth about to devour me. He is daily fighting and troubling me. Mine enemies be daily in hand to swallow me up, for they be many that fight against me—I will put my trust in God, and will not fear what flesh can do unto me. They daily mistake my words,' &c. The next Psalm was equally animating—'Be merciful unto me. O God, for my soul trusteth in thee; and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge, till this tyranny be overpast. I will call unto the most high God, even unto the God that shall perform the cause that I have in hand-My soul is among lions; and I lie even among the children of men that are set on fire, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword,' &c. I just recovered strength enough to consecrate at the sacrament; my brother performed the rest. We then went out of the reach of informers, and I proceeded in my account, being fully persuaded of the truth of Mrs. W.'s information against Mr. Oglethorpe, Mrs. H. and herself. At noon my brother repeated to me his last conference with Mrs. W. in confirmation of all she had ever told me.

"April 16. My brother prevailed with me to break a resolution which honor and indignation had induced me to form, of starving rather than ask for necessaries. Accordingly I went to Mr. Oglethorpe, and asked for some little things I wanted. He sent for me back and said, 'pray sir sit down, I have something to say to you; I hear you have spread several reports about.'

"The next day my brother and Mr. Delamotte set out in an open boat for Savannah. I preached in the afternoon, on, 'He that now goeth on his way weeping and bearing good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him.' Easter-eve,

April 24, I was sent for at 10 by Mr. Oglethrope. 'Mr. Wesley, you know what has passed between us. I took some pains to satisfy your brother about the reports concerning me, but in vain; he here renews his suspicion in writing. I did desire to convince him, because I had an esteem for him; and he is just as considerable to me as my esteem makes him. I could clear up all, but it matters not, you will soon see the reason of my actions. I am now going to death, you will see me no more. Take this ring, and carry it from me to Mr. V.; if there be a friend to be depended on he is one. His interest is next to Sir Robert's; whatever you ask, within his power, he will do for you, your brother and family. I have expected death for some days. These letters show that the Spaniards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends, on whom I depended to send their promised succors. But death is nothing to me; I will pursue all my designs, and to Him I recommend them and you.' He then gave me a diamond ring; I took it, and said, 'If, postremum fato quod te alloquor, hoc est,* hear, what you will quickly know to be a truth as soon as you are entered on a separate state; this ring I shall never make any use of for myself; I have no worldly hopes, I have renounced the world—Life is bitterness to me -I came hither to lay it down-You have been deceived as well as I-I protest my innocence of the crimes I am charged with, and think myself now at liberty to tell you what I thought never to have uttered." It is probable that he unfolded to Mr. Oglethorpe the whole plot, as Mrs. W. had discovered it to him.

"When I had finished this relation he seemed entirely changed; full of his old love and confidence in me. After some expressions of kindness, I asked him, 'are you now satisfied?' He replied, 'Yes entirely.' 'Why then, sir, I desire nothing more on earth, and care not how soon I follow you.' He added, how much he desired the conversion of the heathen, and believed my brother intended for it. believe,' said I, 'it will never be under your patronage; for then men would account for it, without taking God into the account.' He replied, 'I believe so too'-Then embraced and kissed me with the most cordial affection. I attended him to the Scout boat, where he waited some minutes for his sword. They brought a mourning sword the first and a second time; at last they gave him his own, which had been his father's-'With this sword,' said he, 'I was never yet unsuccessful.' When the boat put off, I ran into the woods to see my last of him. Seeing me and two others run after him, he stopt the boat and asked if we wanted anything? Capt. Mackintosh, whom he left commander, desired his last orders. I then said, 'God is with you; go forth, Christo duce, et auspice Christo.' 'You have,' said he, 'some verses of mine, you there see my thoughts of success.' The

^{*} This be the last time I am allowed to speak to you.

boat then carried him out of sight—I interceded for him, that God would save him from death, and wash away all his sins."

"April 29. About half past 8, I went down to the bluff, to see a boat that was coming up. At 9 it arrived, with Mr. Oglethorpe. I blessed God for still holding his soul in life. In the evening we took a walk together, and he informed me more particularly of our past danger. Three large ships and four smaller, had been seen for three weeks together at the mouth of the river; but the wind continuing against them, they were hindered from making a descent until they could stay no longer. I gave him back his ring, and said, 'I need not, indeed I cannot, sir, tell you how joyfully and thankfully I return this.' 'When I gave it you,' said he, 'I never expected to receive it again, but thought it would be of service to your brother and you. I had many omens of my death—but God has been pleased to preserve a life which was never valuable to me, and yet in the continuance of it, I thank God I can rejoice.' He appeared full of tenderness to me; and passed on to observe the strangeness of his deliverance, when betrayed on all sides, without human support, and utterly helpless. He condemned himself for his late anger, which he imputed to want of time for consideration. 'I longed, sir,' said I, 'to see you once more, that I might tell you some things before we finally parted. But then I considered, that if you died, you would know them all in a moment.' 'I know not,' said he, 'whether separate spirits regard our little concerns; if they do, it is as men regard the follies of their childhood; or, as I my late passionateness.' April 30. I had some further talk with him; he ordered me every thing he could think I wanted; and promised to have an house built for me immediately. He was just the same to me, he formerly had been."

From a careful examination of the whole of this affair, it appears to me that Mr. Wesley's conduct is not only free from blame, but that his integrity and prudence deserve the highest commendation. Conscious of his innocence, and loaded with contempt and reproach under the most irritating and provoking circumstances, his patience, and confidence in God, in expectation of deliverance, stand forth in a conspicuous light, and form the most prominent features of his character. Mrs. H. and Mrs. W. were women of very loose morals; they had come from England in the ship with Mr. Oglethorpe, and while at sea. Mrs. W. seemed to be under some religious impressions, but soon The character of Mrs. H. was well known in lost them on shore. England; Mr. Charles Wesley was informed by Mr. Hird, that Mr. Oglethorpe declared he would rather give an hundred pounds than take her in the ship. Though Mr. Wesley knew this, and the whole of her character, yet he never upbraided her with it, but patiently endured her revilings. His innocence appears on the very face of their proceedings, and hence Mr. Oglethorpe, when undeceived, attributed his conduct to a want of time for consideration. The second day after his coming among them, Mrs. H. began to abuse him; and seven days after, their whole plot was discovered to him; which makes it almost certain that their designs were formed before he came among them, under an apprehension that he would be too great a check on their licentious behavior. After such an instance as this, of the principles and practices of this people, ought we to wonder at any reports they might raise concerning either of the two brothers?

Mr. Charles Wesley being now more at ease from his persecutors, gradually regained his strength; and on the 11th of May he was sufficiently recovered to expound the lesson. On the 12th, the morning lesson was, Elisha surrounded with the host of Dothan. "It is our privilege as Christians," Mr. Wesley observes, "to apply these words to ourselves, 'there be more that be for us, than those that be against us.' God spoke to us yet plainer in the second lesson-'Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves.—But beware of men, for they will deliver you up, and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake; and ye shall be hated of all men; but he that endureth to the end shall be saved.—The disciple is not above his master; fear ve not therefore, for there is nothing covered which shall not be revealed, and hid which shall not be made known.' In explaining this," he adds, "I dwelt on that blessed topic of consolation to the innocent, that however he may suffer here, he will shortly be cleared at God's righteous bar, where the accuser and the accused shall meet face to face, and the guilty person acquit him whom he unjustly charged, and take back the wickedness to himself. Poor Mrs. W. who was just over against me, could not stand it, but first turned her back, and then retired behind the congregation." No one would have rejoiced more in her repentance and conversion to God, than Mr. Wesley.

Mr. Oglethorpe being gone to the southward, Mr. Charles Wesley set out for Savannah, whither the Indian traders were coming down to meet him, in order to take out their licenses. On the 16th, he reached Thunderbolt at six in the evening, and from thence walked to Savannah,* which is about five miles. His brother, Mr. Ingham, and Mr. Delamotte were surprised at his unexpected visit; but it being late, each retired to his corner of the room, and "without the help of a bed," says Mr. Charles, "we slept soundly till the morning." On the 19th, Mr. John Wesley set out for Frederica, and Mr. Charles took charge of Savannah in his absence. "The hardest duty," says he, "imposed on me, was expounding the lesson morning and evening to one hundred hearers. I was surprised at my own confidence, and acknowledged it was not my own." The day was usually divided between visiting his parishioners, considering the lesson, and conversing with Mr. Ingham, Delamotte, &c. On the 22d he first met the traders at Mr. Causton's, and continued to meet some or other of them every day for several weeks.

This accords with Mr. John Wesley's Journal. See his Works, vol. xxvi. p. 130.

May 31. Mr. Oglethorpe being returned from the southward, and come to Savannah, he this day held a court. "We went," says Mr. Wesley, "and heard his speech to the people;" in the close of which he said, "If any one here has been abused, or oppressed by any man, in or out of office, he has free and full liberty of complaining: let him deliver in his complaints in writing at my house: I will read them all over by myself and do every particular man justice." "At eight in the evening I waited upon him, and found the three magistrates with him, who seemed much alarmed by his speech—'they hoped he would not discourage government.'--He dismissed them." We have here a curious specimen of the notions which the magistrates of Savannah had of government. They seem to have thought it their privilege, as governors, to oppress any individual without restraint, as it suited their convenience or inclination. I am sorry to say, that we too often see this notion of government manifest itself in the conduct of little petty governors, both in matters ecclesiastical and civil.

In the beginning of July, I find Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. John and Mr. Charles Wesley, all at Savannah: but there is no intimation how long they had been there, or on what occasion they were together. "On the 21st," says Mr. Charles, "I heard by my brother, that I was to set sail for England in a few days." This was not merely on account of his health, which was now a little recovered. He was to carry despatches from Mr. Oglethorpe to the Trustees of Georgia, to the Board of Trade, and probably to Government. The next day, July 22, he got all the licenses signed by Mr. Oglethorpe, and countersigned them himself, "and so," says he, "I entirely washed my hands of the traders." This seems to have been a business which he cordially disliked; and thinking the present a favorable opportunity of escaping from his disagreeable situation, he wrote a letter to Mr. Oglethorpe on the 25th, resigning his office of Secretary. In the evening Mr. Oglethorpe took him aside, and asked whether the sum of all he had said in the letter was not contained in the following line, which he showed him.

" Magis apta Tuis, tua dona relinquo."

"Sir, to yourself your slighted gifts I leave, Less fit for me to take, than you to give."

"Sir," said Mr. Wesley, "I do not wish to lose your esteem, but I cannot lose my soul to preserve it." He answered, "I am satisfied of your regard for me; and your argument drawn from the heart is unanswerable; yet I would desire you not to let the Trustees know your resolution of resigning. There are many hungry fellows ready to catch at the office, and in my absence I cannot put in one of my own choosing. Perhaps they may send me a bad man; and how far such a one may influence the traders, and obstruct the reception of the Gospel among the heathen, you know.—I shall be in England

before you hear of it, and then you may either put in a deputy or resign."

July 26. Mr. C. Wesley set out for Charles-Town on his way to England. Thus far his brother accompanied him; and here they arrived on the 31st of July.* He now found his desires renewed to recover the image of God; and at the Sacrament was encouraged, in an unusual manner, to hope for pardon, and to strive against sin.

In every place where he came, Mr. Wesley was attentive to the things which passed round about him. We cannot therefore wonder that the wretched situation of the negroes should attract his notice. "I have observed much, and heard more," says he, "of the cruelty of masters towards their negroes; but now I received an authentic account of some horrid instances thereof. I saw myself, that the giving a slave to a child of its own age, to tyrannize over, to abuse and beat out of sport, was a common practice: nor is it strange, that being thus trained up in cruelty, they should afterwards arrive at such a perfection in it."

Mr. Wesley mentions several methods of torturing the poor slaves that were common, and even talked of with indifference by some who practised them—For instance, Mr. Starr informed Mr. L., with whom Mr. Wesley was intimate, that he had ordered a slave, first to be nailed up by the ears, and then to be whipt in the severest manner; and to finish the whole, to have scalding water thrown all over his body; after which the poor creature could not move himself for four months.

"Another, much applauded punishment," says Mr. C. Wesley, "is, drawing the teeth of their slaves—It is universally known, that Colonel Linch cut off the legs of a poor negro, and that he kills several of them every year by his barbarities."

"It were endless to recount all the shocking instances of diabolical cruelty, which these men, as they call themselves, daily practise upon their fellow-creatures, and that upon the most trivial occasions—I shall only mention one more, related to me by an eye-witness. Mr. Hill, a dancing-master in Charles-Town, whipt a female slave so long, that she fell down at his feet, in appearance dead: when by the help of a physician she was so far recovered as to show some signs of life, he repeated the whipping with equal rigor, and concluded the punishment with dropping scalding wax upon her flesh—Her crime was, over filling a tea-cup.—These horrid cruelties are the less to be wondered at, because the law itself, in effect, countenances and allows them to kill their slaves, by the ridiculous penalty appointed for it.

—The penalty is about seven pounds sterling, one half of which is usually remitted if the criminal inform against himself."

^{*} This account agrees with Mr. John Wesley's Journal. See his Works. Vol. xxvi. p. 145.

These instances, to which ten thousand others might be added, of deliberate, merciless cruelty, exercised by one part of mankind over another, often without any cause that can be called a provocation, show us to what a wretched state of depravity and insensibility human nature may be reduced by vicious habits. How much less would have been the sufferings of these miserable negroes, if they had fallen into the power of their more merciful enemies, the lions, bears, and tigers of Africa! Yet these wild beasts are hunted and destroyed as enemies to the human species: what then do the cruel slave-holders and masters deserve? who have more cruelty, and ten times the art of exercising it, even upon their own species. what is more wonderful than all the rest, if possible, is, that in this free and enlightened country, which boasts of the mild and equitable principles of Christianity, there is a large body of men who defend the slave-trade, the source of all these miseries, and from which it can never be wholly separated. And they defend it too, on the principle of advantage. Now what is it which these men, in fact, say to us in their defence of the slave-trade? Do they not tell us, that they would reduce all other men to a state of slavery for their own advantage, if they had the power of doing it?--But I say no more: the British nation has at length awaked from its deep sleep; it has opened its eyes, and viewed the enormity of the crimes attendant on the slave-trade; it has called on the legislature to put a stop to them by abolishing it; and, for the honor of our country, the British House of Commons has condemned the trade as cruel and unjust, and has determined to abolish it. Every friend to humanity waits with impatience to see this resolution fully and effectually executed. Had the two Mr. Wesleys been now living, they would have rejoiced greatly, and have praised God, for the present prospect of a total abolition of the slave-trade.

While Mr. Wesley stayed at Charles-Town, his bloody flux and fever hung upon him, and rather increased. Notwithstanding this, he was determined to go in the first ship that sailed for England. His friends endeavored to dissuade him from it, both because the ship was very leaky, and the captain a mere beast of a man, being almost continually drunk. But he was deaf to their advice. "The public business," says he, "that hurried me to England, being of that importance, as their Secretary, I could not answer to the Trustees for Georgia, the loss of a day." Accordingly he engaged his passage on board the London Galley, which left Charles-Town on the 16th of August. But they soon found, that the captain, while on shore, had neglected every thing to which he ought to have attended. vessel was too leaky to bear the voyage; and the captain, drinking nothing scarcely but gin, had never troubled his head about taking in a sufficient quantity of water; so that on the 26th they were obliged to be reduced to short allowance. Meeting afterwards with stormy weather, the leak became alarming, and their difficulties increased so fast upon them, that they were obliged to steer for Boston in New England, where they arrived, with much difficulty and danger, on the 24th of September.

Mr. Wesley was soon known at Boston, and met with a hospitable reception amongst the ministers, both of the town and neighborhood. Having experienced much difficulty at Frederica, to prevent his letters to his brother from being read by others, he learned Byrom's short-hand, and now for the first time wrote to his brother in those characters. He tells him, "If you are as desirous as I am of a correspondence, you must set upon Byrom's short-hand immediately." Mr. John Wesley did so, and their correspondence was afterwards carried on chiefly in it.

This letter was evidently written in a hurry, probably in the midst of company. A part of it is in Latin, which, as it shows the facility with which he wrote in this language, and also discovers something of the turn of his mind, I shall transcribe it below.* The substance of it I shall give in English.

" Boston, Oct. 5.

- "I am wearied with this hospitable people, they so vex and tease me with their civilities. They do not suffer me to be alone. The clergy, who come from the country on a visit, drag me along with them when they return. I am constrained to take a view of this New England, more pleasant even than the old. I cannot help exclaiming, O! happy country, that cherishes neither flies,† nor crocodiles,‡ nor informers.§ About the end of this week we shall certainly go on board the ship, having to pay a second time for our passage: even here, nothing is to be had without money. It vexes
- * "Tædet me populi hujusce φ totere, ita me urbanitate sua divexant et persequuntur. Non patiuntur me esse solum. E rure veniunt invisentes clerici; me revertentes in rus trahunt. Cogor hanc Angliam contemplari, etiam antiqua amæniorem; et nequeo non exclamare, O fortunata regio, nec muscas alens, nec crocodilos, nec delatores! Sub fine hujus hebdomadis navem certissime conscendimus, duplicato sumptu patriam empturi. Carolinensium nemo, viatica suppeditavit; et hic itidem nil nisi cum pretio. Pessime me habet quod cogor moram hanc emere, magnumque pretium digressionis solvere."
- "Morbus meus, aere hoc saluberrimo semel fugatus, iterum rediit. Suadent amici omnes, ut medicum consulem; sed "Funera non possum tam pretiosa pati."
- † When Mr. Wesley was at Frederica, the sand-flies were one night so exceedingly troublesome, that he was obliged to rise at one o'clock, and smoke them out of his hut. He tells us that the whole town was employed in the same way.
- ‡ He means that species of the crocodile called the alligator. When at Savannah, he and Mr. Delamotte used to bathe in the Savannah river between four and five o'clock in the morning, before the alligators were stirring, but they heard them snoring all round them. One morning Mr. Delamotte was in great danger; an alligator rose just behind him, and pursued him to the land, whither he escaped with difficulty.
- § He puts informers in good company; they are always troublesome, and sometimes destructive creatures. They seldom or never confine themselves to simple facts; suspicion supplies much matter, and invention more. After what he had suffered, it is no wonder he speaks of them in so feeling a manner.

me to be obliged to purchase this delay, and to pay a great price for my departure."

"My disorder, once removed by this most salubrious air, has again returned. All my friends advise me to consult a physician, but I cannot afford so expensive a funeral."

Mr. Wesley did not go on board as he expected, the ship being detained some time longer. During his stay here, his disorder returned with violence, and reduced him to a state of very great weakness. On the 15th of October he wrote to his brother, and continues his letter in a kind of journal to the 25th, when he went on board the ship, and sailed for England. His account of himself is as follows.

"I should be glad for your sake to give a satisfactory account of myself, but that you must never expect from me—It is fine talking while we have youth and health on our side; but sickness would spoil your boasting as well as mine. I am now glad of a warm bed; but must soon betake myself to my board again."

"Though I am apt to think that I shall at length arrive in England to deliver what I am intrusted with, yet I do not expect, or wish for a long life. How strong must the principle of self-preservation be, which can make such a wretch as I am willing to live at all!—or rather unwilling to die; for I know no greater pleasure in life, than in considering that it cannot last for ever."

"The temptations past
No more shall vex me; every grief I feel
Shortens the destin'd number; every pulse
Beats a sharp moment of the pain away,
And the last stroke will come. By swift degrees
Time sweeps me off, and I shall soon arrive
At life's sweet period: O! Celestial point
That ends this mortal story."—

"To-day completes my three weeks' unnecessary stay at Boston. To-morrow the ship falls down—I am just now much worse than ever; but nothing less than death shall hinder me from embarking.

"October 18. The ship that carries me, must meet with endless delays: it is well if it sails this week. I have lived so long in honors and indulgences, that I have almost forgotten whereunto I am called; being strongly urged to set up my rest here. But I will lean no longer upon men; nor again put myself into the power of any of my own merciless species, by either expecting their kindness or desiring their esteem. Mr. Appy, like an errant gentleman as he is, has drawn me into monstrous expenses for ship stores, &c. So that, what with my three weeks' stay at Charles-Town, my month's stay here, and my double passage,—from courtier I am turned philosopher.*

* Among the ancients a philosopher and a beggar were almost synonymous terms. In modern times, the philosopher holds a respectable rank in society. We commonly associ-

"October 21. I am worried on all sides by the solicitations of my friends to defer my winter voyage till I have recovered a little strength. Mr. — I am apt to think would allow me to wait a fortnight for the next ship; but then if I recover, my stay will be thought unnecessary. I must die to prove myself sick, and I can do no more at sea. I am therefore determined to be carried on board to-morrow, and leave the event to God."

"October 25. The ship fell down as was expected, but a contrary wind prevented me from following till now. At present I am something better: on board the Hannah, Captain Corney; in the stateroom, which they have forced upon me. I have not strength for more. Adieu."

On the 27th, Mr. Wesley had so far recovered strength that he was able to read prayers. The next day the captain informed him that a storm was approaching. In the evening it came on with dreadful violence and raged all night. On the 29th in the morning they shipped so prodigious a sea, that it washed away their sheep, half their hogs, and drowned most of their fowl. The ship was heavy laden, and the sea streamed in so plentifully at the sides, that it was as much as four men could do by continual pumping, to keep her above water. "I rose, and lay down by turns," adds Mr. Wesley, "but could remain in no posture long. I strove vehemently to pray, but in vain; I still persisted in striving, but without effect. I prayed for power to pray,* for faith in Jesus Christ; continually repeating his name, till I felt the virtue of it at last, and knew that I abode under the shadow of the Almighty."

At three in the afternoon the storm was at the height; at four, the ship made so much water, that the captain, finding it otherwise impossible to save her from sinking, cut down the mizzen-mast. "In this dreadful moment," says Mr. Wesley, "I bless God I found the comfort of hope; and such joy in finding I could hope, as the world can neither give nor take away. I had that conviction of the power of God present with me, overbalancing my strongest passion, fear, and raising me above what I am by nature, as surpassed all rational evidence, and gave me a taste of the divine goodness."

On the 30th the storm abated; and "On Sunday the 31st," he observes, "my first business was, may it be the business of all my days, to offer up the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. We all joined in thanks for our deliverance most of the day."

They soon met with another storm, but not so violent as the former, and continuing their voyage with some intervening difficulties and dangers, till the third of December, the ship arrived opposite Deal, and the passengers came safe on shore. "I kneeled down," says Mr.

ate the ideas of a poet and a garret, but then we mean a poet by profession; one who procures a livelihood by writing verses.

^{*} He means with confidence and comfort.

Wesley, "and blessed the hand that had conducted me through such inextricable mazes, and desired I might give up my country again, whenever God should require it."

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION III.

OF MR. CHARLES WESLEY FROM DECEMBER 3D, 1736, UNTIL THE END OF JUNE, 1738.

Mr. Charles Wesley, had been absent from England upwards of thirteen months; during this time he had passed through a series of trials and difficulties, which in all their circumstances are not very He had indeed been in the wilderness, where the hand of God had been manifested in his preservation, and finally in his deliverance. Here God had proved him, and tried him, and shown him what was in his heart. In this state of suffering, he was led to a more perfect knowledge of human nature, than he could have obtained from books and meditation, through the whole course of his life. His knowledge was derived from experience, which is the most certain, and the most useful in the conduct of life, and makes the deepest impression on the mind. In his distress the Scriptures became more precious than he had ever found them before. He now saw a beauty in them, which the most learned and refined criticism can never discover. From the frequent and pointed application of them to his state and circumstances, they were the means of giving a degree of consolation and hope, which human prudence and human help can never bestow. 'His situation abroad may be called a school in which the discipline indeed was severe, but the knowledge acquired by it, valuable, as it prepared him to understand, and disposed him by degrees to embrace, the simple gospel way of salvation, which the pride of man hath always rejected.

Both the Mr. Wesleys had formed a large acquaintance in London among the serious professors of religion, by whom they were greatly esteemed. When Mr. Charles arrived in town, his friends received him with inexpressible joy, as one restored from the dead; a report having been spread, that the ship in which he came home, had been seen to sink at sea. He called upon one lady while she was reading an account of his death. After he had delivered his letters, he waited on their friend Mr. Charles Rivington, in St. Paul's Church-yard. Here he met with letters, and a journal from his brother in Georgia, which informed him of what had taken place, soon after he left it.

Before he finally quitted America, Mr. Charles Wesley had written a letter to his brother John, in which he had expressed his sentiments of some particular persons with freedom, but by way of caution, had pointed out two individuals by two Greek words. This letter Mr. John Wesley dropt, and it fell into the hands of those who were enemies to both of them. Mr. John Wesley was so incautious also, as to tell who were meant by the two Greek words. This was sure to raise great disturbance among a people so irritable, and so revengeful, as the Georgians were at this time. Mr. Charles had happily escaped out of their reach, and the storm fell with double violence on his brother.* The journal which he now received from Mr. Rivington. informed him of the particulars. "I read it," says Mr. Charles, "without either surprise or impatience. The dropping of my fatal letter, I hope will convince him, of what I never could, his own great carelessness: and the sufferings which it has brought upon him, may show him his blindness. His simplicity in telling, what, and who were meant by the two Greek words, was out-doing his own out-doings. Surely all this will be sufficient to teach him a little of the wisdom of the serpent, of which he seems as entirely void, as Mrs. H. is of the innocency of the dove."

Mr. Charles Wesley has given us in these remarks, a striking instance of the artless, undisguised conduct of his brother. He supposes indeed, that his brother wanted foresight; that he did not perceive the consequences which would follow from his open avowal of the whole truth. This however was far from being the case. Mr. John Wesley had too much penetration and knowledge of human nature, not to foresee what would follow from his conduct on this occasion. The truth is, that Mr. John Wesley had adopted a principle of unreserved openness in his conversation with others, which, on particular occasions he carried abundantly too far. His conduct in the present instance, may prove his sincerity, and firm attachment to his principle, but prudence cannot justify it, even on the most rigid principles of morality.

It appears from Mr. Charles Wesley's journal, that most of the Trustees for Georgia were Dissenters: they have given us an unequivocal proof that the Dissenters at this time possessed great liberality of sentiment; or they would not have approved of the nomination of the two Mr. Wesleys, men avowedly of very high Church principles, to go and preach the gospel in Georgia; especially as their father had been so public an opposer of the Dissenting interest. December the 7th, one of these trustees called on Mr. Wesley. He observes, "We had much discourse of Georgia, and of my brother's

^{*} This was eight or nine months previous to the persecution he suffered on account of Mrs. Williamson.

persecution * among that stiff-necked people. He seems a truly pious humble Christian; full of zeal for God, and love to man." It has been generally acknowledged that Mr. Charles Wesley was a more rigid Churchman than his brother. I was therefore pleased to find this testimony of his candid judgment of a Dissenter. Could he have said more in favor of the most pious Churchman?

Mr. Oglethorpe left Georgia and set sail for England on the 26th of November, and arrived in London on the 7th of January, 1737. Mr. Charles Wesley waited upon him the next day, and the most cordial friendship subsisted between them; which continued till death.

About the middle of January, Count Zinzendorff arrived in England. I suppose it was the first time that he visited this country. One principal object of this visit, seems to have been, to procure a union between the Moravian Church, and the Church of England, in Georgia; and to get them acknowledged by this country as one church. The Count had been informed of the piety and zeal of the two brothers, and on the 19th, a few days after his arrival, he sent for Mr. Charles Wesley. He went, and the Count saluted him with all possible affection, and made him promise to call every day. Here he was acquainted with the object of the Count's visit to this country. From him he went to the bishop of Oxford, who received him with equal kindness, and desired him to call as often as he could, without ceremony or further invitation. They had much talk of the state of religion among the Moravians; of the object of the Count's visit; and the bishop acknowledged that the Moravian bishops had the true succession.

On the 25th, he paid a visit to the celebrated Dr. Hales,† near

- * Occasioned by Mr. Charles Wesley's letter to his brother, just now mentioned.
- † Hales (Stephen), D. D., a celebrated divine and philosopher, was born in 1677. In 1696 he was entered at Bennet College, Cambridge, and admitted a Fellow in 1703. He soon discovered a genius for natural philosophy. Botany was his first study, and he used to make excursions among the hills with a view of prosecuting it. In the study of astronomy he was equally assiduous. Having made himself acquainted with the Newtonian system, he contrived a machine for showing the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, on much the same principles with that afterwards made by Mr. Rowley, which, from the name of his patron, was called an Orrery.

In 1718, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society: and the year following, read an account of some experiments he had lately made on the effect of the Sun's warmth in raising the sap in trees. These experiments being highly approved by the Royal Society, he was encouraged to proceed; which he did, and in 1727, published them enlarged and improved, under the title of Vegetable Statics; and in 1733, he added another volume, under the title of Statical Essays. In 1732, he was appointed one of the Trustees for establishing a new Colony in Georgia. On the 5th of July, 1733, the University of Oxford honored him with a diploma for the degree of Doctor in Divinity; a mark of distinction the more honorable, as it is not usual for one university to confer academical honors on those who were educated at another. In 1739, he printed a volume in octavo, entitled Philosophical Experiments on Sea-water, Corn, Flesh, and other substances. In 1742, he read before the Royal Society an account of an instrument he had invented called a Ventilator, for conveying fresh air into mines, hospitals, prisons, and the close parts of ships, which was used with great success, not only for these purposes, but also for preserving

Twickenham, who was one of the Trustees for Georgia. The next day they took a walk to see Mr. Pope's house and gardens; "Justly," he observes, "called a burlesque on human greatness." He adds, "I was sensibly affected with the plain Latin sentence on the Obelisk, in memory of his mother.—Ah Editha, Matrum optima, Mulierum amantissima, vale!* How far superior to the most labored elegy which he, or Prior himself could have composed."

As Georgia was supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, Mr. Wesley took an early opportunity of waiting on his lordship with the Count's proposition. But the bishop refused to meddle in that business. He waited again on the bishop of Oxford, and informed him the bishop of London declined having any thing to do with Georgia, alleging that it belonged to the archbishop to unite the Moravians with the English Church. He replied that it was the bishop of London's proper office. "He bid me," adds Mr. Wesley, "assure the Count, we should acknowledge the Moravians as our brethren, and one church with us." The count seemed resolved to carry his people from Georgia, if they might not be permitted to preach to the Indians. He was very desirous to take Mr. Charles Wesley with him into Germany.

Mr. Wesley spent this year in attending on the Trustees and the Board of Trade; in visiting his friends in London, Oxford, and different parts of the country; and his brother and mother in the West of England. He preached occasionally at the places which he visited: and was every where zealous for God, and remarkably useful to a great number of persons by his religious conversation.

In August he was requested to carry up the Address from the University of Oxford, to his Majesty. Accordingly, on the 26th, he waited on the King with the address, at Hampton Court, accompanied with a few friends. They were graciously received; and the archbishop told him, he was glad to see him there. They kissed their majesties' hands, and were invited to dinner. Mr. Wesley left the dinner and the company, and hasted back to town. The next day he waited on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and dined at St. James'.

corn sweet in granaries, &c. Many of his papers are printed in the Philosophical Transactions; and some he published, for more general usefulness, in the Gentlemen's Magazine.

Dr. Hales was several years honored with the friendship of his Royal Highness, Frederick Prince of Wales, who frequently visited him, and took a delight in surprising him in the midst of his curious researches into the various parts of Nature. The Prince dying in 1750, Dr. Hales was appointed Almoner to her Royal Highness, the Princess Dowager, without his solicitation or knowledge. In the church he held the perpetual curacy of Teddington, near Twickenham, and the living of Farringdon in Hampshire. He objected to any other preferment; for when his late Majesty nominated him to a canonry of Windsor, he engaged the Princess to prevail with his Majesty to recall his nomination. He was remarkable for benevolence, cheerfulness and temperance. He died at Teddington in 1761, in the 84th year of his age.

^{*} Ah Editha, the best of mothers, the most loving of women, farewell!

Mr. Wesley did not experience that peace and happiness in religion, nor that renewal of his heart in holiness, which he earnestly labored to attain. He was not therefore satisfied with his present state. On the 31st of August he consulted Mr. Law; the sum of whose advice was, "Renounce yourself, and be not impatient." In the beginning of September he consulted him again, and asked several questions, to which Mr. Law gave the following answers. "With what comment shall I read the Scriptures?" "None." "What do you think of one who dies unrenewed while endeavoring after it?" "It neither concerns you to ask,* nor me to answer." "Shall I write once more to such a person?" "No." "But I am persuaded it will do him good." "Sir, I have told you my opinion." "Shall I write to you?" "Nothing I can either speak or write will do you any good."

To oblige Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. Wesley still held his office of Secretary, and had formed a resolution to return to Georgia. About the middle of October, he was informed at the office that he must sail in three weeks. This appointment however did not take place; and his mother vehemently protested against his going back to America; but this did not alter his resolution.

In the beginning of February, 1738, Peter Bohler arrived in England, about the time Mr. John Wesley returned from Georgia. Bohler soon became acquainted with the two brothers, and on the 20th of this month prevailed with Mr. Charles Wesley to assist him in learning English. Mr. Charles was now at Oxford, and Bohler soon entered into some close conversation with him, and with some scholars who were serious. He pressed upon them the necessity of conversion; he showed them that many who had been awakened, had fallen asleep again for want of attaining to it. He spoke much of the necessity of prayer and faith, but none of them seemed to understand him.

Mr. Charles Wesley was immediately after this, taken ill of a pleurisy. On the 24th, the pain became so violent as to threaten sudden death. While in this state, Peter Bohler came to his bed-side. "I asked him," adds Mr. Wesley, "to pray for me. He seemed unwilling at first, but beginning faintly, he raised his voice by degrees, and prayed for my recovery with strange confidence. Then he took me by the hand and calmly said, 'You will not die now.' I thought within myself, I cannot hold out in this pain till morning—He said, 'Do you hope to be saved?' I answered, 'yes.' 'For what reason do you hope to be saved?' 'Because I have used my best endeavors to serve God.' He shook his head and said no more. I thought him very uncharitable, saying in my heart, 'What! are not my endeavors a sufficient ground of hope? Would he rob me of my endeavors?' I have nothing else to trust to.'"

Mr. Wesley was now bled three times in about the space of twenty-

^{*} Mr. Wesley found that he was not renewed, and thought he might die while endeavoring after it. The question therefore was to him of serious importance.

four hours; after which the disease abated, and he soon began gradually to recover his strength. As he still retained his office, and his intention of returning to Georgia with Mr. Oglethorpe, he was called upon to embark before he was perfectly recovered. The physicians absolutely forbid him to attempt the voyage, if he regarded his life. They likewise advised him, as friends, to stay at Oxford; where, being senior master in his college, he might accept of offices and preferment. His brother urged the same advice; and in compliance with it, he wrote to Mr. Oglethorpe on the 3d of April, resigning his office of Secretary. Mr. Oglethorpe was unwilling to lose him, having now had ample proof of his integrity and ability; and wrote for answer, that if he would keep his place, it should be supplied by a deputy until he could follow. But Mr. Wesley now finally relinquished his intention of going back to America.

April 24th, he was able to take a ride to Blendon, where he met with his brother and Mr. Broughton. The next day, April 25th, Mrs. Delamotte, his brother, Mr. Broughton and himself being met in their little chapel, they fell into a dispute whether conversion was gradual or instantaneous. Mr. John Wesley very positively contended for the latter,* and his assertions appeared to Mr. Charles shocking; especially when he mentioned some late instances of gross sinners being converted in a moment. Mrs. Delamotte left the room abruptly; "I staid," adds Charles, "and insisted that a man need not know when he first had faith." His brother's obstinacy, as he calls it, in maintaining the contrary opinion, at length drove him out of the room. Mr. Broughton kept his ground, not being quite so much offended as Mr. Charles Wesley.

This warm debate happened early in the morning. After dinner Mr. Broughton and Mr. John Wesley returned to London, and Mr. Charles began reading Haliburton's life to the family; one instance, and but one, he observes, of instantaneous conversion.

The next day he finished reading Haliburton's life. It produced in him great humiliation, self-abasement, and a sense of his want of that faith which brings righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. But these effects soon passed away as a morning cloud. A degree of conviction, however, that possibly he might be wrong, had taken hold of his mind, and continued to make him uneasy. This uneasiness was increased by a return of his disorder on the 28th, when he arrived in London. Here Peter Bohler visited him again, and prayed with him. Mr. Charles Wesley now thought it was his duty to consider Bohler's doctrine, and to examine himself whether he was in the faith, and if not, never to rest till he had attained it.

^{*} I continually follow, in the life of Mr. Charles Wesley, his own private journal, which was never published, nor intended for publication. It is pleasing to observe the agreement between this and Mr. John Wesley's printed journal, where the same circumstances are mentioned by both. See his Works, vol. xxvi. p. 261, at the bottom.

Still, however, there was a secret wish within his heart that this new doctrine, as he then thought it, might not be true; and hence arose a joy when he imagined he had found an argument against it. soon was furnished with an argument from his own experience. which he deemed unanswerable. Having received benefit by bleeding, he was at the sacrament on the first of May, and felt a degree of peace in receiving it. "Now," said he to himself, "I have demonstration against the Moravian doctrine, that a man cannot have peace without assurance of his pardon. I now have peace, yet cannot say of a surety that my sins are forgiven." His triumph was very short: his peace immediately left him, and he sunk into greater doubts and distress than before. He now began to be convinced that he had not that faith which puts the true believer in possession of the benefits and privileges of the gospel. For some days following he had a faint desire to attain it, and prayed for it. He then began to speak of the necessity of this faith to his friends; his earnestness to attain it increased, and he determined not to rest till he had the happy experience of it in himself.

Soon afterwards Mr. Broughton called upon him at the house of Mr. Bray. The subject was presently introduced. Mr. Broughton said, "As for you, Mr. Bray, I hope you are still in your senses, and not run mad after a faith that must be felt." He continued contradicting this doctrine of faith, till he roused Mr. Wesley to defend it, and to confess his want of faith. "God help you, poor man," said Broughton, "if I could think that you have not faith, I am sure it would drive me to despair." Mr. Wesley then assured him, he was as certain that he had not the faith of the gospel, as he was that he hoped for it, and for salvation.

It is commonly said, that passion and prejudice blind the mind. We should rather say, they give the understanding a false view of objects, by changing the *media* through which it sees them. Mr. Broughton was a man of learning, had been a member of their little society at Oxford, and was well disposed to religion. He viewed the notion of faith which the two brothers had now embraced, through the medium of prejudice, and his understanding was confused and his judgment perverted. He seemed to think, that he could not place the absurdity of their notion in a stronger light, than by saying, this faith must be felt. He thought a man must be out of his senses before he can persuade himself that he must feel that he has faith. As if it were possible for a man to believe a proposition, whatever it may be, and not be conscious that he believes it: or to have doubts, and be totally unconscious and ignorant of them; the impossibility of which is evident.

Mr. Charles Wesley now saw, that the gospel promises to man a knowledge of God reconciled in Christ Jesus, which he had not attained; that a person prepared to receive it as he was by knowing

his want of it, must attain it by clear views of Christ, and a living faith in him: and he became more and more earnest in pursuit of it. On the 12th of May he waked in the morning, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, even the righteousness which is of God by faith. He read Isaiah, and saw, that unto him were the promises made. He now spent the whole of his time in discoursing on faith, either with those who had it, or with those who sought it; and in reading the Scriptures and prayer.

On this day Mr. Wesley observes, that he was much affected at the sight of old Mr. Ainsworth; a man of great learning, and near eighty years of age. "Like old Simeon, he was waiting to see the Lord's salvation, that he might die in peace. His tears, his vehemency, and child-like simplicity, showed him upon the entrance of the kingdom of heaven." Mr. Ainsworth* seems to have been fully convinced of the true doctrines of the gospel, and to have joined himself to this little company who were endeavoring to know and serve God as the gospel directs. Mr. Wesley mentions him afterwards, with great admiration of his simplicity and child-like disposition.

May 17th, Mr. Wesley first saw Luther on the Galatians, which Mr. Holland had accidentally met with. They immediately began to read him; "And my friend," adds Mr. Wesley, "was so affected in hearing him read, that he breathed sighs and groans unutterable. I marvelled that we were so soon and entirely removed from him that called us into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel. Who would believe that our church had been founded on this important article of justification by faith alone? I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine; especially while our articles and homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away. From this time I endeavored to ground as many of our friends as came to see me, in this fundamental truth.—Salvation by faith alone—not an idle, dead faith, but a faith which works by love, and is incessantly productive of all good works and all holiness."

