

THE
L I F E
OF THE
REV. JOHN WESLEY, M. A.
SOME TIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

COLLECTED FROM HIS PRIVATE PAPERS AND PRINTED WORKS; AND WRITTEN AT THE
REQUEST OF HIS EXECUTORS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS ANCESTORS AND RELATIONS;

WITH

THE LIFE OF THE
REV. CHARLES WESLEY, A. M.

COLLECTED FROM HIS PRIVATE JOURNAL, AND NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

THE WHOLE FORMING A HISTORY OF METHODISM, IN WHICH THE
PRINCIPLES AND ECONOMY OF THE METHODISTS ARE UNFOLDED.

BY

JOHN WHITEHEAD, M. D.

AUTHOR OF THE DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT MR. WESLEY'S FUNERAL.

—————In labors more abundant———
A workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of Truth.—PAUL.

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I hereby certify that this edition of WHITEHEAD'S LIFE OF WESLEY, stereotyped by me, is as accurate a copy of the original, as it was possible to execute.

GEO. A. CURTIS.

Boston, June 20, 1844.

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THE

LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY.

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

OF MR. WESLEY'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA, OF HIS LABORS THERE, AND RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1738.

IT has been already observed, that Mr. Wesley, at this time, had very imperfect notions of the method proposed in the gospel of attaining true christian experience. He did indeed differ, in some things, from the generality of the clergy in the Church of England: he carried his notions of gospel holiness much further than they thought, either necessary or attainable in this life; and believing, that, an exact attendance on the instituted means of grace, with acts of charity, self-denial, and mortification, were the chief helps to attain it, he carried these particulars to an extent which made him appear singular. His ardor to attain the end was exceeded by nothing but the exactness and rigor with which he practised, what he thought the means of attaining it. His extreme attention to every thing that might be helpful in subduing the evil propensities of his nature, and that might further his progress towards a conformity with Christ. led him to consider and speak of the observance of little things, as of the utmost importance to his salvation. Not that he thought the things of so much importance in themselves, detached from others; but as filling up the more minute parts of a system of duties, which without them, would be incomplete and less beneficial to him. Like as a man straitened in his circumstances, and struggling to get forward in the world; if he only attend to the more important branches of his business, and wholly neglect the numerous little expenses of his family, will soon find that they greatly retard his progress. Mr. Wesley reasoned in the same way, concerning the external helps and hindrances in a religious course of life, and therefore thought it his duty to abstain from the minutest thing that might be hurtful, and to practise every thing that might in any respect be useful to him. And as little things are too commonly overlooked, though great ones are

made up of them, he might perhaps on this account speak more strongly of them than otherwise he would have done. However this be, his scrupulous exactness in things which seemed to others of little importance, or wholly indifferent in religion, chiefly attracted notice, and made him appear whimsical and superstitious, to persons who did not perceive the principle which governed his conduct. This lessened the dignity of his character in their opinion, and weakened his influence over those under his care. To this principle, therefore, which governed him in the smallest matters, we must attribute, in great measure, his want of success, and most of the inconveniences which he suffered in Georgia. We may blame his want of prudence, because the principle on which he reasoned was sometimes carried too far; but his integrity, and upright intention will remain unsullied.

On Tuesday, the 14th of October, he set out for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia,* accompanied by his brother Mr. Charles Wesley, Mr. Ingham of Queen's College, Oxford, and Mr.

* Georgia is situated between Carolina and Florida. It extends 120 miles upon the sea-coast, and 300 miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and its boundaries to the north and south, are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha.—The settlement of a colony between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, was meditated in England in 1732, for the accommodation of poor people in Great Britain and Ireland, and for the further security of Carolina. Humane and opulent men suggested a plan of transporting a number of indigent families to this part of America, free of expense. For this purpose they applied to the king, George II. and obtained from him letters patent, bearing date June 9, 1732, for legally carrying into execution what they had generously projected. They called the new province Georgia, in honor of the king, who encouraged the plan. A corporation, consisting of 21 persons, was constituted by the name of "The Trustees for settling and establishing the Colony of Georgia."

In November, 1732, 116 settlers embarked for Georgia, to be conveyed thither free of expense, furnished with every thing requisite for building and cultivating the soil. Mr. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, and an active promoter of the settlement, embarked as the head and director of these settlers. They arrived at Charlestown early in the next year. Mr. Oglethorpe, accompanied by William Bull, shortly after his arrival, visited Georgia; and after surveying the country, marked the spot on which Savannah now stands, as the fittest to begin their settlement. Here they accordingly began and built a small fort; a number of small huts for their defence and accommodation. Such of the settlers as were able to bear arms were embodied, and well appointed with officers, arms, and ammunition. A treaty of friendship was concluded between the settlers and their neighbors the Creek Indians, and every thing wore the aspect of peace and future prosperity. But the fundamental regulations established by the trustees of Georgia, were ill adapted to the circumstances and situation of the poor settlers, and of pernicious consequence to the prosperity of the province. Like other distant legislators, who framed their regulations on principles of speculation, they were liable to many errors and mistakes; and however good their design, their rules were found improper and impracticable. These injudicious regulations and restrictions, the wars in which they were involved with the Spaniards and Indians, and the frequent insurrections among themselves, threw the colony into a state of confusion and wretchedness too great for human nature long to endure. Their oppressed situation was represented to the Trustees by repeated complaints, till at length finding that the province languished under their care, and weary with the complaints of the people, they, in the year 1732, surrendered their charter to the king, and it was made a royal government. Georgia is now a flourishing state: what are called the upper counties are pretty generally supplied with preachers of the Baptist and Methodist persuasion; but the greater part of the state is without ministers of any denomination.

Delamotte, the son of a merchant in London. "Our end," says he, "in leaving our native country, was not to avoid want, God having given us plenty of temporal blessings; nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honor; but singly this, to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God." In the afternoon they found the Simmonds off Gravesend, and immediately went on board. The next day he wrote to his brother, Mr. Samuel Wesley, of Tiverton, informing him that he had presented his father's commentary on Job, to the Queen, and had received many good words and smiles. In this letter he declares his sentiments to his brother, concerning the usual method of teaching boys the heathen poets in large schools. "The uncertainty," says he, "of having another opportunity to tell you my thoughts in this life, obliges me to tell you what I have often thought of, and that in as few and plain words as I can. Elegance of style is not to be weighed against purity of heart; purity both from the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye and the pride of life. Therefore, whatever has any tendency to impair that purity, is not to be tolerated, much less recommended for the sake of that elegance. But of this sort (I speak not from the reason of the thing only, nor from single experience) are most of the classics usually read in great schools: many of them tending to inflame the lusts of the flesh (besides Ovid, Virgil's *Æneid*, and Terence's *Eunuch*) and more to feed the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. I beseech you therefore by the mercies of God, who would have us holy as he is holy, that you banish all such poison from your school, that you introduce in their place such christian authors as will work together with you in building up your flock in the knowledge and love of God. For assure yourself, dear brother, you are even now called to the converting of heathens as well as I.

"So many souls are committed to your charge by God, to be prepared for a happy eternity. You are to instruct them, not only in the beggarly elements of Greek and Latin, but much more in the gospel. You are to labor with all your might to convince them, that Christianity is not a negation, or an external thing, but a new heart, a mind conformed to that of Christ; faith, working by love."

These sentiments have been spoken of as singular; and have been brought forward as an indirect evidence of Mr. Wesley's fondness for singularity. But if we understand them with a little candor, and the opinions of learned and pious men on the same subject be fairly stated, there will appear nothing singular in them. He here condemns the reading and explaining of the heathen poets, *indiscriminately*, to the youth in great schools; but we must not suppose, that he would have condemned a judicious selection from them. Indeed, after his school at Kingswood was fully established, he made such a selection for the use of it, so far as he thought would be necessary for the youth likely to be educated in it. His words being understood with this limitation, Mr. Wesley speaks nothing but what the most learned and pious men

in the christian church, have, in all ages, unanimously spoken before him. Nay the heathen moralists themselves, deliver the same sentiments concerning their own poets. "Plato, the wise and judicious philosopher, banished the poets from his imaginary commonwealth, and did not think them proper to be put into the hands of youth without great precaution; to prevent the dangers which might arise from them. *Cicero plainly approves of his conduct, and supposing with him, that poetry contributes only to the corruption of manners, to enervate the mind, and strengthen the false prejudices consequential of a bad education, and ill examples, he seems astonished that the instruction of children should begin with them, and the study of them be called by the name of learning and a liberal education."†

The two following days after he got on board, were spent with his friends, partly in the ship and partly on shore, in exhorting one another to shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race

* *Videsne poetæ quid mali afferant?—Ita sunt dulces, ut non legantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur. Sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam, vitamque umbratilem et delicatam, cum accesserunt etiam poetæ, nervos virtutis elidunt. Rectè igitur a Platone educuntur ex ea civitate quam finxit ille, cum mores optimos et optimum reip. Statum quæreret. At vero nos, docti scilicet a Græcia, hæc et a pueritia legimus et didicimus. Hanc eruditionem liberalem et doctrinam putamus. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii.*