May the 19th, a Mrs. Turner called upon him, who professed faith in Christ. Mr. Wesley asked her several questions; to which she returned the following answers. Has God bestowed faith upon you? "Yes, he has." Why, have you peace with God? "Yes, perfect peace." And do you love Christ above all things? "I do, above all things." Then you are willing to die. "I am, and would be glad to die this moment; for I know that all my sins are blotted out; the

^{*} This is a most pleasing anecdote of a man of so much reading and study as Mr. Robert Ainsworth. It shows the great goodness of his mind, which was not puffed up with extensive knowledge, acquired by long industry; nor with the labors of many years, successfully employed for the promotion of literature and the honor of his country. He was born in Lancashire, in 1660; and was master of a boarding-school at Bethnal-Green, from whence he removed to Hackney.—After acquiring a moderate fortune, he retired and lived privately. We are indebted to him for the best Latin and English Dictionary extant. He died in 1743.

hand-writing that was against me, is taken out of the way, and nailed to the cross. He has saved me by his death; he has washed me in his blood; I have peace in him, and rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."—Mr. Wesley adds, "Her answers were so full to these and the most searching questions I could ask, that I had no doubt of her having received the atonement; and waited for it myself with more assured hope, feeling an anticipation of joy on her account."

Religious conversation, especially when it is a simple, artless relation of genuine experience, is often of singular use. Christian experience implies a consciousness which a man has in himself, that he lives in the possession of certain spiritual benefits and privileges, which the gospel promises to those who cordially embrace it, and in hope of others which he has not yet attained. Mr. Wesley experienced great humiliation and self-abasement; he was fully conscious of his own helplessness and total inability to reconcile himself to God, or to make atonement for the least of his sins, by the best endeavors to serve him. His whole hope, therefore, of pardon and salvation was in Christ, by attaining those benefits which the Holy Jesus, by the whole process of redemption, had procured for him. He had already been the means of awakening several persons to a sense of their sinfulness and danger, by describing the state of his own mind, and showing them the evidences on which his convictions of sin were founded. And he also was both instructed and encouraged by hearing the experience of those who had attained that knowledge of Christ, and of the power of his resurrection, which he was now earnestly seeking. The practice of thus conversing together on experience, is peculiar to Christians; Christianity being the only religion that was ever published to the world, which leads man to an intercourse and fellowship with God in spiritual things. It is pleasing to observe, that those who associated together, at the very commencement of this revival of religion, immediately fell into this most excellent method of building one another up in their most holy faith. Their daily conversation became a powerful means of keeping their minds watchful against sin, and diligent and zealous in pursuit of holiness; it tended to give consolation, to increase patience under affliction, and to strengthen their confidence of deliverance and victory in God's own time. I believe this method of religious improvement has been more universally and constantly attended to among the Methodists, than among any other class of people professing religion. In this, I apprehend, they have very much resembled the Primitive Christians, as long as these retained their first zeal and simplicity, which probably was till towards the latter end of the second century, and in some places much later. What a pity that any denomination of Christians, the Methodists in particular, should ever lose this characteristic of the followers of Christ.

When persons began to relate their experience in religion, at the period of which I am now speaking, it appeared to many as a new thing in England. The phrases they made use of, had not as yet been learned by heart; they were the genuine expressions of what had passed in their own hearts, and therefore signified something fixed and determinate, which all who experienced the same things, or their want of them, would easily understand; though to others they would appear, as they do now, mere cant phrases, without any determinate ideas affixed to them. Mr. Wesley's knowledge of himself, and conscious want of peace with God, on a foundation which cannot be shaken, furnished him with a key which opened their true meaning. He saw the gospel contained ample provisions for all his wants, and that its operation on the mind is admirably adapted to the human faculties. He perceived, that, however learning might assist him in judging of his experience, and in regulating the means of retaining and increasing it; yet experience is distinct both from learning and mere speculative opinion, and may be, and often is, separated from them. He was therefore convinced, that all his learning could neither give him an experimental knowledge of Christ, nor supply the place of it; and he saw several persons, who had no pretensions to learning, rejoicing in it; which made him willing to be taught, in matters of experience, by the illiterate. He now lost the pride of literature, and sought the kingdom of heaven as a little child: he counted all things as dung and dross in comparison of it; and all his thoughts, his desires, his hopes and his fears, had some relation to it. But God did not leave him long in this state. On Whitsunday, May 21st, he waked in hope and expectation of soon attaining the object of his wishes, the knowledge of God reconciled in Christ Jesus. At nine o'clock his brother and some friends came to him, and sung a hymn suited to the day. When they left him he betook himself to prayer. Soon afterwards a person came and said, in a very solemn manner, "believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth and thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities." The words went through his heart, and animated him with confidence. He looked into the Scripture, and read, "Now Lord, what is my hope? truly my hope is even in thee." He then cast his eye on these words, "He hath put a new song into my mouth, even thanksgiving unto our God; many shall see it and fear, and put their trust in the Lord." Afterwards he opened upon Isaiah xl. 1. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith our God, speak comfortably to Jerusalem and crv unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins." reading these passages of Scripture, he was enabled to view Christ as set forth to be a propitiation for his sins, through faith in his blood, and received that peace and rest in God, which he had so earnestly sought.

The next morning he waked with a sense of the divine goodness and protection, and rejoiced in reading the 107th Psalm, so nobly descriptive, he observes, of what God had done for his soul. This day he had a very humbling view of his own weakness; but was enabled to contemplate Christ in his power to save to the uttermost, all those who come unto God by him. Many evil thoughts were suggested to his mind, but they immediately vanished away. In the afternoon he was greatly strengthened by those words in the 43d of Isaiah, which he saw were spoken to encourage and comfort the true Israel of God, in every age of his church. "But now thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel, fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee: and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, thy Saviour."

Mr. Wesley had long been well acquainted with the Scriptures; he had now an enlarged and distinct view of the doctrines of the gospel; and experienced in himself the blessings it promiseth to those who cordially embrace them. A man thus qualified to instruct others, will find many occasions of prayer and praise, which will suggest matter adapted to particular persons and circumstances. If he be a man of tolerable good sense and some vigor of thought, and especially if he have had a liberal education, he will never want words to express the ideas and feelings of his own mind. Such a person will therefore often find a prescribed form of prayer to be a restraint upon the exercise of his own powers, under circumstances which become powerful incentives to an animated and vigorous exercise of them; and by varying from the words and matter suggested by the occasion, it will often throw a damp on the ardor of his soul, and in some degree obstruct the profit of his devotion. We may observe likewise. that a form of prayer becomes familiar by frequent repetition; and, according to a well-known principle in human nature, the more familiar an object, or a form of words become, the less effect they have on the mind, and the difficulty is increased of fixing the attention sufficiently to feel the full effect which otherwise they would produce. Hence it is, that we find the most solemn forms of prayer, in frequent use, are often repeated by rote, without the least attention to the meaning and importance of the words, unless a person be under some affliction, which disposes him to feel their application to himself. tempore prayer has therefore a great advantage over set forms, in awakening and keeping up the attention of an audience. Whether Mr. Wesley had reasoned thus on forms of prayer, I cannot say; but he evidently found them, at this time, to be a restraint on the freedom of his devotional exercises, and now began to pray occasionally

without a form, with advantage and comfort to himself and others. It was however a new practice with him, and he seemed surprised both at his boldness and readiness in performing it, and hence he says, "Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy name be the glory."

Both the Mr. Wesleys were greatly censured by some persons, particularly by their brother Samuel, when they began this practice. I cannot see any cause for censure. The most sensible and moderate men have allowed, that a form of prayer may be useful to some particular persons in private; and that it may be proper on some occasions in public worship. But the more zealous advocates for forms of prayer are not satisfied with this; they wish to bind them upon all persons, as a universal rule of prayer in public worship, from which we ought in no instance to depart. This appears to me unjustifiable on any ground whatever. To say that we shall not ask a favor of God, nor return him thanks; that we shall hold no intercourse with him in our public assemblies, but in a set of words dictated to us by others, is an assumption of power in sacred things, which is not warranted either by Scripture or reason: it seems altogether as improper as to confine our intercourse with one another to prescribed forms of conversation. Were this restraint imposed upon us, we should immediately feel the hardship, and see the impropriety of it; and the one appears to me as ill adapted to edification and comfort, as the other would be.

This day an old friend called upon him, under great apprehensions that he was running mad. His fears were not a little increased, when he heard him speak of some instances of the power and goodness of God. His friend told him that he expected to see rays of light round his head; and said a good deal more in the same strain. Finding by Mr. Wesley's conversation that he was past recovery, he begged him to fly from London, and took his leave in despair of doing him any good.

May 23d, he wrote an hymn on his own conversion. Upon showing it to Mr. Bray a thought was suggested to his mind, that he had done wrong and displeased God. His heart immediately sunk within him; but the shock lasted only for a moment; "I clearly discerned," says he, "it was a device of the enemy to keep glory from God. It is most usual with him to preach humility when speaking would endanger his kingdom and do honor to Christ. Least of all would he have us tell what God has done for our souls, so tenderly does he guard us against pride. But God has showed me, that he can defend me from it while speaking for him. In his name therefore, and through his strength, I will perform my vows unto the Lord, of not hiding his righteousness within my heart."

Mr. Wesley had now satisfactory evidence that he was a pardoned sinner, accepted of God in Christ Jesus, and quickened by his spirit.

He enjoyed constant peace, was extremely watchful over the motions of his own heart, and had a degree of strength to resist temptation, and to do the will of God, which he had not found before his justification; but he felt no great emotion of mind, or transport of joy in any of the means of grace. He now intended to receive the sacrament, and was fearful lest he should be as flat and comfortless in this ordinance as formerly; he received it without any very sensible effect on his mind more than usual, but with this difference from his former state. that he found himself, after it was over, calm and satisfied with the goodness of God to his soul, and free from doubt, fear or scruple, of his interest in Christ. In this way he was early taught by experience, to place little confidence in any of those sudden and transient impressions which are often made on the mind in public or private acts of devotion. Nor was he uneasy because destitute of that rapturous joy which some persons have experienced; he was thankful for the more calm and more permanent operations of divine grace on the mind, by which his heart was kept in peace, staid upon God, and watching unto prayer.

May 28. He rose in great heaviness, which neither private nor joint prayer with others could remove. At last he betook himself to intercession for his relations, and was greatly enlarged therein, particularly for a most profligate sinner. He spent the morning with James Hutton, in prayer, singing and rejoicing. In the afternoon his brother came, and after prayer for success on their ministry, Mr. John Wesley set out intending to go to Tiverton, and Mr. Charles began writing his first sermon after his conversion, "In the name of Christ his prophet."

He had before this time been the means of leading several persons to a knowledge of themselves, and to a sense of their want of faith in Christ: he was now the instrument in the hands of God of bringing one to an experimental knowledge of salvation by the remission of sin, so that she rejoiced in God her Saviour. A severe exercise of faith and patience soon followed. June the 1st, he found his mind so exceedingly dull and heavy that he had scarcely any power to pray. This state increased upon him for several days, till at length he became insensible of any comfort, or of any impression of good upon his mind in the means of grace. He was averse to prayer, and though he had but just recovered strength sufficient to go to church, yet he almost resolved not to go at all: when he did go, the prayers and sacrament were a grievous burden to him: instead of a fruitful field, he found the whole service a dreary barren wilderness, destitute of comfort and profit. He felt what he calls, "A cowardly desire of death," to escape from his present painful feelings. He began to examine himself, and to enquire wherein his present state differed from the state he was in before he professed faith. He soon found there was a difference in the following particulars; he observed the present darkness was not like the former; there was no guilt in it; he was persuaded God would remove it in his own time; and he was confident of the love and mercy of God to him in Christ Jesus.—The former state was night, the present only a cloudy day; at length the cloud dispersed, and the Sun of righteousness again shone with brightness on his soul.

This was a most instructive exercise. It showed him, 1. His own utter helplessness in the work of his salvation. He found by experience that he could not produce comfort or any religious affection in himself when he most wanted them. The work is God's; when he gives light and strength, man may work, and he is required to work out his salvation with fear and trembling; but till God begin the work, man cannot move a step in it. 2. It taught him to value the gifts of God which nothing can purchase; and to guard them as his treasure, and not barter them for the goods of this life. 3. He saw hereby, that if he could not produce comfort and religious affections in himself, he was still less able to produce them in others, and therefore, whenever they were experienced under his ministry, the work was God's, he was only the mean humble instrument in his hand. Thus God prepared him for great usefulness and guarded him against pride. When the trial was over, he saw the excellent fruits of it, and thanked God that it continued so long.

June the 7th, Dr. Byrom* called upon him. Mr. Wesley had a hard struggle with his bashfulness before he could prevail on himself to speak freely to the doctor on the things of God. At length he gave him a simple relation of his own experience: this brought on a full explanation of the doctrine of faith, which Dr. Byrom received with wonderful readiness.

Mr. Wesley having recovered strength, began to move about among his friends. He went to Blendon, and to some other places in the country, and found, that the more he labored in the work of the ministry, the more his joy and happiness in God was increased. He was remarkably diligent, zealous, and successful wherever he went, seldom staying a night or two in any place, but several persons were convinced of the truth and converted to God. In this journey he met with the Rev. Mr. Piers, and on the 9th of this month, in riding to Bexley, spake to him of his own experience, with great simplicity,

* John Byrom, an ingenious poet of Manchester, was born in 1691. His first poetical essay appeared in the Spectator, No. 603, beginning, "My time, O ye Muses, was happily spent;" which, with two humorous letters on dreams, are to be found in the eighth volume. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society in 1724. Having originally entertained thoughts of practising physic, he received the appellation of Doctor, by which he was always known; but reducing himself to narrow circumstances by a precipitate marriage, he supported himself by teaching a new method of writing Short-hand, of his own invenion; until an estate devolved to him by the death of an elder brother. He was a man of ready, lively wit, of which he gave many humorous specimens, whenever a favorable opportunity tempted him to indulge his disposition. He died in 1763; and a collection of his Miscellaneous Poems was printed at Manchester, in two volumes octavo, 1773.

but with confidence. He found Mr. Piers ready to receive the faith. Greatest part of the day was spent in the same manner, Mr. Bray, who was with Mr. Wesley, relating the dealings of God with his own soul, and showing what great things God had done for their friends in London. Mr. Piers listened with eager attention to all that was said, made not the least objection, but confessed that these were things which he had never experienced. They then walked and sung, and prayed in the garden: he was greatly affected, and testified his full conviction of the truth, and desire of finding Christ. "But," said he, "I must first prepare myself by long exercise of prayer and good works."

The day before Mr. Wesley and Mr. Bray arrived at Blendon, Mr. Piers had been led to read the homily on justification, by which he was convinced that in him, by nature, dwelt no good thing. This prepared him to receive what these messengers of peace related, concerning their own experience. He now saw that all the thoughts of his heart were evil, and that continually, forasmuch as whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

June the 10th. He became earnest for present salvation; he prayed to God for comfort, and was encouraged by reading Luke v. 23. "Whether is it easier to say, thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, rise up and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he said unto the sick of the palsy) I say unto thee arise, and take up thy bed and go unto thine house," &c. Mr. Wesley and Mr. Bray now conversed with him on the power of Christ to save, and then prayed with him; they afterwards read the 65th Psalm, and all of them were animated with hope in reading. "Thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come. Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and receivest unto thyself; he shall dwell in thy court, and shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house, even of thy holy temple. Thou shalt show us wonderful things in thy righteousness, O God of our salvation! Thou art the hope of all the ends of the earth," &c. In the continuance of these exercises alternately, of conversing, reading, and praying together, Mr. Piers received power to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and had peace and joy in believing.

The next day Mr. Piers preached on death: and in hearing him, Mr. Wesley observes, "I found great joy in feeling myself willing, or rather desirous to die." This however did not proceed from impatience, or a fear of the afflictions and sufferings of life, but from a clear evidence of his acceptance in the beloved. After sermon they went to the house of Mr. Piers, and joined in prayer for a poor woman in deep despair: then going down to her, Mr. Wesley asked whether she thought God was love, and not anger, as Satan would persuade her? He showed her the gospel plan of salvation; a plan founded in mercy and love to lost perishing sinners. She received what he said

with all imaginable eagerness. When they had continued some time together in prayer for her, she rose up a new creature, strongly and explicitly declaring her faith in the blood of Christ, and full persuasion that she was accepted in him.

Mr. Wesley remained weak in body, but grew stronger daily in faith, and more zealous for God and the salvation of men, great power accompanying his exhortations and prayers. On the evening of this day, after family prayer, he expounded the lesson, and one of the servants testified her faith in Christ and peace with God. A short time afterwards the gardener was made a happy partaker of the same Mr. Piers also began to see the fruit of his ministerial Being sent for to visit a dying woman in despair, because she had done so little good, and so much evil; he declared to her the glad tidings of salvation by grace, and showed her, that if she could sincerely repent and receive Christ by a living faith, God would pardon her sins and receive her graciously. This opened to her view a solid ground of comfort; she gladly quitted all confidence in herself. to trust in Jesus Christ, and she experienced her faith in him by a calm, cheerful, triumphant expectation of death. Her fears and agonies were at an end; being justified by faith she had peace with God, and only entered farther into her rest, by dying a few hours after. The spectators of this awful joyful scene, were melted into tears, while she calmly passed into the heavenly Canaan, and brought up a good report of her faithful pastor, who under Christ saved her soul from death.

The next day, June the 14th, Mr. Wesley returned to London, and was informed that his brother, Mr. John Wesley, was gone to Hernhuth. The news, he observes, surprised, but did not disquiet him. He staid only two days in London, and then returned with J. Delamotte to Blendon, and from thence to Bexley. Here his complaints returned upon him, and he was obliged to keep his bed. "Desires of death," says he, "often rose in me, which I labored to check, not daring to form any wish concerning it." His pains abated; and on the 21st, I find him complaining, that several days had elapsed and he had done nothing for God; so earnestly did he desire to be incessantly laboring in the work of the ministry.

In this excursion Mr. Wesley was very successful in doing good; but he met with strong opposition to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, from William Delamotte, whom he calls his scholar, and from Mrs. Delamotte, who was still more violent against it than her son; both were zealous defenders of the merit of good works. Mr. Delamotte supposed, that if men were justified by faith alone, without any regard to works, then sinners obtaining this justification, and dying soon after, would be equal in heaven with those who had labored many years in doing good and serving God. But, said he, "It would be unjust in God to make sinners equal with us, who have

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labored many years." The Jews of old reasoned in a similar manner concerning the reception of the Gentiles into the gospel church, on the same conditions and to the same privileges with themselves. Their disposition towards the Gentiles is beautifully described, and gently reproved, in the parable of the prodigal son. The cases indeed are not perfectly similar; the one relating to our state in heaven, the other to the blessings and privileges of the gospel in this life. Mr. Delamotte's conclusion, however, does not follow from the doctrine of justification by faith. As all men have sinned, so all men must be justified, or pardoned, and be admitted to a participation of gospel blessings, as an act of mere grace or favor; and the condition required of man, is, faith alone; but it is such a faith as becomes a practical principle of obedience to every part of the gospel, so far as a man understands it. Thus far all men, who hear the gospel, are equal; they must be pardoned and accepted by an act of grace or favor, and the same condition of receiving these blessings is required of every man, without any regard to his works, which are all sinful. Our state in heaven will be regulated by a different rule. All who are saved, will not be treated as equal: "Every man will be rewarded according to his works;" that is, according to his improvement in practical holiness, on gospel principles. Heaven will undoubtedly be a state of society; this appears evident, not only from some passages of Scripture, but from the faculties of men, which are formed for social intercourse, in order to obtain the highest degree of happi-But in a state of society, the members occupy different ranks and degrees; there are certain honors and rewards to be bestowed: in heaven these will all be distributed in proportion to our works, and the conformity to Christ, to which we may attain in this life.

Mr. Delamotte, however, thought his conclusion good, and was animated with zeal against this new faith, as it was then commonly called. He collected his strong reasons against it, and filled two sheets of paper with them: but in searching the Scripture for passages to strengthen his arguments, he met with Titus iii. 5. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he hath saved us." This passage of Scripture cut him to the heart, destroyed all confidence in the specious reasoning he had used on this subject, and convinced him he was wrong. He burned his papers, and began to seek in earnest that faith which he had before opposed.

Mrs. Delamotte continued her opposition. In reading a sermon, one evening in the family, Mr. Wesley maintained the doctrine of faith: Mrs. Delamotte opposed. "Madam," said Mr. Wesley, "we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard: I received faith in that manner, and so have more than thirty others in my presence." Her passion kindled; said she could not bear this, and hastily quitted the room.—Mr. Wesley here gives us some idea of his success in

conversing and praying with the people. A month had now elapsed since his justification. A part of this time he had been confined by sickness, and was not yet able to preach. Notwithstanding this, more than thirty persons had been justified in the little meetings at which he had been present! Mrs. Delamotte was afterwards convinced of the truth, and cordially embraced it.

June the 30th, Mr. Wesley received the following letter from Mr. William Delamotte.

" Dear Sir,

"God hath heard your prayers. Yesterday about twelve, he put his fiat to the desires of his distressed servant; and glory be to him, I have enjoyed the fruits of his holy Spirit ever since. The only uneasiness I feel, is, want of thankfulness and love for so unspeakable a gift. But I am confident of this also, that the same gracious hand which hath communicated, will communicate even unto the end.—O my dear friend, I am free indeed! I agonized some time between darkness and light; but God was greater than my heart, and burst the cloud, and broke down the partition wall, and opened to me the door of faith."

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION IV.

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF MR. CHARLES WESLEY'S PUBLIC MINISTRY.

Ir we consider how necessary the gospel is, to the present and future happiness of men, we shall readily acknowledge that a minister of it, occupies the most important office in society; and hence it becomes a matter of the utmost importance, that this office be filled with men properly qualified for it. Christianity is a practical science, the theory of its principles being only preparatory to the practice of those duties which it enjoins. A preacher therefore should not only understand the doctrines of the gospel, and be able to arrange them according to the natural order in which they are intended to influence the mind, and direct the conduct of life; but he ought to experience their influence on his own heart, and be daily conversant in a practical application of them to every duty which he owes to God and man. Here, as in every other practical art or science, principles and practice must be constantly united; they illustrate and confirm

each other. Fundamental principles must first be learned; they must be applied to the heart, so as to awaken the conscience to a sense of the evil of sin, &c., and have a suitable influence on our actions. This first step in christian knowledge will prepare the mind for the second; and so on till we come to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. If a minister of the gospel be unacquainted with this practical application of the principles of the christian religion to his own heart and life, he is deficient in one of the most essential qualifications for his office, whatever may be the degree of his speculative knowledge.

The observations of a professor of divinity in a foreign university, on the qualifications of a gospel minister, appear to me so just and excellent, that I shall take the liberty to translate them, and present them to the reader.

"If," says he, "an evangelical pastor be only a voice, a voice crying in the temple, and nothing more, as many seem to think; if he be nothing, but a man who has sufficient memory to retain a discourse, and boldness sufficient to repeat it before a large congregation—If an evangelical pastor be only an orator, whose business it is to please his audience and procure applause—then we have nothing to do, but to make the voice of our pupils as pleasing and sonorous as possible—to exercise their memory, and to give them a bold and hardened countenance, not to say impudent—to teach them a rhetoric adapted to the pulpit and our audiences; and by perpetual declamation, like the sophists of old, render them prompt and ready in speaking with plausibility on any subject, and to point out to them the sources from whence they may draw matter for declama-But the pastor whom we should form in our academies, is something much greater and more divine than all this. He is a man of God, who is influenced by nothing but high and heavenly thoughts, of promoting the glory of God, of propagating the kingdom of Christ, and destroying the power of satan; of obtaining daily a more perfect knowledge of that sublime science on which eternal happiness depends, of more widely diffusing it, and more efficaciously persuading others to embrace it; of restoring fallen Christianity, binding up the wounds of the church, and healing her divisions.—He is a man whose business it is to perform and direct all the parts of divine worship before the whole church; to offer to God, the desires, the prayers, the praises and thanksgivings of the people assembled.— This pastor is a man divinely called, an ambassador of God sent to men, that he may bring as many souls as possible, from darkness to light, from the world to Christ, from the power of satan to God, from the way of perdition to the way of salvation: a man who, by public preaching and private instruction, faithfully explains the word of God, especially the doctrines of salvation contained in it, and by the simplicity and clearness of explanation adapts them to the capacity of every individual person. O tremendous employment!" &c.*

I have no intention, by these observations, to reflect on any denomination of men filling the sacred office; I have introduced them merely with a view to show, what are the qualifications essentially necessary in a minister of the gospel, considering them as distinct from those peculiarities of opinion and modes of worship by which true Christians are distinguished from one another; and to illustrate the character of Mr. Wesley as a true gospel minister. He possessed the requisites for his office in no small degree: he had a clear view of the state of human nature, and of the doctrines of the gospel, pointing out God's method of restoring sinners to his favor and image. Sin blinds the understanding, hardens the heart, makes the conscience insensible of the defilement of evil, and renders a man careless of his spiritual and eternal concerns. Like a wise master-builder, he explained and enforced the doctrines of repentance towards God, and of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as first principles in christian experience; as the entrance into it, and the foundation on which it is built. His own experience illustrated and confirmed the scriptural views he had obtained of these doctrines; he spoke of them in their proper order, and described their effects with clearness and firmness: not as the uncertain conjectures of a speculative philosophy, but as the certain practical truths of divine revelation. He was now in the habit of giving a practical application to the higher principles of the gospel, in the government of his heart and life, and was daily growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in a way which could not deceive him, where theory and practice were thus combined. He was therefore, well prepared for the ministry, not only by learning and deep study, in which he had been conversant for many years, but also by such exercises of the heart, as led him to a thorough knowledge of human nature, and of the method of salvation laid down in the gospel. If all the ministers in England, of every denomination, were thus qualified for their office, and animated with the same zeal, to propagate the truths of religion by every means in their power, what an amazing change should we soon see in the morals of the people! It is an awful consideration, that ministers, who are set for the defence of the gospel, and the propagation of true christian piety, should be the hinderances of it in any degree, through a want of knowledge, experience, diligence and zeal. It would be well if every minister would seriously examine himself on these heads, as Mr. Wesley did, and keep in view the account which he must soon give to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

Though Mr. Wesley had been very diligent in his Master's service, since the 21st of May, he had not yet been able to preach. On Sun-

^{*} Werenfelsius in Dissert. de Scopo Doctoris Theologi.

day, July 2nd, he observes, "Being to preach this morning for the first time, I received strength for the work of the ministry. The whole service at Basingshaw Church, was wonderfully animating, especially the gospel, concerning the miraculous draught of fishes. I preached salvation by faith, to a deeply attentive audience, and afterwards gave the cup. Observing a woman full of reverence, I asked her if she had forgiveness of sins? She answered with great sweetness and humility, 'yes, I know it now, that I have forgiveness.'"

"I preached again at London-Wall, without fear or weariness. As I was going into the church, a woman caught hold of my hand and blessed me most heartily, telling me she had received forgiveness of sins while I was preaching in the morning." In the evening they held a meeting for prayer, when two other persons found peace with God.

July 10th, Mr. Wesley was requested by the Rev. Mr. Sparks to go to Newgate: he went and preached to the ten malefactors under sentence of death. But he observes it was with a heavy heart. "My old prejudices," says he, "against the possibility of a death-bed repentance, still hung upon me, and I could hardly hope there was mercy for those whose time was so short." But in the midst of his languid discourse, as he calls it, his mind acquired a sudden confidence in the mercy of God, and he promised them all pardon in the name of Jesus Christ, if they would even then, as at the last hour, repent and believe the gospel. He adds, "I did believe they would accept the proffered mercy, and could not help telling them, I had no doubt but God would give me every soul of them." He preached to them again the next day with earnestness, from the second lesson, when two or three began to be deeply affected.

This day Mr. Wesley received a letter from Mr. William Delamotte, giving an account of his mother. "I cannot keep peace," says he; "the mercies of God come so abundantly on our unworthy family, that I am not able to declare them. Yet as they are his blessings through your ministry, I must inform you of them, as they will strengthen your hands, and prove helpers of your joy. Great then, I believe, was the struggle in my mother, between nature and grace: but God who knoweth the very heart and reins, hath searched her Her spirit is become as that of a little child. She is converted, and Christ hath spoken peace to her soul. This change was begun in her the morning you left us (the 8th,) though she concealed it from you. The next morning when she waked the following words of Scripture were present to her mind: 'Either what woman, having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one of them, doth not light a candle and sweep the house diligently till she find it.' She rose immediately. took up Bishop Taylor, and opened on a place which so strongly asserted this living faith, that she was fully convinced. But the enemy preached humility to her, that she could not deserve so great a day, July 2nd, he observes, "Being to preach this morning for the first time, I received strength for the work of the ministry. The whole service at Basingshaw Church, was wonderfully animating, especially the gospel, concerning the miraculous draught of fishes. I preached salvation by faith, to a deeply attentive audience, and afterwards gave the cup. Observing a woman full of reverence, I asked her if she had forgiveness of sins? She answered with great sweetness and humility, 'yes, I know it now, that I have forgiveness.'"

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'Faith's assurance, Hope's increase, All the confidence of Love.'"

Mr. Sparks asked him if he would preach at St. Hellen's. He agreed to supply Mr. Broughton's place, who was at Oxford, "arming our friends," says Mr. Wesley, "against the faith." He adds, "I preached faith in Christ to a vast congregation, with great boldness, adding much extempore." In his discourses, Mr. Wesley proposed the doctrines of the gospel with clearness, and illustrated them with great strength of evidence from the Scriptures, in which he was remarkably ready; and delivering them in a warm animated manner, he generally carried conviction to the minds of those who gave him a fair and candid hearing. After this sermon, Mrs. Hind, with whom Mr. Broughton lodged, sent for Mr. Wesley, and acknowledged her agreement with the doctrine he had preached; she wished him to come and talk with Mr. Broughton, who, she thought, must himself agree to it.

The next day, July 12th, he preached at Newgate to the condemned felons. He visited one of them in his cell, sick of a fever, a poor black, who had robbed his master. "I told him," says Mr. Wesley, "of one who came down from heaven to save lost sinners, and him in particular. I described the sufferings of the Son of God; his sorrows, agony and death. He listened with all the signs of eager astonishment. The tears trickled down his cheeks, while he cried, 'What! was it for me? Did the Son of God suffer all this for so poor a creature as me?' I left him waiting for the salvation of God."

July 13th. "I read prayers and preached at Newgate, and administered the sacrament to our friends and five of the felons. I was much affected and assisted in prayer for them with comfort and confidence. July 14th, I received the sacrament from the ordinary and spake strongly to the poor malefactors, and to the sick negro in the

condemned hole: was moved by his sorrow and earnest desire of Christ Jesus. The next day, July 15th, I preached there again, with an enlarged heart; and rejoiced with my poor black, who now believes that the Son of God loves him, and gave himself for him."

"July 17th, I preached at Newgate on death, which the malefactors must suffer, the day after to-morrow. Mr. Sparks assisted in giving the sacrament, and another clergyman was present. Newington asked me to go in the coach with him. At one o'clock, I was with the black in his cell, when more of the malefactors came to us. I found great help and power in prayer for them. One of them rose all in a sweat (probably with the agitation of his mind) and professed faith in Christ. I found myself overwhelmed with the love of Christ to sinners. The negro was quite happy, and another criminal in an excellent temper. I talked with one more, concerning faith in Christ: he was greatly moved. The Lord, I trust, will help his unbelief also." The clergymen now left them, and Mr. Wesley with several others, joined in fervent prayer and thanksgiving at Mr. Bray's. At six in the evening, he returned to the prisoners, with Mr. Bray. They talked chiefly with Hudson and Newington. They prayed with them, and both seemed deeply affected. Newington declared, that he had some time before, felt inexpressible joy and love in prayer, but was much troubled at its being so soon withdrawn.

Mr. Wesley goes on. "July 18th, the ordinary read prayers and preached; I administered the sacrament to the black and eight more; having first instructed them in the nature of it. One of them told me in the cells, that whenever he offered to pray, or had a serious thought, something came and hindered him, and that it was almost continually with him. After we had prayed for him, he arose amazingly comforted; full of joy and love; so that we could not doubt, but he had received the atonement." In the evening, he and Mr. Bray were locked in the cells. "We wrestled," says he, "in mighty prayer; all the criminals were present, and cheerful. The soldier in particular, found his comfort and joy increase every moment. Another, from the time he communicated, has been in perfect peace. Joy was visible in all their faces.—We sang,

'Behold the Saviour of mankind, Nail'd to the shameful tree; How vast the love that him inclin'd, To bleed and die for thee.'

It was one of the most triumphant hours I have ever known. Yet, on July 19th, I rose very heavy and backward to visit them for the last time. At six in the morning, I prayed and sung with them all together. The ordinary would read prayers, and he preached most miserably." Mr. Sparks and Mr. Broughton were present; the latter of whom administered the sacrament, and then prayed; Mr. Wesley prayed after him. At half-past nine o'clock, their irons were knocked off, and their hands tied, and they prepared for the solemn journey,

and the fatal hour. The clergymen went in a coach, and about eleven the criminals arrived at Tyburn. Mr. Wesley, Mr. Sparks, and Mr. Broughton got upon the cart with them: the ordinary endeavored to follow; but the poor prisoners begged that he would not, and the mob kept him down. They were all cheerful: full of comfort, peace, and triumph: firmly persuaded that Christ had died for them, had taken away their sins, and waited to receive them into paradise. None showed any natural terror of death: no fear, or crying or tear. "I never saw," says Mr. Wesley, "such calm triumph, such incredible indifference to dying. We sang several hymns; particularly,

'A guilty, weak and helpless worm, Into thy hands I fall; Be thou my life, my righteousness, My Jesus and my all.'

I took leave of each in particular. Mr. Broughton bid them not to be surprised when the cart should draw away. They cheerfully replied, they should not. We left them going to meet their Lord. They were turned off exactly at twelve o'clock; not one struggled for life. I spoke a few suitable words to the crowd, and returned full of peace and confidence of our friends' happiness."

The whole of this awful scene, must have appeared very extraordinary. The newness and singularity of it, would add greatly to its effects, not only on the minds of the clergymen concerned in it, but on the populace, at the place of execution. Some, well-meaning persons, have greatly objected to the publication of such conversions as these, even supposing them possible and real; apprehending that they may give encouragement to vice among the lower orders of the people. The possibility of such conversions, can hardly be disputed, by those who understand, and believe the New Testament: we must judge of their reality, by such evidence, as the circumstances of the persons will admit. The objection against their publication when they really happen, for fear they should encourage vice, appears to me without any solid foundation. It is pretty certain, the persons who commit crimes that bring them to the gallows, have no thoughts either of heaven or hell, which have any influence on their actions. They are so far from paying any regard to the publication of these conversions, that they mock and laugh at them. Conversion is the turning of a sinner from his sins to the living God: it is a change: 1. In a man's judgment of himself, so that he condemns his former course of life, and the principles from which he acted even in his best works: 2. In his will; he now chooses God and the ways of God, in preference to vice, under any of its enticing forms: 3. In his affections; he hates the things he formerly loved, and loves the things which lead to God and heaven. To say, that the publication of such conversions, which in every step of their progress, condemn sin, can encourage the-

11 16

practice of it, appears to me little less than a contradiction. Is it possible, that any person, who has the least serious thought of heaven, would voluntarily choose to go thither by the way of Tyburn or Newgate? Can we for a moment suppose, that a person who thinks of finally going to heaven, will plunge himself deeper into sin in order to get there? That he will bring himself so close to the brink of hell as Tyburn or Newgate, (where there is a bare possibility, but little probability, that he will not fall into the pit of destruction) in hopes of conversion and heaven? Such a conduct would be a proof of insanity. It seems to me as certain a principle as any from which we can reason, that the conversion of notorious sinners from vice to virtue, is a public condemnation of vice, and must discourage it, in proportion as these conversions are made known, and firmly believed to be genuine and real.

July 20th, Mr. Wesley was at the morning prayers at Islington, and had some serious conversation with Mr. Stonehouse, the vicar. The next day, Mr. Robson confessed that he believed there was such a faith as Mr. Wesley and his friends spake of, but thought it impossible for him to attain it; he thought also that it must necessarily bring on a persecution, which seems to have had a very unfavorable influence on his mind, though convinced in his judgment, of the truth. In the evening Mr. Chapman, who had embraced the doctrine of justification by faith, came from Mr. Broughton, and seemed quite estranged from his friends. He thought their present proceedings would raise a persecution, and he insisted that there was no necessity for exposing themselves to such difficulties and dangers, in the present circumstances of things. This kind of worldly prudence in propagating the doctrines of the gospel is sure to produce lukewarmness and a cowardly mind, if it do not arise from them. It has occasioned greater evils to the church of Christ, than all the persecutions that ever happened. It is this principle of worldly prudence, that has induced some ministers to adulterate the most important doctrines of grace, with the prevailing philosophy of the age in which they have lived, to make them pleasing and palatable to the more polite and learned part of their congregations. By this means the preacher has gained reputation, but his ministry has lost its authority and power to change the heart and reform the life: the natural powers of man have been raised to a sufficiency for every duty required of him, and the gospel has been sunk into a mere collection of moral precepts enforced by the certain prospect of future rewards and punishments. In this way the true doctrine of faith, and of a divine supernatural influence, accompanying the means of grace, have been gradually lost sight of, and at length denied; and the gospel thus mutilated has never been found of sufficient efficacy to accomplish the purposes for which it was promulgated to the world. It is remarkable that in every great revival of religion, these doctrines

have been particularly insisted upon, and have generally occasioned some opposition, both from the wise and ignorant among mankind. And when the professors of religion of any denomination, wishing to avoid persecution and become more respectable in the eyes of men, have either concealed the truth, or debased it by philosophical explanations, the offence of the cross indeed ceased, but the glory of the gospel departed from them: they became lukewarm, and gradually dwindled away, unless held together by some temporal consideration, having a name to live, but were dead.

I cannot, on the contrary, commend the rash intemperate zeal of some young converts in religion, who have often, both in ancient and modern times, invited persecution by their own imprudence; either by ill-timed reproofs, or an improper introduction of their religious sentiments in discourse. Nor can I approve of the rude vulgarity, which has sometimes been used both in conversation and in the pulpit, under a pretence of speaking the plain truths of the gospel. There is a medium between these extremes; and I would say to myself, and to the reader, medio tutissimus ibis, the middle path is the safest, though perhaps the most difficult to keep on some trying occasions.

Had Mr. Wesley and his brother listened to the Syren song of ease and reputation, they would never have been the happy instruments of so much good as we have seen produced by their means. On this occasion Mr. Wesley said to Mr. Chapman, "I believe every doctrine of God must have these two marks, 1. It will meet with opposition from men and devils; 2. It will finally triumph and prevail. I expressed my readiness to part with him, and all my friends and relations for the truth's sake. I avowed my liberty and happiness, since Whitsunday; made a bridge for a flying enemy, and we parted tolerable friends."

July 24th, he preached on justification by faith, at Mr. Stone-house's, who could not yet conceive how God can justify the ungodly, upon repentance and faith in Christ, without any previous holiness. He seemed to think that a man must be sanctified before he can know that he is justified. It is probable Mr. Stonehouse did not consider, that, to justify, in the language of St. Paul, is to pardon a repenting believing sinner, as an act of grace; not for the sake of any previous holiness in him, but in and by Jesus Christ, with whom he is then united by a living faith, and entitled to such gospel blessings as may lead him on to true holiness of heart and life. This day Mr. Wesley agreed with Mr. Stonehouse, to take charge of his parish, under him as curate; after which he read prayers at Islington almost every day, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with Mr. Stonehouse, and of explaining the nature of justification, and of justifying faith.

July 26th, Mr. Wesley was at Blendon. Here Mrs. Delamotte called upon him to rejoice with her in the experience of the divine

goodness. She then confessed, that all her desire had been to affront or make him angry: she had watched every word he spake; had persecuted the truth, and all who professed it, &c.—A fine instance of the evidence and power of gospel truth, to subdue a mind blinded by the most obstinate prejudice.

Mr. Wesley was now incessantly employed in his blessed Master's service; either in reading prayers and preaching in the churches, or holding meetings in private houses, for prayer and expounding the Scriptures; and the number of persons convinced of sin, and converted to God, by his ministry, was astonishing.—August 3, he observes, "I corrected Mr. Whitefield's Journal for the press, my advice to suppress it, being overruled." In the end of this month he went to Oxford, where he saw and conversed with Mr. Gambold, Mr. Kinchin, and several others of his old friends, who surprised him by their readiness to receive the doctrine of faith.

The number of persons who attended their evening meetings in London, were now much increased. September the 10th, he tells us, that, after preaching at Sir George Wheeler's chapel in the morning, and at St. Botolph's in the afternoon, he prayed and expounded at Sims's to above three hundred attentive hearers. Saturday, September 16th, in the evening, Mr. John Wesley returned from Hernhuth, when he and Mr. Charles Wesley took sweet counsel together, and compared their experience in the things of God. On the 22nd, in expounding the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, at Bray's, a dispute arose, concerning absolute predestination. This is the first time I find any mention of this mischievous dispute. Mr. Wesley says, "I entered my protest against that doctrine."

Mr. Wesley, by the daily exercise of preaching, expounding, exhorting, and praying with the people, had now acquired some degree of boldness in public speaking; the great and leading doctrines of the gospel were become familiar to his mind, and expression flowed natural and easy in conversing on them. He preached at Islington, October 15th, and added to his notes, a good deal extempore. On Friday the 20th, seeing few people present, at St. Antholin's, he thought of preaching extempore. "I was afraid," says he, "yet ventured, trusting in the promise, 'Lo! I am with you always.' I spoke on justification, from the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, for three quarters of an hour, without hesitation. Glory be to God, who keepeth his promise for ever.

This day he and his brother Mr. John Wesley waited on Dr. Gibson,* the Bishop of London, to answer the complaints which he had

^{*} Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, was born in Westmoreland in 1669. He applied himself early and vigorously to learning, and displayed his knowledge in several writings, which recommended him to the patronage of Archbishop Tennison, who made him his domestic chaplain. Being now a Member of Convocation, he engaged in a controversy, in which he defended his patron's rights, as president, in eleven pamphlets.

heard alleged against them, respecting their preaching an absolute assurance of salvation. Some of the bishop's words were, "If by assurance you mean, an inward persuasion, whereby a man is conscious in himself, after examining his life by the law of God, and weighing his own sincerity, that he is in a state of salvation, and acceptable to God, I do not see how any good Christian can be without such an assurance." They answered, "We do contend for this, but we have been charged with Antinomianism, because we preach justification by faith alone. Can any one preach otherwise, who agrees with our Church in the Scriptures?" Indeed by preaching it strongly, and not sufficiently inculcating good works as following justification, and being the proper evidences of it, some have been made Antinomians in theory rather than practice; particularly in the time of King Charles. "But," said the bishop, "there is a very heavy charge brought against us, bishops, in consequence of your having re-baptized an adult, and alleged the archbishop's authority for doing it." Mr. John Wesley answered, that he had expressly declared the contrary, and acquitted the archbishop from having any hand in the matter; but added, "If a person dissatisfied with lay-baptism, should desire Episcopal, I should think it my duty to administer it, after having acquainted the bishop, according to the canon." "Well," said the bishop, "I am against it myself, when any one has had baptism among the Dissenters."— The bishop here shows that he possessed a candid and liberal mind. -Mr. Charles Wesley adds, "My brother enquired whether his reading in a religious society made it a conventicle? His lordship warily referred us to the laws: but, on urging the question, 'Are religious societies conventicles?' he answered, 'No, I think not: however you can read the acts and laws as well as I; I determine nothing.' We hoped his lordship would not, henceforward, receive

He afterwards enlarged them on a more comprehensive plan, containing a view of the legal duties and rights of the English clergy, which was published under the title of Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, in folio. Archbishop Tennison dying in 1715, and Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, being made Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Gibson succeeded him as Bishop of Lincoln; and in 1720, was promoted to the Bishopric of London. He governed his diocese with the most exact care, but was extremely jealous of the least privileges belonging to the Church. He approved of the toleration of Protestant Dissenters, but opposed all attempts to procure a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. His opposition to those licentious assemblies, called masquerades, gave great umbrage at Court, and prevented further preferment. His pastoral letters are justly esteemed masterly productions. Beside the Codex above-mentioned, he published, 1. An edition of Drummond's Polemo-Middiana, and James V. of Scotland's Cantilena Rustica, with notes. 2. The Cronicon Saxonicum, with a Latin translation, and notes. 3. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ. 4. An edition of Quintilian de Arte Oratoria, with notes. 5. An English translation of Camden's Britannia, with additions, 2 vols. folio. 6. A number of small pieces collected together and printed in 3 vols. folio.—He died in September, 1748. He was a steady friend to the established Church, but a great enemy to persecution: a great economist, but liberal and beneficent. Dr. Crow, who had once been his chaplain, left him two thousand five hundred pounds; the whole of which, the bishop gave to Dr. Crow's own relations who were very poor. He corresponded with Dr. Watts, and expressed a friendly concern for the interests of religion, among Dissenters as well as in his own Church.

an accusation against a presbyter, but at the mouth of two or three witnesses. He said, 'No, by no means; and you may have free access to me at all times.' We thanked him and took our leave."

Tuesday, November 14th, Mr. Charles Wesley had another conference with the Bishop of London, without his brother: "I have used your lordship's permission," said he, "to wait upon you. woman desires me to baptize her, not being satisfied with her baptism by a Dissenter. She says, sure and unsure is not the same." He immediately took fire, and interrupted me. "I wholly disapprove of it: it is irregular." "My lord," said Mr. Wesley, "I did not expect your approbation: I only came in obedience, to give you notice of my intention." "It is irregular; I never receive any such information, but from the minister." "My lord, your rubric does not so much as require the minister to give you notice, but any discreet person. I have the minister's leave." "Who gave you authority to baptize?" "Your lordship; * and I shall exercise it in any part of the known world." "Are you a licensed curate?" "I have the leave of the proper minister." "But do you not know, that no man can exercise parochial duty in London, without my leave? It is only sub silentio." you know, many do take that permission for authority; and you yourself allow it." "It is one thing to connive, and another to approve; I have power to inhibit you." "Does your lordship exert that power? Do you now inhibit me?" "O why will you push matters to an extreme? I do not inhibit you." "Why then, my lord, according to your own concession, you permit or authorize me." have power to punish and to forbear." "To punish: that seems to imply, that I have done something worthy of punishment; I should be gad to know, that I may answer. Does your lordship charge me with any crime?" "No, no, I charge you with no crime." "Do you then dispense with my giving you notice of any baptisms in future?" "I neither dispense, nor not dispense."—"He censured Lawrence on lay-baptism: and blamed my brother's sermon as inclining to Antinomianism. I charged Archbishop Tillotson with denying the faith; he allowed it, and owned they ran into one extreme to avoid another." He concluded the conference, with "Well, sir, you knew my judgment before, and you know it now; good morrow to you."

November 22d, Mr. Wesley set out in the coach, to visit his friends at Oxford. We may observe, that he was in the first part of his ministry, very much alone; having preached the gospel, fully, and boldly, in many of the churches, in Newgate, and at Islington; while his brother was in Germany, and Mr. Whitefield in America. He had met with little opposition, except from some private friends, and at Islington; where the polite part of his congregation, had sometimes shown a want of regard to decency in their behavior, and

many had frequently gone out of the church. He now clearly saw, that a faithful discharge of his duty, would expose him to many hardships and dangers; and though he generally had great confidence in God, yet he had also his seasons of dejection, when he was ready to sink under the pressure of his difficulties; which made him fully sensible of his weakness, and, that he must be supported in his work by a power not his own. On the 25th, at Oxford, he experienced great depression of mind; "I felt," says he, "a pining desire to die, forseeing the infinite dangers and troubles of life." But as he was daily engaged in the exercise of some part or other of his ministerial office, the times of refreshing, from the presence of the Lord, frequently returned upon him; his strength was renewed, and he was again enabled to go on his way rejoicing.

Mr. Whitefield was at this time, at Oxford, and was earnest with Mr. Wesley to accept a college living. This gives pretty clear evidence that no plan of itinerant preaching was yet fixed on, nor indeed thought of: had any such plan been in agitation among them, it is very certain Mr. Whitefield would not have urged this advice on Mr. Charles Wesley, whom he loved as a brother, and whose labors he highly esteemed.

December the 11th, Mr. Wesley left Oxford, and coming to Wickham in the evening, took up his lodgings with a Mr. Hollis, to whom, I suppose, he had been recommended. "He entertained me," adds Mr. Wesley, "with his French prophets, who in his account, are equal, if not superior, to the prophets of the Old Testament. While we were undressing, he fell into violent agitations, and gabbled like a turkey-cock. I was frightened, and began exorcising him, with, Thou deaf and dumb devil, &c. He soon recovered from his fit of inspiration.—I prayed and went to bed, not half liking my bed-fellow: nor did I sleep very sound with satan so near me." He escaped, however, without harm, and came safe to London the next day, where he heard a glorious account of the success of the gospel at Islington, some of the fiercest opposers being converted.

January 5th, 1739, Mr. Wesley gives us another convincing proof, that no plan of becoming itinerants, was yet formed. He says, "My brother, Mr. Seward, Hall, Whitefield, Ingham, Kinchin, and Hutchins, all set upon me to settle at Oxford." But he could not agree to their proposal, without being more fully satisfied that it was the order of Providence. This advice, however, and a similar instance above-mentioned, plainly show, that their views at present extended no further than to preach the gospel in the churches, wherever they had opportunity.

About this time some persons being greatly affected under the public prayers and preaching, fell into violent convulsive motions, accompanied with loud and dismal cries. This gave great offence to many, and occasioned disputes. Mr. Charles Wesley mentions this circum-

stance in his Journal on the 10th of January. "At the society," says he, "we had some discourse about agitations: no sign of grace, in my humble opinion."

February 21st, Mr. Wesley and his brother thought it prudent to wait on Dr. Potter, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to prevent any ill impression which the various false reports of their proceedings might produce on his mind. "He showed us," says Mr. Wesley, "great affection; spoke mildly of Mr. Whitefield; cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our own defence: to forbear exceptionable phrases; to keep to the doctrines of the Church. We told him, we expected persecution would abide by the Church till her articles and homilies were repealed. He assured us, he knew of no design in the governors of the Church, to innovate; and neither should their be any innovation while he lived. He avowed justification by faith alone; and signified his gladness to see us, as often as we pleased."

"From him we went to the Bishop of London; who denied that he had condemned, or even heard much concerning us. He said Mr. Whitefield's Journal was tainted with enthusiasm, though he himself was a pious well-meaning youth. He warned us against Antinomianism, and dismissed us kindly."

"March 28th. We dissuaded my brother from going to Bristol; from an unaccountable fear that it would prove fatal to him. He offered himself willingly, to whatever the Lord should appoint. The next day he set out,* recommended by us to the grace of God. He left a blessing behind him. I desired to die with him."

Soon after this, a Mr. Shaw began to give some disturbance to their little society, by insisting, that there is no priesthood; that is, there is no order of men in the christian ministry, who, properly speaking, exercise the functions of a priest: that he himself had as good a right to baptize and administer the sacrament, as any other man. It appears by his claiming a right to baptize, &c. that he was a layman; and it must be acknowledged by all parties, that christian ministers, considered as an order in the Church distinguished by their office from other believers, are no where, in the New Testament. called priests. "I tried in vain," says Mr. Wesley, "to check Mr. Shaw in his wild rambling talk against a christian priesthood. At last I told him, I would oppose him to the utmost, and either he or I, must quit the society. In expounding, I warned them strongly against schism; into which Mr. Shaw's notions must necessarily lead them. The society were all for my brother's immediate return. April 19th, I found Mr. Stonehouse exactly right (that is, in his notions on the priesthood); warned Mrs. Vaughan and Brookmans, against

^{*} This exactly accords with Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal. See his Works, vol. xxvii. page 64.

Shaw's pestilent errors. I spoke strongly at the Savoy society, in behalf of the Church of England."

April 24th, Mr. Whitefield preached at Fetter Lane; being returned from Bristol, where he first preached in the open air, and in some sense opened the way to an itinerant ministry, which was sure to follow this step; but of which none of them hitherto, seem to have entertained the least conception. It seems that Howel Harris came to London with him; "A man," says Mr. Wesley, "after my own Mr. Whitefield related the dismal effects of Shaw's doctrine at Oxford. Both he and Howel Harris insisted on Shaw's expulsion from the society. April 26th, Mr. Whitefield preached in Islington church-yard: the numerous audience, could not have been more affected within the walls. Saturday the 28th, he preached out again. After him, Mr. Bowers got up to speak. I conjured him not: but he beat me down, and followed his impulse. I carried many away with me." This last circumstance, is the more worthy of notice, as it is, so far as I can find, the first instance of a layman attempting to preach among the Methodists. It must be observed however, that it was not with approbation, but by violence. He was not discouraged, however, by this opposition: and it is probable, that, about this time, several other laymen began to expound or preach; for on the 16th of May, a dispute arose at the society in Fetter-Lane, about laypreaching; which certainly implies that some laymen had begun to preach, and that the practice was likely to become more general. Wesley observes, that he and Mr. Whitefield declared against it.

May 25th, Mr. Clagget having invited Mr. Wesley to Broadoaks, he went thither, and preached to four or five hundred attentive hearers. May 29th, "A farmer," says he, "invited me to preach in his field. I did so, to about five hundred; on, 'Repent for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' On the 31st, a Quaker sent me a pressing invitation to preach at Thackstead. I scrupled preaching in another's parish, till I had been refused the church. Many Quakers, and near seven hundred others, attended, while I declared in the highways, the scripture hath concluded all under sin."

June the 6th, Two or three who had embraced the opinions of Shaw, declared themselves no longer members of the Church of England. "Now," says Mr. Wesley, "am I clear of them: by renouncing the Church, they have discharged me." About this time the French Prophets raised some disturbance in the society, and gained several proselytes, who warmly defended them. June 12th, two of them were present at a meeting, and occasioned much disputing. At length Mr. Wesley asked, "Who is on God's side? Who for the old Prophets, rather than the new? Let them follow me. They followed me into the preaching-room. I expounded the lesson; several gave an account of their conversion; dear brother Bowers confessed

his errors; and we rejoiced and triumphed in the name of the Lord our God."

June the 19th, Mr. Wesley was at Lambeth, with the archbishop, who treated him with much severity. His Grace declared he would not dispute; nor would he, as yet, proceed to excommunication. does not appear that the archbishop condemned the doctrines Mr. Wesley preached, but the manner of preaching them: it was irregular, and this was judged a cause sufficient for condemning him. ularity is undoubtedly necessary, in the government both of church But when a system of rules and orders purely human, is so established for the government of the Church, as to be made perpetual, whatever changes may take place in the state of the people: it must, in many cases, become injurious rather than useful. when conformity to such an establishment, is considered as comprehending almost all virtue, and made the only road to favor and preferment in the Church; and a deviation from it, is marked with disgrace; it becomes an idol, at whose altar many will be tempted to sacrifice their judgment, their conscience, and their usefulness. Civil government knows nothing of this perpetual sameness of its regulations and laws, in all circumstances of the people. And why should the Church, in regulations which are purely human, and prudential? The end of regularity, or conformity to a certain established order in the government of the Church, is, the propagation of christian knowledge, and the increase of true religion; but if a minister be so circumstanced, that regularity would obstruct, rather than promote his usefulness in these respects, irregularity becomes his duty, and ought not to be condemned by others, when no essential principle of religion is violated, nor any serious inconvenience follows from it. In this case, the end to be attained, is infinitely more important than any prudential rules to direct the means of attaining it: which should always admit of such alterations as circumstances require, to promote the end intended.

Mr. Wesley bore the archbishop's reproof with great firmness, while in his presence; but after leaving him, he fell into great heaviness, and for several days suffered a severe inward conflict. He perceived that it arose from the fear of man. Mr. Whitefield urged him to preach in the fields the next Sunday: by this step he would break down the bridge, render his retreat difficult or impossible, and be forced to fight his way forward in the work of the ministry. This advice he followed. June 24th, "I prayed," says he, "and went forth, in the name of Jesus Christ. I found near a thousand helpless sinners, waiting for the word in Moorfields. I invited them in my Master's words, as well as name; 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' The Lord was with me, even me, the meanest of his messengers, according to his promise. At St. Paul's, the psalms, lesson &c. for the day, put new life into me:

and so did the sacrament. My load was gone, and all my doubts and scruples. God shone on my path, and I knew this was his will concerning me. I walked to Kennington-common, and cried to multitudes upon multitudes, 'Repent ye and believe the gospel.' The Lord was my strength, and my mouth, and my wisdom. O that all would therefore praise the Lord, for his goodness!"

June 29th, He was at Wickham, in his way to Oxford. "Here," says he, "I heard of much disturbance occasioned by Bowers' preaching in the streets." Thus early, it appears that lay-preaching had commenced, even beyond the societies in London, though not with the consent of any of the clergymen. The next day he reached Oxford, and waited on the Dean, who spoke with unusual severity against field-preaching, and Mr. Whitefield, who may be called the author or founder of field-preaching; it is perhaps on this account, that he has so often been supposed to be the founder of Methodism. July 1st, he preached a sermon on justification, before the university. with great boldness. All were very attentive: one could not help weeping. July 2d, Mr. Gambold came to him, who had been with the vicechancellor, and well received. "I waited," says Mr. Wesley, "on the Methodists, which he approved, but objected to the irregularity of doing good in other men's parishes. He charged Mr. Whitefield with breach of promise, appealed to the Dean, and appointed a second meeting there. All were against my sermon, as liable to be misunder-July 3d, Mr. Bowers had been laid hold of, for preaching in Oxford. To-day the beadle brought him to me. I talked to him closely; he had nothing to reply, but promised to do so no more, and thereby obtained his liberty. At night I had another conference with the Dean, who cited Mr. Whitefield to judgment.* I said, 'Mr. Dean, he shall be ready to answer the citation.' He used the utmost address to bring me off from preaching abroad, from expounding in houses. and from singing psalms. He denied justification by faith, and all vital religion."

July 4th, Mr. Wesley returned to London. On the 8th, he preached to near ten thousand hearers, by computation, in Moorfields, and the same day at Kennington-common. His labors now daily increased upon him; and his success, in bringing great numbers from darkness to light, and in rousing the minds of vast multitudes to a serious enquiry after religion, was beyond anything we can, at present, easily conceive. In such circumstances as these, it is almost impossible for a minister, to keep his mind quite free from all thoughts of self-applause. He will be led, at first almost insensibly, to think more highly of himself than he ought, to attribute some part of his success to his own superior excellences, and to think too meanly of others. If his judgment be rightly informed, and his conscience tender, he is shocked when he discovers these workings of his mind, and endeav-

^{*} I suppose for some breach of order.

ors to suppress them; but he soon finds that the thoughts and propensities of his heart, are not under the control of his judgment; they present themselves on every occasion against his will, and are not a little strengthened by the commendations and praises of those who have been benefited by him. The natural temper of the mind, is sometimes so far awakened on these occasions, as to produce a severe inward conflict, bring on great distress, and make a man ashamed of himself in the presence of God. Mr. Wesley felt the full force of the temptations which arose from the success of his ministry. July 22d, he says, "Never, till now, did I know the strength of temptation and energy of sin. Who, that consults only the quiet of his own mind, would covet great success? I live in a continual storm; my soul is always in my hand; the enemy thrusts sore at me that I may fall, and a worse enemy than the Devil, is, my own heart. Miror quemquam prædicatorem salvari. I wonder any preacher of the gospel is saved. August the 7th, I preached repentance and faith at Plaistow, and at night expounded on Lazarus dead and raised, in a private house. The next day, called on Thomas Keen, a mild and candid Quaker. Preached at Marybone.—Too well pleased with my success, which brought upon me strong temptations. August 10th, I gave Mr. Whitefield some account both of my labors and conflicts."

" DEAR GEORGE,

"I forgot to mention the most material occurrence at Plaistow; namely, that a clergyman was there convinced of sin. He stood under me, and appeared throughout my discourse, under the greatest perturbation of mind. In our return we were much delighted with an old spiritual Quaker, who is clear in justification. Friend Keen seems to have experience, and is right in the foundation. I cannot preach out on the week days, for the expense of coach-hire: nor can I accept of dear Mr. Steward's offer, to which I should be less backward, would he follow my advice; but while he is so lavish of his Lord's goods, I cannot consent that his ruin should in any degree seem to be under my hand. I am continually tempted to leave off preaching. and hide myself like J. Hutchins. I should then be free from temptation, and have leisure to attend to my own improvement. God continues to work by me, but not in me, that I perceive. Do not reckon upon me, my brother, in the work God is doing; for I cannot expect that he should long employ one, who is ever longing and murmuring to be discharged."

"To-day," says Mr. Wesley, "I took J. Bray to Mr. Law, who resolved all his experience into fits, or natural affection or fits; and desired him to take no notice of his comforts, which he had better be without, than have. He blamed Mr. Whitefield's Journal and way of proceeding; said, he had great hopes that the Methodists would have been dispersed by little and little, into livings, and have leavened the whole lump. I told him my experience: 'then,' said he, 'I am far

below you (if you are right) not worthy to wipe your shoes.' He agreed to our notion of faith, but would have it, that all men held it. He was fully against the laymen's expounding, as the very worst thing both for themselves and others. I told him he was my school-master to bring me to Christ; but the reason why I did not come sooner to Christ was, I sought to be sanctified before I was justified. I disclaimed all expectation of becoming some GREAT ONE. Among other things he said, 'Were I so talked of, as Mr. Whitefield is, I should run away, and hide myself entirely.' I answered, 'you might, but God would bring you back, like Jonah.' He told me, joy in the Holy Ghost was the most dangerous thing God could give. I replied, 'but cannot God guard his own gifts?' He often disclaimed advising us, seeing we had the Spirit of God: but mended on our hands, and at last came almost quite over to us."

It is really wonderful that Mr. Law should talk in this manner! He who wrote the spirit of prayer, the spirit of love, and an address to the clergy, besides many other pieces, in which he shows, with great force of reasoning, that a person can have no true religion, without a supernatural influence of the Spirit of God upon his mind; in which he certainly lays a foundation for christian experience.

August 12th, He observes, "I received great power to explain the good Samaritan: communicated at St. Paul's, as I do every Sunday: convinced multitudes at Kennington-common, from, 'Such were some of you, but ye are washed, &c.' And before the day was past, felt my own sinfulness so great, that I wished I had never been born."

August 13th, Mr. Wesley wrote to Mr. Seward as follows. "I preached yesterday to more than ten thousand hearers. I am so buffeted both before and after, that were I not forcibly detained, I should fly from every human face. If God does make a way for me to escape, I shall not easily be brought back again. I cannot love advertising; it looks like sounding a trumpet. I hope our brother Hutchins will come forth at last, and throw away my mantle of reserve, which he seems to have taken up."

Mr. Whitefield was now on the point of returning to America, and on the 15th of August Mr. Wesley wrote to him. "Let not Cossart's opinion of your letter to the bishop, weaken your hands. Abundans cautio nocet: * it is the Moravian infirmity. To-morrow I set out for Bristol. I pray you may all have a good voyage, and that many poor souls may be added to the church by your ministry, before we meet again. Meet again I am confident we shall, perhaps both

^{*} Too much caution is hurtful. Some persons perhaps may think, that neither Mr. Whitefield, nor any of them stood in need of this admonition; of this, however, we are not very proper judges at this distance of time. It is evident that on many occasions they did use much caution. Mr. Wesley speaks as though he had some thoughts of going again to America, and he mentions such intentions in several places; but they never came to anything fixed and determined.

here and in America. The will of the Lord be done, with us and by us, in time and in eternity!"

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION V.

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF MR. CHARLES WESLEY'S LABORS AS AN ITINERANT PREACHER.

August 16th, Mr. Wesley entered on the itinerant plan. He rode to Wickham, and being denied the church, would have preached in a private house; but Mr. Bowers having been preaching there in the streets, had raised great opposition, and effectually shut the door against him. The next day he went to Oxford, and the day following reached Evesham. After being here two or three days, he wrote to his brother as follows.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"We left the brethren at Oxford much edified, and two gownsmen thoroughly awakened. On Saturday afternoon God brought us hither, Mr. Seward being from home, there was no admission for us, his wife being an opposer, and having refused to see Mr. Whitefield before me. At seven in the evening Mr. Seward found us at the inn, and took us home. At eight I expounded in the school-room, which holds about two hundred persons.—On Sunday morning I preached from George Whitefield's pulpit, the wall, on, "Repent ye and believe the gospel." The notice being short, we had only a few hundreds, but such as those described in the morning lesson, 'These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind.' In the evening I showed, to near two thousand hearers, their Saviour in the good Samaritan.-Once more God strengthened me, at nine, to open the new covenant, at the school-house, which was crowded with deeply attentive sinners."

He goes on. "August 20th, I spoke from Acts ii. 37, to two or three hundred market people and soldiers, all as orderly and decent as could be desired.—I now heard, that the mayor had come down on Sunday, to take a view of us. Soon after, an officer struck a countryman in the face, without any provocation. A serious woman besought the poor man, not to resist evil, as the other only wanted to make a riot. He took patiently several repeated blows, telling the officer, he might beat him as long as he pleased."

"To-day Mr. Seward's cousin told us of a young lady, who was here on a visit, and had been deeply affected on Sunday night under the word, seeing and feeling her need of a physician, and earnestly desired me to pray for her.—After dinner I spoke with her. She burst into tears, and told us, she had come hither thoughtless, dead in pleasures and sin, and fully resolved against ever being a Methodist. That she was first alarmed about her own state, by seeing us so happy and full of lover: had gone to the society, but was not thoroughly awakened to a knowledge of herself, till the word came home to her soul. That all the following night she had been in an agony and distress; could not pray, could not bear our singing, nor have any rest in her spirit. We betook ourselves to prayer for her; she received forgiveness, and triumphed in the Lord her God."

August 23d. "By ten last night we reached Gloucester, through many dangers and difficulties. In mounting my horse I fell over him, and sprained my hand: riding in the dark I bruised my foot: we lost our way as often as we could: there were only two horses between three of us: when we had got to Gloucester, we were turned back from a friend's house, on account of his wife's sickness: and my voice and strength were quite gone. To-day they are in some measure restored. At night I with difficulty got into the crowded society, where I preached the law and the gospel, which they received with all readiness. Three clergymen were present. Some without, attempted to make a disturbance, but in vain."

August 25th. "Before I went into the streets and highways, I sent, according to my custom, to borrow the use of the church. The minister, being one of the better disposed, sent back a civil message, that he would be glad to drink a glass of wine with me, but durst not lend me his pulpit for fifty guineas. Mr. Whitefield* however, durst lend me his field, which did just as well. For near an hour and half, God gave me voice and strength to exhort about two thousand sinners, to repent and believe the gospel.—Being invited to Painswick, I waited upon the Lord, and renewed my strength. We found near a thousand persons gathered in the street. I discoursed from, God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. I besought them earnestly to be reconciled, and the rebels seemed inclined to lay down their arms. A young Presbyterian teacher cleaved to us."

On returning to Gloucester, Mr. Wesley received an invitation from F. Drummond; he dined with her, and several of the Friends; particularly he mentions "Josiah Martin, a spiritual man," says he, "as far as I can discern. My heart was enlarged, and knit to them in love."—Going in the evening, to preach in the field, Mrs. Kirkman, an old and intimate acquaintance, whose son had been with him and his brother at Oxford, put herself in his way; and

^{*} I suppose a brother of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield.

addressed him, with, "What, Mr. Wesley, is it you I see! is it possible that you, who can preach at Christ-church, St. Mary's, &c. should come hither after a mob!" He gave her a short answer, and went to his mob; or to put it in the phrase of the Pharisees, to this people, which is accursed. Thousands heard him gladly, while he explained the blessings and privileges of the gospel, and exhorted all to come to Christ as lost sinners that they might enjoy them. I cannot but observe here, that the more ignorant and wicked the common people were at this time, the greater was the charity and kindness of those who endeavored to instruct them in their duty to God and man, and by this means reform their manners. The reader will easily perceive, that it required no small degree of resolution, to expose himself to the ignorant rudeness of the lowest of the people, to the contemptuous sneers of those of respectability and influence, and to the severe censures of his particular friends. Yet this, both he, his brother, and Mr. Whitefield did, in adopting the plan of itinerant preaching. It is almost impossible to imagine, that in their circumstances, they could act from any other motive, than a pure desire of doing good. Travelling from place to place, and every where preaching in the open air, was a plan of proceeding well adapted to diffuse knowledge among the common people, and to awaken a concern for religion. But it was extraordinary and new; and the novelty of it would naturally engage the attention of the public so much, that few persons would, at first, form a true judgment of its importance, and the difficulties and hardships attending it. Had these two points been considered and rightly understood, I am persuaded that neither Mr. Charles Wesley, nor his brother, nor Mr. Whitefield, would have been blamed for adopting the plan of itinerancy, and preaching in the open air; on the contrary they would have been commended by every person of a liberal mind. At present, I shall only hint at one or two particulars, to show the importance of their proceedings, and the hardships they had to encounter. The laboring poor are the most numerous class of people in every country. They are not less necessary to the happiness and prosperity of a nation, than the higher orders of society. At the period of which I am now speaking, their education was almost wholly neglected; and as they advanced in years, they had fewer opportunities of instruction and less capacity for it, than those who had received a better education, and had more leisure. The public discourses of the regular clergy, had little or no influence upon this class of people; as many of them never went to church, and most of those who did, neither understood, nor felt themselves interested, in what the preachers delivered from the pulpit. Darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people. Nor was there any prospect of doing them good, except by some extraordinary method of proceeding, as their ignorance and vicious habits, placed them beyond

the reach of any salutary influence from the ordinary means of improvement appointed by government. But it certainly is a matter of national importance, that so large a body of people as the laboring poor, should be instructed in the principles of religion, and have the way to happiness, both here and hereafter, pointed out to them. in such a manner as to engage their attention, and inform their understandings. A true knowledge of religion enlarges and strengthens the faculties of their minds, and prepares them for a due performance of every duty religious and civil. It opens to their view sources of happiness unknown to them before; it teaches them to form a true estimate of their privileges and blessings temporal and spiritual; to view affliction, not as peculiar to their situation, but as infinitely diversified, and distributed for wise purposes, through all the orders of society; thus it leads them on to contentment and happiness in their humble situations, and disposes them to industry and peace, by which they largely contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the nation. Viewing the effects of itinerant preaching in this point of light, we see its importance, and must acknowledge that the authors of it deserve great praise; especially as they introduced it by their own example, under many difficulties and hardships. Their prospects in life, from their learning, their abilities, and their rank in society, were all sacrificed to the plan of itinerancy. In all human appearance, they had every thing to lose by it; reputation, health, and the esteem of their friends; and nothing in this world to gain, but great bodily fatigue, ill usage from the mob, and general contempt. As only three persons united together at first in the plan of itinerancy, they could not expect to form any extensive or very permanent establishment. It was impossible to conceive that the seed they were sowing, would produce so plentiful a crop of lay-preachers as we have seen spring up from it, without whom the work must have been very limited indeed. But it is very evident that these three servants of God, did not look forward to any very distant consequences of their present proceedings; they contented themselves with performing a present duty, and doing as much good as possible in the way which opened before them, committing themselves and their work to God, who has taken good care of them.

Mr. Wesley pursued his plan, and on the 26th of August was at Painswick. The minister was so obliging as to lend him his pulpit. But the church would not hold the people; it was supposed there were two thousand persons in the church-yard. Mr. Wesley stood at a window which was taken down, and preached to the congregation within the walls, and without. They listened with eager attention, while he explained, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son," &c.

"In the afternoon," says he, "I preached again to a Kennington congregation. It was the most beautiful sight I ever beheld. The

people filled the gradually rising area, which was shut up on three sides by a vast hill. On the top and bottom of this hill, was a great row of trees. In this amphitheatre the people stood deeply attentive, while I called upon them in Christ's words, 'Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' The tears of many testified, that they were ready to enter into that rest. It was with difficulty we made our way through this most loving people, and returned amidst their prayers and blessings to Ebly, where I expounded the second lesson for two hours."

A good old Baptist had invited Mr. Wesley to preach at Stanley, in his way to Bristol. Accordingly, on the 27th, he rode thither through the rain, and preached to about a thousand attentive hearers; they were so much affected by the sermon, that he appointed them to meet him again in the evening. I mention with pleasure, these instances of persons among the Friends, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, who showed a friendly disposition to Mr. Wesley, and countenanced his proceedings. Their conduct discovers a stronger attachment to the essential doctrines of the gospel, than to the peculiarities of opinion and modes of worship, in which they differed from him and from one another; and marks a liberality of sentiment, which reflects honor on the different denominations of Christians to which they belonged.

He returned to Mr. Ellis's at Ebly. This was a most agreeable family; every one having received the faith, except one young man who still remained an abandoned sinner. His mother mourned and lamented over him, with parental affection and religious concern. Mr. Oakley, who travelled with Mr. Wesley, now informed him that he had been able to fasten some degree of conviction of sin on the young man's mind. His convictions and seriousness were increased by Mr. Wesley's sermon. By persevering prayer he was brought to the knowledge of God, and received peace and joy in believing. Mr. Wesley adds, "Sing ye heavens for the Lord hath done it; shout ye lower parts of the earth! In the morning I had told his mother the story of St. Austin's conversion: now I carried her the joyful news, 'This thy son was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found.""

He arrived in Bristol, August 28th; and his brother having set out for London, on the 31st he entered on his ministry at Weaver's Hall. "I began," says he, "by expounding Isaiah with great freedom. They were melted into tears all around; and again when the bands met to keep the Church-fast. We were all of one heart and of one mind. I forgot the contradiction wherewith they grieved my soul in London, and could not forbear saying, 'It is good for me to be here.'"

The places where Mr. Wesley had now to preach, in Bristol, Kingswood, and the neighborhood, were numerous; and he seldom passed a day without preaching or expounding, two or three times. The con-

gregations were large, and his word was with power; so that many testified daily, that the gospel is the power of God to salvation to all who believe. September the 4th, he preached in Kingswood to some thousands, colliers chiefly, and held out the promises from Isaiah xxxv; "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." He adds, "I triumphed in the mercy of God to these poor outcasts, (for he hath called them a people who were not a people) and in the accomplishment of that scripture, 'Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.' How gladly do the poor receive the gospel! We hardly knew how to part."

September 5th. "I was much discouraged by a discovery of the disorderly walking of some, who have given the adversary occasion to blaspheme. I am a poor creature upon such occasions, being soon cast down. Yet I went and talked to them, and God filled me with such love to their souls as I have not known before. They could not stand before it. I joined with Oakley and Cennick in prayer for them. M. trembled exceedingly: the others gave us great cause to hope for their recovery."

"September the 7th, at Weaver's Hall, I expounded the third chapter of Isaiah, where the prophet alike condemus notorious profligates, worldly-minded men, and well-dressed ladies." By well-dressed ladies, Mr. Wesley certainly meant much more than the phrase imports. He doubtless had in view, a fanciful, useless, expensive conformity to the changeable modes of dress; which is unbecoming, if not criminal, in a person professing godliness. The prophet is there speaking of ladies of the first rank in the kingdom; he mentions paint, a variety of useless ornaments, and a mode of dress hardly consistent with modesty.* What added to their guilt was, that, while thy were adorning themselves in every fanciful and wanton method they could invent, the poor of the land were oppressed beyond measure: and God denounces heavy judgments against them for their oppression and wantonness. It has often been said, by persons too fond of dress, that religion does not consist in the peculiar shape or cut of our clothes. This undoubtedly is true. But when the mode of dress is voluntary, and regulated purely by choice, it is a picture, which gives a visible representation of the temper and disposition of the mind. The choice of our dress, like the choice of our amusements or companions, discovers what kind of objects are most pleasing and gratifying to us. The case is very different where the mode of dress is characteristic of a profession, or where a woman is under the control of her husband.

September 11th. He rode with two friends to Bradford, near Bath,

^{*} See Bishop Lowth, on the third chapter of Isaiah.

and preached to about a thousand persons who seemed deeply affected. On the 15th he says, "Having been provoked to speak unadvisedly with my lips, I preached on the Bowling-green in great weakness, on, 'Lazarus, come forth!' I was surprised that any good should be done. But God quickens others by those who are dead themselves. A man came to me and declared he had now received the spirit of life; and so did a woman at the same time, which she openly declared at Weaver's Hall. We had great power among us while I displayed the believer's privileges from the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. On the 16th, I met between thirty and forty colliers, with their wives, at Mr. Willis's, and administered the sacrament to them; but found no comfort myself, in that or any other ordinance. I always find strength for the work of the ministry; but when my work is over, my bodily and spiritual strength both leave me. I can pray for others, not for myself. God, by me, strengthens the weak hands, and confirms the feeble knees; yet am I as a man in whom is no strength. I am weary and faint in my mind, continually longing to be discharged."—Soon after, however, he found power to pray for himself, and confessed it was good for him to be in desertion. He was greatly strengthened and comforted by opening his Bible on Isaiah liv. 7, 8. "For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer."

Many persons now came to him for advice daily, who had been, either awakened or justified under his ministry. This greatly increased his labor, but it strengthened his hands for the work in which he was engaged. September 25th. He preached again at Bradford, to about two thousand hearers. "I described," says he, "their state by nature and grace. I did not spare those who were whole, and had no need of a physician. They bore it surprisingly. I received invitations to several neighboring towns. May I never run before God's call, nor stay one moment after it. We baited at a good Dissenter's near Bath, who seems to have the root of the matter in him." The next day, two persons came to him who had been clearly convinced of sin, and received peace and joy in believing; but they had never been baptized. On this occasion Mr. Wesley observes, "I now require no further proof, that one may be an inward Christian without baptism. They are both desirous of it; and who can forbid water?"

"Sarah Pearce declares, that she first received comfort on hearing me explain the fifth chapter of the Romans. She had the witness of her own spirit, or conscience, that all the marks I mentioned were upon her; and the Spirit of God, with his testimony, put it beyond the possibility of a doubt. Some of her words were; 'I was extremely bigoted against my brethren the Dissenters, but am now enlarged towards them and all mankind, in an inexpressible manner. I do not

depend upon a start of comfort; but find it increase ever since it began. I perceive a great change in myself; and expect a greater. I feel a divine attraction in my soul to heavenly things. I was once so afraid of death that I durst not sleep, but now I do not fear it at all. I desire nothing on earth; I fear nothing, but sin. God suffers me to be strongly tempted; but I know, where he gives faith he will try it.' See here the true assurance of faith! How consistent! An humble, not doubting faith; a filial, not servile fear of offending. I desire not such an assurance as blots out these scriptures, 'Be not high-minded, but fear:' 'work out your salvation with fear and trembling,' &c. God keep me in constant fear, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away."

"I spoke plainly to the women bands, of their unadvisedness, their want of love, and not bearing one another's burdens. We found an immediate effect. Some were convinced they had thought too highly of themselves; and that their first love, like their first joy, was only a foretaste of that temper which continually rules in a new heart."

Though there had been no riots, nor any open persecution of the Methodists in Bristol; yet many individuals, who became serious and changed the whole course of their lives, suffered considerably. This was partly occasioned by the inflammatory discourses of some of the clergy, who represented them as Papists, Jesuits, friends of the Pretender, &c. On this subject, Mr. Wesley makes the following observations. "Christianity flourishes under the cross. None who follow Christ are without that badge of discipleship. Wives and children are beaten and turned out of doors; and the persecutors are the complainers. It is always the lamb that troubles the waters. Every Sunday, damnation is denounced against all who hear us: for we are 'Papists, Jesuits, seducers, and bringers-in of the Pretender.' The clergy murmur aloud at the number of communicants, and threaten to repel them. Yet will not the world bear that we should talk of persecution: no, for 'the world now is christian! and the offence of the cross has ceased.' Alas! what would they do further? Some lose their bread; some their habitations: One suffers stripes, another confinement; yet we must not call this persecution. Doubtless they will find some other name for it, when they shall think they do God service by killing us."

October 8th. He preached at the brick-yard. A Mr. Williams, from Kidderminster, who had written to Mr. Wesley some time before to go down thither, was present, and much edified and strengthened by the sermon. "I know not," says Mr. Wesley, "of what denomination he is, nor is it material; for he has the mind which was in Christ."