† The Jews prohibited the tutors of their children from instructing them in Pagan literature. "Maledictus esto," says the Gemara, "quisquis filium suum sapientiam græcicam edocet." "Let him be accursed, whoever teacheth his son Greek literature." The primitive fathers of the church, were divided in their opinions on this subject. Some forbade Christians to read any of the heathen writers, on account of their bad tendency, both as to principles and morals. The Apostolical constitutions, as they are called, speak in this strain, "Ab omnibus gentilium libris abstine;" "abstain from all books of the Gentiles." And though these constitutions are not Apostolical, yet it is allowed on all hands, that they are very ancient. Cotelerius in a note on this passage, has shown the different sentiments of many of the Fathers: and it is probable that a majority of them were of opinion, the heathen writers might be read with advantage, under certain restrictions and regulations. Basil the great, has an oration, showing, "quomodo ex scriptis gentilium utilitatem capere debeamus:" "how we ought to reap advantage from the writings of the Gentiles." The most learned and pious among the moderns, have very universally condemned the practice of indiscriminately reading the writings of the heathens. On this subject, Erasmus complains in one of his letters, "pro christianis reddamur pagani." "Instead of Christians we are made Pagans." And again, "Animadverto," says he, "juvenes aliquot, quos nobis remittit Italia, præcipue Roma, nonnihil adflatos hoc veneno." "I observe some youths, returned from Italy, especially from Rome, infected with this poison." Buddeus *Isagoge*, par. i. p. 117. Buddeus himself observes, after giving the opinions of several others, "Singulari utique hic opus esse circumspectione, negari nequit; cum facile contingat, ut qui ethnicorum scriptis toti veluti immerguntur, ethnicum, plane, alienumque a religione christiana, inde referant animum." "It cannot be denied that there is here need of singular circumspection, as it easily happens, that they who are, as it were, wholly immersed in the writings of the heathens, return from them with a heathenish mind, alienated from the christian religion." He then gives several examples of the bad influence of this practice on the minds of men of great abilities and learning: to which we might add the name of a late celebrated historian; and perhaps many others of our nation. The danger arises from the fondness which these persons contract for the studied and regular composition manifest in these writings, and for the flowers of oratory with which they dress out their fables and false notions of things.

set before them. There being twenty-six *Germans* on board, members of the *Moravian* Church, Mr. Wesley immediately began to learn the *German* language, in order to converse with them; and David Nitchman, the *Moravian* bishop, and two others began to learn *English*, that they might enjoy the benefit of mutual conversation. He observes, that he now first preached *extempore*, though I believe he had done so once before in London. It was here that his acquaintance commenced with the *Moravian* brethren, which he cultivated for several years, with great assiduity and success; and we must allow that the knowledge he acquired by their means, laid the foundation of the great things which followed in the subsequent part of his life.

It was a maxim with Mr. Wesley in the conduct of life, that every part of the day ought to be filled up with some useful employment; a man unemployed, being in constant danger of falling into foolish temptations and hurtful habits, the best preservative from which is industry. He therefore so arranged his business that he had a stated employment for every part of the day. This love of regularity in the improvement of his time, immediately showed itself in his new situation. October 21, they sailed from *Gravesend*, and got into the *Docus*. "Now," says he, "we began to be a little regular. Our common way of living was this: from four in the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five till seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understandings) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve I usually learned *German*, and Mr. Delamotte, *Greek*. My brother writ sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve we met, to give an account to one another what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally, as need required. At four were the evening prayers; when either the second lesson was explained (as it always was in the morning) or the children catechised, and instructed before the congregation. From five to six we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the passengers (of whom there were about eighty English on board) and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the *Germans* in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks, to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again, to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us."

This, no doubt, was prodigious labor; and yet it may be safely affirmed, that, during the fifty-five years and upwards, which followed, few days passed, in which, by one employment or other, the time was

not filled up with equal exactness and diligence. It has indeed been doubted whether the human mind be capable of such unremitting attention through a multiplicity of business, without injury. The words of Horace, "*Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo,*" have been quoted to show, that the mind ought not always to be on the stretch. But these words were not spoken with any allusion to this subject. We may observe also that varying our employment gives a considerable degree of relaxation to the mind. Every subject does not require the same stretch of thought; nor every kind of exercise the same degree of exertion.

The wind being contrary they did not sail from *Cowes* till the 10th of December.—On Thursday the 15th of January, 1736, complaint being made to Mr. Oglethorpe of the unequal distribution of water to the passengers, new officers were appointed, and the old ones were highly exasperated against Mr. Wesley, who, as they supposed, had made the complaint.—From the 17th to the 25th, they had violent storms, the sea going frequently over the ship, and breaking the cabin windows. On these occasions he found the fear of death brought him into some degree of bondage, and being a severe judge of himself he concluded, that he was unfit, because he was unwilling to die: at the same time he could not but observe the lively victorious faith which appeared in the *Germans*, and kept their minds in a state of tranquillity and ease, in the midst of danger, to which he and the English on board were strangers: speaking of these humble followers of Christ, he says, "I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behavior. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired, and would receive no pay; saying, "It was good for their proud hearts, and their loving Saviour had done more for them." And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying, whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the main-sail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The *Germans* calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, "Was you not afraid?" He answered, "I thank God, No." I asked, "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied mildly, "No; our women and children are not afraid to die."

On the 29th, they fell in with the skirts of a hurricane, which however did no damage; on the 4th of February, they saw land; and on the 6th, after a stormy passage first set foot on American ground,

on a small uninhabited island over against Tybee, where Mr. Oglethorpe led them to a rising ground and they returned God thanks, and then he took boat for Savannah.

During this passage Mr. Wesley's leading principle, that self-denial and mortification, were to him the chief means of holiness, showed itself powerfully in his conduct. Judging, as he observes, that it might be helpful to him, he discontinued the use of flesh and wine, and confined himself to vegetables, chiefly rice and biscuit. He also left off eating suppers, and his bed having been wet by the sea, he lay upon the floor, and slept sound till morning. He speaks with an air of triumph on this unexpected victory over the common indulgence of using a bed to sleep in; and adds, "I believe, I shall not find it needful to go to bed, as it is called, any more."

February 7, Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Savannah, with Mr. Spangenberg, one of the pastors of the Germans. "I soon found," says Mr. Wesley, "what spirit he was of; and asked his advice with regard to my own conduct. He said, "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are the child of God?" I was surprised and knew not what to answer. He observed it, and asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" I paused and said, "I know he is the Saviour of the world." "True," replied he; "but do you know he has saved you?" I answered, "I hope he has died to save me." He only added, "Do you know yourself?" I said "I do." But I fear they were vain words.—On the 14th, some Indians came to them, and shook them by the hand, one of them saying, "I am glad you are come. When I was in England, I desired that some would speak the great word to me and my nation then desired to hear it; but now we are all in confusion. Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation: and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians, as the Spaniards make Christians: we would be taught, before we are baptized."

The house at Savannah, where they were to reside, not being ready, Mr. Wesley with Mr. Delamotte, took up their lodgings with the Germans. Here they had an opportunity of being better acquainted with them, and of closely observing the whole of their behavior, from morning till night. Mr. Wesley gives them an excellent character. He tells us, "They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humor with one another. They had put away all anger, and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamor, and evil-speaking. They walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, and adorned the gospel of our Lord in all things." He adds, "Feb. 28. They met to consult concerning the affairs of their church. After several hours spent in conference and prayer, they proceeded to the election and ordination of a bishop. The great simplicity, as well as solemnity of the whole, almost made me forget the

seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not; but *Paul* the tent-maker, or *Peter* the fisherman presided; yet with the demonstration of the spirit and of power."

Sunday, March 7. He entered on his ministry at Savannah, by preaching on the epistle for the day, being the 13th of the first of Corinthians. In the second lesson, Luke xviii. was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which he himself, and consequently his followers, was to meet with from the world. He adds, "Yet notwithstanding these plain declarations of our Lord; notwithstanding my own repeated experience; notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read, or heard of: nay and the reason of the thing, evincing to a demonstration, that all who love not the light must hate him who is continually laboring to pour it in upon them: I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces; I could scarce refrain from giving the lie to experience and reason and Scripture all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it."

On the 18th, Mr. Wesley wrote to his mother as follows: "I doubt not but you are already informed of the many blessings which God gave us in our passage; as my brother Wesley must before now, have received a particular account of the circumstances of our voyage; which he would not fail to transmit to you by the first opportunity.

"We are likely to stay here some months. The place is pleasant beyond imagination; and by all I can learn exceeding healthful,—even in summer, for those who are not intemperate. It has pleased God, that I have not had a moment's illness of any kind since I set my foot upon the continent: nor do I know any more than one of my seven hundred parishioners, who is sick at this time. Many of them indeed, are, I believe, very angry already: for a gentleman, no longer ago than last night, made a ball; but the public prayers happening to begin about the same time, the church was full, and the ball-room so empty, that the entertainment could not go forward.

"I should be heartily glad, if any poor and religious men or women of Epworth or Wroote, would come over to me. And so would Mr. Oglethorpe too: he would give them land enough, and provisions gratis, till they could live on the produce of it. I was fully determined to have wrote to my dear Emmy* to-day; but time will not permit. O hope ye still in God! for ye shall yet give him thanks, who is the help of your countenance, and your God! Renounce the

* His eldest sister Emelia.

world: deny yourselves: bear your cross with Christ, and reign with him! My brother Hooper too, has a constant place in our prayers. May the good God give him the same zeal for holiness which he has given to a young gentleman of Rotterdam, who was with me last night. Pray for us, and especially for, dear mother, your dutiful and affectionate son, John Wesley."

Mr. Wesley being now informed of the opposition which his brother Charles met with at Frederica; on the 22d of March, wrote to him the following letter—"How different are the ways wherein we are led, yet I hope toward the same end. I have hitherto no opposition at all: all is smooth, and fair and promising. Many seem to be awakened: all are full of respect and commendation. We cannot see any cloud gathering. But this calm cannot last; storms must come hither too: and let them come when we are ready to meet them.

"'Tis strange so many of our friends should still trust in God! I hope indeed, whoever turns to the world, Mr. Tackner and Betty, with Mr. Hird's family, and Mr. Burk, will zealously aim at the prize of their high calling. These especially I exhort by the mercies of God, that they be not weary of well-doing, but that they labor more and more to be meek and lowly, and daily to advance in the knowledge and love of God.—I hope too Mr. Weston, Mr. Moore, Mr. Allen, and Mr. White, as well as Mr. Ward and his wife, continue in the same wise resolutions. I must not forget Mr. Reed, and Mr. Daubry, both of whom I left fully determined to shake off every weight, and with all their might pursue the one thing needful.

"*Conciones omnes meas jamnunc habes, præter istas quas misi. Aliquæ in pyxide sunt (de quâ ne verbum scribis) undè cum bibliis in quarto. Liber de disciplinâ quam celerrime potes, remittendus est. Quanta est concordia fratrum: Tui volo et fratris B.?*" You have now all my sermons, except those which I have sent. Some are in the box (of which you say not a word) together with the Bible in quarto. The book of discipline must be sent back as soon as possible. How great is the concord of brethren: I mean of thee and brother B.?

"You are not, I think, at liberty *ερέφασθαι εἰς τὸ ἔθνη ἕως οἱ συμφυλέται σοι, ἀπωθῆσίν σε,*" to turn to the Gentiles till your own countrymen shall cast you out. "If that period come soon, so much the better: only in the mean while, reprove and exhort with all authority, even though all men should despise thee. *Ἀποβήσεται σοι εἰς μαρτύριον.*" It shall turn to thee for a testimony.*

"I conjure you spare no time, no address or pains to learn the true cause *τῆς πάλαι δδύνης τῆς φίλης μου,*"† of the former distress of my friend. "I much doubt you are in the right. *Μη γένοιτο ἵνα ἔγω πάλιν ἀμαρτάνῃ. Γρηγόρει, φυλάσσο, ὡς μάλιζα δύνη. Γράψε μοι, πῶς με δέη γράφειν πρὸς αὐτήν.*" God forbid, that she should again in like manner miss the mark.

* See the same phrase, Luke xxi. 13. † See a similar construction of *πάλαι* 2 Pet. i. 9.

Watch over her; keep her, as much as possible. Write to me, how I ought to write to her.

“If Mr. Ingham were here, I would try to see you. But omit no opportunity of writing. *Καθυνεῖω πάντων ὄραν.*” I stand in jeopardy every hour.—“Let us be strong and very courageous; for the Lord our God is with us: and there is no counsel or might against him!”

Mr. Charles took the hint his brother gave him, and on the 28th, sent Mr. Ingham to Savannah.* April 4th, Mr. Wesley set out for Frederica, in a Pettiawga, a sort of flat-bottomed barge, and the following evening they anchored near Skidoway island, where the water at flood, was twelve or fourteen feet deep. Mr. Wesley wrapt himself up in a large cloak, and lay down on the quarter-deck: but in the course of the night he rolled out of his cloak, and fell into the sea, so fast asleep that he knew not where he was, till his mouth was full of water. He swam round to a boat, and got out without any injury, more than wetting his clothes. This instance gives us a lively view of his fortitude and presence of mind in the midst of surprise and danger.

Mr. Wesley left Frederica, and arrived at Savannah on the 20th. The next day he wrote to his brother; and among other things observes, “I still extremely pity poor Mrs. Hawkins: but what can I do more, till God show me who it is that continually exasperates her against me? Then I may perhaps be of some service to her. There is surely some one who does not play us fair: but I marvel not at the matter. He that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there is that is mightier than they—Yet a little while and God will declare who is sincere. Tarry thou the Lord’s leisure and be strong, and he shall comfort thy heart.”

On the same day he wrote to Mr. Oglethorpe, and tells him, “Savannah, never was so dear to me as now. I believe, knowing by whom I send, I may write as well as speak freely. I found so little, either of the form or power of religion at Frederica, that I am sincerely glad I am removed from it. Surely, never was any place, no not London itself, freer from one vice, I mean hypocrisy,

‘O curvæ in terris animæ, et cælestium inanes!’”

O grovelling souls, bent to the earth, and void of heavenly good!

“Jesus Master have mercy upon them—There is none of those who did run well, whom I pity more than Mrs. Hawkins: her treating me in such a manner would indeed have little affected me, had my own interests only been concerned. I have been used to be betrayed, scorned, and insulted by those I had most labored to serve. But when I reflect on her condition, my heart bleeds for her—Yet with Thee nothing is impossible!

* Vol. I. page 85.

“ With regard to one who ought to be dearer to me than her, I cannot but say, that the more I think of it the more convinced I am, that no one, without a virtual renouncing of the faith, can abstain from the public as well as the private worship of God. All the prayers usually read morning and evening at Frederica and here, put together, do not last seven minutes. These cannot be termed long prayers : no christian assembly ever used shorter : neither have they any repetitions in them at all—If I did not speak thus plainly to you ; which I fear no one else in England or America will do, I should by no means be worthy to call myself, Sir, Yours, &c. John Wesley.”

Not finding as yet any open door for pursuing his main design of preaching to the Indians, he consulted with his companions, in what manner they might be most useful to the little flock at Savannah. It was agreed, 1. to advise the more serious among them, to form themselves into a little society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other : which might be forwarded partly by their conversing singly with each, and inviting them all together to Mr. Wesley’s house : and this accordingly they determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon. Here we see the first rudiments of the future economy of classes and bands, which has had no small influence in promoting the success of the Methodists beyond any other denomination of Christians, not immediately favored by the civil power.

There subsisted at this time, a dispute between the gentlemen of Carolina and Georgia, respecting the right of trading with the Indians. The dispute was brought into Westminster-Hall, and agitated on both sides with great animosity. Mr. Wesley had hitherto thought it his duty to confine himself to those things which immediately related to his office as a minister, and not to intermeddle with any thing that seemed foreign to it. But having considered the matter in debate, and the consequences of it to the province, he altered his sentiments, and on the 23d of July delivered his opinion on the subject in a letter to Mr. Hutcheson. He observes, “ By what I have seen during my short stay here, I am convinced that I have long been under a great mistake, in thinking no circumstances could make it the duty of a christian priest, to do any thing else but preach the gospel. On the contrary, I am now satisfied, that there is a possible case wherein a part of his time ought to be employed in what *less* directly conduces to the glory of God, and peace and good will among men. And such a case, I believe is that which now occurs : there being several things which cannot so effectually be done without me ; and which, though not directly belonging to my ministry, yet are by consequence of the highest concern to the success of it. It is from this conviction that I have taken some pains to inquire into the great controversy now subsisting between Carolina and Georgia ; and in

examining and weighing the letters wrote, and the argument urged, on both sides of the question. And I cannot but think that the whole affair might be clearly stated in few words. A charter was past a few years since, establishing the bounds of this province, and empowering the trustees therein named to prepare laws, which when ratified by the king in council, should be of force within those bounds. Those Trustees have prepared a law, which has been so ratified, for the regulation of the Indian trade, requiring that none should trade with the Indians who are within this province, till he is so licensed as therein specified. Notwithstanding this law, the governing part of Carolina, have asserted both in conversation, in writing, and in the public newspapers, that it is lawful for any one not so licensed, to trade with the Creek, Cherokee, or Chickasaw Indians: they have past an ordinance, not only asserting the same, but enacting that men and money shall be raised to support such traders; and in fact they have themselves licensed and sent up such traders both to the Creek and Chicasaw Indians.

“This is the plain matter of fact: now as to matter of right, when twenty more reams of paper have been spent upon it, I cannot but think it must come to this short issue at last: 1. Are the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, within the bounds of Georgia or no? 2. Is an act of the king in council in pursuance of an act of parliament, of any force within these bounds, or not? That all other inquiries are absolutely foreign to the question a very little consideration will show. As to the former of these, the Georgian charter compared with any map of these parts which I have ever seen, determines it: the latter I never heard made a question of, but in the neighborhood of Carolina.

“Mr. Johnson’s brother has been with us some days. I have been twice in company with him at Mr. Oglethorpe’s: and I hope there are in Carolina, though the present proceeding would almost make one doubt it, many such gentlemen as he seems to be; men of good nature, good manners, and understanding. I hope God will repay you seven-fold for the kindness you have shown to my poor mother, and in her to, sir, your most obliged, most obedient servant, John Wesley.”

At the same time he wrote to Mr. Vernon on the same subject. “As short a time,” says he, “as I have for writing, I could not pardon myself if I did not spend some part of it in acknowledging the continuance of your goodness to my mother: which indeed neither she, nor I, can ever lose the sense of.

“The behavior of the people of Carolina, finds much conversation for this place. I dare not say whether they want honesty or logic most; it is plain a very little of the latter, added to the former, would show how utterly foreign to the point in question, all their voluminous defences are. Here is an act of the king in council, past in pursuance of an act of parliament, forbidding unlicensed persons to trade with the Indians in Georgia. Nothing therefore can justify them in

daily sending unlicensed traders to the Creek, Cherokee, and Chicasaw Indians, but the proving either that this act is of no force, or that those Indians are not in Georgia. Why then are these questions so little considered by them, and others so largely discussed? I fear for a very plain, though not a very honest reason; that is, to puzzle the cause. I sincerely wish you all happiness in time and eternity, and am, sir," &c.

Sept. 13. He began reading over, with Mr. Delamotte, Bishop Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum Conciliorum*. "Nothing," says he, "could so effectually have convinced me, that both particular and general councils may err, and have erred: and of the infinite difference there is between the decisions of the wisest men, and those of the Holy Ghost recorded in his word."—Sept. 20. They ended the Apostolical canons so called, and Mr. Wesley acknowledges in his printed Journal, that he once thought more highly of them than he ought to think. "Bishop Beveridge," says he, "observes, that they are the decrees of the several Synods, which met at several places, and on several occasions, in the second and third age after Christ; and are therefore called Apostolical, because partly grounded upon, and partly agreeing with the traditions they had received from the Apostles. He further observes, that as they were enacted by different Synods, so they were collected by different persons; till about the year 500, John, Bishop of Constantinople, placed them at the head of the canons which he collected into one code.—But then he adds (*Cod. Canon.* p. 159,) they contain that discipline which was used in the church when they were collected, not when the council of Nice met, for then many parts of them were useless and obsolete."

After Mr. Charles had left Frederica, and gone for England in the latter end of July, Mr. Wesley often visited that place; where he met with the most violent opposition, and the most illiberal abuse. He still however persevered in his endeavors to do them good, and on the 13th of October set out from Savannah, once more to visit them. He arrived at Frederica on the morning of the 16th, and met Mr. Hird on the Bluff, who gave him a melancholy account of the state of things there.* The public service had been discontinued; and from that time every thing was grown worse and worse—"Even poor Miss Sophy,"† says he, "was scarce the shadow of what she was when I left

* Mr. Wesley's private Journal. See also his printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxvi. p. 149.