Mr. Wesley's sermon, when last at Bradford, had been misunderstood or misrepresented. It was reported that he was a high Calvinist, and great pains had been taken to represent him as such. His brother Mr. John Wesley, coming to Bristol this evening, it was the opinion of both that he ought to preach again at Bradford, and declare his sentiments openly on this point. The next day, October the 9th, * they went to Bradford, where Mr. Charles Wesley preached to a congregation of about two thousand people. Mr. John Wesley prayed first, when Mr. Charles began abruptly, "If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things." He spake with great boldness and freedom for an hour and a half, holding forth Christ a Saviour for all men. He flattered himself that he had done so much injury to satan's kingdom, by beating down sin, that he says, "I believe he will no more slander me with being a Predestinarian" in the modern notion of that word.

October 11th. He preached for the first time in the open air by night, in a yard belonging to a widow Jones. He observes, "The yard contained about four hundred persons; the house was likewise full. Great power was in the midst of us. Satan blasphemed without, but durst not venture his children too near the gospel, when I offered Christ Jesus to them. The enemy hurried them away, and all we could do, was to pray for them."

"October 15th. I waited, with my brother, on a minister about baptizing some of his parishioners. He complained heavily of the multitudes of our communicants, and produced the canon against strangers. He could not admit as a reason for their coming to his church, that they had no sacrament at their own. I offered my assistance to lesson his trouble, but he declined it. He told us there were hundreds of new communicants last Sunday. We bless God for this cause of offence, and pray it may never be removed."

"October 19th. I read part of Mr. Law on regeneration to our society. How promising the beginning, and how lame the conclusion! Christianity, he rightly tells us, is a recovery of the Divine image; and a Christian is, a fallen spirit restored, and re-instated in paradise; a living mirror of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. After this he supposes it possible for him to be insensible of such a change: to be happy and holy, translated into Eden, renewed in the likeness of God, and not to know it. Nay we are not to expect, nor bid others expect any such consciousness, if we listen to him. What wretched inconsistency!"

When Mr. Wesley baptized adults, professing faith in Christ, he chose to do it by trine immersion, if the persons would submit to it; judging this to be the apostolic method of baptizing. October 26th, He says, "I baptized Mr. Wigginton in the river, by Baptist-mills, and went on my way rejoicing to French-Hay. October 27th, I took occasion to show the degeneracy of our modern Pharisees. Their

^{*} See the agreement between this account and Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxvii. page 142.

predecessors fasted twice a week; but they maintain their character for holiness at a cheaper rate. In reverence for the Church, some keep their public day on Friday: none regard it, though enjoined as a fast. Their neglect is equally notorious in regard to prayer and the sacrament. And yet these men cry out, 'The Church, the Church!' when they themselves will not hear the Church; but despise her authority, trample upon her orders, teach contrary to her articles and homilies, and break her canons, even every man of those, who of late pretend to enforce their observance."

"October 13th, I wrote to the Bishop of Bristol, as follows:

"My LORD,

"Several persons have applied to me for baptism.* It has pleased God to make me instrumental in their conversion. This has given them such a prejudice for me, that they desire to be received into the Church by my ministry. They choose likewise to be baptized by immersion, and have engaged me to give your lordship notice, as the Church requires."

"November 2. I received a summons from Oxford, to respond in divinity disputations; which, together with other concurrent providences, is a plain call to that place."

On the 6th, Mr. Wesley's Journal breaks off, and does not commence again till March 14th, 1740. Mr. John Wesley informs us, that he and his brother left Oxford on the 15th of November, and taking Bristol in their way, they arrived at Tiverton on the 21st, a few days after the funeral of their brother Samuel. Having preached at Exeter during their short stay in these parts, they returned to Bristol on the 28th of the same month.

March 14th, 1740, Mr. Wesley came to Gloucester, in company with Thomas Maxfield, who travelled with him most part of this year. The next day he went to Bengeworth, in hopes of seeing his old friend, Mr. Benjamin Seward. But here he met with a disappointment, which he did not expect. Mr. Seward had been ill of a fever. His relations taking advantage of his situation had intercepted all his letters: they called his fever madness; and now, when he was recovering, placed his servants over him as spies, to prevent any Methodist from coming to him. His brother, Mr. Henry, came to Mr. Wesley and gave him plenty of abuse, calling him scoundrel, rascal, pick-pocket, &c. Mr. Wesley made little reply, but ordered notice to be given that he would preach next day, March 16th, at the usual place, which was near Mr. Seward's house. Mr. Henry came to him to dissuade him from attempting it, telling him that four constables were ordered to apprehend him if he came near his brother's wall. Mr. Wesley however was not to be deterred from his purpose by such threatenings, and when the time of preaching drew near,

^{*} He mentioned the names of seven persons.

walked forward towards the place. In his way thither, a mayor's officer met him, and desired he would go with him to the mayor. Mr. Wesley answered, that he would first wait on his Lord, and then on the mayor, whom he reverenced for the sake of his office. Henry now met him with threatenings and revilings. Mr. Wesley began singing, "Shall I for fear of feeble man," &c. This enraged Mr. Henry, who ran about raving like a madman, and quickly got some fellows fit for his purpose. These laid hold on Mr. Wesley, who asked, by what authority they did it? Where was their warrant? Let them show that and he would save them the trouble of using violence. They said they had no warrant, but he should not preach there, and dragged him away amidst the cries of the people. Mr. Henry cried out, "Take him away, and duck him." "I broke out," says Mr. Wesley, "into singing, with Thomas Maxfield, and suffered them to carry me whither they pleased. At the bridge in the lane they left me: then I stood out of the liberty of the corporation, and gave out,

> 'Angel of God, whate'er betide, Thy summons I obey!' &c.

Some hundreds followed, whom they could not hinder from hearing me, on, 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' Never did I feel so much what I spoke, and the word did not return empty.

"I then waited on Mr. Mayor, the poor sincere ones following me trembling. He was a little warm at my not coming before. I gave him the reason, and added, that I knew of no law of God or man, which I had transgressed; but if there was any such law, I desired no favor. He said, he should not have denied me leave to preach, even in his own yard; but Mr. Henry Seward, and the apothecary, had assured him, it would quite cast his brother down again. I answered, it would tend to restore him. Here a clergyman spoke much -and nothing. As far as I could pick out his meaning, he grumbled that Mr. Whitefield had spoken against the clergy in his Journal. I told him, if he were a carnal, worldly-minded clergyman, I might do what he would call railing, I might warn God's people to beware of false prophets. I did not say, because I did not know, he was one of those shepherds who fed themselves, not the flock; but if he was, I was sorry for him, and must leave that sentence of Chrysostom with him, 'Hell is paved with the skulls of christian priests.' I turned from him, and asked the mayor whether he approved of the treatment I had met with? He said, 'by no means, and if I complained, he would bind the men over to answer it at the Sessions.' I told him, I did not complain, neither would I prosecute them, as they well knew. I assured him, that I waited on him, not from interest, for I wanted nothing; not from fear, for I had done no wrong; but from true respect, and to show him that I believed, 'The powers that be are ordained of God.'"

March 17th, he preached again, when a troop poured in upon him and the quiet congregation, and made much disturbance. "I enjoyed," says he, "a sweet calm within, even while I preached the gospel with much contention. These slighter conflicts must fit me for greater." The next day, before preaching, he received a message from the minister, informing him that if he did not immediately quit the town, Mr. Henry Seward could easily raise a mob, and then he must look to himself. Mr. Canning, and others of his friends, dissuaded him from going to the society, for his enemies were determined to do him a mischief, which they thought he should avoid by going out of the way for a while. But Mr. Wesley was not intimidated by threatenings. He adds, "I went, and set upon the opposers. I bid them to rejoice and glory, for now they had terrified me; I was really afraid—to leave Evesham: I durst no more do it, than forsake my Captain, or deny my Master, while any one of them opened his mouth against the truth. No man answered a word, or offered to disturb me in my following exhortation. I received great comfort from those words in the first lesson, 'Then the men of the city said unto Joash, Bring out thy son, that he may die, because he hath cast down the altar of Baal. And Joash said unto all that stood against him, Will ye plead for Baal? If he be a god let him plead for himself, because one hath cast down his altar.' In the afternoon there was none to plead for him, or to molest me in the work of God, while I showed God's method of saving souls; 'For he maketh sore and bindeth up; he woundeth, and his hand maketh whole.' The tears that were shed gave comfortable evidence that I had not labored in vain."

Mr. Wesley went from hence to Westcot, Idbury, and Oxford, where he labored with his usual success. He then returned to Evesham, saw his friend Mr. Benjamin Seward, and preached without molestation. April 3d, he arrived in London, and preached at the Foundery, on, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." He observes, "My heart was enlarged in prayer for the infant society."

The society in London was at this time terribly distracted with foolish and hurtful disputations. Mr. Bray, one Bell, and several others who had influence among the people, had imbibed a notion from Molther, the Moravian, that there are no degrees of faith, that he who has any doubt has no faith at all; that there are no means of grace, but Christ; that a believer is under no obligation to use the ordinances; that an unbeliever ought to be still, and neither read the-Scriptures, nor pray, nor use any of the ordinances; because he cannot do these things without trusting in them, and that would hinder him from receiving faith, &c. Mr. Wesley opposed these teachers with great firmness and perseverance. His journal, during his stay in London, is filled with disputations on these subjects, which I shall not transcribe. The following particulars, as they throw some light-

13 19

on the state of things at this time, and on the success of Mr. Wesley's ministry, seem worthy of being preserved.

April 16th, he received the following letter. "I beg leave to ask your opinion about my state. I do not doubt myself; for through the grace given me, I am confident, God for Christ's sake has forgiven my sins, and made me free. But it has been questioned whether I have faith or not.

"I was brought up an heathen in the house of a D. D. After that I went to the Lord's table, and then thought myself a good Christian. But blessed be God I now see that I was an abominable Pharisee. For my pride God cast me out of his house, and I fell into the foulest crimes I could commit. After some time I had a sight of my damnable estate, and that I was nothing but sin: I daily dreaded God's vengeance: I durst not offer to pray, knowing my prayer was an abomination to that God who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. I could not think it possible there should be forgiveness for me:

'I had my punishment in view, I felt a thousand hells my due.'

I went twice to hear Mr. Whitefield, but thought it did not signify. My misery still increased. But it pleased God, that the last time you preached at Kennington, my blessed Saviour was revealed in me, in so glorious a manner, that I rather thought myself in heaven than on earth. I thought I could meet death with boldness. I was ready to cry out to every one, O! taste and see how good the Lord is. I would not for a thousand worlds be in my former state again. May God prolong your life and health, in his kingdom and service."

Hitherto the government of the society had been vested wholly in the people. At their different meetings, they made such rules and orders as they thought necessary and proper, without paying any particular deference to the ministers. In one or two instances, mentioned in these journals, they threatened to expel Mr. Wesley himself, when he did not conform to the rules they had made. But on the 20th of April this year, it was agreed, 1. That no order should be valid unless the minister be present at the making of it. 2. That, whosoever denies the ordinances to be commands, shall be expelled the society.

One or two of the leaders in this new doctrine concerning ordinances and means of grace, thinking Mr. John Wesley more favorable to their opinions than Mr. Charles, wrote to him at Bristol, desiring him to come immediately to London. He arrived on the 22d,* and on the 24th, Mr. Charles Wesley wrote to a friend at Bristol as follows. "My brother came most critically. The snare we trust will now be broken, and many simple souls be delivered. Many here insist, that a part of their christian calling is liberty from obeying, not liberty to

^{*} See also Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxvii. p. 205.

obey. The unjustified, say they, are to be still; that is, not to search the Scriptures, not to pray, not to communicate, not to do good, not to endeavor, not to desire; for it is impossible to use means without trusting in them. Their practice is agreeable to their principles. Lazy and proud themselves, bitter and censorious towards others, they trample upon the ordinances and despise the commands of Christ. I see no middle point wherein we can meet."

May 2d, Mr. Wesley received the following letter.

"MY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

"I first received the gift of faith after I had seen myself a lost sinner, bound with a thousand chains, and dropping into hell. Then I heard his voice, 'Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.' I saw the son of God loved me, and gave himself for me. I thought I saw him at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for me. I went on in great joy for four months. Then pride crept in, and I thought the work was finished, when it was but just begun. There I rested, and in a little time fell into doubts and fears, whether my sins were really forgiven me, till I plunged myself into the depth of misery. I could not pray, neither had I any desire to do it, or to read the word. Then did I see my own evil heart, and feel my helplessness, so that I could not so much as think a good thought. My love was turned into hatred, passion, envy, &c. I felt a thousand hells my due, and cried out in bitter anguish of spirit, 'Save Lord, or I perish.' In my last extremity I saw my Saviour full of grace and truth for me, and heard his voice again, whispering, Peace, be still. My peace returned, and greater sweetness of love than I ever knew before. Now my joy is calm and solid, my heart drawn out to the Lord continually. I know that my Redeemer liveth for me. He is my strength and my rock, and will carry on his work in my soul to the day of redemption. Dear sir, I have spoken the state of my heart as before the Lord. I beg your prayers, that I may go on from strength to strength, from conquering to conquer, till death is swallowed up in victory."

"G. MURRAY."

May 8, H. Harris being in town, Mr. Wesley observes, "He declared his experience before the society. O! what a flame was kindled. No man speaks in my hearing as this man speaketh. What a nursing father God has sent us! He has indeed learned of the good Shepherd to carry the lambs in his bosom. Such love, such power, such simplicity, was irresistible." At this meeting H. Harris invited all lost sinners, justified or not justified, to the Lord's table. "I would not," said he, "for ten thousand worlds, be the man who should keep any from it. There I first found him myself: that is the place of meeting." "He went on," adds Mr. Wesley, "in the power of the Most High. God called forth his witnesses; several declared they had found Christ in the ordinances."

May 29th. "I dined," says Mr. Wesley, "at friend Keen's, a Quaker and a Christian; and read over George Whitefield's account of God's dealings with him. The love and esteem he expressed for me, filled me with confusion, and brought back my fear, lest after having preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away."

June 11th. To put an end to vain disputings, and to stop the further progress of the hurtful opinions which then prevailed, Mr. John Wesley proposed to new-model the bands, and to put those by themselves, who were still for the ordinances. This proposal raised a great clamor: "The noisy still ones," adds Mr. Wesley, "well knew, that hitherto they had carried their point, by wearying out the sincere ones scattered among them, one or two in a band of disputers, who had harassed and sawn them asunder, so that a remnant scarcely was left. Mr. Ingham seconded us, and we obtained that the names should be called over, and as many as were aggrieved, should be put into new bands. We gathered up our wreck, rari nantes in gurgite vasto, floating here and there on the vast abyss; for nine out of ten were swallowed up in the dead sea of stillness. O why was not this done six months ago! How fatal was our delay and false moderation. I told them plainly, I should continue with them so long as they continued in the Church of England."

June 17th. "We had an extraordinary meeting of the society, increased from twelve, to three hundred. I took my leave of them with hearty prayer."—The next day he set out for Bristol, where he arrived on the 21st, having called at Oxford in his way thither. "My first greeting at Kingswood," says he, "was by a daughter of one of our colliers. In the evening was at the malt-room, and addressed myself to those in the wilderness. O what simplicity is in this childlike people! A spirit of contrition and love ran through them. Here the seed has fallen upon good ground."

"Sunday, June 22d, I went to learn Christ among our colliers, and drank into their spirit. We rejoiced for the consolation. O that our London brethren, would but come to school to Kingswood! These are, what they of London pretend to be. God knows their poverty; but they are rich, and daily entering into his rest. They do not hold it necessary to deny weak faith in order to get strong. Their souls truly wait upon God, in his ordinances. Ye many masters, come learn Christ of these outcasts; for know, that except ye be converted, and become like these little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.—I met several of those whom I had baptized and found them growing in grace."

"June 30th, I now spent a week at Oxford, to little purpose, but that of obedience to man, for the Lord's sake. In the hall I read my two lectures on the cxxxth Psalm, preaching repentance towards God, and faith in Christ Jesus. But learned Gallio cared for none of these things."

July 16th. Being returned to Bristol, he observes, "While I was meeting the bands, my mouth was opened to reprove, rebuke, and exhort, in words not my own. All trembled before the presence of God. I was forced to cut off a rotten member; but felt such love and pity at the time, as humbled me into the dust. It was, as if one criminal was executing another. We betook ourselves to fervent prayer for him, and the society. The spirit of prayer was poured out upon us, and we returned to the Lord, with weeping and mourning."—See here, the true Apostolical spirit of church discipline.

Many of the colliers, who had been abandoned to every kind of wickedness, even to a proverb, were now become pious and zealous for the things of God. A great number of these, at this time, came to the churches in Bristol on a Lord's-day, for the benefit of the sacrament. But most of the Bristol ministers repelled them from the table, because they did not belong to their parishes. Setting religion aside, common humanity would have taught them to rejoice in so remarkable a reformation among these wretched people. But these watchmen of Israel did not choose to have any increase of trouble. Can we wonder, that the Methodists had such great success in preaching the gospel to the middling and lower orders of the people, when such lazy drones as these, had the care of most of the parishes in England? The case, I believe, is now greatly altered. At present, there is more religious knowledge, more candor, and greater attention to propriety of conduct, both among the clergy and the people, than there was at that time; and the Methodists have been the principal means of producing the change.

July 25. He began to speak to every member of the society in particular. A woman came to him, crying out, that she was born of God; that she had a new heart, &c. But on examination, she could give no account of her faith; no satisfactory proof of her pretensions. Mr. Wesley observes on this occasion, "How exceedingly cautious ought we to be, in receiving people's testimony of themselves." Another came to him, who seems to have been puffed up with her religious comforts and enjoyments. "I plainly see," says he, "why many lose their first comfort; it is expedient for them that it should go away." In this case, as he observes, nature will feed on the gift, instead of the giver. We see some, who look at their joy, and compare their state with others, till they become high-minded, lose sight of Christ, and then sink into great darkness and distress, without perceiving the reason of it. One part of these, generally recover their former experience, after much suffering: another part, content themselves with the externals of religion, and much religious talk, while their passions have the same dominion over them, they formerly had: and a third, look upon all experience as mere imagination, ridicule it in the terms they had been accustomed to use, and cast off

religion altogether. These cases therefore, require the most serious and early attention of every experienced minister of the gospel.

July 27. "I heard a miserable sermon," says Mr. Wesley, "at Temple church, recommending religion as the most likely way to raise a fortune. After sermon, proclamation was made, that all should depart who were not of the parish. While the shepherd was driving away the lambs, I staid, suspecting nothing, till the clerk came to me and said, 'Mr. Beacher bids you go away, for he will not give you the sacrament.' I went to the vestry door, and mildly desired Mr. Beacher to admit me. He asked, 'Are you of this parish?' I answered, 'sir, you see that I am a clergyman.' Then dropping his first pretence, he charged me with rebellion in expounding the Scripture without authority; and said in express words, 'I repel you from the sacrament.' I replied, 'I cite you to answer this, before Jesus Christ at the day of judgment.' This enraged him above measure: he called out, 'Here, take away this man.' The constables were ordered to attend, I suppose, lest the furious colliers should take the sacrament by force; but I saved them the trouble of taking away 'this man,' and quietly retired."-These things are but poor evidences, that the Bristol ministers were the true successors of the Apostles!

In August Mr. Wesley had a very dangerous fever. It was reported, and published in the papers, that he was dead. Upon his recovery, he observes, "I found myself after this gracious visitation, more desirous and able to pray; more afraid of sin; more earnestly longing for deliverance, and the fulness of christian salvation." Soon afterwards, two or three of the society died, in the triumph of faith, and full assurance of hope; which strengthened the hands and comforted the hearts of those who were left behind.

September 22d, Mr. Wesley was informed that the colliers were risen; and riding out from Bristol, he met about a thousand of them at Lawrence-hill. The occasion of their rising was the dearness of corn. He went up to an eminence, and began to talk to them. Many seemed inclined to go back with him to the school, which some of the most desperate perceiving, they rushed violently upon the others, beating, tearing, and driving them every way from Mr. Wesley. He adds, "I rode up to a ruffian, who was striking one of our colliers,* and prayed him rather to strike me. He answered, 'no, not for all the world,' and was quite overcome. I turned upon another, who struck my horse, and he also sunk into a lamb. Wherever I turned, satan's cause lost ground, so that they were obliged to make one general assault, and the violent colliers forced the quiet ones into the town. I seized one of the tallest, and earnestly besought him to follow me: yes, he said, that he would, all the world over. I pressed about six into Christ's service. We met several parties, and stopt

^{*} He means a collier, who was in the Methodists' society.

and exhorted them to follow us; and gleaning some from every company, we increased as we marched on singing, to the school. From one till three o'clock, we spent in prayer, that evil might be prevented, and the lion chained. Then news was brought us, that the colliers were returned in peace. They had walked quietly into the city, without sticks or the least violence. A few of the better sort of them went to the mayor, and told their grievance: then they all returned as they came, without noise or disturbance. All who saw it were amazed. Nothing could more clearly have shown the change wrought among them, than this conduct on such an occasion."

"I found afterwards, that all our colliers to a man had been forced away. Having learned of Christ not to resist evil, they went a mile with those who compelled them, rather than free themselves by violence. One man the rioters dragged out of his sick-bed, and threw him into the fish ponds. Near twenty of Mr. Willis's men they had prevailed on, by threatenining to fill up their pits, and bury them alive, if they did not come up and bear them company." It was a happy circumstance that they forced so many of the Methodist colliers to go with them; as these, by their advice and example, would restrain the savage fury of the others. This undoubtedly was the true cause, why they all returned home without making any disturbance

November 6th, he set out for Wales. Here, vain disputings and janglings about predestination, had done much harm in several societies: even H. Harris, embracing this doctrine, had been greatly estranged from his friend. Any doctrine comes poorly recommended to us, when it almost uniformly diminishes christian love and friendship, in the minds of those who embrace it. This is an effect so contrary to the general end, and manifest tendency of the gospel, that the doctrine which produces it, should be viewed with suspicion and approached with caution. That the diminution of christian love was on the part of H. Harris, is evident from the following letter, which Mr. Wesley sent him from Cardiff, on the 10th of November.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND AND BROTHER,

"In the name of Jesus Christ, I beseech you, if you have his glory and the good of souls at heart, to come immediately to meet me here. I trust we shall never be two, in time or in eternity. O! my brother, I am grieved that satan should get a moment's advantage over us; and am ready to lay my neck under your feet for Christ's sake. If your heart be as my heart, hasten, in the name of our dear Lord, to your second self."

This letter shows a mind susceptible of the strongest attachments of friendship, and does Mr. Wesley great honor. Howel Harris however, did not come to him till the 18th, when he was at Lantrissant, and preparing to leave Wales. Mr. Wesley adds, "All misunder-

standing vanished at the sight of each other, and our hearts were knit together as at the beginning. Before the society met, several persons were with me, desiring that as I had now got him I would reprove him openly. Some wanted me to preach against lay-preaching; some against predestination, &c. In my discourse, a gentleman, who had come thither on purpose, interrupted me by desiring I would now speak to Mr. Harris, since I was sent for to disprove his errors. I quashed all further importunity by declaring, 'I am unwilling to speak of my brother Harris, because when I begin, I know not where to leave off, and should say so much good of him as some of you could not bear.'"

Before Mr. Wesley left Wales, a violent opposition was raised against him, which threatened danger. During the sermon on Sunday, while Mr. Wesley was describing the state of the Pharisee, a physician of the place found himself hurt, and got up and walked out of the church. On the Tuesday following, being unusually heated with wine, and urged on by a company of players, determined on mischief, he came to the house where the people were assembled, to demand satisfaction for the injury he supposed that he had received. He struck Mr. Wesley and several of the women with his cane, and raged like a madman, till the men forced him out of the room, and shut the door. Soon after, it was broke open by a justice of the peace, and the bailiff, or head magistrate. "The latter began expostulating with me," says Mr. Wesley, "upon the affront offered the He said as it was a public injury, I ought to make him a public satisfaction. I answered, 'Mr. Bailiff, I honor you for your office' sake; but were you, or his Majesty King George among my hearers, I should tell you both, that you are by nature sinners, or children of wrath, even as others. In the church while preaching, I have no superior but God, and shall not ask man leave to tell him of his sins. As a ruler, it is your duty to be a terror to evil doers, but a praise to them that do well.' Upon thus speaking to him, he became exceedingly civil, assured me of his good will, and that he had come to prevent me from being insulted, and no one should touch a hair of my head."

"While we were talking, the doctor made another attempt to break in and get at me, but the two justices and others, with much trouble got him away; and we continued our triumph in the name of the Lord our God. The shout of a king was among us. We sang unconcerned, though the players had beset the house, were armed, and threatened to burn it. The ground of their quarrel with me was, that the preaching of the gospel had starved them. We prayed and sang with great tranquillity till one in the morning: then I lay down till three. I rose again, and was scarcely got into the room when they discovered a player just by me, who had stolen in unobserved. They seized him, and F. Farley wrested the sword from him. There

was no need of drawing it, for the point and blade were stript of the scabbard, about an hand's breadth. Great was our rejoicing within, and the uproar of the players without. My female advisers were by no means for my venturing out, but wished me to defer my journey. I preferred Mr. Wells's advice, of going with him through the midst of our enemies. We called on the poor creature they had secured. On sight of me he cried out, 'Indeed Mr. Wesley, I did not intend to do you any harm.' 'That,' I answered, 'was best known to God and his own heart;' but told him that my principle was to return good for evil, and therefore desired he might be released. I assured him of my good wishes, and with Mr. Wells walked down to the water side, no man forbidding me." The next day, November the 20th, he arrived safe in Bristol.

He goes on. "November 30th, I gave the sacrament to our sister Taylor, dying in triumph. Here is another witness to the truth of the gospel we preach. Commend me to a religion, upon which I can trust my soul, while entering into eternity."

"December 2d, I preached on the three-fold office of Christ, at Kingswood, but never with greater power. It constrained even the separatists (the Calvinists) to own that God was with us of a truth. I rode back in a glorious storm of thunder, lightning and rain; my spirit rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. He opened my mouth again in the society, and I spoke in much grief, of our desolate mother, the Church of England. My heart yearns towards her, when I think upon her ruins; and it pitieth me to see her in the dust."

"December 5th, I was much refreshed in spirit among some of my friends the Quakers, by a writer of theirs, who strongly insists on the perfect death unto sin, and life unto righteousness, which every Christian experiences. Death must precede life, and condemnation, justification. This he as clearly teaches as any of our first reformers."

December 24th, he set out, with Thomas Maxfield, for London, where they arrived the next day. On the 27th, he says, "Six or seven hundred of us met from eleven o'clock till one, to praise God with the voice of joy and thanksgiving. He hath done great things for us already; but we shall see greater things than these. I dined at the house of a Dissenter, who was armed cap-a-pie with her faith of adherence, brimfull of the five points, and going on to the perfection described in Romans the seventh. On the 28th, I earnestly warned the bands not to fancy they had new hearts before they had seen the deceitfulness of the old; not to think they would ever be above the necessity of prayer; not to yield for one moment to the spirit of judging. Mr. Aspernel told me strange things, and I fear true, of some new creatures of their own making, who have been caught in gross lies."

April 4th, 1741. Mr. Wesley set out for Bristol, and arrived there

in safety the next day. April 7th, he says, "I prayed by one supposed to be at the point of death. He rejoiced to meet the king of terrors; and appeared so sweetly resigned, so ready for the bridegroom, that I longed to change places with him. April 11th, found a dying sinner rejoicing in God her Saviour. At sight of me, she cried out, 'O how loving is God to me! But he is loving to every man: he loves every soul as well as he loves mine.' Many like words she uttered in triumphant faith, and witnessed in death the universal love of Jesus Christ." April 12th, To-day he called forth another of his dying witnesses. "The young woman whom at my last visit, I left in utter despair, this morning broke out into the following expressions; 'I see, I see it now, that Jesus Christ died for me; and for all the world.' Some of her words to me were 'death stares me in the face, but I fear him not, he cannot hurt me:' and again, 'death may shake his dart in vain; God is love, pure love, love The next I saw, was our brother S... to every man!'

> 'With joyful eyes, and looks divine, Smiling and pleased in death.'"

April 13th. "I gave the sacrament to the bands of Kingswood, not of Bristol: in obedience, as I told them, to the Church of England, which requires a weekly sacrament at every cathedral. But as they had it not there, and as on this particular Sunday, they were refused it, at Temple church, (I myself, with many of them, having been repelled,) I therefore administered it to them in our school; and had we wanted a house, would justify doing it in the midst of the wood. I strongly urged the duty of receiving it, as often as they could be admitted to the churches. Such a sacrament, I never was present at before. We received the sure pledges of our Saviour's dying love; and were most of us, filled with all joy and peace in believing." This it seems, was the beginning of the practice of administering the sacrament at Kingswood.

April 20th. "Returning from Baptist Mills, I heard that our sister Richardson had finished her course. My soul was filled with strong consolation, and struggled, as it were, to go out after her, 'as heavenward endeavoring.' Jesus, my time is in thy hand: only let me follow her, as she has followed thee! The voice of joy and thanksgiving was in the congregation, while I spake of her death. April 22d, I hastened to the joyful funeral. The new room was crowded within and without. I spake largely of her whose faith they might safely follow. Great was my glorying and rejoicing over her. She being dead, yet spake in words of faith and love, which ought to be had in remembrance. We were in a measure, partakers of her joy, a joy unspeakable and full of glory. The whole society followed her to the grave, through all the city. Satan raged exceedingly in his children, who threw dirt and stones at us. After the burial we joined in the following hymn,

'Come let us, who in Christ believe, With saints and angels join,' &c."

May 1st, "I visited a sister dying in the Lord. Then two others. one mourning after, the other rejoicing in, God her Saviour. I was now informed that another of our sisters, E. Smith, is gone home in triumph. She witnessed a good confession of the universal Saviour, and gave up her spirit with these words, 'I go to my heavenly Father,' &c. May 4th, I rejoiced over our sister Hooper. ward man decayeth, but the inner man is renewed. For one whole night she had wrestled with all the powers of darkness: but having done all, she stood unshaken. From henceforth she was kept in perfect peace, and that wicked one touched her not. I saw her again in great bodily weakness, but strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. I spoke with her physician, who said he had little hope of her recovery; 'only,' added he, 'she has no dread upon her spirits, which is generally the worst symptom. Most people die for fear of dying; but I never met with such people as yours. They are none of them afraid of death; but calm and patient, and resigned to the last.' He had said to her, 'Madam, be not cast down.' She answered smiling, 'Sir, I shall never be cast down.'"

May 6th, "Found our sister Hooper just at the haven. She expressed, while able to speak, her fulness of confidence and love: and her desire to be with Christ. At my next visit, I saw her in the last The angel of death was come, and there were but a few moments between her and a blessed eternity. We poured out our souls to God, for her, her children, ourselves, the church and ministers, and for all mankind. My soul was tenderly affected for her sufferings, but the joy swallowed up the sorrow. How much then did her consolations abound! The servants of Christ, comparatively speaking, suffer nothing. I asked her, whether she was not in great pain? Yes, she answered, but in greater joy. I would not be without either." "But do you not prefer life or death?" She replied "all is alike to me; let Christ choose, I have no will of my own. spirit ascended to God, and we kneeled down and gave God thanks from the ground of our heart. Then we had recourse to the book of comfort, and found it written, 'Let us therefore labor to enter into that rest;' even so, come Lord Jesus, and give us an inheritance among all them that are sanctified."

May 8th, "We solemnized the funeral * of our sister Hooper, and rejoiced over her with singing. A great multitude attended her to the grave. There we sang another hymn of triumph. I found myself pressed in spirit to speak to those who contradicted and blasphemed. While I reasoned on death and judgment to come, many trembled; one woman cried out in horrible agony. We returned to the room,

^{*} This was a very early interment; but I suppose the state of the body made it necessary.

and continued our solemn rejoicings, all desiring to be dissolved and to be with Christ."

May 14th. He now visited Mrs. Lellington, drawing near the end of her journey through life. She had received peace and joy in believing, and all fear of hell, death and sin, were fled away. He adds, "I saw two more of our sick sisters; then two of the brethren in Kingswood, who were all rejoicing in hope of a speedy dissolution. Preached at Kendalshire, and visited one of the bands there, who walked through the valley of the shadow of death, and feared no evil. I prayed by a seventh in Bristol, who triumphed over the King of terrors. If God be not with us, who hath begotten us these?"

May 20th, "I was called to a dying woman, who confessed she had often railed at me in her health, but was now constrained to send for me, and ask my pardon, or she could not die in peace. We prayed our Lord to speak peace and pardon to her soul. Several such instances we have had of scoffers, when their feet stumble on the dark mountains. May 22d, I preached a funeral sermon for our sister Lellington, and attended the corpse to the grave, where we rejoiced in hope of quickly following her. I gave an exhortation to repentance, though satan greatly withstood me: thereby teaching me, never to let go unwarned, the poor sinners that come on such Passed the night with my brother at Kingswood, in watching unto prayer. I wish this primitive custom were revived among all our brethren. The word of God encourages us, to be in watchings often. By two o'clock I returned to Bristol, and at five found strength to expound in the new room." May 30th, he observes, "I passed an hour with a spiritual Quaker, and rejoiced to find, we were both of the same religion."-I apprehend that all men, who have true christian experience, are of the same religion; however they may differ in opinion or modes of worship. They are the one fold, under the one true Shepherd. If all true Christians would consider this point as they ought, there would soon be an end of disputation among them, and brotherly love would take place.

May 31st, "Throughout this day, I found my strength increase with my labor. I read in the society, my account of Hannah Richardson.* She being dead, yet spake so powerfully to our hearts, that my voice was lost in the sorrowful sighing of such as be in captivity. To several, God showed himself the God of consolation; particularly to two young Welchmen, whom his providence sent hither from Caermarthen. They had heard most dreadful stories of us, Arminians, Freewillers, Perfectionists, Papists, which all vanished like smoke, when they came to hear with their own ears. God applied to their hearts the word of his power. I took them to my lodgings, and stocked them with books; then sent them away, recommended to the grace of God, which bringeth salvation to all men."

^{*} This account was printed. See Mr. John Wesley's Works, vol. xiii. p. 213.

June 16th, "I preached in Kingswood, on the dreadful words, 'sell all.' How has the devil baffled those teachers, who for fear of setting men upon works, forbear urging this first universal duty! If enforcing Christ's words be to preach works, I hope I shall preach works as long as I live." It is certain however, that Mr. Wesley did not understand our Lord's words literally, but as teaching us to put away every thing we know to be sinful, how advantageous soever it may be to our temporal interest, or agreeable to our inclination; and that we should omit no opportunity of doing all the good in our power.

July 11th, Mr. Wesley preached five times this day: at Bristol, twice at Kingswood, at a place called Sawford, and at Bath. He observes, "Satan took it ill to be attacked in his head quarters, that Sodom of our land, Bath. He raged horribly in his children. They went out, and came back again, and mocked, and at last roared, as if each man's name had been Legion. The sincere were melted into tears, and strong desires of salvation." It is pleasing to reflect on the change which has taken place in Bath, since the time of which Mr. Wesley is here speaking. God has raised up many faithful witnesses of his truth, both among the Methodists, and among Lady Huntingdon's people, who have been ornaments to the christian profession: and at present the gospel is preached there, without molestation.

July 13th, he set out for Cardiff, and on the 15th, rode on with Mr. Wells, Mr. Hodges, and others to Fonmon Castle. Mr. Wesley adds, "Mr. Jones, who had sent for me, received me very courteously. He civilly apologized for the first question, which he asked me as a magistrate: 'Whether I was a Papist? or whether I was a member of the Established Church of England?" He was fully satisfied with my answers; and I found we were cotemporaries at the same college. After dinner he sent to Porthkerry, where, at his desire, Mr. Richards the minister lent me his pulpit. I preached, on, 'God so loved the world,' &c. Never hath he given me more convincing words. The flock and their shepherd were deeply affected. After sermon, Mr. Richards begged my pardon for having believed the strange reports circulated concerning me. God had now spoken the contrary to his heart, and to the hearts of his people. I yielded to Mr. Jones's importunity, and agreed to delay my return to Bristol, that I might preach here once more, and spend a night at the castle."

July 17th, he met Mr. and Mrs. Jones at Mr. Richards's, where he again preached, and in the evening went to the castle. Mr. Wesley adds, "We ate our bread with gladness and singleness of heart, and at seven o'clock I preached to some hundreds in the court-yard. My three brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Richards, Wells, and Hodges, stood in the midst of the people, and kneeled on the ground in prayer, and cried after the Son of David. He breathed into our souls strong desires. O! that he may confirm, increase, and satisfy them. The

voice of thanksgiving was heard in this place. Before and after supper, we sang, and blessed God with joyful lips. They in the parlor and kitchen, were continually honoring him, by offering up praise. I thought it looked like the house of faithful Abraham. The next day, July 18th, I took sweet counsel with Mr. Jones alone. The seed is sown in his heart, and will bring forth fruit unto perfection. His wife joined us, and I commended them to the grace of God in earnest prayer, and then went on my way rejoicing."

Mr. Wesley now returned to Bristol: and on August the 3d, he preached the funeral sermon of Mrs. Peacock, who died in the Lord most triumphantly. He observes, "She was always praising God for giving her such patience. All her desires were unto the Lord, and she continued calling upon him, in all the confidence of love, till he received her into his more immediate presence. At the sight of her coffin, my soul was moved within me, and struggled as a bird to break its cage. Some relief I found in tears; but still was so overpowered, that, unless God had abated the vehemence of my desires. I could have had no utterance. The whole congregation partook with me, in the blessedness of mourning. August 6th, coming to pray by a poor Welch woman, she began with me, 'Blessed be God that ever I heard you! Jesus, my Jesus, has heard me on a bed of sickness. He is in my heart; he is my strength; none shall pluck me out of his hands. I cannot leave him, and he will not leave me. do not let me ask for death, if thou wouldst have me live. thou canst keep me. If thou wouldst have me live, let me live humbly with thee all my days.' I sat and heard her sing the new song, till even my hard heart was melted. She glorified the Saviour of the world, who would have all men to be saved. 'I know it,' said she; 'he would not have one sinner lost. Believe, and he will give you all that, which he has given me." Surely the doctrine which these men preached, was the true gospel of God our Saviour. It not only improves the understanding, but it gives strength and firmness of mind to the most weak and ignorant, enabling them to triumph over the severest afflictions to which human life is subject. Here is a poor illiterate Welch woman, who not only rises superior to sickness and death, but talks in a rational scriptural manner, of the deep things of God! Show me any system of philosophy, any mere speculative notions of divinity, any other way of preaching the gospel, which produces the same effects on the human mind in the same circumstances: then I may doubt whether this be the true gospel.

On the 24th of this month Mr. Wesley, in company with F. Farley, paid another visit to his friends in Wales, and again in September, staying only a few days each time. Mr. Jones, of Fonmon castle, accompanied him in his return from the last visit; being desirous to see the wonderful effects of the gospel among the wild ignorant colliers of Kingswood. Thither Mr. Wesley took him on the 20th of

September, and says, "It was a glorious time at the society, where God called forth his witnesses. Our guest was filled with consolation, and acknowledged that God was with us of a truth. I met the bands, and strongly urged them to press towards the mark. Read them a letter full of threatenings to take our house by violence. We laughed our enemies to scorn: faith saw the mountain full of horsemen and chariots of fire. Our brother from Wales was compelled to bear his testimony, and declare before all what God had done for his soul. He warned us to prepare for the storm which would surely fall upon us, if the work went on. His artless words were greatly blessed to us all; and our hearts were bowed and warmed by the spirit of love, as the heart of one man."

September 22. "Mr. Jones wished to take me to some of his great friends in the city; particularly to a counsellor, about the threatened seizure of our school. I feared nothing but trusting to an arm of flesh: our safety is, to be still. However, at his importunity I went with him a little way, then turned back, and at last agreed to go with him to Justice C-r, the most forward of our adversaries. He received us courteously. I said, I came to wait upon him in respect to his office, having heard his name mentioned among some, who were offended at the good we did to the poor colliers: that I should be sorry to give any just cause of complaint, and was willing to know if any had been made: that many idle reports were spread, as if he should countenance the violence of those who had seized the house of Mr. C--and now threatened to take away the colliers' school. He said 'it would make a good workhouse.' I caught hold of the expression. and replied it is a workhouse already. 'Ay,' said he, 'but what work is done there?' I answered, 'we work the works of God, which man cannot hinder.' 'But you occasion the increase of the poor.' 'Sir, you are misinformed; the reverse of that is true. None of our society are chargeable to you; even those who were so, before they heard us. are not so now; the men who spent all their wages at the alehouse. now never go there at all, but keep their money to maintain their families, and have to give to those who want. Notorious swearers, have now only the praises of God in their mouths. The good done among them is indisputable; our worst enemies cannot denv it. one who hears us, continues either to swear or drink.' 'If I thought so,' he hastily replied, (in eodem luto hasitans) 'I would come and hear you myself.' I desired he would; and said, the grace of God was as sufficient for him as for our colliers, and who knew but he might be converted among us?

"I gave him to understand, that Mr. Jones was in the commission of the peace, who then asked him on what pretence they had seized Mr. C——'s house? He utterly denied having had any hand in it, and said he should not at all concern himself. 'For if what you do, you do for gain, you have your reward: if for the sake of God, he will

recompense you. I am of Gamaliel's mind, if this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God—' I proceeded, 'ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found to fight against God. Follow therefore Gamaliel's advice; take heed to yourselves, refrain from these men, and let them alone.' He seemed determined so to do, and thus, through the blessing of God, we parted friends.

"In our way home I admired the hand which directs all our paths. In the evening at Bristol, we found under the word, that there is none like unto the God of Jeshurun. It was a time of sweet refreshment. Just when I had done, my brother came in from London, as if sent on purpose to be comforted together with us.* He exhorted and prayed with the congregation for another half hour. Then we went to our friend Vigers, and for an hour or two longer our souls were satisfied as with marrow and fatness, while our mouth praised God with joyful lips."

I find no account of Mr. Wesley's labors for the year 1742. In the beginning of February, 1743, he was employed with his brother Mr. John Wesley in visiting the classes in London,† and makes an observation, which deserves the most serious consideration both of preachers and people. "One among the classes," says he, "told my brother, that she had a constant sense of forgiveness; and he let her pass. I could not help proving her further; and then the justified sinner appeared full of the gall of bitterness. She said again and again, of a sister present, I do not love her, I hate her, &c. I assured her that if an angel from heaven told me she was justified, I would not believe him, for she was a murderer. As such we prayed for her, and she was convinced of unbelief. I fear we have many such believers among us." Mr. Wesley was no friend to an over hasty admission of members into the society, which he thought hurtful. He clearly saw two errors into which the Methodist preachers are continually in danger of falling. Every assistant is desirous of making the numbers in the different societies over which he has presided, appear as high as possible, at the yearly conference. This becomes a strong temptation to take improper persons into the society, whose life and conversation do no credit to religion. Every preacher in the Methodist connexion, is desirous of making as many friends to himself as possible among the people; and this becomes a temptation to omit reproof where it is necessary, to flatter the professions of some, who deserve no credit, and to speak of others as being in a state of grace, to which they have no claim. I sincerely wish that every preacher may carefully avoid these dreadful precipices, where he is in constant danger of destroying both himself and others.

In the latter end of February, Mr. Wesley went down to Bath and Bristol: and here, and in the neighboring places, perhaps also in

^{*} This exactly accords with Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal. See his Works, vol. xxxviii. p. 5.

[†] See again, vol. xxxviii. p. 133.

Wales (for his Journal does not mention particulars) he continued his labors till the 17th of May, when he set out for the North. preached at Painswick, admitted twelve new members into the society, and then visited Stroud, Evesham, and several other places; and on the 20th, he observes, "I got once more to our dear colliers at Wednesbury. Here the seed has taken root, and many are added to the church. A society of more than three hundred, are seeking full redemption in the cleansing blood of Christ. The enemy rages exceedingly, and preaches against them. A few here have returned railing for railing; but the generality have behaved as the followers of Christ Jesus. May 21, I spent the morning in conference with several who have received the atonement under my brother's ministry. I saw the piece of ground to build a chapel upon, given us by a Dissenter. I walked with many of our brethren to Walsal, singing as we went. We were received with the old complaint, 'Behold these that turn the world upside down, are come hither also.' We walked through the town, amidst the noisy greetings of our enemies. I stood on the steps of the market-house. An host of men came against us; and they lifted up their voice and raged horribly. I preached from these words, 'But none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy,' &c. The street was full of fierce Ephesian beasts, (the principal man setting them on) who roared and shouted, and threw stones incessantly. At the conclusion a stream of ruffians was suffered to beat me down from the steps; I rose, and having given the blessing, was beat down again, and so a third time. When we had returned thanks to the God of our salvation, I then from the steps bid them depart in peace, and walked through the thickest of the rioters. They reviled us, but had no commission to touch a hair of our head. May 22, I preached to between one and two thousand peaceable people, at Birmingham, and again at Wednesbury in the evening. On the 23d, I took my leave in those words, 'Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith: and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of heaven.' With many tears, and blessings, they sent me away, recommended to the grace of God."

May 24, Mr. Wesley reached Nottingham, having preached at two or three places in his way thither from Wednesbury. At two o'clock, he went to the Market-cross, and proclaimed the Saviour of all men; and in the evening expounded, at their request, to Mr. Howe's society. The next day he was at the cross again; he observes, "There was not a breath of opposition, but a storm must follow this calm. Several persons joined me at the inn, in prayer and thanksgiving. One gave me a kind caution, for which I sincerely thanked him. 'Mr. Rogers did run well, and preached the truth, as you do here; but what a sad end has he made of it! Take care you do not leave the

14* 21

church like him.' In the afternoon I came to the flock in Sheffield, who are as sheep among wolves; the minister having so stirred up the people, that they are ready to tear the Methodists in pieces. At six o'clock, I went to the society house, next door to our brother Bennet's. Hell from beneath was moved to oppose us. As soon as I was in the desk, with David Taylor, the floods began to lift up their voice. An officer in the army, contradicted and blasphemed. I took no notice of him, but sang on. The stones flew thick, striking the desk and the people. To save them, and the house from being pulled down, I gave out, that I should preach in the street, and look them in the face. The whole army of the alien Chaldeans followed me. The captain laid hold on me, and began rioting: I gave him for answer, 'A word in season, or advice to a soldier.' I then prayed, particularly for his Majesty King George, and preached the gospel with much contention. The stones often struck me in the face. I prayed for sinners, as servants of their master, the devil; upon which the captain ran at me with great fury, threatening revenge for abusing, as he called it, 'The king his master.' He forced his way through the brethren, drew his sword, and presented it to my breast. I immediately opened my breast, and fixing my eye on his, and smiling in his face, calmly said, 'I fear God and honor the king.' His countenance fell in a moment, he fetched a deep sigh, and putting up his sword, quietly left the place. He had said to one of the company who afterwards informed me, 'You shall see if I do but hold my sword to his breast, he will faint away.' So perhaps I should, had I only his principles to trust to; but if at that time I was not afraid, no thanks to my natural courage. We returned to our brother Bennet's, and gave ourselves up to prayer. The rioters followed, and exceeded in outrage, all I have seen before. Those at Moorfields, Cardiff, and Walsal, were lambs to these. As there is no king in Israel, I mean no magistrate in Sheffield, every man 'doeth as seemeth good in his own eyes." The mob now formed the design of pulling down the society house, and set upon their work, while Mr. Wesley and the people were praying and praising God within. "It was a glorious time," says he, "with us: every word of exhortation sunk deep, every prayer was sealed, and many found the spirit of glory resting upon them." The next day the house was completely pulled down, not one stone being left upon another: "Nevertheless," said Mr. Wesley to a friend, "the foundation standeth sure, and our house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." This day he preached again in the street, somewhat more quietly than before. In the evening the rioters became very noisy again, and threatened to pull down the house, where Mr. Wesley lodged. He went out to them; read the riot-act, and made a suitable exhortation, and they soon afterwards separated, and peace was restored.

May 27. At five in the morning, he took leave of the society in

these words, "Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." He observes, "Our hearts were knit together, and greatly comforted: we rejoiced in hope of the glorious appearing of the great God, who had now delivered us out of the mouth of the lions. David Taylor informed me, that the people of Thorpe, through which we should pass, were exceedingly mad against us. So we found them as we approached the place, and were turning down the lane to Barley Hall. The ambush rose, and assaulted us with stones, eggs and dirt. My horse flew from side to side, till he found his way through them. They wounded D. Taylor in the forehead, and the wound bled much. I turned back, and asked, what was the reason a clergyman could not pass without such treatment? At first the rioters scattered, but their captain rallying them, answered with horrible imprecations and stones. My horse took fright, and turned away with me down a steep hill. The enemy pursued me from afar, and followed shouting. Blessed be God, I received no hurt, only from the eggs and dirt. My clothes indeed abhorred me, and my arm pained me a little from a blow I received at Sheffield." This conduct is undoubtedly disgraceful to humanity: I hope the present inhabitants of these towns will endeavor to retrieve their character, by a peaceable and obliging behavior on all occasions. Mr. Wesley now spent an hour or two, with some quiet sincere persons, assembled at Barley Hall. By four o'clock in the afternoon he reached Birstal, a land of rest. Here they had peace in all their borders. Great multitudes were bowed down, by the victorious power of gospel truth. "It was," says Mr. Wesley, "a time much to be remembered, for the gracious rain, wherewith our God refreshed us." The next day he preached again in the morning and at noon, to this child-like people, and again in the afternoon at Ormsby, in his way to Leeds. May 29, he informs us in his Journal, that, not a year before he had come to Leeds, and found no man who cared for the things of God: "But," he observes, "a spark has now fallen in this place also, and it will kindle a great flame. I met the infant society, about fifty in number, most of them justified, and exhorted them to walk circumspectly. At seven o'clock, I stood before Mr. Shent's door, and cried to thousands, 'Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.' The word took place. They gave diligent heed to it, and seemed a people prepared for the Lord. I went to the great church, and was showed to the ministers' pew. Five clergymen were there, who a little confounded me, by making me take place of my elders and betters. They obliged me to help in administering the sacrament. I assisted with eight more ministers, for whom my soul was much drawn out in prayer. But I dreaded their favor, more than the stones at Sheffield." What Mr. Wesley here speaks respecting the clergymen present, must not be understood as implying

either disrespect or reproach. If he had any fault in his judgment of the clergy, it was that he thought too highly of the clerical office. The fear which he here speaks of, concerned himself only. He was fully convinced, that the manner in which he now preached the gospel, was not contrary to any written law of God or man: from the circumstance of being excluded from the churches, from the satisfaction he experienced in himself, in carrying the gospel to those who would not come to it, and from the effect of his labors on multitudes of the people, he was fully satisfied that his present plan of proceeding was agreeable to the will of God. But he found, that the favors and friendly attentions of those who disapproved of it, tended to weaken his resolution to persevere in it. Kindness has a wonderfully assimilating influence on the human mind: it melts down opposition in a generous heart; and while a man feels nothing but the most agreeable sensations from it, he is insensibly changed into a conformity with those who show him favor. Many have been turned from their duty, by kindness and favor, who could not be moved by persecution. Mr. Wesley felt the force of this assimilating principle, and hence he says, that he "dreaded their favor more than the stones at Sheffield."

At two o'clock, he found a vast multitude waiting for the word, and strongly exhorted them to repent and believe the gospel, that their sins might be blotted out. He preached again at Bristol, calling upon the poor and maimed, the halt and blind to come to the great supper. He observes, "My Lord disposed many hearts, I doubt not, to accept the invitation. He showed me several witnesses of the truth, which they have now received in the love of it. I had a blessed parting with the society. May 30, my horse threw me, and fell upon me. My companion thought I had broken my neck; but my leg only was bruised, my hand sprained, and my head stunned, which spoiled me from making hymns, or thinking at all till the next day, when the Lord brought us safe to Newcastle. At seven o'clock I went to the room, which will contain about two thousand persons. We rejoiced for the consolation of our mutual faith."

Many persons at Newcastle, had been greatly agitated during the preaching, falling into convulsive motions with strong cries. At their first preaching of the gospel, many, as he justly observes, were undoubtedly struck down into the deepest distress, which affected both soul and body. Mr. Wesley believed, that such instances might still continue to occur. But he soon perceived, that these natural affections, and the outward expressions of them, were easily imitated; and the persons at first so affected, being much noticed and talked of, this became a temptation to others to imitate their state. He says, "I have already detected many counterfeits." I recollect two instances, mentioned in his Journal before this period. A woman at Kingswood was greatly agitated under his preaching, and cried much: he turned to her and said, "I do not think any better of you, for

crying." &c. and she presently became quite calm. A young girl at Bristol fell into fits, and seemed like one in a trance. She continued this practice for some time; but at length acknowledged she had done it, that Mr. Wesley might take notice of her. No man ever had a more tender sympathy with those in distress, than Mr. Charles Wesley; but no man abhorred hypocrisy, or a mere assumed appearance of religious concern more than he did. Yet he did not judge persons who appeared to be so affected, till he had the proper evidences on which he could form a true judgment; but he thought it prudent to give them no encouragement, until some evidence of their sincerity appeared. June 4, "To-day," says he, "one came who was pleased to fall into a fit for my entertainment. He beat himself heartily: I thought it a pity to hinder him; so, instead of singing over him, as had often been done, we left him to recover at his leisure. A girl, as she began her cry, I ordered to be carried out. Her convulsions were so violent, as to take away the use of her limbs, till they laid her without at the door, and left her; then she immediately found her legs and walked off. Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me, and tried who should cry loudest, since I have had them removed out of my sight, have been as quiet as lambs. The first night I preached here, half my words were lost, through the noise of their outcries. Last night before I began, I gave public notice, that whosoever cried, so as to drown my voice, should without any man's hurting or judging them, be gently carried to the furthest corner of the room. But my porters had no employment the whole night! Yet the Lord was with us, mightily convincing of sin and of righteousness."

June 5. "My soul was revived by the poor people at Chowden; and yet more at Tanfield, where I called to great numbers, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' &c. At Newcastle I preached in the crowded square, chiefly to the backsliders, whom I besought with tears to be reconciled to God. Surely Jesus looked upon some of them as he looked upon Peter. June 6, I had the great comfort of recovering some of those who have drawn back. I trust we shall recover them again forever. On the 8th, I spake to the bands separately, and tried their faith. We certainly have been too rash and easy in allowing persons for believers on their own testimony: nay, and even persuading them into a false opinion of themselves. Some souls it is doubtless necessary to encourage; but it should be done with prudence and caution. To tell one in darkness that he has faith, is to keep him in darkness still, or to make him trust in a false light; a faith that stands in the words of man, not in the power of God. June 13, I wrote thus to a son in the gospel, 'Be not over sure that so many are justified. By their fruits ye shall know them. You will see reason to be more and more deliberate in the judgment you pass on persons. Wait for their conversation. I do not know whether we can infallibly pronounce at the time, that any one is justified. I once thought several in that state, who, I am now convinced, were under the drawings of the Father. Try the spirits therefore, lest you should lay the stumbling-block of pride in their way, and by supposing them to have faith before they have it, you keep them out of it forever."

We may perceive by these observations, that Mr. Wesley was a diligent attentive watchman over the people. He carefully explored the unfrequented road through which he had to guide them, and honestly pointed out the flattering by-paths which led to misery and danger. But experience hath repeatedly shown, that they who most want these salutary cautions, are the least disposed to receive them. Few persons have sincerity enough to be thankful for advice which tends to undeceive them; to strip them of some imaginary comforts, and make them think worse of themselves than they did before. fessors of religion are commonly the most impatient of such advice. It is certain, that these cautions require great prudence and discernment, in applying them to particular persons; but in a large body of people, and among a great number of preachers, there is much more danger of flattering individuals into a false confidence, under a pretence of giving them encouragement, than of hindering their progress by putting them upon a close and severe self-examination. In the one case we tread a slippery path, in the other we stand on firm ground. At this early period of the present revival of religion, Mr. Wesley saw the necessity of making these remarks. He repeated them frequently afterwards, and has been censured for so doing. wish the necessity of urging such advice on the preachers and people, may not greatly increase, while the practice of doing it is daily diminished.

Mr. Wesley observes, that since he had preached the gospel it never had greater success than at this time at Newcastle. "Yet," says he, "we have no fits among us, and I have done nothing to hinder them, only declared that I do not think the better of any one for crying out. June 16, I set out for Sunderland, with strong aversion to preaching. I dragged myself to about a thousand wild people, and cried, 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help.' Never have I seen greater attention in any people at their first hearing the word. We rode to Shields, went to church, and the people flocked in crowds after me. The minister spake so low that he could not be heard in reading prayers; but I heard him loud enough afterwards, calling to the church wardens to quiet the disturbance, which none but himself had raised. I fancy he thought I should preach in the church where I stood, like some of the first Quakers. The clerk came to me bawling out, 'It was consecrated ground, and I had no business to preach on it. That I was no minister, &c .--When he had cried himself out of breath, I whispered in his ear that I had no intention to preach there. He stumbled on a good saying,

'If you have any word of exhortation to the people, speak to them without.' I did so, to an huge multitude waiting in the church-yard: many of them very fierce, threatening to drown me, and what not! I walked through the midst of them, and discoursed in strong awakening words on the jailor's question, 'What must I do to be saved.' The church wardens and others labored in vain to interrupt me by throwing dirt, and even money among the people. Having delivered my message, I rode to the ferry, crossed it, and met as rough friends on the other side. The mob of North Shields waited to salute me, with the minister at their head. He had got a man with a horn instead of a trumpet, and bid him blow, and his companions shout. Others were almost as violent in their approbation. We went through honor and dishonor; but neither of them hurt us, and by six o'clock with God's blessing we came safe to Newcastle."

June 19. Mr. Wesley took leave of the Society at Newcastle, who parted from him with tears and many prayers. Wherever he came, he preached or exhorted as opportunity offered, and on the 22d, reached Epworth, his native place. "All who met me," says he, "saluted me with hearty joy. At eight in the evening I preached in Edward Smith's yard. July 23, waking, I found the Lord with me, even my strong helper, the God of whom cometh salvation. I preached and guarded some new converts against spiritual pride." The next day, June 24, he arrived at Nottingham; and adds, "I found my brother in the market-place,* calling lost sinners to him who justifieth the ungodly. He gave notice of my preaching in the evening. At seven, many thousands attended in deep silence. Surely the Lord hath much people in this place. We began a society of nine members. June 25, I came to Birmingham, and the next day, being Sunday, several of our persecuted brethren from Wednesbury, came to me, whom I endeavored to comfort. I preached at eight and at one o'clock, no man forbidding me. I expounded in the evening to several thousands. the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I began our society. The number at present is thirteen."

June 27. He set out for London, where he arrived on the evening of the 28th, having visited Oxford in his way thither. July 3, he says, "Mr. Hall, poor moravianized Mr. Hall, met me at the chapel. I did him honor before the people. I expounded the gospel, as usual, and strongly avowed my intolerable attachment to the Church of England. Mr. Meriton and Graves assisted at the sacrament. July 6, I showed from Romans the 5th, the marks of justification, and overturned the vain confidence of several. I strongly warned them against seducers, and found my heart knit to this people. July 8, I. Bray came to persuade me not to preach till the bishops should bid me. They have not yet forbid me; but by the grace of God I shall

^{*} See also Mr. John Wesley's Works, vol. xxviii. page 151.

preach the word, in season and out of season, though they and all men forbid me." July 11, he left London, and the day following arrived in Bristol. He stayed there only one night, and then set out for Cornwall, and on the 16th, came safe to St. Ives. July 17, he says, "I rose and forgot that I had travelled from Newcastle. I spake with some of this loving simple people, who are as sheep in the midst of wolves. The priests stir up the people, and make their minds evil affected towards their brethren. Yet the sons of violence are much checked by the mayor, an honest Presbyterian, whom the Lord hath raised up."

Mr. Wesley continued preaching the gospel at St. Ives and the places adjacent, till the beginning of August. During this time, he and the people passed through many difficulties and dangers, the rioters being numerous, and almost as desperate as those at Sheffield. The mayor informed Mr. Wesley that the ministers were the principal authors of all the mischief. In their sermons they continually represented Mr. Wesley and the preachers, as Popish emissaries, and urged the enraged multitude to take all manner of means to stop them. While he was preaching at St. Ives on the 26th, he observes, "All was quiet, the mayor having declared his resolution to swear twenty more constables, and suppress the rioters by force of arms. Their drum he had seized. All the time I was preaching he stood at a little distance to awe the rioters. He has set the whole town against him, by not giving us up to their fury. But he plainly told Mr. Hoblin, that fire and fagot minister, that he would not be perjured to gratify any man's malice. He informed us that he had often heard Mr. Hoblin say, they ought to drive us away by blows, not by arguments."

During the riots he one day observes, "I went to church and heard that terrible chapter, Jeremiah the 7th, enough, one would think, to make even this hardened people tremble. Never were words more applicable than those, 'Stand in the gate of the Lord's house, and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear the word of the Lord, all ye of Judah, that enter in at these gates to worship the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, are these.—Behold ye trust in lying words that cannot profit. Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely—and come and stand before me in this house?' &c."

His brother having summoned him to London, to confer with the heads of the Moravians and Calvinists, he set out on the 8th of August. "We had," says he, "near three hundred miles to travel in five days. I was willing to undertake the labor for the sake of peace, though the journey was too great for us and our beasts, which we had

used almost every day for three months. August 12, hardly reached the Foundery by nine at night. Here I heard that the Moravians would not be present at the conference. Spangenberg indeed said he would, but immediately left England. My brother was come from Newcastle; I. Nelson from Yorkshire; and I from the Land's End, for good purpose!"

October 17. He set out to meet his brother at Nottingham, who had escaped with his life, almost by miracle, out of the hands of the mob at Wednesbury. On the 21st, Mr. Charles Wesley observes, "My brother came, delivered out of the mouth of the lions! His clothes were torn to tatters—he looked like a soldier of Christ. The mob of Wednesbury, Darlaston, and Walsal, were permitted to take and carry him about for several hours, with a full intent to murder him: but his work is not yet finished, or he had been now with the souls under the altar. October 24, I had a blessed parting from the society, and by night came wet and weary to Birmingham. On the 25th, was much encouraged by the patience of our brethren from Wednesbury. They pressed me to come and preach to them in the midst of the town. It was agreed between my brother and me, that if they asked me I should go. Accordingly we set out in the dark, and came to Francis Ward's, from whence my brother had been carried last 'Thursday night.* I found the brethren assembled, standing fast in one mind and spirit, in nothing terrified by their adversaries. The word given me for them, was, 'Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men, be strong.' Jesus was with us in the midst, and covered us with a covering of his spirit. Never was I before, in so primitive an assembly. We sang praises with courage, and could all set our seal to the truth of our Lord's saying, 'Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake. We laid us down and slept. and rose up again, for the Lord sustained us. As soon as it was light, I walked down the town and preached boldly. It was a most glorious time: our souls were satisfied as with marrow and fatness; and we longed for our Lord's coming to confess us before his Father, and before his holy angels. We now understood what it was to receive the word in much affliction, and yet with joy in the Holy Ghost."

"I took several new members into the society; and among them, the young man whose arm had been broke, and Munchin upon trial. the late captain of the mob. He has been constantly under the word, since he rescued my brother. I asked him what he thought of him? 'Think of him,' said he, 'that he is a man of God, and God was on his side, when so many of us could not kill one man.' We rode through the town unmolested on our way to Birmingham, where I preached. I rode on to Evesham, and found John Nelson preaching, and confirmed his word. October 27, preached at five in the morn—

^{*} See Mr. John Wesley's Works, vol. xxviii. page 175.

ing, then read prayers and preached twice at Quinton, and the fourth time at Evesham, with great liberty."

October 29th, he came once more to Bristol, where, he observes, that he had only spent one day for six months. On the 31st he set out for Wales, and reached Cardiff on the first of November. "The gentlemen," says he, "had threatened great things if I ever came there again. I called in the midst of them, 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by,' &c. The love of God constrained me to speak and them to hear. The word was irresistible. After it one of the most violent opposers took me by the hand, and pressed me to come and see him. The rest were equally civil all the time I staid; only one drunkard made some disturbance, and when sober sent to ask my pardon. The voice of praise and thanksgiving was in the society. Many are grown in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I passed an hour with the wife and daughter of the chief bailiff, who are waiting as little children for the kingdom of God."

Nov. 6. Mr. Wesley returned to Bristol. On the 16th he preached at Bath, in his way to Circnester, and the Lord gave testimony to his word. He travelled on, and preached at Evesham, Gutherton, Quinton, and Oxford; and on the 23d, at the Foundery. He staid in London, laboring in public and private, for the good of the people, till January 30, 1744, when he again set out for the North, recommended to the grace of God by all the brethren. On the first of February, he came to Birmingham. He observes, "A great door is opened in the country, but there are many adversaries." The preacher at Dudley had been cruelly abused by a mob of Papists and Dissenters; the Dissenters being stirred by Mr. Whiting their minister. probable," says Mr. Wesley, "that he would have been murdered, but for an honest Quaker, who favored his escape by disguising him in his broad hat and drab colored coat. Staffordshire, at present seems the seat of war." Mr. Wesley here uses the word Dissenters in the common acceptation, as denoting either Presbyterians, Independents, or Baptists; but which of these denominations is here intended I do not know. No men have cried out with more vehemence against persecution, when under the rod, than the Dissenters: and yet we find that their principles and practices have sometimes been at variance. I am inclined to think, that the Friends, or Quakers, as they are commonly called, are the only denomination of Christians in England, of any long standing, who have never been guilty of persecution, in some form or other. Candor must acknowledge that this is greatly to their praise.

February 2. "I set out with brother Webb, for Wednesbury, the field of battle. We met with variety of greetings on the road. I cried in the street, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' Several of our persecutors stood at a distance, but

none offered to make the least disturbance. I walked through the blessings and curses of the people (but the blessings exceeded) to visit Mr. Egerton's widow. Never have I observed such bitterness as in these opposers. February 3, I preached, and prayed with the society, and beat down the fiery self-avenging spirit of resistance, which was rising in some to disgrace, if not to destroy the word of God." Mr. Wesley preached within sight of Dudley, and then waited on the friendly Captain Dudley, who had stood in the gap, and kept off persecution at Tippen-green, while it raged all around. He then returned in peace through the enemy's country.

The rioters now gave notice that they would come on the Tuesday following, and pull down the houses and destroy the goods of the Methodists. "One would think," says Mr. Wesley, "there was no king in Israel. There is certainly no magistrate, who will put them to shame in any thing. Mr. Constable offered to make oath that their lives were in danger, but the justice refused it, saving that he could do nothing. Other of our complaining brethren met with the same redress, being driven away with revilings. The magistrates do not themselves tear off their clothes and beat them, they only stand by and see others do it. One of them told Mr. Jones, it was the best thing the mob ever did, so to treat the Methodists; and he himself would give five pounds to drive them out of the country. Another, when our brother Ward begged his protection, delivered him up to the mercy of the mob, who had half murdered him before, and throwing his hat round his head cried, 'huzza boys, well done, stand up for the church." Such magistrates, sworn to maintain the public peace, and such defenders of a national church, are a lasting disgrace to any government. Mr. Wesley adds, "No wonder that the mob so encouraged, should say there is no law for the Methodists. Accordingly, like outlaws they treat them, breaking their houses, and taking away their goods at pleasure: extorting money from those who have it, and cruelly beating those who have it not. February 4, I spoke with those of our brethren who have this world's goods, and found them entirely resigned to the will of God: all thoughts of resistance, blessed be God, are over. The chief of them said to me, 'Naked came I into the world, and I can but go naked out of it.' They are resolved, by the grace of God, to follow my advice, and to suffer all things. Only I wished them to go round again to the justices and give information of their danger. Mr. Constable said he had just been with one of them, who redressed him only by bitter reproaches, that the rest were of the same mind, and could not plead ignorance, because the rioters had the boldness to set up papers inviting all the country to rise with them to destroy the Methodists. At noon I returned to Birmingham, having continued two days in the lion's den unhurt."

Mr. Wesley now set out for Nottingham, where he arrived on the 6th, and found that here also, the monster persecution was lifting up

its destructive head. "Our brethren," says he, "are violently driven from their place of meeting, pelted in the streets, &c., and mocked with vain promises of justice by the very man who underhand encourages the rioters. An honest Quaker has hardly restrained some of our brethren from resisting evil: but henceforth I hope, they will meekly turn the other cheek."

Mr. Wesley and his friends at Nottingham sent a person to Litchfield, to get intelligence of what mischief had been done in Staffordshire, by the rioters in their threatened insurrection. He returned on the ninth, and Mr. Wesley gives the following account. "He met our brother Ward, who had fled thither for refuge. The enemy had gone to the length of his chain: all the rabble of the county were gathered together, and laid waste all before them. I received a note from two of the sufferers, whose loss amounted to two hundred pounds. My heart rejoiced in the great grace which was given them; for not one resisted evil; but they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. We gave God glory, that satan was not suffered to touch their lives: they have lost all besides, and rejoice with joy unspeakable."

Mr. Wesley now went on to Newcastle, preaching every where, as he had opportunity. The year forty-four, was considered as a time of public danger. There was much talk of the Pretender, and the French threatened an invasion in support of his pretensions to the crown of England. In this critical situation of affairs, it was thought proper by many, that Mr. John Wesley should write an address to the king in the name of the Methodists. This address was accordingly drawn up * but not delivered. On the 6th of March Mr. Charles Wesley wrote to his brother on this subject, as follows, "My objection to your address in the name of the Methodists, is, that it would constitute us a sect: at least it would seem to allow that we are a body distinct from the National church; whereas we are only a sound part of the church. Guard against this, and in the name March 14, being at Birstal, a of the Lord address to-morrow." person informed him there was a constable who had a warrant Mr. Wesley sent for him, in which his name was mentioned. and found it was, "To summon witnesses to some treasonable words said to be spoken by one Westley." He was just leaving Birstal when this information was given him; but he now determined not to go forward for London as he intended, thinking it better to appear before the justices at Wakefield the next day, and look his enemies in the face. Accordingly, he rode to Wakefield the next morning, and waited on justice Burton at his inn, with two other justices, Sir Rowland Wynn, and the Rev. Mr. Zouch. He informed Mr. Burton, that he had seen a warrant of his, summoning witnesses of some treasonable words, said to be spoken by one Westley: that he had put off his journey to London, that he might answer whatever

See Mr. John Wesley's Works, vol. xxviii. page 209, where the address itself is inserted.

should be laid to his charge. Mr. Burton replied, "he had nothing to say against him, and he might depart." Mr. Wesley answered, "That is not sufficient without clearing my character, and that of many innocent people, whom their enemies are pleased to call Methodists." "'Vindicate them,' said my brother clergyman, 'that you will find a very hard task.' I answered, 'as hard as you may think it, I will engage to prove that all of them, to a man, are true members of the Church of England, and loval subjects of his Majesty King George.' I then desired they would administer to me the oaths; and added, 'I wish, gentlemen, that you could send for every Methodist in England, and give them all the same opportunity you do me, of declaring their lovalty upon oath. Justice Burton said, he was informed that we constantly prayed for the Pretender in all our societies, or nocturnal meetings, as Mr. Zouch called them. I answered, 'the very reverse is true. We constantly pray for his Majesty King George, by name. Here are such hymns (showing them) as we sing in our Here is a sermon which I preached before the university, societies. and another preached there by my brother. Here are his appeals and a few more tracts, containing an account of our principles and practices.' Here I gave them our books, and was bold enough to say, I am as true a Church of England man, and as loval a subject as any man in the kingdom. They all cried that was impossible. But it was not my business to dispute, and as I could not answer till the witnesses appeared, I withdrew without further delay.

"While I waited at a neighbor's house, the constable from Birstal, whose heart the Lord had touched, was brought to me by one of the brethren. He told me that he had summoned the principal witness, Mary Castle, on whose information the warrant was granted. was setting out on horseback when the news came that I was not gone forward to London, as they expected, but had returned to Wakefield. Hearing this she turned back and declared to him that she did not hear the treasonable words herself, but another woman had told her so. Three more witnesses, who were to swear to my words, retracted likewise, and knew nothing of the matter. The fifth, Mr. Woods, an alehouse-keeper, is forthcoming it seems, in the afternoon. I now plainly see the consequence of not appearing here to look my enemies in the face. Had I gone on my journey, there would have been witnesses enough, and oaths enough, to stir up a persecution against the Methodists. I took the witnesses' names, and a copy of the warrant as follows.

" WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

"To the Constable of Birstal, of the said Riding, or Deputy.

"'THESE are, in his Majesty's name, to require and command you to summon Mary Castle, of Birstal aforesaid, and all other such person or persons as you are informed can give any information against one Westley, or any other of the Methodist preachers, for speaking any treasonable words or exhortations, as praying for the banished, or the Pretender, &c. to appear before me, and other of his majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said Riding, by the White Hart in Wakefield, on the 15th of March instant, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, to be examined, and to declare the truth of what they and each of them know touching the premises: and that you likewise make a return thereof, before us on the same day. Fail not. Given under my hand the tenth of March, 1744.

E. Burton.'

"Between two and three o'clock, Mr. Woods came, and started back on seeing me, as if he had trod upon a serpent. One of the brethren took hold of him, and told me he trembled every joint of him. The justice's clerk had bid the constable bring Woods to him as soon as ever he came. But notwithstanding the clerk's instructions, Woods frankly confessed, now he was come, he had nothing to say, and would not have come at all, if they had not forced him.

"I waited at the door till seven in the evening, while they were examining the disaffected. I took public notice of Okerhousen, the Moravian teacher; but not of Mr. Kendrick. When all their business was over, and I had been insulted at their door from eleven in the morning till seven at night, I was sent for and asked, 'what would Mr. Wesley desire?' Wesley. 'I desire nothing but to know what is alleged against me.' Justice Burton said, 'what hope of truth from him?' Then addressing himself to me, 'Here are two of your brethren, one so silly it is a shame he should ever set up for a teacher; and the other has a thousand lies and equivocations upon oath. He has not wit enough, or he would make a complete Jesuit.' I looked round and said, 'I see none of my brethren here, but this gentleman,' pointing to the Reverend Justice, who looked as if he did not thank me for claiming him. Burton. 'Why, do you not know this man?' pointing to Kendrick. Wesley. 'Yes sir, very well: for two years ago I expelled him from our society in London, for setting up for a preacher.' To this poor Kendrick assented; which put a stop to further reflections on the Methodists. Justice Burton then said, I might depart, for they had nothing against me. Wesley. 'Sir, that will not satisfy me; I cannot depart till my character be fully It is no trifling matter: even my life is concerned in the cleared. Burton. 'I did not summon you to appear.' was the person meant by one Westley, and my supposed words were the occasion of your order, which I read signed with your name.' Burton. 'I will not deny my orders, I did send to summon the wit-Wesley. 'Yes; and I took down their names from the constable's paper. The principal witness, Mary Castle, was setting out, but hearing I was here, she turned back, and declared to the constable, she only heard another say, that I should speak treason.

more of the witnesses recanted for the same reason: and Mr. Woods, who is here, says he has nothing to say, and should not have come, had he not been forced by the minister. Had I not been here, he would have had enough to say; and you would have had witnesses and oaths enough; but I suppose, my coming has prevented theirs.' One of the justices added, 'I suppose so too.'

"They all seemed fully satisfied, and would have had me to have been so too. But I insisted on their hearing Mr. Woods. Burton. 'Do you desire he may be called as an evidence for you?' Wesley. 'I desire he may be heard as an evidence against me, if he has aught to lay to my charge.' Then Mr. Zouch asked Mr. Woods, what he had to say? What were the words I had spoken. Woods was as backward to speak as they to hear him: but was at last compelled to say, 'I have nothing to say against the gentleman; I only heard him pray, that the Lord would call home his banished ones.' Zouch. But were there no words before or after, which pointed to these troublesome times?' Woods. 'No: none at all.' Wesley. 'It was on February the 12th, before the earliest news of the invasion. But if folly and malice may be interpreters, any words, which any of you gentlemen, may speak, may be construed into treason.' Zouch. 'It is is very true.' Wesley. 'Now, gentlemen, give me leave to explain my own words. I had no thoughts of praying for the Pretender; but for those who confess themselves strangers and pilgrims upon earth; who seek a country, knowing this is not their home. The Scriptures, yes sir (to the clergyman) know that the Scriptures speak of us as captive exiles, who are absent from the Lord, while present in the body. We are not at home till we are in heaven.' Zouch. 'I thought you would so explain the words, and it is a fair interpretation'—I asked if they were all satisfied? They said they were; and cleared me as fully as I desired. I then asked them again. to administer to me the oaths. Mr. Zouch looked on my sermon, and asked who ordained me. I answered, the Archbishop, and Bishop of London, in the same week. He said, with the rest, it was quite unnecessary, since I was a clergyman, and student of Christ Church, and had preached before the university, and taken the oaths before. Yet I mentioned it again, till they acknowledged in explicit terms, 'That my loyalty was unquestionable.' I then presented Sir Rowland and Mr. Zouch with the appeal, and took my leave."

Mr. Wesley now returned to Birstal, where he preached, and then left Yorkshire. He came to Derby and Nottingham; at the last of which places, the mob was become outrageous, under the patronage of the mayor. The Methodists presented a petition to the judge, as he passed through the town, and he gave the mayor a severe reprimand, and encouraged them to apply for relief if they were further molested. But the mayor paid no regard to the judge, any longer than while he was present. On the 22d of March Mr. Wesley ar-

rived safe in London. Here he continued his labors till the beginning of May, when he went down to Bristol, and returned in about eight There was at this time a Thomas Williams, who had been admitted to preach in the Foundery, and who had acquired considerable influence among the people. He applied for ordination, was disappointed, and laid the blame chiefly on Mr. Wesley, who had been as a father to him, and rendered him every friendly office in his power. He now showed himself unworthy of such friendship. Wesley observes, "He answers the character one of his inmates gave me of him. 'I never thought him more than a speaker: I can see no grace he has. His conversation is quite contrary to the gospel, light and vain. He is haughty, revengeful, headstrong, and unmanageable.' June 15, I was grieved to hear more and more of W-s ingratitude. A lying spirit seems to have taken full possession of him. There is nothing so gross or improbable which he does not say." By lies and insinuating arts, he was too successful in prejudicing some of Mr. Wesley's friends against him. Alas! how little use do the people make of their understanding! how easily do they suffer their eyes to be blinded, and their hearts to be embittered by artful men, against those who are honestly laboring to do them good! It is truly wonderful to observe, how soon they give themselves up to believe the most improbable stories which malice can invent, against their best friends; how quickly they drink deep into the spirit of religious persecution, even of those very persons, whom a little before they loved as their own souls. This was in some measure the case at present, and I wish it was the only instance among the Methodists, in which the people have suffered themselves to become the dupes of artful and designing men. Mr. Wesley's mind was a good deal affected on this occasion, and he wrote thus to a friend. "Be not weary of well-doing, or overcome of evil. You see, that our calling is to suffer all things. Pray for me, that I also may endure unto the end: for a thousand times I cry out, the burden of this people is more than I am able to bear. O my good friend, you do not know them! Such depth of ingratitude I did not think was possible among the devils in hell."—" At night I was informed that a friend had entertained the deepest prejudice against me, on supposition that I meant her in a late discourse. Lord, what is man! what is friendship!"

"June 24. Our brethren Hodges, Taylor, and Meriton, assisted us at the sacrament. At one love-feast we were six ordained ministers. Monday the 25th, we opened our conference,* with solemn prayer and the Divine blessing. I preached with much assistance. We continued in conference the rest of the week, settling our doctrines, practice, and discipline, with great love and unanimity."

^{*} This was the first conference. See the Minutes.

Mr. Wesley spent the remaining part of this year in travelling, and preaching the gospel, with great zeal, diligence, and success in many parts of the kingdom, from the Land's End to Newcastle. July 9th, he left London and arrived in Bristol the next day. On the 13th he set out for Cornwall, where he had the pleasure of seeing the word of God greatly prosper under his ministry. The joy which the society expressed, at his arrival in St. Ives, is beyond the power of words to describe: and every where he was received by great numbers of the people, as the messenger of God, for good. Such was the success of the gospel in Cornwall, this year, that in some places the inhabitants of a whole parish seemed entirely changed in their amusements and Persecution raged in other places with great bitterness; but this did not much obstruct the progress of the work. It quickened the zeal of those who had experienced the power of gospel truth, and united them together in brotherly love: it made them attentive to their conduct, and diligent in the means of grace, lest they should give the enemy, watching for their halting, any cause of triumph. When professors of religion are daily in danger, by persecution, of losing every thing they have in this world, and perhaps their lives too, they more sensibly feel the importance of the good things of another life, and more earnestly endeavor to secure them as their eternal inheritance. Mr. Wesley, as usual, went through evil report and good report, was abused and caressed, by different classes of the people; but being intent on his work he was little affected by either. Having labored in Cornwall, as a faithful minister of Christ, near four weeks, during which time he had preached the gospel in most parts of the county, he left it, and coming to Minehead passed over into Wales, and came safe to Bristol on the 17th of August.