† This person was Miss Sophy Causton, afterwards Mrs. Williamson, niece to Mr. Causton, storekeeper and chief magistrate of Savannah. After her marriage she was the occasion of so much trouble to Mr. Wesley, that it evidently hastened his departure out of America. He has observed a silence in his printed Journal on some circumstances of this affair, which has induced many persons to suspect the propriety of his conduct in this business. He has however been more open in his private Journal, which was written at the time, as the circumstances arose. And as this private Journal and his other papers, lay open to the inspection of his friends for several years, I cannot help thinking that it would have been more candid, and more to the reputation of themselves and Mr. Wesley,

her. I endeavored to convince her of it, but in vain: and to put it effectually out of my power so to do, she was resolved to return to England immediately. I was at first a little surprised; but I soon recollected my spirits, and remembered my calling. Greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.

“Non me, qui cætera, vincet

Impetus; at rapido contrarius evehar orbi.”

The force shall not overcome me, that overcomes all things else;
But I shall mount in a direction contrary to the rapid world.

“I began with earnestly crying to God to maintain his own cause; and then reading to a few who came to my house in the evenings, one of Ephrem Syrus’s exhortations, as I did every night after, and by the blessing of God not without effect. My next step was, to divert Miss Sophy from the fatal resolution of going to England. After several fruitless attempts I at length prevailed; nor was it long before she recovered the ground she had lost.

“October 23. Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the southward. I was in the fort with Mr. Horton, when he came. He ran to Mr. Horton, kissed him, and expressed much kindness to him, but took no notice of me good or bad; any more than if I had not been in the room. I was not surprised, having long expected it; when I mentioned it to Miss Sophy, she said; ‘Sir, you encouraged me in my greatest trials: be not discouraged yourself. Fear nothing: if Mr. Oglethorpe will not, God will help you.’

“October 25. I took boat for Savannah, with Miss Sophy; and came thither, after a slow and dangerous, but not a tedious passage, on Sunday the 31st.*

I insert the following story, because it seems well authenticated, and because it may be the means of putting young persons upon their guard against the arts, and persuasive words of designing and unprincipled men. November 12, says Mr. Wesley, “By a careful inquiry of several persons, I came to the full knowledge of a strange piece of history. Mr. T. a surgeon of Edinburgh debauched the daughter of one Mr. Ure, a lawyer, an only child, and distant relation. He then persuaded her to sign a writing which she had never read, and to go over with him to America. When she came hither, he treated her as a common servant; and not only so, but beat her frequently to such a degree that the scars made by the whip were plainly to be seen a year after. The fault commonly was, that the child she had by him

to have openly avowed the fact, that he did intend to marry Miss Causton, and was not a little pained when *she* broke off the connection with him. From a careful perusal of his private Journal, this appears to me to have been the case. But I will fairly state the evidence on which my opinion is founded, in his own words as they occur, and leave the reader to judge for himself: not doubting at the same time, that, whatever may be said of his weakness (and who is not weak in some thing or other) or of his prudence in this affair, nothing can be laid to his charge in point of criminality.

* See also his printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxvi. p. 150.

cried. After he had kept her thus for about two years, and she had brought him another child, he married another woman, and sold her to one of the Indian traders! The facts he allowed and defended before Mr. Oglethorpe (only he said he had given, not sold her) who, after a full hearing, determined that she should be set at liberty to work for herself and the child." This was a poor recompense for such accumulated injuries. If Mr. Oglethorpe had the power, he certainly ought to have laid a fine upon the man, sufficient to have maintained the woman and the child. Mr. Wesley proceeds. "Nov. 23. Mr. Oglethorpe sailed for England.—In the beginning of December, I advised Miss Sophy to sup earlier, and not immediately before she went to bed. She did so; and on this little circumstance, what an inconceivable train of consequences depend! Not only, 'All the color of remaining life,' for her; but perhaps all my happiness too!"

Feb. 5, 1737. "One of the most remarkable dispensations of Providence towards me, which I have yet known, began to show itself this day. For many days after I could not at all judge which way the scale would turn: nor was it fully determined till March 4th, on which God commanded me to pull out my right eye; and by his grace I determined so to do: but being slack in the execution, on Saturday, March 12, God being very merciful to me, my friend performed what I could not.*

"I have often thought, one of the most difficult commands that ever was given, was that given to Ezekiel concerning his wife. But the difficulty of obeying such a direction, appeared to me now more than ever before: when, considering the character I bore, I could not but perceive that the word of the Lord was come to me likewise, saying, "Son of man, behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke: yet neither shalt thou mourn, nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down."

Feb. 24. It was agreed that Mr. Ingham should go for England, and endeavor, if it should please God, to bring over some of their friends to strengthen their hands in his work. By him, Mr. Wesley wrote to Mr. Oglethorpe; and this letter shows both his zeal and entire openness of heart, in pursuing and inculcating without fear, what he deemed most excellent. It is as follows: "Sir, You apprehended strong opposition before you went hence; and unless we are misinformed, you have found it. Yesterday morning, I read a letter from London, wherein it was asserted, that Sir Robert had turned against you; that the parliament was resolved to make a severe scrutiny into all that has been transacted here; that the cry of the nation ran the same way; and that even the trustees were so far from acknowledging the service you have done, that they had protested your bills, and charged you with misapplying the moneys you had received, and with gross mismanagement of the power wherewith you was intrusted—

* On March the 12th Miss Sophy married Mr. Williamson.

Whether these things are so, or no, I know not; for it is ill depending on a single evidence. But this I know, that if your scheme was drawn (which I shall not easily believe) from that first-born of hell, *Nicholas Machiavel*,* as sure as there is a God that governs the earth, he will confound both it and you. If on the contrary (as I shall hope, till strong proof appear) your heart was right before God; that it was your real design to promote the glory of God, by promoting peace and love among men; let not your heart be troubled: the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. Perhaps in some things you have shown you are but a man: perhaps I myself may have a little to complain of: but O what a train of benefits have I received to lay in the balance against it! I bless God that you was born. I acknowledge his exceeding mercy, in casting me into your hands. I own your generous kindness all the time we were at sea: I am indebted to you for a thousand favors here: why then, the least I can say is, though all men should revile you, yet, if God shall strengthen me, will not I: Yea, were it not for the poor creatures, whom you have as yet but half redeemed from their complicated misery, I could almost wish that you were forsaken of all; that you might clearly see the difference, between men of honor, and those who are in the very lowest rank, the followers of Christ Jesus.

“O! where is the God of Elijah? Stir up thy strength and come and help him! If the desire of his heart be to thy name, let all his enemies flee before him! Art Thou not He who hast made him a father to the fatherless, a mighty deliverer to the oppressed! Hast Thou not given him to be, feet to the lame, hands to the helpless, eyes to the blind! Hath he ever withheld his bread from the hungry, or hid his soul from his own flesh! Then, whatever Thou withholdest from him, O Thou lover of men, satisfy his soul with thy likeness: renew his heart in the whole image of thy Christ: purge his spirit from self-will, pride, vanity, and fill it with faith and love, gentleness and long-suffering. Let no guile ever be found in his mouth; no injustice in his hands!—And among all your labors of love, it becomes me earnestly to entreat him, that He will not forget those you have

* *Nicholas Machiavel*, was born of a distinguished family at Florence. Of all his writings, a political treatise entitled the *Prince*, has made the greatest noise in the world. Mr. Wesley speaks thus of it; “If all the other doctrines of devils which have been committed to writing since letters were in the world, were collected together in one volume, it would fall short of this: and that should a prince form himself by this book, so calmly recommending hypocrisy, treachery, lying, robbery, oppression, adultery, whoredom, and murder of all kinds; *Domitian* or *Nero* would be an angel of light compared with that man.”—The world is not agreed as to the motive of this work; some thinking he meant to recommend tyrannical maxims; others, that he only delineated them to excite abhorrence. Harrington considers *Machiavel*, as a superior genius, and as the most excellent writer on politics and government that ever appeared. Some have said, his greatest fault was, that he told the world what bad princes did, not what they ought to do; and that his principles, though daily condemned, are daily put in practice. It has also been said, that he took his political maxims from the government of the Popes. He died in 1530.

gone through for, sir, your obliged and obedient servant, John Wesley."

By Mr. Ingham, he also wrote to Dr. Bray's associates, who had sent a parochial library to Savannah.* It was expected of the ministers who received these libraries, that they should send an account to their benefactors, of the method they used in catechising the children, and instructing the youth of their respective parishes. That part of his letter was as follows—"Our general method of catechising, is this; a young gentleman who came with me, teaches between thirty and forty children, to read, write and cast accounts. Before school in the morning, and after school in the afternoon, he catechises the lowest class, and endeavors to fix something of what was said in their understandings, as well as in their memories. In the evening he instructs the larger children. On Saturday in the afternoon I catechise them all. The same I do on Sunday before the evening-service: and in the church immediately after the second lesson, a select number of them having repeated the catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavor to explain at large, and enforce that part, both on them and the congregation.

"Some time after the evening-service, as many of my parishioners as desire it, meet at my house (as they do also on Wednesday evening) and spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation. A smaller number, mostly those who design to communicate the next day, meet here on Saturday evening: and a few of these come to me on the other evenings, and pass half an hour in the same employment."

March 4. Mr. Wesley wrote to the Trustees for Georgia, giving them an account of his expenses from March 1, 1736, to March 1. 1737, which deducting extraordinary expenses for repairing the parsonage-house, journies to Frederica, &c. amounted for himself and Mr. Delamotte, to forty-four pounds, four shillings, and four-pence. At the same time he accepted of the fifty pounds a year, sent by the

* Dr. Thomas Bray, was born at Marton, in Shropshire, in the year 1656, and educated at Oxford. He was at length presented to the vicarage of Over-Whitacre, in Warwickshire; and in 1690, to the rectory of Sheldon, where he composed his Catechetical Lectures, which procured him such reputation, that Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, pitched upon him as a proper person to model the infant Church of Maryland; and for that purpose he was invested with the office of Commissary. He now engaged in several noble undertakings. He procured sums to be raised for purchasing small libraries, for the use of the poor ministers in the several parts of our plantations: and the better to promote this design, he published two books; one, entitled *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, or a scheme of such theological and other heads, as seem requisite to be perused or occasionally consulted by the clergy, together with a catalogue of books which may be profitably read on each of those points; the other, *Apostolical Charity*, its nature and excellency considered. He endeavored to get a fund established for the propagation of the Gospel, especially among the uncultivated Indians; and by his means a patent was obtained for erecting the corporation called, *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. He, by his industry, procured relief for prisoners; and formed the plan of the society for the reformation of manners, charity-schools, &c. He wrote 1. his *Martyrology*, or *Papal usurpation*, in one volume folio. 2 *Directorium Missionarium*; and other works. He died in 1730.

Society for his maintenance, which, however, was in a manner forced upon him, as he had formed a resolution not to accept of it, saying his Fellowship was sufficient for him. On this occasion his brother Samuel expostulated with him, and showed him that by refusing it, he might injure those who should come after him: and if he did not want it for himself, he might give it away in such manner as he thought proper. He at length yielded to the solicitations of the Society, and the advice of his friends.

It appears to me, that the affair between Mr. Wesley, and Miss Sophy Causton, was this day finally broken off; and that he refers to this circumstance in the following paragraph in his printed Journal; "From the direction I received from God this day; touching an affair of the last importance, I cannot but observe, as I have done many times before, the entire mistake of many good men, who assert, 'That God will not answer your prayer unless your heart be wholly resigned to his will.' My heart was not wholly resigned to his will; therefore I durst not depend on my own judgment: and for this very reason, I cried to him the more earnestly to supply what was wanting in me. And I know, and am assured, that he heard my voice, and did send forth his light and his truth."

He proceeds in his private Journal, in reference to the same affair. "March 7. When I walked with Mr. Causton, to his country-lot, I plainly felt, that had God given me such a retirement, with the companion I desired, I should have forgot the work for which I was born, and have set up my rest in this world. March 8. Miss Sophy engaged herself to Mr. Williamson—and on Saturday, the 12th, they were married at *Purrysburgh*: this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking to her. What thou doest, O God, I know not now; but I shall know hereafter."

Whether the lady's patience was exhausted by Mr. Wesley's slow procedure in the business (as it does not appear that he was in any haste to finish it) or, whether she declined entering into the connubial state with him, on account of his abstemious and rigid manner of life, is uncertain: but whatever was the cause, it is evident from his own words, that he felt a disappointment when she married Mr. Williamson. It seems, that he expressed this more fully in a letter to his brother Samuel, who tells him in his answer, "I am sorry you are disappointed in one match, because you are very unlikely to find another."—It was not long however, before he saw sufficient cause to be thankful, that Providence had not permitted him to choose for himself. He had frequent occasions of discovering, that Mrs. Williamson was not that strictly religious character which he had supposed. On one of these occasions, near three months after her marriage, he writes thus, "God has showed me yet more, of the greatness of my deliverance, by opening to me a new and unexpected scene of Miss Sophy's dissimulation. O never give me over to my own heart's desires; nor let me follow my own imaginations!"

The things Mr. Wesley now passed through, gave him a more perfect knowledge of his own heart, and of human nature in general, than he had before acquired, which amply repaid him for the disappointment he had suffered. He still pursued his labors with unremitting diligence, and observed the greatest punctuality in answering the letters from his friends. March 29. He wrote to Mrs. Chapman, a religious acquaintance in England, with whom he held a correspondence. This letter will be a sufficient answer to an objection, often made against him at this time, that he thought cheerfulness inconsistent with religion—"True friendship," says he, "is doubtless stronger than death, else yours could never have subsisted still, in spite of all opposition, and even after thousands of miles are interposed between us.

"In the last proof you gave of it, there are a few things which I think it lies on me to mention: as to the rest, my brother is the proper person to clear them up, as I suppose he has done long ago.

"You seem to apprehend, that I believe religion to be inconsistent with cheerfulness, and with a sociable friendly temper. So far from it, that I am convinced, as true religion or holiness, cannot be without cheerfulness, so steady cheerfulness, on the other hand, cannot be without holiness or true religion. And I am equally convinced, that religion has nothing sour, austere, unsociable, unfriendly in it: but, on the contrary, implies the most winning sweetness, the most amiable softness* and gentleness. Are you for having as much cheerfulness as you can? So am I. Do you endeavor to keep alive your taste for all the truly innocent pleasures of life? So do I likewise. Do you refuse no pleasure, but what is a hindrance to some greater good, or has a tendency to some evil? It is my very rule: and I know no other by which a sincere reasonable Christian can be guided. In particular, I pursue this rule in eating, which I seldom do without much pleasure. And this I know is the will of God concerning me; that I should enjoy every pleasure, that leads to my taking pleasure in him; and in such a measure as most leads to it. I know that, as to every action which is naturally pleasing, it is his will that it should be so: therefore in taking that pleasure so far as it tends to this end (of taking pleasure in God) I do his will. Though therefore that pleasure be in some sense distinct from the love of God, yet is the taking of it by no means distinct from his will. No; you say yourself, 'It is his will I should take it.' And here indeed is the hinge of the question, which I had once occasion to state in a letter to you; and more largely in a sermon on the love of God. If you will read over those, I believe you will find, you differ from Mr. Law and me, in words only. You say, the pleasures you plead for are

* Softness is an equivocal term: but Mr. Wesley does not here mean effeminacy, which the christian religion forbids, and which he always discouraged both by his words and actions.

distinct from the love of God, as the cause from the effect. Why then they tend to it; and those which are only thus distinct from it, no one excepts against. The whole of what he affirms, and that not on the authority of men, but from the words and example of God incarnate, is, there is one thing needful, To do the will of God, and his will is our sanctification; our renewal in the image of God, in faith and love, in all holiness and happiness. On this we are to fix our single eye, at all times, and in all places: for so did our Lord: this one thing we are to do; for so did our fellow-servant Paul; after his example, ‘Whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we are to do all to the glory of God.’ In other words, we are to do nothing but what, directly or indirectly, leads to our holiness, which is his glory, and to do every such thing with this design, and in such a measure as may most promote it.

“I am not mad, my dear friend, for asserting these to be the words of truth and soberness: neither are any of those, either in England or here, who have hitherto attempted to follow me. I am, and must be an example to my flock: not indeed in my prudential rules; but in some measure (if, giving God the glory, I may dare to say so,) in my spirit, and life, and conversation. Yet all of them are, in your sense of the word, unlearned, and most of them of low understanding: and still not one of them has been as yet, entangled in any case of conscience which was not solved. And as to the nice distinctions you speak of, it is you, my friend, it is the wise, the learned, the disputers of this world, who are lost in them, and bewildered more and more, the more they strive to extricate themselves. We have no need of nice distinctions, for I exhort all—Dispute with none. I feed my brethren in Christ, as he giveth me power, with the pure unmixed milk of his word. And those who are as little children receive it, not as the word of man, but as the word of God. Some grow thereby, and advance apace in peace and holiness: they grieve, ’t is true, for those who did run well, but are now turned back; and they fear for themselves, lest they also be tempted: yet through the mercy of God they despair not, but have still a good hope that they shall endure to the end. Not that this hope has any resemblance to enthusiasm, which is a hope to attain the end without the means; this they know is impossible, and therefore ground their hope on a constant, careful use of all the means. And if they keep in this way, with lowliness, patience, and meekness of resignation, they cannot carry the principle of pressing toward perfection too far. O may you, and I, carry it far enough! Be fervent in spirit! Rejoice evermore! Pray without ceasing! In every thing give thanks! Do every thing in the name of the Lord Jesus! Abound more and more in all holiness, and in zeal for every good word and work!”

Before Mr. Wesley left Frederica, in January, where his brother had suffered so much, the opposition of some ill-minded and desperate

persons rose to a degree of violence hardly credible; so that his life was in danger several times. Every species of defamation, likely to prejudice the people against him, was propagated with diligence. The worst constructions, which malignity itself could invent, were put upon his actions, and reported as facts: it even seems that the giving away his own private income in acts of charity, was construed into embezzlement of the society's money. Mr. Wesley did not doubt, but men capable of such baseness, would represent the matter in this light to the trustees. He therefore wrote to them on the subject, and received the following answer from Dr. Burton; which, as it shows the confidence the trustees had in his uprightness and integrity, and their approbation of his conduct, I shall insert.

“ Georgia Office, June 15th.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I communicated your letter to the Board this morning. We are surprised at your apprehensions of being charged with the very imputation of having embezzled any public or private monies. I cannot learn any ground for even suspicion of anything of this kind. We never heard of any accusation; but on the contrary, are persuaded both of your frugality and honesty. We beg you not to give weight to reports or private insinuations. The trustees have a high esteem of your good services, and on all occasions will give further encouragement: and would not have the express mention of the fifty pounds, in lieu of the same sum formerly advanced by the society for propagation so understood, as not to admit of enlargement upon proper occasions. I am ordered by all the members present to acquaint you of this, and to give you assurance of their approbation of your conduct, and readiness to assist you. The V. Prov. of Eton has given you ten pounds, for your private use and doing works of charity: I have desired Mr. Oglethorpe, to convey this to you in a private way. Mr. Whitefield, will shortly, and by the next convenient opportunity go over to Georgia. There are three hundred acres granted to the church in Frederica. Be not discouraged by many hasty insinuations; but hope the best while many labor for the best. In good time matters will bear a better face. God strengthen your hands, and give efficacy to your honest endeavors. In a former letter I spoke my mind at large to you concerning many particulars. I am in much haste at present,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ J. BURTON.”