August 22. Mr. Wesley arrived at Oxford, where he met his brother, the Rev. Messrs. Piers and Meriton, and a great company of the brethren. Mr. John Wesley was to preach before the university, at St. Mary's, on the 24th. He says, "My brother bore his testimony before a crowded audience, much increased by the races. Never have I seen a more attentive congregation: they did not suffer a word to slip them. Some of the heads of colleges stood up the whole time, and fixed their eyes upon him. If they can endure sound doctrine, like his, he will surely leave a blessing behind him. The Vice Chancellor sent after him, and desired his notes, which he sealed up and sent immediately."*

He now returned to Bristol, and on the 26th of September came up to London. Thomas Williams had invented so many stories, to injure him in the opinion of the people, and asserted them with so much confidence, that they had made an ill impression on the minds of many of his friends. These calumnies, however, were so directly

^{*} See Mr. John Wesley's Works, vol. xxviii. page 233, where the agreement between the two accounts is striking and pleasing.

contrary to Mr. Wesley's habits of life, being always in the company of one friend or other, and almost constantly travelling from place to place, that they were altogether incredible; and nothing but the confidence with which they were asserted, could possibly have made an impression on any member of the society. Those who wish to propagate slander with success, are unusually confident in their assertions, and zealous in their endeavors. They invent a number of plausible pretences for their zeal; and by this and the boldness of their assertions, impose on those who are unacquainted with the arts of designing men to deceive.

Mr. Wesley, conscious of his innocence, and thinking the circumstances of this case so clear, that he wanted no public defence, appointed a day, when those who had been troubled with any reports concerning him, or his brother, might meet him. In this conference, one who had been led away by the lies of Thomas Williams, asked pardon of God and of Mr. Wesley. He observes, "O! how easy and delightful it is, to forgive one who says, I repent. Lord grant me power as truly to forgive them who persist to injure me." I apprehend, that he has reference here to Williams, and perhaps to a few others, too much prejudiced to come to him.

October 10, he set out for the North, travelling through the societies to Newcastle, and every where strengthening the brethren, and convincing gainsayers with great success. He labored sometimes in Newcastle and the neighboring places; and having sustained great bodily fatigue, and escaped many dangers in travelling through deep snow, at this unfavorable season of the year, he again reached London in safety, on the 29th of December.

In 1745, Mr. Wesley confined his labors chiefly to London, Bristol, (including the neighboring places) and Wales. August 1, he observes, "We began our conference, with Mr. Hodges, four of our assistants, Herb. Jenkins, and Mr. Gwynne. We continued it five days, and parted in great harmony and love." On the 25th, he was in Wales, and Mr. Gwynne sent his servant to show him the way to Garth; but having some time before sprained his leg, and having taken too much exercise after the accident, he was unable to go; and at length left Wales, without visiting that agreeable family. The following is a remarkable instance of his zeal in doing good to the vilest and most wretched of human beings. October 9, "After preaching at Bath, a woman desired to speak with me. She had been in our society: but left it through offence, and fell by little and little into the depth of vice and misery. I called Mrs. Navlor to hear her mournful account. She had lived some time in a wicked house, in Avon-street: confessed it was hell to her, to see our people pass by to the preaching: but knew not what to do, nor how to escape. We bid her fly for her life, and not once look behind her. Mrs. Naylor kept her with herself till the morning, and then I carried her with us in the coach to London, and delivered her to the care of our sister Davey. Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire!"

February 3, 1746. He opened the new chapel in Wapping, and preached from 1 Cor. xv. 1. "Moreover brethren, I declare unto you the Gospel which I preached unto you, which also ve have received, and wherein ye stand." The next day he wrote to a friend, expressing his apprehensions that God was about to pour out heavy judgments on the nation. He says to his friend, "You allow us one hundred years to fill up the measure of our iniquity; you cannot more laugh at my vain fear, than I at your vain confidence." This, and the preceding year, were times of danger and national alarm; and it is observable that religious people are more apprehensive of divine judgments, at such seasons, than other persons. Those fearful apprehensions have been falsely attributed to superstition; but I think they arise from a more rational and laudable principle. Religious persons have a more clear knowledge than others, of the enormity and guilt of national sins; they see more clearly the mercies enjoyed, and know more perfectly the holiness and vengeance of God against sin, when once a nation has filled up the measure of its iniquity; and hence arises their fear, in any public danger, lest this should then be the case. We have not indeed, any certain rule of judging when a nation has filled up the measure of its iniquity, and is ripe for divine vengeance: and therefore may often be mistaken in applying a general principle. in itself true, to a particular instance. But every good man will rejoice, when, in times of public disturbance and danger, God is better to us than our fears and conscious guilt suggested. This was the case of Mr. Wesley. Being at Bristol when he first heard the news of the victory at Culloden, over the rebel army, he observes, "I spoke at night on, 'He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.' rejoiced unto him with reverence, and thankfully observed the remarkable answer of that petition.

> All their strength o'erturn, o'erthrow, Snap their spears and break their swords; Let the daring rebels know, The battle is the Lord's.

Oh! that in this reprieve, before the tide is turned, we may know the time of our visitation."

May 29. He observes, "In conference, I found many of our children in a thriving condition; not one of those who are justified, dreams that he is sanctified at once, and wants nothing more." Mr. Charles Wesley was an uniform and steady opposer of the opinion of his brother, that a person is sanctified at once, by a simple act of faith, in the manner he is justified or pardoned. And there are many among the Methodists who think the Scriptures give no countenance to this opinion. Such a method of proceeding, is certainly not analogous to the operations of Divine Power, in the productions of nature:

nor does it accord with the common order in which the mind acquires knowledge and experience, and which appears to be founded on the nature of our faculties. But this subject will be more fully discussed, in explaining the religious opinions of Mr. John Wesley.

What has already been said of Mr. Charles Wesley, sufficiently demonstrates that he was animated with a disinterested and laudable zeal for the promotion of christian knowledge, among the middling and lower classes of the people. Both his doctrines and practice, tended to discourage a party spirit, and to promote brotherly love among all denominations of Christians in the kingdom. Those who differ from him in judgment, and are disposed to censure what has been called his irregularity, must notwithstanding, acknowledge the goodness of his motives, and admire his indefatigable diligence. seldom staid long in one place, but preached the Gospel in almost every corner of the kingdom. In fatigues, in dangers, and in ministerial labors, he was, for many years, not inferior to his brother: and his sermons were generally more awakening and useful. he nor his brother travelled alone; some person always accompanying them, whom they treated rather as a companion, than as a servant. This plan was not adopted merely for the sake of convenience; but that they might constantly have persons about them who might be witnesses of their conduct and behavior. This was prudent, considering the false reports which were propagated concerning them. June 2, Mr. Charles Wesley left Bristol, accompanied with a Mr. Waller; intending to visit the brethren in Cornwall. He took a large circuit in his way thither; preaching sometimes in a house, and occasionally in the street, where he met with various treatment from the people. At Tavistock, he found great opposition, the people behaving almost like wild beasts: they were restrained however, from doing any mischief. Here, some of Mr. Whitefield's society at Plymouth, met him, and importuned him to come and preach among them, and he complied with their request. Mr. Whitefield was his particular friend: and no man, perhaps, ever felt the attachment of friendship, in a stronger degree than Mr. Charles Wesley: yet on account of some difference in opinion he determined to preach, not in their house, but in the streets, or fields only. He might perhaps be afraid, lest he should say something in the warmth of an extempore discourse, which would give offence, or promote disputings among them. At length, however, their importunity overcame his resolution and caution. He met them in their house, prayed with them, and endeavored to provoke them to love and good works. He soon found that God was with them; who does not make those distinctions among his true worshippers, for speculative errors, which men are apt to imagine. Mr. Wesley observes, "I found no difference between them and our children at Kingswood, or the Foundery." tinued a few days, till the 23d, with this earnest artless people, who

seemed ready to devour the word. During his stay here, he went over to the Dock, and preached Christ crucified to a great multitude of hearers. The word was as a fire, melting down all it touched. He adds, "We mourned and rejoiced together in him that loved us. I have not known such a refreshing time since I left Bristol." Sunday, June 22, he preached again on a hill in Stoke church-yard, to upwards of four thousand persons by computation. Some reviled at first, but Mr. Wesley turning to them and speaking a few words, silenced them, the generality behaving as men who feared God. When he had finished his discourse they followed him with blessings: only one man cursed, and called him Whitefield the second.

He now prepared to leave them. "Our own children," says he, "could not have expressed greater affection to us at parting. If possible, they would have plucked out their own eyes, and have given them to us. Several offered me money; but I told them I never accepted any. Others would have persuaded Mr. Waller to take it; but he walked in the same steps and said their love was sufficient."

Mr. Wesley reached Gwennup, in the West of Cornwall, on the 26th of June, and he gives the following account of the state of the people. "Upon examination of each separately, I found the society in a prosperous way: their suffering had been for their furtherance, and for the furtherance of the Gospel. The opposers behold and wonder at their steadfastness and godly conversation. June 29, my evening congregation was computed to be upwards of five thousand. They all stood uncovered, kneeled at prayer, and hung narrantis ab ore.* For an hour and a half, I invited them back to their Father, and felt no hoarseness or weariness afterwards. I spent an hour and a half more with the society, warning them against pride, and the love of the creature; and stirring them up to universal obedience."

"Monday, June 30. Both sheep and shepherds, had been scattered in the late cloudy day of persecution: but the Lord gathered them again, and kept them together by their own brethren; who began to exhort their companions, one or more in every society. No less than four have sprung up in Gwennup. I talked closely with each, and found no reason to doubt that God had used them thus far. I advised, and charged them, not to stretch themselves beyond their line, by speaking out of the society, or fancying themselves public teachers. If they keep within their bounds as they promise, they may be useful in the church: and I would to God, that all the Lord's people were prophets like these."

"July 3. At Lidgeon, I preached Christ crucified, and spake with the classes, who seem much in earnest. Showed above a thousand sinners at Sithney, the love and compassion of Jesus, towards them. Many who came from Helstone, a town of rebels and persecutors, were struck, and confessed their sins, and declared they would never

^{*} On the mouth of the speaker. A strong metaphorical expression for attention.

more be found fighting against God.—July 6. At Gwennup, near two thousand persons listened to those gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth, 'Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden,' &c. Half of them were from Redruth, which seems on the point of surrendering to the Prince of Peace. The whole country finds the benefit of the gospel. Hundreds, who follow not with us, have broken off their sins, and are outwardly reformed; and the persecutors in time past, will not now suffer a word to be spoken against this way. Some of those who fell off in the late persecution, desired to be present at the society."

"At St. Ives no one offered to make the least disturbance: indeed the whole place is outwardly changed in this respect. I walk the streets with astonishment, scarcely believing it is St. Ives. All opposition falls before us, or rather is fallen, and not yet suffered to lift up its head again. This also hath the Lord wrought."

"July 19. Rode to Sithney, where the word begins to take root. The rebels of Helstone threatened hard—they say all manner of evil of us. 'Papists we are, that is certain: and are for bringing in the Pretender.' Nay the vulgar are persuaded that I have brought him with me; and James Waller is the man. But law is to come from London to-night to put us all down, and set a price upon my head." It is hardly possible to conceive the danger of Mr. Wesley's situation, when such an opinion as this prevailed among the fierce tinners of Cornwall. But he trusted in God and was protected. He observes, "We had notwithstanding, a numerous congregation, and several of the persecutors. I declared my commission to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light, &c. Many appeared convinced, and caught in the gospel net."

The next day being Sunday, Mr. Wesley preached again, and near one hundred of the fiercest rioters were present. A short time before these men had cruelly beat the sincere hearers, not sparing the women and children. It was said, the minister of the parish had hired them for that purpose. But now, these very men, expecting a disturbance, came to protect Mr. Wesley, and said they would lose their lives in his defence. The whole congregation was attentive and quiet.

It is not easy, perhaps impossible, to give a satisfactory reason on natural principles, for that sudden and entire change which sometimes takes place on these occasions, in the minds of the most violent opposers of the gospel. I believe the most attentive observer could never discover any external circumstance, sufficient to produce the change. If we admit a particular providence, and a divine supernatural influence on the mind of man, the matter becomes plain and easy; but without taking these into account, both this and many other things appear inexplicable mysteries. I believe the chief objections which philosophers, who make high pretensions to reason, have made to

many Christians on these two points, have originated in a supposition, that a particular providence, and a supernatural influence on the mind, are not directed by fixed laws, analogous to the operations of Divine power in the works of nature; and that a supernatural influence must supersede or derange the operations of our natural faculties. But in both these things, I apprehend, they are mistaken. appears to me, that the interpositions of Providence in the affairs of men, and a divine influence on the human mind, are under regulations, or laws, according to the economy of the gospel, which are as wisely adapted to attain the end proposed, in the circumstances of the subjects to which they are applied, and operate with as much certainty, under these circumstances, as the laws by which the heavenly bodies are preserved within their respective orbits, and directed in their various motions. The subjects of a particular providence, and of divine influence, in this view of them, are moral agents, possessed of active powers; which I apprehend are essentially different from the re-action, or the repulsive force of inanimate bodies. were moral agents to be conformable to these laws of a particular providence, and of divine influence, in the economy of the gospel, I have no doubt but they would operate with as much regularity and certainty, as the laws of motion. Nor is it necessary that a supernatural influence on the mind, should either supersede or derange the operations of our natural faculties. It gives efficacy to the external means of instruction, and co-operates with them; it gives vigor and strength to the soul, in the acquisition of knowledge and virtue on the gospel plan, and enables us to attain such degrees of them, as could not be attained under any circumstances, by our merely natural powers. Indeed, when I consider the gospel, not only as a revelation from God of truths useful to man, but as the means divinely appointed, of redeeming him from sin and death, and by a resurrection restoring him to immortal life and glory: when I consider the connected series of prophecies, which for ages prepared the world for its reception as a universal blessing; the manifestations of divine power at its promulgation and establishment; the glory attributed to Jesus Christ, in the Scriptures as our Redeemer and Advocate; and the relation which he constantly bears to his people, as their Captain, and the Head of his Church; it appears to me, altogether derogatory from the wisdom and goodness of God to suppose, that the gospel, connected with all these circumstances, should now be left in the world as a deserted orphan, to shift for itself in the best manner it can, without any divine influence, or superintending care. This supposition renders the gospel unworthy of the sublime descriptions given of it in the Old and New Testament; and reduces it to a mere system of Ethics, or moral precepts, as inadequate to the great and noble purpose of man's redemption, as the moral teachings of Socrates or Plato.

Whatever may be said of these reasonings, Mr. Wesley thought he

was in the way of his duty, and under the protection of a particular providence; and pursued his labors with great diligence, confidence, and success. He was informed that the people of St. Just, being scattered by persecution, had wandered into by-paths of error and sin, and had been confirmed therein by their exhorter. He visited them, and spake with each member of the society; and adds, "I was amazed to find them just the reverse of what they had been represented. Most of them had kept their first love, even while men were riding over their heads, and while they were passing through fire and water. Their exhorter appears a solid humble Christian, raised up to stand in the gap, and keep the trembling sheep together." The next day he again talked with some of the society, and says, "I adored the miracle of grace, which has kept these sheep in the midst of wolves. Well may the despisers behold and wonder. Here is a bush, burning in the fire yet not consumed! What have they not done to crush this rising sect; but lo! they prevail nothing! For one preacher they cut off, twenty spring up. Neither persecutions nor threatenings, flattery nor violence, dungeons, or sufferings of various kinds, can conquer them. Many waters cannot quench this little spark which the Lord hath kindled, neither shall the floods of persecution drown it."

"Monday, July 28. I began my week's experiment of leaving off tea: but my flesh protested against it. I was but half awake and half alive, all day: and my head-ache so increased towards noon, that I could neither speak nor think. So it was for the two following days, with the addition of a violent diarrhœa, occasioned by my milk diet. This so weakened me, that I could hardly sit my horse. However, I made a shift to ride to Gwennup, and preach and meet the society. Being very faint and weary, I would afterwards have eat something, but could get nothing proper."

The congregations had been large in most places, during his stay in the West of Cornwall: but it being generally known that he was now preparing to leave it, they were greatly increased. Sunday, August 10, being at Gwennup, he observes, "Nine or ten thousand, by computation, listened with all eagerness, while I recommended them to God, and the word of his grace. For near two hours I was enabled to preach repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. I broke out, again and again, into prayer and exhortation; believing not one word would return empty. Seventy years' sufferings would be overpaid, by one such opportunity. Never had we so large an effusion of the spirit as in the society; I could not doubt at that time, either of their perseverance, or my own: and still I am humbly confident, that we shall stand together among the multitude which no man can number."

The next day, August 11, being filled with thankfulness to God, for the mercies shown to himself and the people, he wrote a thanks-giving hymn, which begins thus,

"All thanks be to God,
Who scatters abroad
Throughout every place,
By the least of his servants, his savor of grace:
Who the victory gave
The praise let him have;
For the work he hath done,
All honor and glory to Jesus alone!" &c.

He now travelled forward to St. Endys, and preached on, "Repent and believe the gospel." His friends, the Rev. Messrs. Bennet and Tomson, were present. "As I was concluding," says he, "a gentleman rode up to me very fiercely, and bid me come down. We exchanged a few words, and talked together more largely in the house. The poor drunken lawyer went away in as good a humor as he was then capable of. I had more difficulty to get clear of a different antagonist, one Adams, an old enthusiast, who travels through the land, as overseer of all the ministers."

Having received many letters from Mr. Kinsman's family, Mr. Jenkins, and others at Plymouth, importuning him to favor them with another visit on his return, he complied with their request, on the 14th of August; and on the 18th, he took boat at the Dock, accompanied by several friends, to meet a congregation at some distance. He observes, "The rough stormy sea tried our faith. None stirred, or we must have been overset. In two hours, our invisible Pilot brought us safe to land, thankful for our deliverance, humbled for our littleness of faith, and more endeared to each other by our common danger. We found thousands waiting for the word of life. The Lord made it a channel of grace. I spoke and prayed alternately for two hours. The moonlight added to the solemnity. Our eyes overflowed with tears, and our hearts with love: scarce a soul but was affected with grief or joy. We drank into one spirit, and were persuaded, that neither life nor death, things present, nor things to come, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

Mr. Wesley continued his labors daily, visiting various places in his way to Bristol, where he arrived on the 28th, and came safe to London on the 2d of September. He staid here a fortnight, during which he became acquainted with Mr. Edward Perronet, a sensible, pious, and amiable young man. September the 16th, they set out, accompanied by several friends, to pay a visit to the Rev. Mr. Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham, in Kent; a man of a most artless child-like spirit, and zealous for the doctrines of the Gospel. But his preaching and godly conversation, had, as yet, but little influence on the minds of the people, who, through ignorance, opposed the truth with great violence. It is probable, notice had been given, that Mr. Wesley would preach in the church. "As soon," says he, "as I began preaching, the wild beasts began roaring, stamping, blas-

16*

pheming, ringing the bells, and turning the church into a bear-garden. I spoke on for half an hour, though only the nearest could hear. The rioters followed us to Mr. Perronet's house, raging, threatening, and throwing stones. Charles Perronet hung over me, to intercept the blows. They continued their uproar, after we got into the house." Mr. Wesley returned to London, with Mr. E. Perronet, and October the 9th, being appointed as a day of public thanksgiving for national mercies, the Foundery was filled at four in the morning. Mr. Wesley preached from those words, "How shall I give thee up Ephraim?" He adds, "Our hearts were melted by the long-suffering love of God; whose power we found disposing us to the true thanksgiving. It was a day of solemn rejoicing. O that from this moment, all our rebellions against God might cease!"

Though the winter was now approaching, and travelling far north, is both difficult and dangerous at this season, yet Mr. Wesley, in a poor state of health, determined to take his Northern journey as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne. October 10, he tells us, "I set out for Newcastle with my young companion and friend, E. Perronet, whose heart the Lord hath given me. His family has been kept from us so long by a mistaken notion, that we were against the church." He visited the brethren in Staffordshire, and on the 15th, preached at Tippen-green. After preaching in the evening, a friend invited him to sleep at his house at no great distance from the place. Soon after they were sat down, the mob beset the house, and beating at the door, demanded entrance. Mr. Wesley ordered the door to be set open, and the house was immediately filled. "I sat still," says he, "in the midst of them for half an hour. I was a little concerned for E. Perronet, lest such rough treatment at his first setting out, should daunt him. But he abounded in valor, and was for reasoning with the wild beasts, before they had spent any of their violence. He got a deal of abuse thereby, and not a little dirt, both of which he took very patiently. I had no design to preach; but being called upon by so unexpected a congregation, I rose at last, and read, 'When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory.' While I reasoned with them of judgment to come, they grew calmer by little and little. spake to them, one by one, till the Lord had disarmed them all. who stood out the longest, I held by the hand, and urged the love of Christ crucified, till in spite of both his natural and diabolical courage, he trembled like a leaf. I was constrained to break out in prayer Our leopards were all become lambs; and very kind we Near midnight the house was clear and quiet. were at parting. gave thanks to God for our salvation and slept in peace."

October 21, Mr. Wesley preached at Dewsbury, where John Nelson had gathered many stray sheep, and formed a society. The minister did not condemn them unheard, but talked with them, examined

into the doctrine they had been taught, and its effects on their lives. When he found, that as many as had been affected by the preaching, were evidently reformed, and brought to church and sacrament, he testified his approbation of the work, and rejoiced that sinners were converted to God. This conduct certainly deserves great praise; and had all the ministers of the Established Church acted with the same candor, it is probable they would have served the interests of the church better than they have done, and the work would have been much more extended than we have yet seen it.

October 25. They arrived at Newcastle, where Mr. E. Perronet was immediately taken ill of the smallpox, and had a very narrow escape for his life. October 31, Mr. Wesley observes, "Rode to Wickham, where the curate sent his love to me, with a message that he was glad of my coming, and obliged to me for endeavoring to do good, among his people, for none wanted it more: and he heartily wished me good luck in the name of the Lord. He came, with another clergyman, and staid both preaching and the meeting of the society." As such instances of liberality and candor are not very common among ministers of the gospel, they deserve the greater commendation, who have resolution to set so good an example.

Mr. Wesley continued his labors in, and about Newcastle, till the 27th of November, when he rode to Hexham, at the pressing request of Mr. Wardrobe, a Dissenting minister, and others. He observes, "I walked directly to the market-place, and called sinners to repentance. A multitude of them stood staring at me; but all quiet. The Lord opened my mouth and they drew nearer and nearer: stole off their hats, and listened: none offered to interrupt, but one unfortunate squire, who could get no one to second him. His servants and the constables, hid themselves: one he found and bid him go and take me down. The poor constable simply answered, 'Sir, I cannot have the face to do it, for what harm does he do?' Several Papists attended, and the church minister who had refused me his pulpit with indignation. However he came to hear with his own ears; I wish all who hang us first, would, like him, try us afterwards."

"I walked back to Mr. Ord's, through the people, who acknowledged, 'It is the truth and none can speak against it.' A constable followed, and told me, 'Sir Edward Blacket orders you to disperse the town, (depart, I suppose he meant) and not raise a disturbance here.' I sent my respects to Sir Edward, and said, if he would give me leave I would wait upon him and satisfy him. He soon returned with an answer, that Sir Edward would have nothing to say to me: but if I preached again and raised a disturbance, he would put the law in execution against me. I answered, that I was not conscious of breaking any law of God or man; but if I did, was ready to suffer the penalty: that, as I had not given notice of preaching again at the Cross, I should not preach again at that place, nor cause a dis-

turbance any where. I charged the constable, a trembling, submissive soul, to assure his worship, that I reverenced him for his office' sake. The only place I could get to preach in was a cock-pit, and I expected satan would come and fight me on his own ground. Squire Roberts, the justice's son, labored hard to raise a mob, for which I was to be answerable; but the very boys ran away from him, when the poor squire persuaded them to go down to the cock-pit and cry fire. I called, in words then first heard in that place, 'Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.' God struck the hard rock, and the waters gushed out. Never have I seen a people more desirous of knowing the truth, at the first hearing. I passed the evening in conference with Mr. Wardrobe; O that all our Dissenting ministers were like-minded, then would all dissentions cease forever.* November 28, at six, we assembled again in our chapel, the cock-pit. I imagined myself in the Pantheon, or some heathen temple, and almost scrupled preaching there at first; but we found the earth is the

* It is uncertain, whether Mr. Wardrobe was at this time settled as a Dissenting minister at Hexham. He was afterwards, however, fixed at Bathgate in Scotland, where he labored as a faithful minister of Christ till his death. He was a man of great piety, and of more liberality of mind than was commonly found among the Scotch ministers at that time. He cultivated an acquaintance with the Methodists, and on the 22d of May, 1755, preached in their house at Newcastle, to the no small amazement and displeasure of some of his zealous countrymen. He died on the 7th of May, 1756, and Mr. Adams, minister at Falkirk, gives the following account of his death, in a letter to Mr. Gillies. "On Friday night, about ten, I witnessed Mr. Wardrobe's entrance into the joy of his Lord. But ah! who can help mourning the loss of the Church of Christ? His amiable character gave him a distinguished weight and influence; which his Lord had given him to value, only for its subserviency to his honor and glory. He was suddenly taken ill on the last Lord's day, and from the first moment believed it was for death. I went to see him on Thursday evening, and heard some of the liveliest expressions of triumphant faith, zeal for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls, mixed with the most amiable humility and modesty. 'Yet a little while,' said he, 'and this mortal shall put on immortality. Mortality shall be swallowed up of life: this vile body fashioned like to his glorious body! O for victory! I shall get the victory! I know in whom I have believed.' Then with a remarkably audible voice, lifting up his hands he cried out, 'O for a draught of the well of the water of life, that I may begin the song before I go off to the Church triumphant! I go forth in thy name, making mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only. I die at the feet of mercy.' Then stretching out his arms, he put his hand upon his head, and with the most serene and steady majestic eye, I ever saw, looking upward, he said. 'Crowns of grace, crowns of grace, and palms in their hands! O Lord God of truth, into thy hands I commend my spirit!' He says to me, 'You that are ministers, bear a proper testimony against the professors of this age, who have a form of godliness without the power.' Observing some of his people about his bed, he said, 'May I have some seals among you! O where will the ungodly and sinners of Bathgate appear? Labor all to be in Christ.' Then he stretched out his hand to several, and said, 'Farewell, farewell, farewell! And now, O Lord, what wait I for? My hope is in thee!' Once or twice he said, 'Let me be laid across the bed to expire, where I have sometimes prayed, and sometimes meditated with pleasure.' He expressed his grateful sense of the assiduous care which Mr. Wardrobe, of Cult, had taken of him; and on his replying, 'Too much could not be done for so valuable a life,' said, 'O speak not so, or you will provoke God. Glory be to God, that I have ever had any regard paid me for Christ's sake. I am greatly sunk under the event. O help me by your prayers, to get the proper submission and improvement."

Lord's, and the fulness thereof. His presence consecrated the place. Never have I found a greater sense of God, than while we were repeating his own prayer. I set before their eyes, Christ crucified. The rocks were melted, and gracious tears flowed. We knew not how to part. I distributed some books among them, which they received with the utmost eagerness; begging me to come again, and to send our preachers to them."

December 6. He says, "I visited one of our sick children, and received her blessings and prayers. December 18, I waked between three and four, in a temper of mind I have rarely felt on my birthday. My joy and thankfulness continued the whole day, to my own astonishment.—19th, called on Mr. —— (one of the friendly clergymen) at Wickham, whose countenance was changed. He had been with the bishop, who forbid his conversing with me. I marvel the prohibition did not come sooner."

Towards the end of the month, Mr. Wesley quitted these cold regions of the North, and began to move Southward. January 6, 1747, he came to Grimsby, where he was saluted by a shouting mob. In the evening he attempted to preach at the room, but the mob was so violent he could not proceed. At length one of the rioters aimed a severe blow at Mr. Wesley, which a friend who stood near him, Another of them cried out, "What, you dog, do you strike a clergyman?" and fell upon his comrade. Immediately every man's hand was against his fellow: they began fighting and beating one another, till, in a few minutes, the room was cleared of all disturbers: when Mr. Wesley preached for half an hour, without further molestation. On the 9th, at Hainton, he talked separately with the members of the little society, who were as sheep encompassed with wolves. The minister of the place had repelled them from the sacrament, and labored to stir up the whole town against them. It is probable they would have been worried to death, but for the chief man of the place, a professed Papist, who hindered these good Protestants from destroying their innocent brethren.

Mr. Wesley continued his labors for the good of the people, and the propagation of christian knowledge in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire, till the 8th of February, and on the 10th, he arrived safe in London.* He continued here till the 23d, when he again commenced his peregrinations, in which he had new troubles and difficulties to encounter, even greater than any he had before experienced. On the 24th, he reached the Devizes in his way to Bristol, in company with Mr. Minton. They soon perceived that the enemies of religion had taken the alarm, and were mustering their forces for the battle. They began by ringing the bells back-

^{*}See the exact correspondence between this account and Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxix. page 9.

ward, and running to and fro in the streets, as lions roaring for their prey. The curate's mob went in quest of Mr. Wesley to several places, particularly to Mr. Philips's, where it was expected he would preach. They broke open, and ransacked the house; but not finding him there, they marched off to a Mr. Rogers's, where he, and several others being met together, were praying and exhorting one another to continue steadfast in the faith, and through much tribulation to enter the kingdom. The zealous curate, Mr. Innys, stood with them in the street dancing for joy. "This," says Mr. Wesley, "is he, who declared in the pulpit, as well as from house to house, 'That he himself heard me preach blasphemy before the University, and tell them, if you do not receive the Holy Ghost while I breathe upon you, ye are all damned.' He had been about the town several days, stirring up the people, and canvassing the gentry for their vote and interest; but could not raise a mob while my brother was here: the hour of darkness was not then fully come." What a disgrace to the governors of any church, that such a man as this should be supported as a minister in it. But we may observe, that it is a general rule, with all persecutors, to make those whom they persecute, appear to the people as absurd, or as wicked as possible. To accomplish their end, persecutors give full scope to invention and suspicion: and propagate with confidence, such things as they imagine will answer their purpose, without wishing to bring them to the test of reason and truth. In the present instance, Mr. Innys well knew, that what he asserted of Mr. Wesley, was false. I fear, we may fix it as a general rule, with very few exceptions, that any man, who has been a little practised in the ways of persecution, will not scruple to utter a falsehood, which seems very convenient for his purpose. Let us then, learn to judge truly of men and things; and when we see a man deeply prejudiced against another, or influenced by a spirit of persecution, let us give no credit to anything he may say, from the pulpit, from the press, or in conversation, till we have further evidence on the subject than his assertions. This will be the best method of suppressing persecution, and its concomitant, slander. O how careful should all ministers be, to avoid this snare of the Devil! The Methodist preachers, in particular; who have no shadow of claim to our esteem, as preachers, but in proportion to their integrity, piety, and zeal to do good.

Mr. Innys, by assiduity, and falsehood boldly asserted as truth, had engaged the gentlemen of the town in his party, and prevailed with them to encourage the mob. While they beset the house where Mr. Wesley, and the company with him, were assembled, he often heard his own name mentioned, with, "Bring him out, bring him out." He observes, "The little flock were less afraid than I expected; only one of our sisters fainted away." It being now dark, the besiegers blocked up the door with a wagon, and set up

lights lest Mr. Wesley should escape. One of the company however, got out unobserved, and with much entreaty prevailed on the mayor to come down. He came with two constables, and threatened the rioters; but so gently that no one regarded him. Having tore down the shutters of the shop, and broken the windows, it is wonderful they did not enter the house: but a secret hand seemed to restrain them. After a while they hurried away to the inn, where the horses were put up, broke open the stable door, and turned out the beasts. "In the mean time," says Mr. Wesley, "we were at a loss what to do; when God put it into the heart of our next door neighbor, a Baptist, to take us through a passage into his own house, offer us his bed, and engage for our security. We accepted his kindness and slept in peace."

February 25. "A day never to be forgotten. At seven o'clock, I walked quietly to Mrs. Philips's, and began preaching a little before the time appointed. For three quarters of an hour, I invited a few listening sinners to Christ. Soon after, Satan's whole army assaulted the house. We sat in a little ground room, and ordered all the doors to be thrown open. They brought a hand engine and began to play into the house. We kept our seats, and they rushed into the passage: just then Mr. Borough, the constable, came and seizing the spout of the engine, carried it off. They swore if he did not deliver it, they would pull down the house. At that time they might have taken us prisoners; we were close to them, and none to interpose: but they hurried out to fetch the larger engine. In the mean time we were advised to send for the mayor; but Mr. Mayor was gone out of town, in the sight of the people, which gave great encouragement to those who were already wrought up to a proper pitch by the curate, and the gentlemen of the town; particularly Mr. Sutton and Mr. Willy, Dissenters, the two leading men. Mr. Sutton, frequently came out to the mob, to keep up their spirits. He sent word to Mrs. Philips, that if she did not turn that fellow out to the mob, he would send them to drag him out. Mr. Willy, passed by again and again, assuring the rioters he would stand by them, and secure them from the law, do what they would."-What shall we say to these proceedings? There is no class of people, who cry out more loudly against persecution, than the Dissenters, when it happens to be their turn to be persecuted. The truth seems to be, that most denominations of Christians disavow, and condemn persecution in theory, and yet fall into the practice of it, when power and opportunity occur. How far the Roman Catholics, who have hitherto been consistent, and persecuted on principle, will now contradict the former practice of their own Church (if they should obtain the power of persecuting in these kingdoms) time only can discover: but there seems a very general inclination at present, to give them an opportunity, either of doing a great deal of mischief, or of retrieving their character in this respect,

by setting an example of moderation to other bodies of professing Christians.

The rioters "now began playing the larger engine; which broke the windows, flooded the rooms, and spoiled the goods. We were withdrawn to a small upper room, in the back part of the house; seeing no way to escape their violence, as they seemed under the full power of the old murderer. They first laid hold on the man who kept the society house, dragged him away, and threw him into the horse-pond; and it was said, broke his back.—We gave ourselves unto prayer, believing the Lord would deliver us; how, or when, we saw not; nor any possible way of escaping: we therefore stood still to see the salvation of God.—Every now and then, some or other of our friends would venture to us; but rather weakened our hands, so that we were forced to stop our ears, and look up. Among the rest, the mayor's maid came, and told us her mistress was in tears about me; and begged me to disguise myself in women's clothes, and try to make my escape. Her heart had been turned towards us by the conversion of her son, just on the brink of ruin. God laid his hand on the poor prodigal, and instead of running to sea, he entered the society.—The rioters without, continued playing their engine, which diverted them for some time; but their number and fierceness still increased; and the gentlemen supplied them with pitchers of ale, as much as they would drink. They were now on the point of breaking in, when Mr. Borough, thought of reading the proclamation: he did so at the hazard of his life. In less than the hour, of above a thousand wild beasts, none were left, but the guard. Our constable had applied to Mr. Street, the only justice in the town; who would not act. We found there was no help in man, which drove us closer to the Lord; and we prayed, with little intermission, the whole day.

"Our enemies at their return, made their main assault at the back door, swearing horribly, they would have me if it cost them their lives. Many seeming accidents concurred to prevent their breaking The man of the house came home, and instead of turning me out, as they expected, took part with us, and stemmed the tide for some time. They now got a notion, that I had made my escape; and ran down to the inn, and played the engine there. They forced the inn-keeper to turn out our horses, which he immediately sent to Mr. Clark's; which drew the rabble and their engine thither. But the resolute old man, charged and presented his gun, till they retreated.—Upon their revisiting us, we stood in jeopardy every moment. Such threatenings, curses, and blasphemies, I have never They seemed kept out, by a continual miracle. I remembered the Roman senators, sitting in the forum, when the Gauls broke in upon them: but thought there was a fitter posture for Christians, and told my companion, they should take us off our knees.— We were kept from all hurry, and discomposure of spirit, by a Divine power resting upon us. We prayed and conversed as freely, as if we had been in the midst of our brethren; and had great confidence that the Lord would, either deliver us from the danger, or in it.—In the height of the storm, just when we were falling into the hands of the drunken enraged multitude, Mr. Minton was so little disturbed that he fell fast asleep.

"They were now close to us on every side, and over our heads untiling the roof. A ruffian cried out, 'Here they are, behind the curtain.' At this time we fully expected their appearance, and retired to the furthermost corner of the room; and I said, this is the CRISIS. In that moment Jesus rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great CALM. We heard not a breath without, and wondered what was become of them. The silence lasted for three quarters of an hour, before any one came near us; and we continued in mutual exhortation and prayer, looking for deliverance. I often told my companions. Now God is at work for us; he is contriving our escape: he can turn these leopards into lambs; can command the heathen to bring his children on their shoulders, and make our fiercest enemies the instruments of our deliverance. About three o'clock Mr. Clark knocked at the door, and brought with him the persecuting constable. He said, 'Sir, if you will promise never to preach here again, the gentlemen and I will engage to bring you safe out of town.' My answer was, 'I shall promise no such thing-setting aside my office, I will not give up my birth-right as an Englishman, of visiting what place I please of his Majesty's dominions.' 'Sir,' said the Constable, 'we expect no such promise, that you will never come here again: only tell me, that it is not your present intention, that I may tell the gentlemen, who will then secure your quiet departure.' I answered, 'I cannot come again at this time, because I must return to London a week hence. But, observe, I make no promise of not preaching here, when the door is opened; and do not you say that I do.

"He went away with this answer, and we betook ourselves to prayer and thanksgiving. We perceived it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes. The hearts of our adversaries were turned. Whether pity for us, or fear for themselves, wrought strongest, God knoweth; probably the latter; for the mob were wrought up to such a pitch of fury, that their masters dreaded the consequence, and therefore went about appeasing the multitude, and charging them not to touch us in our departure.

"While the constable was gathering his posse, we got our things from Mr. Clark's, and prepared to go forth. The whole multitude were without, expecting us, and saluted us with a general shout. The man Mrs. Naylor had hired to ride before her was, as we now perceived, one of the rioters. This hopeful guide was to conduct us out of the reach of his fellows. Mr. Minton and I took horse in the

17 25

face of our enemies, who began clamoring against us: the gentlemen were dispersed among the mob, to bridle them. We rode a slow pace up the street, the whole multitude pouring along on both sides, and attending us with loud acclamations—such fierceness and diabolical malice I have not before seen in human faces. They ran up to our horses as if they would swallow us, but did not know which was Wesley. We felt great peace and acquiescence in the honor done us, while the whole town were spectators of our march. When out of sight, we mended our pace, and about seven o'clock came to Wrexall. The news of our danger was got thither before us; but we brought the welcome tidings of our deliverance. We joined in hearty prayer to our Deliverer, singing the hymn,

'Worship, and thanks, and blessing,' &c.

"February 26, I preached at Bath, and we rejoiced like men who take the spoil. We continued our triumph at Bristol, and reaped the fruit of our labors and sufferings."

In the beginning of March, Mr. Wesley returned to London, and on the 24th preached at Shoreham, without molestation. The next day he met with and stopt a travelling preacher, "who," he says, "had crept in among our helpers, without either discretion or veracity." We may well suppose, that such instances as this did not frequently occur at this early period of the work; when the lay-preachers were few in number, no provision made for their subsistence, and their labors and dangers very great. It is not easy to imagine, what motive a preacher could have, in going out to travel under these circumstances, but a desire of doing good.

About this time Mr. Charles Perronet attached himself to Mr. Wesley, and attended him as a companion, both in England and Ireland, the whole of this year. On the 4th of May they left London, and the next day arrived in Bristol. On the 9th, Mr. Wesley observes, "My name-sake and charge was taken ill of a fever, which soon appeared to be the smallpox. On the 12th I administered the sacrament to my patient, who grows worse and worse. May 19, expecting the turn of the distemper, I sat up with Charles: the Lord is pleased to try our faith and patience yet further."—On the 23d, he was out of danger.

Mr. Wesley continued his labors in Bristol, London, and the places adjacent, till August the 24th, when he set out for Ireland with Mr. Charles Perronet, being strongly importuned by his brother, Mr. John Wesley, to come and supply his place in Dublin. On the 27th, they reached Mr. Phillips's, in Wales, and his brother not being come from Ireland, according to appointment, they concluded he was detained by contrary winds, and had an opportunity of refreshing themselves and their weary beasts. On the 28th, he observes, "Mr. Gwynne came to see me, with two of his family. My soul seemed

pleased to take acquaintance with them. We rode to Maismynis church, where I preached, and Mr. Williams, after me, in Welsh. I preached a fourth time (the same day) at Garth. The whole family received us as the messengers of God; and if such we are, they received him that sent us."

August 29. Mr. John Wesley arrived from Ireland, and came to them at Garth.* On the 30th, Mr. Charles Wesley preached on a tomb-stone in Builth church-yard; and again in the afternoon: in the evening he preached at Garth, on the marks of the Messias, from Matthew xi. 5.—September 2, he observes, "I took horse with Mr. Phillips, Mr. Gwynne, and a brother from Anglesea, as a guide, and found the seven miles to Radnor four good hours' ride. I preached in the church, and labored to awaken the dead, and to lift up the hands that hung down. The minister seemed a man of a simple heart, and surely not eager for preferment, or he would not be content with his salary of three pounds a year." September 3, their friends left them: on the 4th, early in the morning, they set out for Holyhead, which place they reached the next day at seven in the morning. having travelled on horseback twenty-five hours. Sunday, September 6, he sent an offer of his assistance to the minister, who was ready to beat the messenger. He preached, however, at the request of some gentlemen, who behaved with great propriety. September the 9th. they reached Dublin in safety.

Dublin had long been remarkable for a bad police. Frequent robberies, and sometimes murder, were committed in the streets at an early hour in the evening with impunity. The Ormond and Liberty mob, as they were called, would sometimes meet, and fight till one or more persons were killed. It was said the mob had beat a constable to death in the street, and hung the body up in triumph, without any of them being brought to punishment for the murder. There was no vigor in the magistrates, and their power was despised. It is no wonder that the Methodists, at their first coming, were roughly handled in such a place as this: but it is wonderful that they so soon got a firm footing, and passed through their sufferings with so little injury. On Mr. Wesley's arrival here, he observes, "the first news we heard was, that the little flock stands fast in the storm of persecution, which arose as soon as my brother left them. The Popish mob broke open their room, and destroyed all before them. Some of them are sent to Newgate, others bailed. What will be the event we know not, till we see whether the Grand Jury will find the bill." He afterwards informs us that the Grand Jury threw out the bill, and thus gave up the Methodists to the fury of a licentious Popish mob. He says, "God has called me to suffer affliction with his people. I began my ministry with, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people,' &c. September

^{*} This accords with Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal.

10, I met the society, and the Lord knit our hearts together in love stronger than death. We both wept and rejoiced for the consolation. God hath sent me, I trust, to confirm these souls, and to keep them together in the present distress."

Mr. Wesley spent no time in idleness. He was daily employed in preaching, expounding, visiting the people and praying with them. September 20, after commending their cause to God, he went forth to the Green adjoining to the barracks, believing the Lord would make bare his arm in their defence. He called in his Master's name and words, "Come unto me all ye that are weary," &c. The number of hearers was very great, and a religious awe kept down all opposition. He spoke with great freedom to the poor Papists, and, like St. Paul at Athens, quoted their own authors to convince them, particularly Kempis and their Liturgy. None lifted up his voice or hands to oppose; all listened with strange attention, and many were in tears. He advised them to go to their respective places of worship: they expressed general satisfaction, especially the Papists, who now maintained that he was a good Catholic.

The two following instances, together with others of a similar kind which have already been brought forward, may show the liberality of his sentiments towards other denominations of Christians, who did not unite with him, or with the Methodists. "September 25, I past the evening very agreeably at a Baptist's; a woman of sense and piety, and a great admirer of my father's Life of Christ. September 28, had an hour's conference with two serious Quakers, who hold the head with us, and build on the one foundation."

At this early period of the work, when the societies were in their infancy, the two brothers, and the lay-preachers, suffered great inconveniences at the places where they lodged, even in large towns; and we may suppose that both their accommodations and provisions were worse in country societies. The rooms, also, where they assembled when they could not preach in the open air, began to be much too small for the number of people who attended. This being the present state of things in Dublin, Mr. Charles Wesley purchased a house near the place called Dolphin's Barn. The whole ground floor was 42 feet long, and 24 broad. This was to be turned into a preachinghouse, and the preachers were to be accommodated in the rooms over it; but before he completed the purchase, he wrote to his brother for his opinion on the matter. His letter is dated October 9; in which he says, one advantage of the house was, that they could go to it immediately; and then adds, "I must go there, or to some other lodgings, or take my flight; for here I can stay no longer. A family of squalling children, a landlady just ready to lie in, a maid who has no time to do the least thing for us, are some of our conveniences.*

^{*} He seems to mean, these are some of the best things in our present accommodations.

Our two rooms for four people (six when J. Healy, and Haughton, come) allow no opportunity for retirement. Charles and I groan for elbow-room in our press-bed: our diet answerable to our lodgings: no one to mend our clothes and stockings; no money to buy more. I marvel that we have stood our ground so long in these lamentable circumstances. It is well I could not *foresee*, while on your side of the water." October 17, he observes, "I passed the day at the house we have purchased, near Dolphin's Barn, in writing and meditation. I could almost have set up my rest here: but I must not look for rest on this side eternity."

Mr. Wesley continued his labors in Dublin, till February 9, 1748, when he took an excursion into the country. His brother, Mr. John Wesley, had spent fourteen or fifteen days in Dublin, the preceding August, and then returned to England, without visiting any of the country places. There were, however, a few preachers in Ireland, who had already introduced the gospel into several country towns. Mr. Wesley came to Tyrrel's Pass, where he soon met a large and well disposed congregation. "Few such feasts," says he, "have I had since I left England; it refreshed my body more than meat or drink. God has begun a great work here. The people of Tyrrel's Pass were wicked to a proverb: swearers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, thieves, &c. from time immemorial. But now the scene is changed; not an oath is heard, nor a drunkard seen among them; aperto vivitur horto. They are turned from darkness to light, and near one hundred are joined in society."

February 11, Mr. Wesley, J. Healy, and five others set out for Athlone, where, it is probable, notice had been given of their coming. On the road some persons overtook them, running in great haste, and one horseman riding full speed. It soon appeared that the Papists had laid a plan to do them some violent mischief, if not to murder them, at the instigation of their priest, father Terril, who had sounded the alarm the Sunday before. They spoke of their designs with so much freedom, that a report of them reached Athlone, and a party of dragoons being quartered there, were ordered out to meet Mr. Wesley and his friends on the road, and conduct them safe to the But of this they were ignorant; and being earlier than was expected, the Papists were not assembled in full force, nor did the dragoons meet them at that distance from the town which was intended. They rode on, suspecting nothing, till within about half a mile of Athlone, when, rising up a hill, several persons appeared at the top of it, and bid them turn back. "We thought them in jest," says Mr. Wesley, "till the stones flew," one of which knocked J. Healy off his horse, and laid him senseless on the ground; and it was with great difficulty the Papists were hindered from murdering The number of these barbarians were soon greatly increased, and though the Protestants began to rise upon them, they kept their

ground till the dragoons appeared, when they immediately fled. Mr. Wesley and his little company, their wounded friend having recovered his senses, were now conducted in safety to Athlone, where the soldiers flocked about them with great affection, and the whole town expressed the greatest indignation at the treatment they had met with. J. Healy was put under the care of a surgeon, and at length recovered of his wounds.

February 15, Mr. Wesley returned to Dublin, and continued his labors with great success, the society being greatly increased, and many testifying publicly, that they had received the knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins, under his word. March 8, his brother, Mr. John Wesley, arrived from England, which gave him a release from his present situation. He did not, however, leave Dublin till the 20th, when he entered the packet-boat at two o'clock in the afternoon, and by three the next day reached Holyhead, from whence he wrote to his brother as follows:

"Teneo te Italiam! Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum-

"In twenty-five hours exactly, as before, the Lord brought us hither. To describe our voyage were renovare dolorem. But here we are after all, God be praised, even God that heareth the prayer. Thanks, in the second place, to our praying brethren. The Lord return it into their bosom. But let them pray on for us, and we for them. And I pray the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to send down his blessing and his spirit on all you who are now assembled together, and hear this read. Peace be unto you, even the peace that passeth all understanding. Look for it every moment! receive it this—and go in peace to that heavenly country, whither we are hastening to meet you!"

Intending to visit Mr. Gwynne's family at Garth in Wales, he took horse the next morning, and by three in the afternoon came to Baldon-Ferry. Here he observes, "We overfilled the small old boat, so that Gemuit sub pondere Cymba sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem."* The wind being strong, and the waves high, in the middle of the channel his young horse took fright, and they had a very narrow escape from being overset. But a gracious Providence attended him; he came safe to land, and on the 25th in the evening reached Garth; but great fatigue, bad weather, and continued pain, had so weakened him, that when he came into the house, he fell down totally exhausted.

Mr. Wesley had already conceived a great regard for Mr. Gwynne's family, and particularly for Miss Sarah Gwynne. A kind of embryo-intention of making proposals of marriage, had dwelt in his mind for

^{*} The frail patched vessel grouned under the weight, and, being leaky, took in plenty of water.

some time. He had mentioned it to his brother in Dublin, who neither opposed nor encouraged him in the matter. During his present stay at Garth, his embryo-intention ripened into more fixed resolution; but still he thought it necessary to take the advice of his friends. After he had been a short time in London, he went to Shoreham, and opened all his heart to Mr. Perronet, who advised him to wait. Much prayer was made, and every prudential step was taken which his friends could suggest; and here the business rested for the present.

August 13, Mr. Wesley arrived again in Dublin, and on the 17th set out on horseback for Cork, which he reached on the 20th, notwithstanding the incessant rains, the badness of the roads, and wretched accommodations at the inns. The next day, being Sunday, he went out to the Marsh at five in the morning, and found a congregation of some thousand persons. He preached from, "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, &c." They devoured every word with an eagerness beyond description. "Much good," he says, "has already been done in this place; outward wickedness has disappeared, and outward religion succeeded it. Swearing is seldom heard in the streets, and churches and altars are crowded, to the astonishment of our adversaries. Yet some of our clergy, and all the Catholic priests take wretched pains to hinder their people from hearing us.

"At five in the evening, I took the field again, and such a sight I have rarely seen. Thousands and thousands had been waiting some hours; Protestants and Papists, high and low. The Lord endued my soul, and body also, with much strength to enforce the faithful saying, 'That Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.' I cried after them for an hour, to the utmost extent of my voice, yet without hoarseness or weariness. The Lord, I believe, hath much people in this city. Two hundred are already joined in a society. At present we pass through honor and good report. The chief persons of the town favor us: no wonder, then, that the common people are quiet. We pass and repass the streets, pursued only by their blessings. The same favorable inclination is all round the country: wherever we go, they receive us as angels of God. Were this to last, I would escape for my life to America."

"I designed to have met about two hundred persons who have given me their names for the society; but such multitudes thronged into the house, as occasioned great confusion. I perceived it was impracticable, as yet, to have a regular society. Here is, indeed, an open door; such as was never set before me till now; even at Newcastle the awakening was not so general. The congregation last Sunday was computed to be ten thousand. As yet there is no open opposition. The people have had the word two months, and it is not impossible but their love may last two months longer, before any number of them rise to tear us in pieces.

"I met a neighboring justice of the peace, and had much serious conversation with him. He seems to have a great kindness for religion, and determined to use all his interest to promote it. For an hour and a half I continued to call the poor blind beggars to Jesus. They begin to cry after him on every side; and we must expect to be rebuked for it. Waited on the bishop at Rivers Town, and was received with great affability by himself and family. After dinner rode back to Cork, and drank tea with some well disposed Quakers, and borrowed a volume of their dying sayings. A standing testimony that the life and power of God was with them at the beginning; as it might be again, were they humble enough to confess their want of it." How amiable is the candor of Mr. Wesley, when contrasted with the bigotry of others, who in their great zeal for ceremonies, have contended that the Friends ought not to be acknowledged as Christians, because they neglect the use of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They do not condemn those who use these ordinances, but they deny the necessity of using them, in order to salvation; and they were evidently led, or rather driven into this opinion at first, by the extravagant manner in which Baptism and the Lord's Supper were at that time spoken of; the people being generally taught that those who had been baptized and afterwards received the sacrament. were true Christians and had a sure title to eternal life. The Friends thought themselves called upon to bear a public testimony against an error of such dangerous consequence, which had a tendency to persuade persons that something merely external could make them Christians, and prepare them for heaven; and they seemed to think, that the most effectual way of bearing this testimony, so as to attract the notice of the public, would be by uniting practice to theory, and totally laving aside the use of these ordinances. Without pretending to give any opinion on their conduct in this respect, we may venture to say, that one extreme has a natural tendency to produce another in opposition to it. Mr. Wesley goes on:

"August 27, I had much conversation with Mr. C—, a sensible, pious clergyman; one after my own heart, in his love to our desolate mother. He is clear in the doctrine of faith, and gave a delightful account of the bishop.—Sometimes waiting on great men may do good, or prevent evil. But how dangerous the experiment! how apt to weaken our hands, and betray us into an undue deference, and respect of persons! The Lord send to them by whom he will send: but hide me still in disgrace or obscurity."

August 28. He went out about five miles from Cork, where, says he, "Justice P—— received us, and used all his authority with others to do the same. He sent word to the Romish priest, that if he forbid his people from hearing us, he would shut up his Masshouse. Several of the poor Roman Catholics ventured to come, after the justice had assured them, he would himself take off the curse their

priest had laid upon them. I exhorted all alike to repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ. I hastened back to the marsh; on seeing the multitudes, I thought on those words of Prior, 'Then, of all these whom my dilated eye with labor sees, how few will own the messenger of God when the stream turns!' Now they all received me with inexpressible eagerness. I took occasion to vindicate the Methodists from the foulest slanders: that they rail against the clergy. I enlarged on the respect due to them; prayed particularly for the bishop, and laid it on their consciences to make mention of them (the clergy) in all their prayers.—August 29, I passed an useful hour with Mr. C. He rejoiced that I had preached in his parish last Sunday. If our brethren (the clergy) were like-minded, how might their hands be strengthened by us! But we must have patience, as he observed, till the thing speak for itself; and the mist of prejudice being removed, they see clearly that all our desire is the salvation of souls, and the establishment of the Church of England.

"Sept. 1. I met the infant society for the first time in an old playhouse. Our Lord's presence consecrated the place. I explained the nature of christian fellowship; and God knit our hearts together in the desire of knowing him. I spake with some, who told me they had wronged their neighbors in time past, and now their conscience will not let them rest till they have made restitution. I bid them tell the persons injured, it was this preaching had compelled them to do justice. One poor wretch told me before his wife, that he had lived in drunkenness, adultery, and all the works of the devil for twenty-one years: that he had beat her almost every day of that time, and never had any remorse till he heard us; but now he goes constantly to church, behaves lovingly to his wife, abhors the thing that is evil, especially his old sins. This is one instance out of many."

Sept. 5. He observes that the work now increased rapidly: one and another being frequently justified under the word. "Two," says he, "at the sacrament yesterday: two at the society. One overtook me going to the cathedral, and said, 'I have found something in the preaching, and cannot but think it is forgiveness. All the burden of my sins sunk away from off me, in a moment. I can do nothing but pray and cry Glory be to God. I have such a confidence in his love, as I never knew; I trample all sin and sorrow under my feet.' I bid him watch and pray, and expect greater things than these.—Our old master the world, begins to take it ill, that so many desert and clean escape its pollutions. Innumerable stories are invented to stop the work: or rather are repeated, for they are the same we have heard a thousand times, as well as the primitive Christians."

Sept. 6. He rode to Kinsale, and at noon walked to the marketplace. The windows were filled with spectators rather than hearers. Many wild looking people stood with their hats on, in the street; and

the boys were rude and noisy. Some well-dressed women stood behind him and listened. His text was, "Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and the maimed, and the halt and the blind." "I did," says he, "most earnestly invite them all to the great supper. It was fallow ground, yet the word was not all lost. Several settled into serious attention: others expressed their approbation; a few wept. In the evening the multitude so trod on one another, that it was some time before they could settle to hear. I received a blow with a stone on the side of my head. and called on the person to stand forth, and if I had done him any wrong, to strike me again. This little circumstance increased their attention. I lifted up my voice like a trumpet, and showed the people their transgressions and the way to be saved from them. They received my saying, and spake well of the truth. A sudden change was visible in their behavior afterwards, for God had touched their hearts. Even the Roman Catholics owned, 'None could find fault with what the man said.' A lady of the Romish Church would have me to her house. She assured me the governor of the town, as soon as he heard of my coming, had issued orders that none should disturb me: that a gentleman who offered to insult me, would have been torn in pieces by the Roman Catholics, had he not fled for it: and that the Catholics in general are my firm friends." It is worth observing, that every denomination of Christians in Kinsale, claimed him as their own. He tells us, "The Presbyterians say, I am a Presbyterian; the people who go to Church, that I am a minister of theirs; and the Catholics are sure, I am a good Catholic in my heart." This is good evidence, that he confined himself in his public discourses, to the most essential doctrines of the Christian religion; which undoubtedly ought to be the practice of every itinerant preacher.

Mr. Wesley, in his excursions from Cork, had already visited Bandon once or twice, where the words he spake had considerable effect. On his return at this time from Kinsale, a poor man and his wife from Bandon met him, and pressed him so earnestly to give them another visit, that he could not resist their importunity. He went thither again, September the 12th, and the poor man and his wife soon found him out, and took him to their house in triumph. The neighbors flocked in, and "We had indeed," says Mr. Wesley, "a feast of love. A prodigal came, who had been a monster of wickedness for many years, but is now returned to his Father: so are many of the town, who were wicked to a proverb. In the evening, I invited about four thousand sinners to the great supper. God hath given them the hearing ear. I went to Mrs. Jones's, a widow gentlewoman, who is determined to promote the work of God to the utmost of her power: all in the place seem like-minded, except the clergy! O why should they be the last to bring home their King! It grieved me to

hear the poor encouragement given last Sunday to the crowds that flocked to church; which place some of them had not troubled for years before. We send them to church to hear ourselves railed at, and, what is far worse, the truth of God."

Tuesday, September 13. "We parted with many tears, and mutual blessings. I rode on to Kinsale. Here, also, the minister, Mr. P., instead of rejoicing to see so many publicans in the temple, entertained them with a railing accusation against me, as an impostor, an incendiary, and messenger of satan. Strange justice! that Mr. P. should be voted a friend of the church, and I an enemy, who send hundreds into the church for him to drive them out again. September 16, the power of the Lord was present in the society at Cork; I marvel not that satan hates it: we never meet but some or other is plucked out of his teeth. After a restless night of pain, I rose to confer with those who desired it. A woman insisted that the Lord had spoken peace to her trembling soul at the sacrament. Thomas Warburton asserted, that faith came to him by hearing; and that now he hates all sin with a perfect hatred, and could spend his whole life in prayer. Stephen Williams witnessed, 'Last night I found my heart burdened in your prayer; but I repeated after you till my speech was swallowed up. Then I felt myself, as it were, fainting, falling back, and sinking into destruction; when, on a sudden, I was lifted up, my heart lightened, my burden gone; and I saw all my sins at once so black, so many—but all taken away. I am now afraid of neither death, devil, nor hell. I am happier than I can tell you. I know God has, for Christ's sake, forgiven me.' Two others. in whom I found a real work of grace begun, were Papists, till they heard the gospel, but are now reconciled to the church, even to the invisible church, or communion of saints. A few of these lost sheep we pick up, but seldom speak of it, lest our good Protestants should stir up the Papists to tear us in pieces. At Mr. Rolf's, a pious Dissenter, I heard of the extreme bitterness of his two ministers, who make it their business to go from house to house, to set their people against the truth, threatening all who hear us with excommunication. So far beyond the Papists are these moderate men advanced in persecution."-Mr. Wesley now quitted this part of the kingdom, and, visiting several towns in his way back, he came safe to Dublin on the 27th of September.

October 8, he took his passage for England, and the next night landed at Holyhead. He wrote to a friend the following account of the dangers he had escaped. "On Saturday evening at half past eight, I entered that small boat, and were two hours in getting to the vessel. There was not then water to cross the bar; so we took our rest till eleven on Sunday morning. Then God sent us a fair wind, and we sailed smoothly before it five hours and a half. Towards evening the wind freshened upon us, and we had full enough of it.

I was called to account for a bit of cake I had eat in the morning, and thrown into violent exercise. Up or down, in the cabin or on deck, made no difference: yet in the midst of it, I perceived a distinct heavy concern, for I knew not what. It was now pitch dark, and no small tempest lay upon us. The captain had ordered in all the sails. I kept mostly upon deck till half past eight, when, upon inquiry, he told me, he expected to be in the harbor by nine: I answered, we would compound for ten. While we were talking, the mainsail, as I take it, got loose; at the same time the small boat, for want of fastening, fell out of its place. The master called all hands on deck, and thrust me down into the cabin; when, in a minute, we heard a cry above, 'We have lost the mast!' A passenger ran up, and brought us worse news, that it was not the mast, but the poor master himself, whom I had scarcely left, when the boat, as they supposed, struck him and knocked him overboard. From that moment he was seen and heard no more. My soul was bowed before the Lord. I kneeled down, and commended the departing spirit to his mercy in Christ Jesus. I adored his distinguishing goodness. The one shall be taken, and the other left. I thought of those lines of Young: 'No warning given! unceremonious death! a sudden rush from life's meridian joys; a plunge opaque beyond conjecture.' The sailors were so confounded they knew not what they did. The decks were strewed with sails; the wind shifting about the compass; we just on the shore, and the vessel driving, where or how they knew not. One of our cabin passengers ran to the helm, and gave orders as captain, till they had righted the ship. But I ascribe it to our invisible Pilot, that we got safe to shore soon after ten. The storm was so high, that we doubted whether any boat would venture to fetch us. At last one answered and came. I thought it safer to lie in the vessel; but one calling, 'Mr. Wesley, you must come,' I followed, and by eleven o'clock found out my old lodgings at Robert Griffiths. October 10, I blessed God that I did not stay in the vessel last night: a more tempestuous one, I do not remember."—He now wrote the following thanksgiving hymn:

All praise to the Lord,
Who rules with a word
The untractable sea,
And limits its rage by his steadfast decree:
Whose providence binds,
Or releases the winds,
And compels them again
At his beck to put on the invisible chain.

Even now he hath heard
Our cry, and appear'd
On the face of the deep,
And commanded the tempest its distance to keep:
His piloting hand
Hath brought us to land,

And no longer distress'd, We are joyful again in the haven to rest.

O that all men would raise
His tribute of praise,
His goodness declare,
And thankfully sing of his fatherly care!
With rapture approve
His dealings of love,
And the wonders proclaim
Perform'd by the virtue of Jesus's name.

Through Jesus alone
He delivers his own,
And a token doth send
That His love shall direct us, and save to the end:
With joy we embrace
The pledge of his grace,
In a moment outfly
These storms of affliction, and land in the sky.

"At half past nine o'clock, I took horse in a perfect hurricane, and was wet through in less than ten minutes; but I rode on, thankful that I was not at sea. Near five in the afternoon, I entered the boat at Baldon-ferry, with a clergyman and others, who crowded our small crazy vessel. The water was exceedingly rough, our horses frightened, and we looking to be overset every moment. The minister acknowledged he never was in the like danger. We were half drowned in the boat. I sat at the bottom, with him and a woman. who stuck very close to me, so that my being able to swim would not have helped me. But the Lord was my support. I cried out to my brother clergyman, 'Fear not, Christian-the hairs of our head are all numbered.' Our trial lasted near half an hour, when we landed wet and weary in the dark night. The minister was my guide to Carnarvon; and by the way entertained me with the praises of a lay-preacher, he had lately heard and talked with. He could say nothing against his preaching, but heartily wished him ordained. His name, he told me, was Howel Harris. He took me to his own inn, and at last found out who I was, which increased our intimacy." Mr. Wesley pursued his journey to Garth, which place he reached October 13. Here he staid about a week, and, on the 21st, arrived safe in Bristol.

He now confined his labors in the gospel, for some months, to London, Bristol, and the neighboring places, making an occasional excursion to Garth, in Wales. April 9, 1749, he was married by his brother, at Garth, to Miss Sarah Gwynne, a young lady of good sense, piety, and agreeable accomplishments. Mr. John Wesley observes, "It was a solemn day, such as became the dignity of a christian marriage."

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION VI.

STATING SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING MR. CHARLES WESLEY; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH IN 1799.

Mr. Wesley's Journal now begins to fail us. There is no account of his proceedings, sometimes for months, sometimes for years together. There are, however, a few particulars recorded till the year 1756, which may be useful and entertaining to the reader, and throw some light on the history of Methodism. It does not appear that his marriage either interrupted his labors, or lessened his useful-April 29, about three weeks after he was married, he wrote thus to his brother: "I hope this will find you prospering in Ireland. I left Garth yesterday sennight. Mr. Gwynne, with Sally and Betty, accompanied me to Abergavenny. There I left them on Saturday morning, and got hither (Bristol) by one o'clock. Over-riding occasioned a fever-I was too eager for the work, and therefore believe, God checked me by that short sickness. Till Wednesday evening at Weaver's Hall, my strength and understanding did not return; but from that time the Lord has been with us of a truth. More zeal, more life, more power, I have not felt for some years (I wish my mentioning this may not lessen it;) so that hitherto marriage has been no hindrance. You will hardly believe it sits so light upon me. Some farther proof I had of my heart on Saturday last, when the fever threatened most. I did not find, so far I can say, any unwillingness to die, on account of any I should leave behind: neither did death appear less desirable than formerly-which I own gave me great pleasure, and made me shed tears of joy. I almost believe, nothing shall hurt me: that the world, the flesh, and the devil, shall keep their distance; or, by assaulting, leave me more than conqueror. On Thursday, I propose setting out for London, by Oxford, with T. Maxfield. If they will give me a year of grace, I shall wonder and thank you. I hope you came time enough to save J. Cownly, &c. Set your time for returning: when abouts at least. Will you meet me at Ludlow? It is a thousand pities* you should not be here, when the library makes its first appearance. The Lord cut short your work and his, and make a few weeks go as far as many months! What say you to T. Maxfield and me taking a journey, when you return, through all the societies, northern and western, and

^{*}The phraseology here is rather low, and I am persuaded would not have been used by Mr. Wesley, but in this familiar and careless way of writing to his brother.

settling correspondencies with the stewards, alias booksellers. My kindest love to Mr. Lunell, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Fowks, Mr. Gibbons, and all friends at Cork and Dublin. We make mention of you in all our prayers; be not unmindful of us. The Lord preserve us all to his day.

February 8, 1750. He observes there was an earthquake in Lon-This place he reached on the 1st of March, and on the 8th wrote thus to his brother. "This morning, a quarter after five, we had another shock of an earthquake, far more violent than that of February 8. I was just repeating my text, when it shook the Foundery so violently, that we all expected it to fall on our heads. great cry followed from the women and children. I immediately cried out, 'Therefore we will not fear, though the earth be moved and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea: for the Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.' He filled my heart with faith, and my mouth with words, shaking their souls as well as their The earth moved westward, then east, then westward again, through all London and Westminster. It was a strong and jarring motion, attended with a rumbling noise like that of thunder. Many houses were much shaken, and some chimneys thrown down. but without any further hurt."

March 10. He expounded the 24th chapter of Isaiah; a chapter, he tells us, which he had not taken much notice of, till this awful providence explained it. April 4, he says, "Fear filled our chapel, occasioned by a prophecy of the return of the earthquake this night. I preached my written sermon on the subject, with great effect, and gave out several suitable hymns. It was a glorious night for the disciples of Jesus. April 5, I rose at four o'clock after a night of sound sleep, while my neighbors watched. I sent an account to M. G. as follows:—The late earthquake has found me work. Yesterday I saw the Westminster end of the town full of coaches, and crowds flying out of the reach of Divine Justice, with astonishing precipitation. Their panic was caused by a poor madman's prophecy. Last night they were all to be swallowed up. The vulgar were in almost as great consternation as their betters. Most of them watched all night; multitudes in the fields and open places; several in their coaches: many removed their goods. London looked like a sacked city. lady just stepping into her coach to escape, dropped down dead. Many came all night knocking at the Foundery door, and begging admittance for God's sake."-These, however, were not Methodists, but others, who, under the general apprehension of danger, thought there was more safety under the roof of religious persons than elsewhere. A plain proof that those who neglect religion, and perhaps despise the professors of it, while in health, and free from apparent danger: yet when great and public calamities approach them, even in apprehension, they plainly discover that they think the state of

religious persons better than their own. Mr. Wesley's account of the great confusion in London, on the 4th of April, is confirmed by a letter of Mr. W. Briggs, to Mr. John Wesley, dated on the 5th of the same month, in which he says, "This great city has been, for some days past, under terrible apprehensions of another earthquake. terday thousands fled out of town, it having been confidently asserted by a dragoon, that he had a revelation, that a great part of London, and Westminster, especially, would be destroyed by an earthquake the 4th instant, between twelve and one at night. The whole city was under direful apprehensions. Places of worship were crowded with frightened sinners, especially our two chapels, and the Tabernacle, where Mr. Whitefield preached. Several of the classes came to their leaders, and desired, that they would spend the night with them in prayer; which was done, and God gave them a bless-Indeed all around was awful! Being not at all convinced of the prophet's mission, and having no call from any of my brethren, I went to bed at my usual time, believing I was safe in the hands of Christ: and likewise, that by doing so, I should be the more ready to rise to the preaching in the morning—which we both did; praised be our kind Protector." In a postscript he adds, "Though crowds left the town on Wednesday night, yet crowds were left behind; multitudes of whom, for fear of being suddenly overwhelmed, left their houses, and repaired to the fields, and open places in the city. Tower Hill, Moorfields, but above all Hyde Park, were filled best part of the night, with men, women, and children, lamenting. Some, with stronger imaginations than others, mostly women, ran crying in the streets An earthquake! an earthquake! Such a distress, perhaps, is not recorded to have happened before in this careless city. Mr. Whitefield preached at midnight in Hyde Park. Surely God will visit this city; it will be a time of mercy to some. O may I be found watching!"

Mr. Wesley proceeds with his Journal.—April 15, "I met with Mr. Salmon's Foreigner's Companion through the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, printed in 1748, and made the following extract from page 25. 'The times of the day the university go to this church, are ten in the morning, and two in the afternoon, on Sundays and holidays; the sermon usually lasting about half an hour. But when I happened to be at Oxford, in 1742, Mr. W. the Methodist, at Christ Church, entertained his audience two hours; and having insulted and abused all degrees, from the highest to the lowest, was in a manner hissed out of the pulpit by the lads.' And high time for them to do so, if the historian said true; but, unfortunately for him, I measured the time by my watch, and it was within the hour. I abused neither high nor low, as my sermon, in print, will prove: neither was I hissed out of the pulpit, or treated with the least incivility, either by young or old. What then shall I say to my old high-church friend,

whom I once so much admired? I must rank him among the apocryphal writers; such as the judicious Dr. Mather, the wary Bishop Burnet, and the most modest Mr. Oldmixton."

The censure here passed on Oldmixton I think is just. He appears to me to be a bold, dashing, impertinent writer. His prejudice is so great, that his assertions, as an historian, deserve no credit, unless supported by authentic documents. I think far otherwise of Dr. Mather, and Bishop Burnet. It is indeed true, that Burnet's History of his own Time, is written with great caution; but this surely does not deserve censure, but commendation. The truth seems to be, that Burnet was a man of great moderation; on which account, the zealots, both of the high and low church party, became his inveterate enemies. For the satisfaction of the reader, I shall give a short account both of Dr. Mather * and of Bishop Burnet.†

* Dr. Cotton Mather, an eminent American divine, was born at Boston, in New England, in 1663. He became minister of Boston in 1684, and spent his life in the discharge of his office, and in promoting several excellent societies for the public good, particularly one for suppressing disorders, one for reforming manners, and a society of peace-makers, whose professed business it was to compose differences, and prevent lawsuits. His reputation was not confined to his own country; for in 1710, the university of Glasgow sent a diploma for the degree of doctor in divinity; and, in 1714, the Royal Society of London chose him one of their Fellows. He died in 1728. His chief work was, Magnalia Christi Americana, or an Ecclesiastical History of New England, from its first planting in 1620, to 1698, in folio.

† Gilbert Burnet, was born at Edinburgh in 1643, of an ancient family in the shire of Aberdeen. His father being bred to the study of the law, was, at the restoration, appointed one of the Lords of Session, with the title of Lord Grimond. Our author, the youngest son of his father, was sent to continue his studies at Aberdeen, at ten years of age, and was admitted M. A. before he was fourteen. His own inclination led him to the study of the civil and feudal law; and he used to say, that it was from this study he had received more just notions of civil society and government, than those which divines maintain. About a year after, he began to apply himself to the study of divinity, and was admitted preacher before he was eighteen. Sir Alex. Burnet, his cousin-german, offered him a benefice, but he refused to accept of it. In 1663, he came to England, and spent a short time at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1664, he made a tour through Holland and France. At Amsterdam, by the help of a Jewish Rabbi, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language; and likewise became acquainted with the leading men of the different persuasions tolerated in that country; as Calvinists, Arminians, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, Papists, and Unitarians; amongst each of which he used frequently to declare, he met with men of such unfeigned piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of religious dissensions.

Upon his return from his travels, he was admitted minister of Salton, in which station he served five years in the most exemplary manner. He drew up a memorial, in which he took notice of the principal errors in the Scots Bishops, and sent a copy of it to several of them, which exposed him to their resentments. Being engaged in drawing up the "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," Duke Lauderdale invited him to London, and introduced him to King Charles II. After his return to Scotland, he married Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, a lady of piety and good understanding, and strongly inclined to the Presbyterians. The day before their marriage, he delivered the lady a deed, renouncing all pretensions to her fortune, which was considerable, and which must have fallen into his hands, she having no intention to secure it.

Burnet's intimacy with the Dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale, occasioned him to be frequently sent for by the King and the Duke of York, who had conversations with him in

18* 27

"June 22. I met," says he, "a daughter of my worthy old friend Mr. Erskine, at the Foundery: she was deeply wounded by the sword of the spirit: confessed she had turned many to Deism, and feared there could be no mercy for her.—July 18, I had the satisfaction of bringing back to Mr. Erskine his formerly disobedient daughter. She fell at his feet: it was a moving interview—all wept—our Heavenly Father heard our prayers."—December 2. Being in Wales, he observes, "I encouraged a poor girl to seek a cure from him who hath wounded her. She has the outward mark, too; being daily threatened to be turned out of doors by her master, a great swearer and strict churchman, a constant communicant and habitual drunkard."

1751. James Wheatley was at this time a preacher among the Methodists, and a dabbler in physic. Some very heavy complaints were brought against him, for improper conduct to several women, of which Mr. John Wesley has given a pretty full statement in his printed Journal for the year 1751, which account is fully confirmed by Mr. Charles Wesley's private Journal, now before me. They brought Wheatley and his accusers face to face, and the charges were so clearly proved, that he was obliged to confess the truth. To screen himself as far as possible, he accused others, and said the rest of the preachers were like himself. This was a serious charge. Ten of them were called together to meet Wheatley; and T. Maxfield first, then each of the others, asked him—"What sin can you charge me with?"—Wheatley was silent; which convinced them that he was

private. But Lauderdale, being offended at the freedom with which Burnet spoke to him, took pains to prejudice the king against him. In 1675, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, master of the Rolls, appointed him preacher of the chapel there, notwithstanding the opposition of the Court. In 1679 and 81, he published his History of the Reformation, for which he had the thanks of both houses of parliament. About this time he became acquainted with the Earl of Rochester, and spent one evening in a week with him, for a whole winter, discoursing on those topics on which skeptics, and men of loose morals, object to the christian religion. The happy effect of these conferences, occasioned his publication of the account of the life and death of that Earl. When the inquiry concerning the Popish plot was on foot, the king consulted him often, and offered him the bishopric of Chichester if he would engage in his interests; but he refused to accept it on these terms.

On the accession of King James to the throne, he obtained leave to go out of the kingdom. He lived in great retirement for some time at Paris, then travelled to Italy and Rome, where he was favorably received by the Pope. He afterwards pursued his travels through Switzerland and Germany, and, in 1688, came to Utrecht, with an intention to settle in some of the Seven Provinces. Here he received an invitation from the Prince and Princess of Orange, to come to the Hague, which he accepted. He was immediately acquainted with all their designs, and entered heartily into them. When the Prince of Orange came over to England, Burnet attended him in quality of chaplain, and was soon advanced to the see of Salisbury. He declared for moderate measures with regard to the clergy who scrupled to take the oaths; and many were displeased with him, for declaring for the toleration of Nonconformists. In 1699, he published his Exposition of the 39 Articles, which occasioned a representation against him in the Lower House of Convocation, in 1701; but he was vindicated by the Upper House. He died in 1715, and was interred in the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where he has a monument errected to him. See Encyclopædia Britannica.

guilty of wilful lying. They were now obliged to silence him, and Mr. John Wesley has been censured for using too much severity towards him: but as the facts were clearly proved, he and his brother, for they acted jointly in the matter, could do no less than put him away from the connexion.

Mr. Wesley goes on with his Journal, and observes, that Wheatley's charge put his brother and him upon a resolution of strictly examining into the life and moral behavior of every preacher in the connexion with them; "and the office," says he, "fell upon me."-It certainly could not have fallen into fitter hands. Mr. John Wesley's great weakness was, a proneness to believe every one sincere in his professions of religion, till he had the most positive, and, perhaps, repeated proofs of his insincerity; and to believe their testimonies of things as true, without making proper allowance for their ignorance. This exposed him to frequent imposition and mistake. The case was far otherwise with Mr. Charles: he quickly penetrated into a man's character, and it was not easy to impose upon him. He totally differed from his brother concerning the qualifications necessary for an itinerant preacher, and sometimes silenced a man whom his brother had admitted. The one looked at the possible harm an unqualified preacher might do to many persons; the other, at the possible good he might do to some. This was the real principle which governed the two brothers in their very different conduct towards the lav-preachers: which made some of them represent Mr. Charles as an enemy to them all. But this certainly was far from being the case. Charles Wesley being clothed with his new office, set out the next morning, June 29, to visit the societies in the midland and northern counties, as far as Newcastle; in which journey Mrs. Wesley accompanied him. I do not find, however, in the whole of his Journal, the least accusation, of a nature similar to that of Wheatley, against any preacher in the connexion. In this journey he was a great blessing to the people wherever he came; many were added to the societies, and the old members were quickened in their zeal and diligence, to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling.—July 21, he observes, "I rode to Birstal (near Leeds) where John Nelson comforted our hearts with his account of the success of the gospel in every place where he has been preaching, except in Scotland. There he has been beating the air for three weeks, and spending his strength in vain. Twice a day he preached at Musselborough to some thousands of mere hearers, without one soul being converted. I preached at one, to a different kind of people. Such a sight have I not seen for many months. They filled the valley and side of the hill as grasshoppers for multitude: yet my voice reached the most distant-God sent the word home to many hearts."—July 25, he was taken ill of a fever, and on the 28th, his fever increasing, he says, "I judged it incumbent on me, to leave my thoughts concerning the work and the instruments, and began dictating the following letter."—Unfortunately the letter was not transcribed into the Journal, a blank space being left for it: I apprehend it is not now to be found any where.

He goes on. August 3, "I was enabled to ride out, and to confer with the preachers and others.—August 5, I went to the room, that I might hear with my own ears, one (of the preachers) of whom many strange things had been told me. But such a preacher never have I heard before, and hope I never shall again. It was beyond description. I cannot say that he preached false doctrine, or true, or any doctrine at all; but pure unmixed nonsense. Not one sentence did he utter that could do the least good. Now and then a text of Scripture was dragged in by head and shoulders. I could scarcely refrain from stopping him. He set my blood a galloping, and threw me into such a sweat, that I expected the fever to follow. Some begged me to step into the desk and speak a few words to the dissatisfied hear-I did so, taking no notice of M. F-k, late superintendent of all Ireland! I talked closely with him, utterly averse to working. and told him plainly he should either work with his hands, or preach no more. He complained of my brother; I answered I would repair the supposed injury by setting him up again. At last he yielded to work." The same day he silenced another preacher.