P. S. “ My Lord Egmont gives his respects and kind wishes, and begs you not to be discouraged.”

Mr. Causton, the chief magistrate of Savannah, seems to have been of a warm and rather violent temper, impatient of contradiction, over-bearing, and fickle in his attachments. He had hitherto,

not only shown a decent civility towards Mr. Wesley, but even a friendly regard for him. This regard seemed increased during a fever he had in the end of June, in which Mr. Wesley attended him every day.—On the third of July, Mr. Wesley reproved Mrs. Williamson for some things he thought wrong in her conduct. The reproof was resented by the lady, who said, *she did not expect such usage from him*. This was the beginning of strife, which as the wise man tells us, “is as when one letteth out water.” The next day, Mrs. Causton called, and apologizing for the behavior of her niece, desired Mr. Wesley to inform Mrs. Williamson in writing what he had to object against her conduct. He accordingly wrote to her on the 5th, and here the matter rested for a few weeks. In the meantime, however, Mrs. Williamson miscarried, and Mrs. Causton reported that the miscarriage was occasioned by Mr. Wesley’s reproof, and the letter he had sent: but Mrs. Williamson frankly acknowledged that, her husband having been sick, it was occasioned by the hurry and anxiety his sickness had produced. During this time Mr. Causton showed the same friendly attention to Mr. Wesley, as if nothing had happened. On this occasion Mr. Wesley writes in his private journal; “July 23. The strange esteem which Mr. Causton seemed to show for us, by which means we had nothing without but ease and plenty, occasioned my expressing myself thus in a letter to a friend; ‘How to attain the being crucified with Christ, I find not; being in a condition which I neither desired nor expected in America: in ease and honor, and abundance. A strange school for him who has but one business, *Γυμνάζειν σεαυτὸν πρὸς ἐδόξθειαν.*’” *

In the beginning of August, he joined with the Germans in one of their love-feasts. This, I believe, was the first time he ever saw a love-feast. He speaks thus of it: “It was begun and ended with thanksgiving and prayer, and celebrated in so decent and solemn a manner, as a Christian of the apostolic age, would have allowed to be worthy of Christ.” He afterwards adopted love-feasts into the economy of Methodism.

August 7. Mr. Wesley repelled Mrs. Williamson from the holy communion, for the reasons specified in his letter of the 5th of July, as well as, for not giving him notice of her design to communicate, after having discontinued it for some time. On the 9th, a warrant having been issued and served upon him, he was carried before the Recorder and magistrates. Mr. Williamson’s charge was, 1. That Mr. Wesley had defamed his wife: 2. That he had causelessly repelled her from the holy communion. The first charge Mr. Wesley denied; and the second, being purely ecclesiastical, he would not acknowledge the magistrate’s power to interrogate him concerning it. He was told, that he must, however, appear at the next court holden for Savannah. In the mean time Mr. Causton, having become Mr.

* To exercise himself unto godliness.

Wesley's bitter enemy, required him to assign his reasons in writing for repelling his niece. This he accordingly did, in the following letter to Mrs. Williamson. "At Mr. Causton's request I write once more. The rules whereby I proceed are these: So many as intend to partake of the holy communion, shall signify their names to the curate, at least some time the day before. This you did not do.

"And if any of these—have done any wrong to his neighbor by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the curate shall advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.

"If you offer yourself at the Lord's table on Sunday, I will advertise you, as I have done more than once, wherein you have done wrong: and when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the mysteries of God."

On the 12th of August, and the following days, Mr. Causton read to as many as he conveniently could, all the letters Mr. Wesley had written to himself, or Miss Sophy, from the beginning of their acquaintance: not indeed throughout, but selecting certain passages, which might, being detached from the rest, and aided by a comment which he supplied, make an impression to Mr. Wesley's disadvantage. Such methods as these, of oppressing an individual, are detestable; and yet they have too often been practised, even by persons professing religion; but they always afford sure evidence of a bad cause.

While Mr. Causton was thus employed, the rest of the family were assiduous in their endeavors to convince all to whom they spake, that Mr. Wesley had repelled Mrs. Williamson from the communion out of revenge, because she had refused to marry him. "I sat still at home," says Mr. Wesley, "and I thank God, easy, having committed my cause to him: and remembering his word, 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.' I was at first afraid, that those who were weak in the faith would be turned out of the way, at least so far as to neglect the public worship, by attending which they were likely to suffer in their temporal concerns. But I feared where no fear was: God took care of this likewise; insomuch that on Sunday the 14th, more were present at the morning prayers, than had been for some months before. Many of them observed those words in the first lesson, 'Set Naboth on high among the people: and set two men, sons of Belial before him, to bear witness against him.' No less remarkable were those in the evening lesson, 'I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil.' O may I ever be able to say with Micaiah, 'What the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak: and that, though I too

should be put into prison, and fed there, with bread of affliction, and with water of affliction.'”

August 16. At the request of several of the communicants, he drew up a short relation of the case, and read it after the evening prayers in the open congregation. And this evening, as Mr. Wesley supposed, Mrs. Williamson was prevailed upon to swear to, and sign a paper, containing many assertions and insinuations injurious to his character.—During the whole of this week, Mr. Causton was employed in preparing those who were to form the grand-jury at the next court-day. He was talking with some or other of them day and night: his table was free to all: old misunderstandings were forgot, and nothing was too much to be done for them, or promised to them. Monday, the twenty-second, the court was formed, and forty-four jurors were sworn in, instead of fifteen, to be a grand-jury to find the bills. This was done by Mr. Causton, who hereby showed his skill in the management of a controversy like this. He knew well, that numbers would add weight to every thing they transacted, and induce them to take bolder steps, than a few would venture upon. To this grand-jury, he gave a long and earnest charge, “to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new illegal authority, which was usurped over their consciences.” Mrs. Williamson’s affidavit was read; and he then delivered to them a paper, entitled a List of Grievances, *presented by the grand-jury for Savannah*, this day of August, 1737. In the afternoon Mrs. Williamson was examined, who acknowledged that she had no objections to make against Mr. Wesley’s conduct before her marriage. The next day Mr. and Mrs. Causton were also examined, when she confessed, that it was by her request Mr. Wesley had written to Mrs. Williamson on the 5th of July: and Mr. Causton declared, that if Mr. Wesley had asked his consent to have married his niece, he should not have refused it.—The grand-jury continued to examine these ecclesiastical grievances, which occasioned warm debates, till Thursday; when Mr. Causton being informed they were entered on matters beyond his instructions, went to them, and behaved in such a manner, that he turned forty-two, out of the forty-four, into a fixed resolution to inquire into his whole behavior. They immediately entered on that business, and continued examining witnesses all day on Friday. On Saturday, Mr. Causton finding all his efforts to stop them ineffectual, he adjourned the court till Thursday, the first of September, and spared no pains in the mean time, to bring them to another mind. September 1. He so far prevailed, that the majority of the grand-jury returned the list of grievances to the court, in some particulars altered, under the form of two presentments, containing ten bills, only two of which related to the affair of Mrs. Williamson; and only one of these was cognizable by that court, the rest being merely ecclesiastical. September 2, Mr. Wesley addressed the court to this

effect; "As to nine of the ten indictments against me, I know this court can take no cognizance of them; they being matters of an ecclesiastical nature, and this not an ecclesiastical court. But the tenth, concerning my speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson, is of a secular nature: and this therefore I desire may be tried here, where the facts complained of were committed." Little answer was made, and that purely evasive.

In the afternoon he moved the court again, for an immediate trial at Savannah; adding, "That those who are offended may clearly see whether I have done any wrong to any one; or whether I have not rather deserved the thanks of Mrs. Williamson, Mr. Causton, and of the whole family." Mr. Causton's answer was full of civility and respect. He observed, "Perhaps things would not have been carried so far, had you not said, you believed if Mr. Causton appeared, the people would tear him in pieces; not so much out of love to you, as out of hatred to him for his abominable practices." If Mr. Wesley really spake these words, he was certainly very imprudent, considering the circumstances in which he was placed. But we too often find in disputes, that the constructions of others on what has been said, are reported as the very words we have spoken; which I suspect to have been the case here. Mr. Causton, however, has sufficiently discovered the motives that influenced his conduct in this business.

T'welve of the grand-jurors now drew up a protest against the proceedings of the majority, to be immediately sent to the trustees in England. In this paper they gave such clear and satisfactory reasons, under every bill, for their dissent from the majority, as effectually did away all just ground of complaint against Mr. Wesley, on the subjects of the prosecution.—As Mr. and Mrs. Williamson intended to go for England in the first ship that should sail; some of Mr. Wesley's friends thought, he ought to go likewise; chiefly to prevent or remove the bad impressions which misrepresentation and ill-natured report, might make on the trustees and others, interested in the welfare of the colony. But September 10, he observes, "I laid aside the thoughts of going to England; thinking it more suitable to my calling, still to commit my cause to God, and not to be in haste to justify myself: only, to be always ready to give to any that should ask me, a reason of the hope that is in me."

Immoderate zeal is always to be suspected; especially when it appears in pursuing such measures as tend to injure or ruin an individual. A bad cause, which originated from hatred or malice, will almost always be carried on with more intemperate zeal, and bolder measures, than a consciousness of acting right will ever produce. The pursuit of any end in view, when governed by the passions, is always more violent than when directed by reason and truth. On this principle we may account for the proceedings of the magistrates

of Savannah. They sent the affidavit they had procured, and the two presentments of the grand-jury, to be inserted in the newspapers in different parts of America. The only purpose this could answer was, to injure Mr. Wesley in the opinion of a large body of people, who could not easily come at a true knowledge of the case. That these advertisements might make a deeper impression on the minds of the multitude, the pomp of legal form was preserved; the following words being added at the end of each bill, "CONTRARY TO THE PEACE OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING, HIS CROWN AND DIGNITY." Persons of discernment saw through the artifice, and in the end of September, Mr. Wesley received a letter from a gentleman of considerable abilities and learning in Charlestown, in which are the following observations. "I am much concerned at some reports and papers concerning you from Georgia. The papers contain some affidavits made against you, by one Mrs. Williamson; and a parcel of stuff called presentments of you by the grand-jury, for matters chiefly of your mere office as a clergyman. Has our sovereign lord the king, given the temporal courts in Georgia, ecclesiastical jurisdiction? If he has not, then sure I am, that, whatever your failings in your office may be, a grand jury's presentments of them, being repugnant to the fundamental laws and constitution of England, is a plain 'breach of his peace,' and an open insult on 'his crown and dignity;' for which they themselves ought to be presented, if they have not incurred a *premunire*.* The presentments, a sad pack of nonsense, I have seen; but not the affidavits. They were both designed to have been published in our Gazette, but our friends here have hitherto prevented it. I shall be glad to have some light from yourself into these matters, and wherewith to oppose the reports industriously spread here to your disadvantage; mean time, I remain your most obedient humble servant,

"S. GARDEN."