August 12, being at Newcastle, he desired W. Shent, who was with him, to go to Musselborough. Before he set out, he gave Mr. Wesley the following account of a remarkable trial they had lately had at Leeds. "At Whitecoat-Hill, three miles from Leeds, a few weeks since, as our brother Maskew was preaching, a mob arose, broke the windows and doors, and struck the constable Jacob Hawley, one of the society. On this we indicted them for an assault; and the ringleader of the mob, John Hellingworth, indicted our brother the constable, and got persons to swear the constable struck him. grand jury threw out our indictment, and found theirs against us, so we stood trial with them, on Monday July 15, 1751. The Recorder, Richard Wilson, Esq. gave it in our favor, with the rest of the court. But the foreman of the jury, Matthew Priestley, with two others, Richard Cloudsly, and Jabez Bunnel, would not agree with the rest, being our avowed enemies. The foremen was Mr. Murgatroyd's great friend and champion against the Methodists. However the Recorder gave strict orders to a guard of constables, to watch the jury, that they should have neither meat, drink, candles, or tobacco, till they were agreed in their verdict. They were kept prisoners all that night and the next day till five in the afternoon, when one of the jury said, he would die before he would give it against us. Then he spake closely to the foreman concerning his prejudice against the Methodists, till at last he condescended to refer it to one man. Him the other charged to speak as he would answer it to God in the day of judgment. The man turned pale, and trembled, and desired that another might decide it. Another, John Hardwick, being called upon, immediately decided it in favor of the Methodists. After the trial, Sir Henry Ibison, one of the justices, called a brother, and said, 'You see God never forsakes a righteous man, take care you never forsake him.'"

Besides Richard Wilson, Esq. Recorder of Leeds, the following justices were present; J. Frith, mayor; Alderman Micklethwait, Alderman Denison, Alderman Sawyer, Alderman Smith, and Alderman Brooks. Sir Henry Ibison was mentioned above. Mr. Wesley left Newcastle, August 24, and on the 26th, reached Thirsk in Yorkshire, where his Journal for the present year ends.

It is evident from the nature of the thing, that he must have met with great difficulties in executing the design of his journey, and have made himself many enemies. But he seldom regarded consequences, when he was convinced that he was doing his duty. His mind, however, was sometimes much burdened. On one occasion, he observes, "Preaching I perceive, is not my principal business. God knoweth my heart and all its burdens. O that he would take the matter into his own hand, though he lay me aside as a broken vessel!"—But he was frequently comforted and strengthened in preaching and praying with the societies. After one of these opportunities he says, "My faith was greatly strengthened for the work. The manner, and the instruments of carrying it on, I leave entirely to God."

July 8, 1754. Mr. Charles Wesley, with his brother, who was indisposed,* Mr. Charles Perronet, and another friend, set out for Norwich. On the 10th, in the evening they reached Lakenham, where they were informed the whole city was in an uproar about James Wheatley, "whose works of darkness," says Mr. Wesley, "are now brought to light; whereby the people are so scandalized and exasperated, that they are ready to rise and tear him in pieces. We do not therefore wonder that the clergy are not forward to show their friendly inclinations to us; yet one has sent us a civil message, excusing his not visiting us till the tumult is over."—The next day the gentleman with whom they lodged at Lakenham dined with the mayor of Norwich, a wise resolute man, who labored for peace. He was employed all day in taking the affidavits of the women whom Wheatley had tried to corrupt; these accounts were printed and cried about the streets, which occasioned great confusion. "What could satan, or his apostles," says Mr. Wesley, "do more, to shut the door against the gospel in this place forever? Yet several came to us, entreating us to preach. The advertisement we had printed here last year, disclaiming Mr. Wheatley, did much good, and, with the blessing of God, helped the people to distinguish. Our host also, has assured the

^{*} See also Mr. John Wesley's printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxix. page 299.

mayor, that Mr. Wheatley is no Methodist, or associate of ours. A letter of Charles Perronet's to Wheatley they have printed there, contrary to our express orders. It is not fit that our hand should be upon him. Fresh discoveries are daily made of his lewdness, enough to make the ears of all who hear to tingle: yet he is quite insensible!" These things are now mentioned, because the notoriety of them at the time appears a sufficient justification of Mr. John Wesley's conduct towards Wheatley.

Sunday, July 14. They walked to Mr. Edwards's in Norwich, and at seven o'clock in the morning Mr. Charles Wesley took the field. He preached on Hog-Hill to about 2000 hearers, his brother standing by him. A drunkard or two were troublesome, but more out of mirth than malice. They afterwards went to church, and the people, both in the streets and at the cathedral, were remarkably civil. He adds, "The lessons, Psalms, Epistles, and Gospel, were very encouraging. The anthem made our hearts rejoice: 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companion's sake will I now say, peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God, will I seek thy good.' We received the sacrament at the hands of the bishop. In the afternoon I went to St. Peter's, and at five o'clock to Hog-Hill, where it was computed that ten thousand persons were present. Again I preached repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. They listened with great seriousness—their hearts were plainly touched, as some showed by their tears. Who could have thought the people of Norwich would ever more have borne a field-preacher? It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. To him be all the glory, who saith, 'I will work, and who shall hinder?"

July 19. Mr. John Wesley left them, and Mr. Charles continued his labors. "At night," he says, "I had multitudes of the great vulgar and the small to hear me, with three justices, and nine clergymen: many, I am persuaded, felt the sharp two-edged sword. July 21. My audience at seven in the morning was greatly increased. I dwelt chiefly on those words, 'He hath sent me to preach glad tidings to the meek, or poor;' and labored, as all last week, to bring them to a sense of their wants; and for this end I have preached the law, which is extremely wanted here. The poor sinners have been surfeited with smooth words and flattering invitations. The greater cause have we for wonder and thanksgiving, that they can now endure sound and severe doctrine. I received the sacrament again from his lordship, among a score of communicants. If the gospel prevail in this place, they will by and by find the difference.—July 22, God is providing us a place; an old large brewhouse, which the owner, a justice of peace, has reserved for us. He has refused several, always declaring he would let it to none but Mr. John Wesley. Last Saturday Mr. Edwards agreed, in my brother's name, to take a lease for seven years; and this morning Mr. S. has sent his workmen to begin to put it into repair. The people are much pleased at our having it: so are not satan and his Antinomian apostles."

July 27. He was informed of the death of a person whom he considered and loved as a son in the gospel, but whose unsteadiness had given him great pain. His observations on the occasion show, that he had a mind susceptible of the finest sentiments of friendship. "Just now," says he, "I hear from Leeds, that my poor rebellious son has taken his flight. But God healed his backslidings first, and he is My poor J. H-n is at rest in the bosom of his Heavenly Father. O what a turn has it given my heart! what a mixture of passions do I feel here! But joy and thankfulness are uppermost. opened the book of consolation, and cast my eye upon a word which shall wipe away all tears: 'I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death.'-Sunday, July 28, I met our little society, or rather candidates for a society, at five in the morning. At seven, I preached Christ Jesus, the Saviour of all men, to a numerous quiet congregation, and afterwards heard the bishop preach, and received the sacrament from him. At five in the evening, after prayer for an open door, I went forth to such a multitude as we have not seen before in Norwich. During the hymn, a pale trembling opposer labored to interrupt the work of God, and draw off the people's attention: but as soon as I began to read the history of the prodigal son, his commission ended, and he left me to a quiet audience. Now the door was opened indeed. For an hour and a half I showed their sins and wanderings from God, and invited them back to their Father's house. And surely he had compassion on them, inclining many hearts to return. God, I plainly found, had delivered them into my hand. He filled my mouth with persuasive words, and my heart with strong desires for their salvation. I concluded, and began again, testifying my good will towards them, which was the sole end of my coming. But if I henceforth see them no more, yet is my labor with my God. They have heard words whereby they may be saved; and many of them, I cannot doubt, will be our crown of rejoicing in the great day. Several serious persons followed me to Mr. Edwards's, desiring to be admitted into our society. I told them, as others before, to come among us first for some time, and see how they liked it. We spent some time together in conference, praise, and prayer. I am in no haste for a society: first let us see how the candidates live." -Had this cautious and prudent conduct been observed, through every part of the Methodist discipline, the preachers and members of the societies, would not indeed have been so numerous as at present, but they would have had a degree of excellence, they have not yet attained.

Mr. Wesley goes on. July 30, "I preached at five, and found the

people's hearts opened for the word. The more satan rages, the more our Lord will own and bless us. A poor rebel at the conclusion lifted up his voice; for whom I first prayed, and then turning full upon him, preached repentance and Christ to his heart. I desired him to turn his face towards me, but he could not. However he felt the invisible chain, which held him to hear the offers of grace and salvation. I have great hope that satan has lost his slave; some assured me they saw him depart in tears. July 31, I expounded Isaiah xxxii. 1, to my constant hearers, who seem more and more to know their wants. At night, I laid the axe to the root, and showed their actual and original corruption, from Rev. iii. 17. 'Thou sayest, I am rich, and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.' The strong man was disturbed in his palace, and roared on every side. My strength increased with the opposition. A gentleman on horseback, with others, was ready to gnash upon me with his teeth, but my voice prevailed, and they retreated to their strong hold, the alehouse. There, with difficulty, they procured some butchers to appear in their quarrel; but they had no commission to approach till I had done. Then, in the last hymn, they made up to the table with great fury. The foremost often lifted up his stick to strike me, being within his reach; but he was not permitted. I staid to pray for them, and walked quietly to my lodgings. Poor Rabshakeh muttered something about the Bishop of Exeter; but did not accept of my invitation to Mr. Edwards's. The concern and love of the people were much increased, by my supposed danger. We joined together in prayer and thanksgiving as usual; and I slept in peace."

Mr. Wesley's Journal gives us no further information of his labors, or of any of his proceedings, till the latter end of the year 1756. The number of lay-preachers was now greatly increased; and though very few of them had enjoyed the benefits of a learned, or even a good education in the common branches of knowledge, yet there were among them men of strong sense, and great powers of mind, who soon became useful and able preachers of the gospel. We may naturally suppose, that these, conscious of their abilities and usefulness, would begin to feel some uneasiness under the very humble character of a Methodist preacher, which the public at that time held in great contempt. This seems to have been actually the case; for they wished to promote a plan, which no doubt they hoped might both be useful to the people, and give them a greater degree of respectability in the public opinion. To accomplish this purpose, they were desirous that the preachers, or some of them at least, should have some kind of ordination, and be allowed to administer the ordinances to the people, through all the societies. Both Mr. John and Charles Wesley opposed this attempt, as a total dereliction of the avowed principles on which the societies were first united together. When they became itinerant preachers, and began to form societies, they utterly disclaimed

any intention of making a separate party in the nation: they never intended that the societies should be separate churches: the members were constantly exhorted to attend their respective places of worship, whether the Established Church, or a Dissenting meeting; and the times of preaching on the Lord's day were purposely fixed, to give them liberty so to do. They had no intention to separate any from their former church-membership, but to awaken persons of all denominations to a serious sense of religion; to call them back to their first principles, to be helpers of their faith, and to stir them up to work out their salvation with fear and trembling! Their leading object was, to bring persons of all persuasions to an experimental and practical knowledge of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion; to unite them together in brotherly love, while each retained his former religious connexion and his peculiar opinions on church government and modes of worship. It is evident that the Methodist societies were formed on these broad and disinterested principles, however narrow-minded and interested men may have misconstrued them, or endeavored to pervert them. It was, indeed, a new thing in the world; but the two brothers were fully persuaded that this was the peculiar calling of the Methodists. They had been gradually led into this plan, under a concurrence of circumstances which appeared to them providential, and many years' experience of its extensive usefulness, had confirmed them in this opinion. To separate the people, therefore, from their former connexions, and unite them into an independent body, they thought was departing from their proper calling, and quitting the station which God had appointed them for the benefit of the nation. This subject has often been discussed, but the question has never been fairly stated. It is not merely, whether the Methodists shall separate from the Church of England? but whether they shall separate from the Church, and from every denomination of Dissenters hitherto known in the kingdom, and become a body, distinct and independent of both. Thus far, they have been a kind of middle link, uniting the Dissenters, and members of the Church, in the interests of experimental religion, and in christian love and charity to one another. A separation therefore, will make the breach wider than ever: it will overturn the original constitution of Methodism. and totally subvert the very spirit of it. This in my opinion will be of serious consequence, not only to the Methodists themselves, but to the nation at large.*

The contagion, however, had gone forth: the plague was begun: a division in the society of *Leeds*, had already taken place, and the minds of many in different societies were greatly unsettled, by a few

19

^{*}This subject is here incidentally mentioned, as it gave rise to Mr. Charles Wesley's journey through many of the societies this year. It will be considered more at length, in the latter part of the life of Mr. John Wesley.

of the preachers. Mr. Charles Wesley was much affected with these proceedings. He considered the present attempts to separate those of the people from the Church, who had belonged to her, and the Dissenters among them from their former connexions, as a partial evil only: but he looked forward to the consequences, which would probably follow, when none were left to oppose them. While under these painful exercises of mind, the words of the Lord by the prophet, often gave him comfort: "I will bring the third part through the fire." He often preached from these words in the journey we are going to describe; and would often mention them to his friends in conversation, even to the close of his life. He seemed to expect, that when he and his brother were removed hence, troubles would arise in the societies; but that, after various struggles, a third part would be found to adhere to their original calling, and to the original simplicity of the Methodists.

September 17. He left Bristol, and visited the societies in Gloucestershire and Staffordshire, every where confirming the brethren in the truths of the gospel, and in their peculiar calling as Methodists. the 22d, he came to Nottingham, and spent the afternoon in taking down the names of those in the society, and conversing with them. He adds, "We rejoiced to meet once more, after so long a separation. My subject both at night and in the morning, was, "I will bring the third part through the fire." It was a time of solemn rejoicing. There had been, twelve months ago, a great revival and increase of the society; but satan was beginning again to sow his tares. My coming at this season, I trust, will be the means of preventing a division." The next day he came to Sheffield. "Here also," he says, "I delivered my own soul, and the people seemed awakened and alarmed. I spake plainly and lovingly to the society, of continuing in the Church: and though many of them were Dissenters and predestinarians, none were offended." It is probable they understood his meaning, and then there was no just cause of offence. By advising those who belonged to the Church, to continue in it, he advised the Dissenters to continue in their respective meetings, or churches. His object was, to dissuade the members of the Methodist societies from leaving their former connexions, and uniting into a separate body. In doing this he sometimes mentioned the Dissenters, as well as the members of the Church of England, but not always, as in most places these formed the bulk of the Methodist societies.

Passing through Huntslet, the Rev. Mr. Crook, minister of the place, stopped him and took him to his house. Here he met with Dr. Cockburn, his old school-fellow and friend, who had waited for him near a week, to take him to York. Mr. Wesley spent a delightful hour in conversation with them, full of life and zeal, and simplicity, and then went on to Leeds. Sunday, September 26, he preached at seven in the morning, then walked to Huntslet, and preached

twice for Mr. Crook; in the evening he returned to Leeds, and preached a fourth time to a very crowded audience. In the society, he observes, "I could speak of nothing but love, for I felt nothing else. Great was our rejoicing over each other. Satan, I believe, has done his worst, and will get no further advantage by exasperating their spirits against their departed brethren. They were unanimous to stay in the Church, because the Lord stays in it, and multiplies his witnesses therein. Monday the 27th, I breakfasted with Miss N., who was not so evil-affected towards her forsaken brethren as I expected. Nothing can ever bring such as her back, but the charity which hopeth all things, beareth all things, endureth all things.—I went to the Church-prayers, with several who have been long dealt with to forsake them utterly. They will stand the firmer, I hope, for their shaking."

September 28. "I set out with Dr. Cockburn, for York, and preached from Hab. iii. 2. 'O Lord, revive thy work.' The crowd made our room excessively hot: but that did not hinder their attention.—Our preacher stationed here, had quite left off preaching in the morning. Many told me, I could not get a congregation at five o'clock: but I found it otherwise. The room was almost full, while I explained, 'Being made free from sin, and become the servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.' I insisted largely on the necessity of laboring after holiness. The hearers appeared much stirred up.—I spent the day (September 29) in conferring with all comers. The doctor's house was open to all, and his heart also: his whole desire being to spread the gospel."

October 1. He met with a Miss T. earnestly seeking salvation; who had been awakened by reading Theron and Aspasio, written by Mr. Hervey.—While at York, Mr. Wesley's time was fully occupied; not merely with preaching night and morning, and conversing with the members of the society: but in attending persons of learning and character, who were desirous of his company, to state their objections to the doctrines and economy of the Methodists, and to hear his answers. This day he spent an hour with Mr. D. and answered his candid objections. He had also an opportunity of defending his old friend Mr. Ingham. "It is hard," says he, "that a man should be hanged for his looks; for the appearance of M--nism. spirit and practices, he has as utterly renounced as we have: their manner and phrase cannot so soon be shaken off."-Simplicity and goodness constantly met with his approbation: under whatever dress or form he saw them, they attracted his notice and ensured his friend-He found Mercy Bell here, and these amiable qualities shone so bright through the little singularities of her profession, that he had sweet fellowship with her. He adds, "I marvel not that the Friends, so fallen from their first simplicity, cannot receive her testimony."—Thus speaks Mr. Wesley of a woman, who was a public teacher among the Friends. Many similar instances occur in his life, which plainly show that his love of truth and goodness, always broke through his high-church prejudices, and united his heart, in christian fellowship, to the wise and good of every communion.

October 2. The whole day was spent in singing, conference, and prayer. "I attended," says he, "the quire-service. The people there were marvellously civil, and obliged me with the anthem I desired, Hab. iii., a feast for a king, as Queen Anne called it. The Rev. Mr. Williamson walked with me to his house, in the face of the I would have spared him, but he was quite above fear. pious sensible Dissenter cleaved to us all day, and accompanied us to the preaching. I discoursed on my favorite subject, 'I will bring the third part through the fire.' We glorified God in the fire, and rejoiced in hope of coming forth as gold. Sunday, October 3. From five till near eight in the morning I talked closely with each of the society: then, at Mr. Williamson's request, I preached on the Ordinances from Isaiah lxiv. 5. 'In those is continuance and we shall be saved. I dwelt longest on what had been most neglected, family prayer, public prayer, and the sacrament. The Lord set to his seal, and confirmed the word with a double blessing.—I received the sacrament at the minster. They were obliged to consecrate twice, the congregation being doubled and trebled through my exhortation and example. Glory be to God alone.—I went to Mr. Williamson's church, who read prayers as one who felt them, and then beckoned I stepped up into the pulpit, when no one expected it, and cried to a full audience, 'The kingdom of God is at hand; repent ve, and believe the gospel.' They were all attention. The word did not return void, but accomplished that for which it was sent. he that planted, any thing, neither is he that watereth."

October 5. Being returned to Leeds, he conversed with one of the preachers who seemed desirous of making a separation; and adds, "I threw away some words on one, who is wiser in his own eyes than seven men who can render a reason."—The next day, he again conversed with the same preacher, who frankly confessed, if any of the societies should desire him to take charge of them as a distinct body, he should not refuse them. Mr. Wesley told him plainly, that the ground of all such designs was pride: but his words were spoken into the air.—He now set out for Seacroft, and rode on to Aberford, to see his old friend Mr. Ingham, who was absent, laboring in his Lord's vineyard. "I had the happiness," says he, "of finding lady Margaret at home, and their son Ignatius. She informed me that Mr. Ingham's circuit takes in about four hundred miles; that he has six fellow-laborers, and a thousand persons in his societes, most of them converted. I rejoiced in his success. Ignatius would hardly be satisfied at my not preaching. We passed an hour and a half profitably, and got safe back to Seacroft before night. Soon after, our dearest brother Grimshaw found us, and brought a blessing with him. I preached from Luke xxi. 34, 'Take heed to yourselves,' &c., and further enforced our Lord's warning on the society.—Our hearts were comforted and knit together.—October 8, we had another blessed hour with them, before we left this lively people. I continued till one o'clock, in conference with my worthy friend and fellow-laborer, Mr. Grimshaw; a man after my own heart; whose love of the church, flows from his love of Christ. With such, may my lot be cast in both worlds.

"I rode with my faithful brother Grimshaw to Bramley, and preached to a multitude of serious souls, who eagerly received our Lord's saying, 'Look up, and lift up your heads,' &c. They seemed broad awake, when I called again in the morning, October 2, 'Watch ye therefore, and pray always,' &c. Their spirit quickened mine. We had sweet fellowship together. I have no doubt but they will be counted worthy to escape, and to stand before the Son of man.-Returning to Leeds, I met my brother Whitefield, and was much refreshed by the account of his abundant labors. I waited on him to our room, and gladly sat under his word.—October 10. From Isaiah lxiv. 5, I earnestly pressed the duties of constant communicating, of hearing, reading, preaching the word; of fasting, of private, family, and public prayer. The spirit of love and union was in the midst of us.—I came to Birstal before noon. My congregation was a thousand or two less, through George Whitefield's preaching to-day at Haworth. Between four and five thousand were left to receive my warning from Luke xxi. 34. After church service, we met again: every soul seemed to hang on the word. Two such precious opportunities, I have not enjoyed this many a day. It was the old time revived; a weighty spirit rested on the congregation, and they stood like men prepared to meet the Lord."

October 11. Mr. Whitefield, and Mr. Grimshaw, were present at a watch-night at Leeds. Mr. Wesley preached first, and Mr. Whitefield after him. It was a time of great solemnity, and of great rejoicing in hope of the glorious appearing of the great God.—He now left Leeds, but continued preaching in the neighboring places a few days. At Birstal, he makes the following observation: "The word was clothed with power, both to awaken and to confirm. My principal concern is for the disciples, that their houses may be built on the rock, before the rains descend. I hear in most places, the effect of the word; but I hearken after it, less than formerly, and take little notice of those, who say they receive comfort, or faith, or forgiveness. Let their fruits show it."

October 17. He came to Mr. Grimshaw's, at Haworth, and was greatly refreshed with the simplicity and zeal of the people. Here a young preacher in Mr. Ingham's connexion came to spend the evening with him. "I found great love for him," says Mr. Wesley,

"and wished all our sons in the gospel, were equally modest and discreet."-He was now more fully informed of the state of the people in several societies: that, having been prejudiced against the Church of England, by some of the preachers, their minds had been unsettled, and rendered dissatisfied with the Methodist economy. These were easily induced to leave the society, and unite themselves to some independent body: seldom with advantage, but often with He talked largely with Mr. Grimshaw, how to remedy the "We agreed," says he, "1. That nothing can save the Methoevil. dists from falling a prey to every seducer, but close walking with God, in all the commandments and ordinances; especially reading the word, and prayer, private, family, and public. 2. That the preachers should be allowed more time in every place, to visit from house to house, after Mr. Baxter's manner. 3. That a small treatise should be written, to ground them in their calling, and preserve them against seducers; and be lodged in every family."

He now set out for Lancashire, accompanied by his zealous friend Mr. Grimshaw. They reached Manchester on the 20th. They found the society in a low divided state, and reduced nearly one half. make more allowance," says Mr. Wesley, "for this poor shattered society, because they have been neglected, if not abused, by our preachers. The leaders desired me not to let J. T. come among them again, for he did them more harm than good, by talking in his witty way against the Church and clergy. As for poor J. H. he could not advise them to go to church, because he never went himself. some informed me, that he advised them not to go. I talked with the leaders, and earnestly pressed them to set an example to the flock, by walking in all the commandments and ordinances. I wrote my thoughts to my brother, as follows. 'Mr. Walker's letter * deserves to be seriously considered. One only thing occurs to me now, which might prevent in a great measure the mischiefs which will probably ensue after our death: and that is, greater, much greater deliberation and care in admitting preachers. Consider seriously, if we have not been too easy and too hasty in this matter. Let us pray God to show us, if this has not been the principal cause, why so many of our preachers have lamentably miscarried. Ought any new preacher to be received before we know that he is grounded, not only in the doctrines we teach, but in the discipline also, and particularly in the communion of the Church of England? If we do not insist on that 50077 + for our desolate mother, as a prerequisite, yet should we not be well assured that the candidate is no enemy to the Church? I met the society in calm love, and exhorted them to stand fast in one mind

^{*} Several letters passed between Mr. John Wesley, and the Rev. Mr. Walker, of Truro, about this time. They are published in the Arminian Magazine.

[†] Natural affection; such as parents have for their children, or children for their parents.

and one spirit; in the old paths, or ways of God's appointing. Henceforth they will not believe every spirit. The Lord stablish their hearts with grace."

October 23. He breakfasted with Mr. Richard Barlow, whose uniform conduct, for a great many years, has done honor to the Methodist society, and to religion in general. "I rejoiced," says Mr. Wesley, "in the remembrance of his blessed sister, now in glory. For seven years, she adorned the gospel in all things."—He afterwards took horse with Mr. Philips for Hafield. The next day, Sunday the 24th, he preached in the church, which was better filled than had ever been known in a morning; and in the evening was exceedingly crowded. He makes a short observation here, that shows his attachment to the Church of England, in a much stronger light than anything which another person could say of him. "I tasted the good word," says he, "while reading it. Indeed the scripture comes with double weight to me in a church. If any pity me for my bigotry, I pity them for their blind prejudice, which robs them of so many blessings."

October 24. He returned to Manchester, and makes the following observations on Mr. Whitefield's candor and liberality. "Here I rejoiced to hear of the great good Mr. Whitefield has done in our societies. He preached as universally as my brother. He warned them every where against apostasy, and insisted on the necessity of holiness after justification. He beat down the separating spirit, highly commending the prayers and services of our church; charged our people to meet their bands and classes constantly, and never to leave the Methodists, or God would leave them. In a word, he did his utmost to strengthen our hands; and he deserves the thanks of all the churches for his abundant labor of love."

October 29, he wrote to Mr. Grimshaw as follows: "I could not leave this shattered society so soon as I proposed. They have not had fair play from our treacherous sons in the gospel, but have been scattered by them as sheep upon the mountains. I have once more persuaded them to go to church and sacrament, and stay to carry them thither the next Lord's day.-Nothing but grace can keep our children, after our departure, from running into a thousand sects, a thousand errors. Grace, exercised, kept up and increased in the use of all the means; especially family and public prayer and the sacrament, will keep them steady. Let us labor, while we continue here, to ground and build them up in the Scriptures, and in all the ordinances. Teach them to handle well the sword of the spirit, and the shield of faith. Should I live to see you again, I trust you will assure me, there is not a member of all your societies but reads the Scriptures daily, uses private prayer, joins in family and public worship, and communicates constantly. 'In those is continuance, and we shall be saved."

"To MY BELOVED BRETHREN AT LEEDS, &c.

"Grace and peace be multiplied! I thank my God on your behalf, for the grace which is given unto you, by which ye stand fast in one mind and in one spirit. My Master, I am persuaded, sent me to you at this time to confirm your souls in the present truth—in your calling, in the old paths of gospel ordinances. O that ye may be a pattern to the flock for your unanimity and love. O that ye may continue steadfast in the word, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers (private, family, and public,) till we all meet around the great white throne !-- I knew beforehand, that the Sanballats, and Tobiahs, would be grieved when they heard there was a man come to seek the good of the Church of England. I expected they would pervert my words, as if I should say, 'The church could save you.' So indeed you and they thought, till I and my brethren taught you better: and sent you in and through all the means to Jesus Christ. But let not their slanders move you. Continue in the old ship. Jesus hath a favor for our church, and is wonderfully visiting and reviving his work in her. It shall be shortly said, 'Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her.' Blessed be God you see your calling. Let nothing hinder you from going constantly to church and sacrament. Read the Scriptures daily in your families, and let there be a church in every house. The word is able to build you up, and if ve watch and pray always, ye shall be counted worthy to stand before the Son of man. Watch ye therefore, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men, be strong: let all your things be done in love. rejoice in hope of presenting you all in that day. Look up, for your eternal salvation draweth near.

"I examined more of the society. Most of them have known the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. October 30, I dined with my candid friend and censor, Dr. Byrom. I stood close to Mr. Clayton in church, as all the week past, but not a look would be cast towards me,

' So stiff was his parochial pride,'

and so faithfully did he keep his covenant with his eyes, not to look upon an old friend, when called a Methodist.—October 31, I spake with the rest of the classes. I refused tickets to J. and E. R. all the rest were willing to follow my advice, and go to church and sacrament. The Dissenters I sent to their respective meetings." These extracts from Mr. Charles Wesley's Journal for the present year, show, in the clearest light, that he had a just view of the peculiar calling of the Methodists, and that he was exceedingly anxious they should abide in it. He was fully convinced, that all attempts to form the people into an independent body, originated in the pride and self-ishness of some of the preachers, and would be injurious to the progress of the work. He saw, however, that, under various pretences,

the preachers would finally prevail, and obtain their purpose, though not during the life of his brother. He was still comforted with the hope, that whenever such an event should take place, there would be found, perhaps, a third part of the people in the societies who would have judgment and virtue enough left to withstand it, and continue a connexion on the original plan. How far his expectations will be realized, time must discover.

November 1, Mr. Wesley left Manchester, and on the 6th came safe to his friends at Bristol. This, I believe, was the last journey he ever took through any considerable part of the kingdom. He afterwards divided his labors chiefly between London and Bristol, and continued to preach till within a short time of his death. Many conjectures have been made concerning the reasons which induced him to desist from travelling, and from taking the same active part in the government of the societies which before he had done. Not a few have attributed his conduct, in this respect, to a loss of zeal, and true vital religion; and I confess that I was once of that opinion; but I have since been more perfectly informed, and better acquainted with the nature of his situation. The following circumstances will throw some light on this matter. 1. His determined opposition against all attempts to unite the members of the Methodist societies into an independent body, made the leading preachers, who wished it, his enemies. 2. His avowed opinion, that many preachers were admitted into the connexion, as itinerants, who were not qualified for that station, united all of this description with the former, and both together endeavored to persuade the people that Mr. Charles Wesley was an enemy to all the lay-preachers, and no friend to Methodism itself: nor were persons wanting, who whispered these things into the ears of Mr. John Wesley, to prejudice his mind against his brother. Charles being fully aware of all this, and wishing to avoid a low and illiberal opposition, and especially occasions of frequent difference with his brother, thought it best to retire from a situation in which all his words and actions were artfully misconstrued and misrepresented, and from having any share in the government of the societies, which he saw, or thought he saw, was approaching towards a system of human policy, that in the end could not be carried on without sometimes having recourse to the arts of misrepresentation and deception. These he abhorred in all persons, but when practised under the mask of religion, they always appeared to him more detestable.

He still continued, however, firmly attached to the Methodists, and labored by every means which his situation would permit, to avert the evils he feared, and to promote the good of the societies. He never lost sight of any attempts to detach the people from their former connexions, and unite them into an independent body, and uniformly opposed them with all the influence he had. In 1758, he

published his testimony on this subject in the following words: "I think myself bound in duty, to add my testimony to my brother's. His twelve reasons against our ever separating from the Church of England, are mine also. I subscribe to them with all my heart. Only with regard to the first, I am quite clear, that it is neither expedient nor LAWFUL for me to separate. And I never had the least inclination or temptation so to do. My affection for the church is as strong as ever: and I clearly see my calling; which is to live and to die in her communion. This therefore I am determined to do, the Lord being my helper."

In 1786, after Mr. John Wesley had been prevailed upon to ordain some of the preachers, he republished the same testimony, and in other ways showed the most marked disapprobation of his brother's conduct. Yet he still continued to preach in the societies as usual, and to correspond with his brother; not only on matters relating to the new ordination among the Methodists, but on other subjects. In a letter to his brother, dated April 9, 1787, he observes, "I served West Street Chapel on Friday and yesterday. Next Saturday I propose to sleep in your bed. S. B. and I shall not disagree.

"Stand to your own proposal: 'Let us agree to differ.' I leave America and Scotland to your latest thoughts and recognitions: only observing now that you are exactly right: 'He did nothing before he asked me.' True, he asked your leave to ordain two more preachers, before he ordained them: but while your answer was coming to prohibit him, he took care to ordain them both. Therefore, his asking you was a mere compliment. This I should not mention, but out of concern for your authority. Keep it while you live; and, after your death, detur digniori—or rather, dignioribus.*—You cannot settle the succession: you cannot divine how God will settle it. Have the people of —— given you leave to die E. A. P. J.?"†

In this letter, speaking of genius, he observes, "I never knew a genius that came to good. What can be the reason? Are they as premature in evil as in good; or do their superior talents overset them? Must every man of a superior understanding lean to, and trust and pride himself in it?—I never envied a man of great parts: I never wished a friend of mine possessed of them.

"Poor J. H.! What has genius done for him? ruined his fortune, and ruined his body. Last night I heard he was dying of a putrid fever. We prayed for him at the table: but I know not whether he is alive or dead. His sickness was sent to prepare him either for

^{*} Let it be given to one more worthy; or rather, in the plural, to those who are more worthy of it. He speaks ironically of these worthies, who aimed at the supreme power in the societies, over the head of his brother.

[†] Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter Johannes. John, Presbyter of the Church of England. This signature, I believe, Mr. John Wesley sometimes used in the early part of life, when writing to his brother.

Paradise, or for orders. Such a messenger may perhaps take Samuel or Charles, from the evil. I never sought great things for them; or greater for myself, than that I may escape to land—on a broken piece of the ship. It is my daily and hourly prayer, that I may escape safe to land—and that an entrance may be ministered to you abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of Jesus Christ."

Mr. Charles Wesley had a weak body, and a poor state of health, during the greatest part of his life. I believe he laid the foundation of both, at Oxford, by too close application to study, and abstinence from food. He rode much on horseback, which probably contributed to lengthen out life to a good old age. I visited him several times in his last sickness, and his body was indeed reduced to the most extreme state of weakness. He possessed that state of mind which he had been always pleased to see in others—unaffected humility, and holy resignation to the will of God. He had no transports of joy, but solid hope and unshaken confidence in Christ, which kept his mind in perfect peace. A few days before his death he composed the following lines. Having been silent and quiet for some time, he called Mrs. Wesley to him, and bid her write as he dictated;

"In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
O! could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!"

He died March 29, 1788, aged seventy-nine years and three months; and was buried, April 5, in Marybone church-yard, at his own desire. The pall was supported by eight clergymen of the Church of England. On his tomb-stone are the following lines, written by himself on the death of one of his friends: they could not be more aptly applied to any person, than to Mr. Charles Wesley.

"With poverty of spirit bless'd,
Rest, happy saint, in Jesus rest;
A sinner sav'd, through grace forgiv'n,
Redeem'd from earth to reign in heav'n!
Thy labors of unwearied love,
By thee forgot, are crown'd above;
Crown'd, through the mercy of thy Lord,
With a free, full, immense reward!"

Mr. Wesley was of a warm and lively disposition; of great frankness and integrity, and generous and steady in his friendships. His love of simplicity, and utter abhorrence of hypocrisy, and even of affectation in the professors of religion, made him sometimes appear severe on those who assumed a consequence, on account of their experience, or, were pert and forward in talking of themselves and others. These persons were sure of meeting with a reproof from him,

which some, perhaps, might call precipitate and imprudent, though it was evidently founded on a knowledge of the human heart. In conversation he was pleasing, instructive, and cheerful; and his observations were often seasoned with wit and humor. His religion was genuine and unaffected. As a minister, he was familiarly acquainted with every part of divinity; and his mind was furnished with an uncommon knowledge of the Scriptures. His discourses from the pulpit were not dry and systematic, but flowed from the present views and feelings of his own mind. He had a remarkable talent of expressing the most important truths with simplicity and energy; and his discourses were sometimes truly apostolic, forcing conviction on the hearers in spite of the most determined opposition. As a husband, a father, and a friend, his character was amiable. Mrs. Wesley brought him five children, of whom two sons and a daughter are still living. The sons discovered a taste for music, and a fine musical ear, at an early period of infancy, which excited general amazement; and are now justly admired by the best judges for their talents in that pleasing art.

From a review of the life of Mr. Charles Wesley, as delineated in the preceding sheets, it will appear evident, that the Methodists are greatly indebted to him for his unwearied labors and great usefulness at the first formation of the societies, when every step was attended with difficulty and danger.* And being dead he yet speaketh, by his numerous and excellent hymns, written for the use of the societies, which still continue to be the means of daily edification and comfort to thousands. It has been proposed to publish a volume of sermons, selected from his manuscripts, for the benefit of his widow: if this should be done, it is hoped the Methodists will show their gratitude to his memory, and that they are not unworthy of the benefits they have received from him.

His lively turn of thought did not leave him in his old age, as the following lines will testify.

THE MAN OF FASHION.

Written in 1784.

What is a modern man of fashion?
A man of taste and dissipation:
A busy man, without employment,
A happy man, without enjoyment.
Who squanders all his time and treasures,
On empty joys, and tasteless pleasures;
Visits, attendance, and attention,
And courtly arts, too low to mention.

In sleep, and dress, and sport and play, He throws his worthless life away;

^{*} The labors of the Methodist preachers at present, are mere amusement, compared with his fatigues and dangers.

Has no opinion of his own,
But takes from leading beaux the ton;
With a disdainful smile or frown,
He on the rif-raf crowd looks down;
The world polite, his friends and he,
And all the rest are —— Nobody!

Taught by the great his smiles to sell, And how to write, and how to spell; The great his oracles he makes, Copies their vices and mistakes; Custom pursues, his only rule, And lives an ape, and dies a fool!

Had Mr. Charles Wesley engaged in the higher walks of verse, there is no doubt but he would have been esteemed a considerable poet, even by those who now despise his hymns. He chose the most excellent way—the writing of hymns for the instruction and edification of the many, rather than devote all his life in attempts to please the fancy of the few. Some of his hymns are certainly among the best pieces in that species of composition. The following hymn has, through mistake, been attributed to his brother.

Written after a Riot.

"Ye simple souls that stray
Far from the path of peace,
(That unfrequented way
To life and happiness;)
How long will ye your folly love,
And throng the downward road,
And hate the wisdom from above,
And mock the sons of God?

Madness and misery
Ye count our life beneath;
And nothing great can see,
Or glorious in our death:
As born to suffer and to grieve,
Beneath your feet we lie,
And utterly contemn'd we live,
And unlamented die.

Poor pensive sojourners,
O'erwhelm'd with griefs and woes,
Perplex'd with needless fears,
And pleasure's mortal foes;
More irksome than a gaping tomb
Our sight ye cannot bear,
Wrapt in the melancholy gloom
Of fanciful despair.

So wretched and obscure,
The men whom you despise,
So foolish, weak, and poor,
Above your scorn we rise:
Our conscience in the Holy Ghost,
Can witness better things;

For he whose blood is all our boast, Hath made us priests and kings.

Riches unsearchable
In Jesus' love we know,
And pleasures from the well
Of life, our souls o'erflow;
From him the spirit we receive,
Of wisdom, grace, and power;
And alway sorrowful we live,
Rejoicing evermore.

Angels our servants are,
And keep in all our ways,
And in their hands they bear
The sacred sons of grace:
Our guardians to that heavenly bliss,
They all our steps attend,
And God himself our Father is,
And Jesus is our Friend.

With him we walk in white,
We in his image shine,
Our robes are robes of light,
Our righteousness divine;
On all the grov'ling kings of earth
With pity we look down,
And claim, in virtue of our birth,
A never-fading crown."

Mr. Charles Wesley wrote short hymns on the most important passages in the Old and New Testament. In these he has expressed his opinion, on the leading doctrines of the gospel, with energy and beauty.

"The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard-seed." Matt. xiii. 31.

"A grain of grace may we not see
This moment, and the next a tree?
Or must we patiently attend,
To find the precious seed ascend?
Our Lord declares it must be so;
And striking deep our root, we grow,
And lower sink, and higher rise,
Till Christ transplant us to the skies."

The following comment on a much disputed passage shows his humanity and benevolence.

" To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me." 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.

"What do these solemn words portend?

A gleam of hope when life shall end:
'Thou and thy sons, though slain, shall be
To-morrow in repose with me!'
Not in a state of hellish pain,
If Saul with Samuel doth remain,
Not in a state of damn'd despair,
If loving Jonathan be there."