Mr. Wesley received some consolatory letters from those of his friends, to whom he had represented his situation. A letter of this kind, from Dr. Cutler, a clergyman at Boston, contains some thoughts so just, and not very commonly to be met with, that I think it worthy of a place here. It is dated the twenty-second of October. "I am sorry, sir," says he, "for the clouds hanging over your mind, respecting your undertaking and situation: but hope God will give a happy increase to that good seed you have planted and watered, according to his will. The best of men in all ages, have failed in the success of their labor; and there will ever be found too many enemies to the cross of Christ: for earth will not be heaven. This reminds us of that happy place, where we shall not see and be grieved for transgressors; and where, for our well meant labors, our judgment is with

* To incur a *premunire*, is to be liable to imprisonment and loss of goods.

the Lord, and our reward with our God. And you well know, sir, that under the saddest appearances, we may have some share in the consolations which God gave Elijah; and may trust in him, that there is some wickedness we repress or prevent; some goodness by our means, weak and unworthy as we are, beginning and increasing in the hearts of men, at present; perhaps like a grain of mustard-seed, that in God's time may put forth, and spread, and flourish: and that, if the world seems not the better for us, it might be worse without us. Our low opinion of ourselves is a preparative to these successes; and so the modest and great Apostle found it.

“No doubt, sir, you have temptations where you are, nor is there any retreat from them; they hint to us the care we must take, and the promises we must apply to: and blessed is the man that endureth temptation.

“I rejoice in the good character you give, which I believe you well bestow, of Mr. Whitefield, who is coming to you—but I question not, but his labors will be better joined with, than supersede yours: and even his, and all our sufficiency and efficiency is of God.

“It is the least we can do to pray for one another; and if God will hear me, a great sinner, it will strengthen your interest in him. I recommend myself to a share in your prayers, for his pardon, acceptance, and assistance; and beg that my family—may not be forgotten by you.”

Mr. Wesley, in the midst of this storm kept up by the arts of his avowed enemies, without a shilling in his pocket, and three thousand miles from home, possessed his soul in peace, and pursued his labors with the same unremitting diligence, as if he had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity and ease. October 30. He gives us an account of his labors on the Lord's-day. “The English service lasted from five till half an hour past six. The Italian (with a few Vaudois) began at nine. The second service for the English, including the sermon and the holy communion, continued from half an hour past ten, till about half an hour past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three began the English service. After this was ended, I joined with as many as my large room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing. And about six the service of the Germans began; at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but as a learner.”

November 1. He received a temporary relief from his pressing wants. “Col. Stephens,” says he, “arrived, by whom I received a benefaction of ten pounds sterling;* after having been for several months without one shilling in the house, but not without peace, health and contentment.”

November 3. He attended the court holden on that day; and again

* I suppose the ten pounds mentioned in Dr. Burton's letter, the 15th of June.

at the court held on the twenty-third ; urging an immediate hearing of his case, that he might have an opportunity of answering the allegations alleged against him. But this the magistrates refused, and at the same time countenanced every report to his disadvantage : whether it was a mere invention, or founded on a malicious construction of any thing he did or said. Mr. Wesley perceiving that he had not the most distant prospect of obtaining justice, that he was in a place where those in power were combined together to oppress him, and could any day procure evidence (as experience had shown) of words he had never spoken, and of actions he had never done ; being disappointed too, in the primary object of his mission, preaching to the Indians ; he consulted his friends what he ought to do ; who were of opinion with him, that, by these circumstances, Providence did now call him to leave Savannah. The next day he called on Mr. Causton, and told him he designed to set out for England immediately. November 24, he put up the following advertisement in the great square, and quietly prepared for his journey.

“Whereas John Wesley designs shortly to set out for England,
This is to desire those who have borrowed any books of him, to
return them as soon as they conveniently can, to

JOHN WESLEY.”

November 30. He went once more to Mr. Causton, to desire money to defray his expenses to England, intending to set out on Friday the second of December. It appears to me, that this was an event which the magistrates most ardently wished to take place, and to which all their proceedings had been solely directed. It is no objection to this opinion, that they published an order to prohibit him from leaving the province. It is manifest, that they had no intention of bringing the matter to a fair hearing before them, and of giving it a legal decision. They knew well that the evidence was so strong in Mr. Wesley's favor that they could not even invent a plausible pretence for giving the cause against him. But to give it in his favor would have been cause of rejoicing to him and his friends, and would have covered his enemies with shame ; and they had no way of preventing this, but by delaying the trial as long as possible. On the other hand, they easily foresaw, that if by cutting off all prospect of terminating the affair, and multiplying false and injurious reports concerning him, every day, they could weary out his patience, and induce him to quit the province of his own accord, the triumph would be left to his enemies ; and he leaving the province pending a prosecution against him, and in opposition to a prohibition of the magistrates, would bring a censure upon him, and make his conduct and character suspected among all those who did not know the circumstances of the case. Finding him now determined to go for England, they had a fine opportunity of giving their plan its full effect. Mr. Wesley

intended to set out about noon, the tide then serving: but about ten o'clock the magistrates sent for him, and told him he should not go out of the province, till he had entered into recognizance to appear at the court, and answer the allegations laid against him. Mr. Wesley replied, that he had appeared at six courts successively, and had openly desired a trial, but was refused it. They said that he must however give security to appear again. He asked, what security? After a long consultation together, they agreed upon a kind of bond, that he should appear at Savannah, when required, under a penalty of fifty pounds. But the Recorder added, you must likewise give bail to answer Mr. Williamson's action of one thousand pounds damages. "I then began," says Mr. Wesley, "to see into their design, of spinning out time and doing nothing; and so told him plainly, Sir, I will sign neither one bond nor the other: you know your business, and I know mine."

The magistrates finding him quite resolved to go for England, saw their plan was secure, and that they might carry on the farce, to keep up appearances in their own favor, without danger of disappointment. In the afternoon therefore, they published an order, requiring all officers to prevent his going out of the province; and forbidding any person to assist him so to do. The day was now far spent: after evening prayers, therefore, the tide again serving, Mr. Wesley left Savannah, in company with three other persons, no one attempting to hinder him. Indeed I have no doubt, but the magistrates were heartily glad to get rid of a man, whose whole manner of life was a constant reproof of their licentiousness, and whose words were as arrows sticking fast in them.

If we candidly review all the circumstances of this affair, we shall perhaps be led to conclude, that Mr. Wesley might have acted with more caution, and more regard to his own ease and character than he did, when he first saw the storm gathering and likely to burst with violence upon him. But his constant rule was, to ascertain to the satisfaction of his own mind, that particular line of conduct which duty required him to pursue as a Christian and a minister of the gospel, and then steadily to walk in it regardless of consequences. And there is every evidence which the case will admit, that he acted in this conscientious manner towards Mrs. Williamson. It does not appear that any one ever charged him with repelling her from the holy communion out of revenge because she would not marry him, except her relations, who now thought it necessary to injure his reputation as much as possible, to cover themselves from reproach. But this charge not only wants positive proof, it is even destitute of probability. It was about five months after her marriage when this circumstance happened, during the former part of which time he had frequently administered the sacrament to her, without showing any symptoms of revenge: and about three months after her marriage,

he saw such things in her conduct, as, in his private Journal which was never printed, induced him to bless God for his deliverance in not marrying her. Now let me ask any candid man, if it is probable, that Mr. Wesley could be actuated by a spirit of revenge for a disappointment at the end of five months, which had no influence on his conduct at the end of three months; and even after he had been convinced that the disappointment itself was a mercy, for which he secretly thanked God? I think no man will say it is probable, I apprehend it is impossible, this should be the case. In his pastoral character, Mr. Wesley acted by one rule towards all the communicants. If any one had discontinued his attendance at the Lord's table, he required him to signify his name some time the day before he intended to communicate again: and if any one had done wrong to his neighbor, so that the congregation was thereby offended, he required him openly to declare that he had repented. This rule the order of the Church of England required him to observe, and he acted by it invariably in all cases, whether the persons were rich or poor, friends or enemies. Mrs. Williamson did not conform to this established order, which must have been well known to all the communicants in so small a place. Mr. Wesley was therefore reduced to this alternative, either to break an order he held sacred, in her favor, and thereby incur the censure of a blameable partiality for her, after being married to another; or to repel her from the Holy Communion, and incur the censure of having done it out of revenge, because she would not marry him. Censure was inevitable, whichever way he had acted: and having well considered the matter, he determined to follow the rule he had always observed, and to leave the consequences to God.

Mr. Wesley enjoyed a wonderful state of health while in America. His constitution seemed to improve under the hardships he endured, which appeared sufficient to have weakened or destroyed the strongest man. Three hundred acres having been set apart at Savannah, for glebe land, he took from it what he thought sufficient for a good garden, and here he frequently worked with his hands. He continued his custom of eating little, of sleeping less, and of leaving not a moment of his time unemployed. He exposed himself with the utmost indifference to every change of season, and to all kinds of weather. Snow and hail, storm and tempest, had no effect on his iron body. He frequently slept on the ground in the summer, under the heavy dews of the night: and in the winter with his hair and clothes frozen to the earth in the morning. He would wade through swamps, and swim over rivers in his clothes, and then travel on till they were dry, without any apparent injury to his health. On one of these occasions he concludes, that any person might undergo the same hardship without injury, if his constitution was not impaired by the softness of a genteel education. In all Mr. Wesley's writings, I do not know such a flagrant instance of false reasoning as this: con-

trary to all the rules of logic, he draws a general conclusion from particular premises ; but who is at all times in full possession of the powers of his own mind ?

Mr. Wesley, and his three companions suffered great hardships in travelling from Purrysburg, to Port Royal. Not being able to procure a guide, they set out an hour before sunrise, without one. The consequence was, they lost their way ; wandered in the woods till evening, without any food but part of a ginger-bread cake divided among them, and without a drop of water. At night, two of the company dug with their hands about three feet deep, and found water, with which they were refreshed. They lay down together on the ground (in December,) "And I, at least," says Mr. Wesley, "slept till near six in the morning." They rose, took the rest of the ginger-bread cake, and wandered on till between one and two o'clock, before they came to any house, or obtained any further refreshment. December 6, after many difficulties and delays, they came to Port-Royal, and the next day walked to Beaufort, on the opposite side of the island. Here Mr. Jones, the minister of the place, invited Mr. Wesley to his house, and gave him, as he acknowledges, a lively idea of the old English hospitality. Mr. Wesley adds in his private Journal, "Yet observing the elegance, and more than neatness of every thing about him, I could not but sigh to myself, and say, *Heu delicatum discipulum Duri Magistri.*" Perhaps this remark was uncharitable and unjust ; and to adopt the language Mr. Wesley sometimes used, he was severely reprov'd for it shortly after. On the 9th, Mr. Delamotte having come to him, they took boat for Charlestown : but the wind being contrary, and provisions falling short, they were obliged on the 11th, to land at a plantation to get some refreshment. The people were unwilling to let them have any : at length, however, they gave them some bad potatoes, "of which," says Mr. Wesley, "they plainly told us we robbed the swine." The wind continued contrary, and they in want of every thing, till about noon, on the 12th, having reached John's Island, they desired a Mr. G. to let them have a little meat or drink of any sort, either with or without price. With much difficulty, he tells us, they obtained some potatoes, and liberty to roast them, in a fire his negroes had made at a distance from the house."

Mr. Wesley proceeds. "Early on Tuesday, December 13, we came to Charlestown, where I expected trials of a quite different nature, and more dangerous ; contempt and hunger being easy to be borne ; but who can bear respect and fulness of bread ?" On the 16th, he parted from his faithful friend, Mr. Delamotte, from whom he had been but a few days separate since their departure from England. On the 22d he took his leave of America, after having preached the gospel, as he observes in Savannah, not as he ought, but as he was able, for one year and near nine months.

In the beginning of the following May, Mr. Whitefield arrived at Savannah, where he found some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. Wesley's ministry, glad to receive him. He had now an opportunity of inquiring upon the spot, into the circumstances of the late disputes, and bears testimony to the ill usage Mr. Wesley had received; but adds, he thought it most prudent not to repeat grievances.* When he was at Charlestown, Mr. Garden acquainted him with the ill-treatment Mr. Wesley had met with, and assured him that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with life and fortune.† These testimonies, of persons so respectable, and capable of knowing all the circumstances of the affair, coincide with the general tendency of the statement above given; and with candid persons must do away all suspicions with regard to the integrity of Mr. Wesley's conduct.

During his voyage to England, Mr. Wesley entered into a close and severe examination of himself, and recorded the result with the greatest openness. January 8, 1738, in the fulness of his heart he writes thus: "By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced, 1. Of unbelief; having no such faith in Christ, as will prevent my heart from being troubled.—2. Of pride, throughout my life past: inasmuch as I thought I had, what I find I have not. 3. Of gross irrecollection; inasmuch as, in a storm I cry to God every moment; in a calm, not. 4. Of levity and luxuriancy of spirit—appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but most, by my manner of speaking of my enemies—Lord save, or I perish! Save me, 1. By such a faith as implies peace in life and death. 2. But such humility, as may fill my heart from this hour forever, with a piercing uninterrupted sense, *Nihil est quod hactenus feci*, that, hitherto I have done nothing. 3. By such a recollection as may enable me to cry to thee every moment. 4. By steadiness, seriousness, *σεμνοτητα*, sobriety of spirit, avoiding as fire, every word that tendeth not to edifying, and never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins set in array before my face."

January 13. They had a thorough storm.—On the 24th, being about 160 leagues from the land's end, he observes, his mind was full of thought, and he wrote as follows: "I went to America to convert the Indians; but oh! who shall convert me? Who is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief; I have a fair summer religion; I can talk well, nay, and believe myself while no danger is near; but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, to die is gain!

'I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore!'

"I think verily if the gospel be true, I am safe—I *now* believe the

* Robert's Narrative of the Life of Mr. George Whitefield, page 56. † Ibid. page 58.

gospel is true. I show my faith by my works, by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make. Whoever sees me, sees I would be a Christian. Therefore are my ways not like other men's ways. Therefore I have been, I am, I am content to be, a by-word, a proverb of reproach. But in a storm I think, what if the gospel be not true; then thou art of all men most foolish—O who will deliver me from this fear of death? What shall I do? Where shall I fly from it?" &c. These reflections on his own state, evince the deepest consciousness that he had not attained the privileges of a true believer in Christ: though he diligently sought them in the practice of every moral and religious duty, according to the best of his knowledge. This would naturally suggest some defect in the principle on which he performed these duties. The next day, therefore, Jan. 25, he took a review of his religious principles on a few important points; and in a private paper wrote as follows:

1. "For many years I have been tossed about by various winds of doctrine. I asked long ago, 'What must I do to be saved?' The Scripture answered, keep the commandments, believe, hope, love; follow after these tempers till thou hast fully attained, that is, till death: by all those outward works and means which God hath appointed, by walking as Christ walked.

2. "I was early warned against laying, as the Papists do, too much stress on outward works, or on a faith with works; which, as it does not include, so it will never lead to true hope or charity. Nor am I sensible, that to this hour I have laid too much stress on either; having from the very beginning valued both faith and the means of grace, and good works, not on their own account, but as believing God, who had appointed them, would by them bring me in due time to the mind that was in Christ.

3. "But before God's time was come, I fell among some Lutheran and Calvinist authors, whose confused and indigested accounts, magnified faith to such an amazing size, that it quite hid all the rest of the commandments. I did not then see, that this was the natural effect of their overgrown fear of Popery: being so terrified with the cry of merit and good works, that they plunged at once into the other extreme. In this labyrinth I was utterly lost; not being able to find out what the error was; nor yet to reconcile this uncouth hypothesis, either with Scripture or common sense.

4. "The English writers, such as Bishop Beveridge, Bishop Taylor, and Mr. Nelson, a little relieved me from these well-meaning, wrong-headed Germans. Their accounts of Christianity, I could easily see to be, in the main consistent both with reason and Scripture. Only when they interpreted Scripture in different ways, I was often much at a loss. And again, there was one thing much insisted on in Scrip-

ture, the unity of the church, which none of them, I thought, clearly explained, or strongly inculcated.

5. "But it was not long before Providence brought me to those, who showed me a sure rule of interpreting Scripture; viz. *Consensus Veterum*: 'Quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, quod semper creditum.' At the same time they sufficiently insisted upon a due regard to the one church, at all times, and in all places. Nor was it long before I bent the bow too far the other way: 1. By making Antiquity a co-ordinate, rather than sub-ordinate, rule with Scripture. 2. By admitting several doubtful writings, as undoubted evidences of Antiquity. 3. By extending Antiquity too far, even to the middle or end of the fourth century. 4. By believing more practices to have been universal in the ancient church, than ever were so. 5. By not considering that the decrees of one provincial synod, could bind only that province; and that the decrees of a general synod, only those provinces whose representatives met therein. 6. By not considering, that the most of those decrees were adapted to particular times and occasions; and consequently when those occasions ceased, must cease to bind even those provinces.

6. "These considerations insensibly stole upon me, as I grew acquainted with the mystic writers: whose noble descriptions of union with God, and internal religion, made every thing else appear mean, flat and insipid. But in truth they made good works appear so too; yea, and faith itself, and what not? These gave me an entire new view of religion; nothing like any I had before. But alas! it was nothing like that religion which Christ and his apostles lived and taught. I had a plenary dispensation from all the commands of God: the form ran thus, 'Love is all; all the commands beside, are only means of love: you must choose those which you feel are means to you, and use them as long as they are so.' Thus were all the bands burst at once. And though I could never fully come into this, nor contentedly omit what God enjoined; yet, I know not how, I fluctuated between obedience and disobedience. I had no heart, no vigor, no zeal in obeying; continually doubting whether I was right or wrong, and never out of perplexities and entanglements. Nor can I at this hour give a distinct account, how, or when, I came a little back toward the right way: only my present sense is this—all the other enemies of Christianity are triflers: the mystics are the most dangerous of its enemies. They stab it in the vitals; and its most serious professors are most likely to fall by them. May I praise Him who hath snatched me out of this fire likewise, by warning all others, that it is set on fire of hell."

The censure Mr. Wesley has here passed on the *Lutheran*, the *Calvinist*, and *mystic* writers, is abundantly too severe. I apprehend, Mr. Wesley did not at this time, undersand either the *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist* writers on the article of faith. He acknowledges after his

return to England, that he did not at first understand the Moravian doctrine of faith, which, I believe, differed but little from that held in the Lutheran Church.—What the moderate *mystics* have said on the union of the soul with God, is in general excellent, and better said by them, than by most other writers. It must indeed be owned, that they do not sufficiently insist on the atonement and mediation of Christ, as the only foundation of a sinner's union with God: nor do they always explain and enforce the scriptural method of attaining it.

January 29. They once more saw English land: and Feb. 1, Mr. Wesley landed at Deal; where he was informed Mr. Whitefield had sailed the day before, for Georgia. He read prayers, and explained a portion of Scripture to a large company at the inn; and on the third arrived safe in London.